

Life stories and victimisation: transgender perspectives

Master Thesis Victimology & Criminal Justice

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the role that victimisation has in the lives of six Dutch transgender individuals. This is studied by means of narrative analysis of interviews ($n = 6$). The thesis explores the types of victimisation the participants have encountered, the willingness to identify as a victim, changes as a possible result of their victimisation, and the ways in which they make sense of their own victimisation. For most participants, the ideal victim concept seems to influence their outlook on their own victimising experiences. Participants also generally rationalise their victimisation by emphasizing the reason why they were targeted, or by focusing on the ignorance of the perpetrator. Other commonalities are self-blame and downplaying of own experiences. The thesis concludes by suggesting possible future research.

Keywords: narrative, microaggressions, victimization, transgender, ideal victim

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Introduction

This thesis discusses the narratives of six transgender individuals in the Netherlands who have had victimization and discrimination experiences. From hate crime to microaggressions, transgender people are generally more likely than their cisgender peers to be targeted (Haynes & Schweppe, 2017). Research on victimisation of transgender individuals that includes the victims' stories is generally conducted in and focused on victims from countries other than the Netherlands, such as the United States (see, for example, (Levitt & Ippolito, 2014; Stotzer, 2008; Grant, et al., 2011), the United Kingdom (Donovan & Barnes, 2018), Ireland (Haynes & Schweppe, 2017), and Europe as a whole (Turner, Whittle, & Combs, 2009). The research that does focus on victimisation of transgender people in the Netherlands is often focused on statistics. It centres the prevalence of certain events and generally does not include victims' stories of the victimisation they experienced (e.g. Kuyper, 2018; Van Beusekom & Kuyper, 2018; Transgender Netwerk Nederland, 2018; Van Oosterhout, 2018). This thesis presents a collection of stories of victimization experienced by six Dutch transgender individuals. The current chapter provides a brief explanation of the key topics, gives an overview of the various types of victimization transgender individuals deal with, elaborates on the importance of the problem, and explains the relevance of this study.

Sex, gender, and transgender

In order to understand what *transgender* means, we must first know the difference between the terms *sex* and *gender*. The terms sex and gender are often used interchangeably but though they are similar in practice, there are some important differences to note. *Sex* is based on a person's anatomy (reproductive organs) or biology (chromosomes and hormones) and is the first feature many parents share of their new-born baby (Levitt & Ippolito, 2014; Moffit, 2015; GLAAD, 2016). Across most cultures, a person is categorized as male or female. Intersex people may have both male and female genitals and many undergo surgery early in life to construct

unambiguously male or female sex organs (Levitt & Ippolito, 2014; Creighton & Liao, 2004). *Gender* refers to the role society expects of the assigned sex and is based on masculine or feminine behavioural traits (Levitt & Ippolito, 2014; Moffit, 2015; GLAAD, 2016). *Gender identity* describes a person's innate psychological identification as a woman, a man, or other gender and can be unrelated to their birth sex (Moffit, 2015). Furthermore, *gender expression* refers to the behaviours and characteristics through which a person manifests their gender identity, or "signals [their] gender to the world" (Moffit, 2015, p. 478; GLAAD, 2016; Kuyper, 2018). This may show in a person's way of dressing, speaking, and in their mannerisms. *Transgender* refers to individuals whose assigned sex at birth and gender identity or gender expression do not seem to match (Moffit, 2015; GLAAD, 2016; Singh, Hays, & Watson, 2011). In other words: transgender people experience an incongruency between their gender assigned at birth, their body, and their identity (Langenderfer-Magruder, Whitfield, Walls, Kattari, & Ramos, 2016). Transgender people may receive hormone therapy or undergo surgery to bring their body into alignment with their gender identity, but not necessarily (GLAAD, 2016). The antonym to 'transgender' is 'cisgender', and this term refers to people whose gender identity, gender expression, and sex assigned at birth align (Kuyper, 2018; GLAAD, 2016; Langenderfer-Magruder et al., 2016).

Victimisation

This thesis does not focus on transgender individuals in general, or on the different types of victimisation they may have experienced, but more specifically on the ways in which the transgender participants make sense of their victimisation. Compared to cisgender persons, transgender persons are more frequently met with aggression in various forms (Haynes & Schweppe, 2017; Kuyper, 2018). Not only transgender adults are confronted with aggression directed at them. A Dutch report on safety in schools found that transgender students¹ are more

¹ Transgender students are defined in the report as students who do not (fully) identify as their gender assigned at birth.

often the target of bullying, and of verbal and severe physical violence than their cisgender peers² (Scholte, Nelen, De Wit, & Kroes, 2016; Kuyper & Vanden Berghe, 2017).

Violence directed at transgender individuals is classified as ‘hate crime’ (Langenderfer-Magruder et al., 2016). Hate crimes include murder, property damage, aggravated assault, and other crimes (OSCE, 2009; Langenderfer-Magruder et al., 2016). Hate incidents are considered less severe, as they do not include physical assault. Both hate crimes and hate incidents are directed at specific categories of people in society, such as religious minorities, individuals with a disability, or transgender individuals (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2010; OSCE, 2009; Stotzer, 2008). The victim targeted with hate crime or hate incident is viewed by the perpetrator as a representative of the group. The perpetrator’s bias motive is what distinguishes hate crimes and incidents from other wrongdoings (Stotzer, 2008; National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2010). The Dutch Criminal Code does not contain hate crime provision, but as of recently, discrimination toward transgender individuals is explicitly forbidden by law in the Netherlands.³ Moreover, the Public Prosecution Service can ask for a tougher sentence when the victim of a violent crime is transgender and their transgender identity motivated the offender (Transgender Netwerk Nederland, 2018).

Another, less overt form of victimisation, are microaggressions. Microaggressions are intentional or unintentional degrading comments or behaviours.⁴ They communicate negative opinions or beliefs about a marginalised group (Nadal, Davidoff, Davis, & Wong, 2014).

² Twenty percent of transgender students endured harsh physical violence (compared to three percent of cisgender students), and forty-three percent endured verbal violence (compared to twenty-six percent of cisgender students).

³ Discrimination on the basis of sex and sexual orientation are forbidden by Dutch law, according to Article 1 (source: <https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0006502/2020-01-01>). On July 3rd, 2018, the Dutch House of Representatives voted in favour of an addition to and clarification of the Equal Treatment Act (Algemene Wet Gelijke Behandeling) in order to explicitly forbid the discrimination of people on the basis of their gender identity. The Senate accepted the motion on March 12th, 2019. (Source: https://www.eerstekamer.nl/wetsvoorstel/34650_initiatiefvoorstel_bergkamp).

⁴ The term was coined by Pierce and colleagues in 1970, but Sue and his colleagues have written an extensive number of articles about the topic, and about racial microaggressions in particular (see, for example, Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial microaggressions and the Asian American experience. *Cultural diversity and ethnic minority psychology*, 13(1), 72.). Sue’s co-author Nadal has studied microaggressions in the context of homo- and transphobia, and this thesis will often refer to his work.

Cisgender individuals may commit microaggressions toward transgender individuals by assuming a right to request information about genitalia, presuming that transgenderism is a psychological disorder, refusing to use gender-appropriate pronouns, using transphobic terminology, laughing at their appearance, pointing or staring, or refusing to call the trans individual by the name they chose (Nadal, Whitman, Davis, Erazo, & Davidoff, 2016; Nadal, Davidoff, Davis, & Wong, 2014).

Discrimination is another, but similar issue many transgender people are faced with (Haynes & Schweppe, 2017). The OSCE defines discrimination as the “*less favourable treatment of a person on the basis of some prohibited consideration, such as racial or ethnic origin, or gender.*” (OSCE, 2009, p. 25). As stated above, discrimination is illegal in the Netherlands, and in the year 2019, a motion to explicitly mention gender identity in the anti-discrimination law was accepted.

Providing exact numbers of victimising experiences transgender individuals deal with is complicated. The data usually do not differentiate between groups within the LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) community (Woods & Herman, 2014; Haynes & Schweppe, 2017). Research suggests that transgender individuals run a relatively high risk of being discriminated and victimised compared to cisgender individuals (Haynes & Schweppe, 2017; Walters, Paterson, Brown, & McDonnell, 2017; Langenderfer-Magruder et al., 2016). Prevalence of discrimination and hate crimes is difficult to estimate, and an increase in reports of discrimination and hate crimes can indicate an actual increase, or improved reporting possibilities (Corcoran, Lader, & Smith, 2016). Studies conducted in the Netherlands, the U.K., and the U.S. suggest that incidents involving transgender victims are generally underreported (Transgender Netwerk Nederland, 2018; Walters et al., 2017; Shipherd, Maguen, Skidmore, & Abramovitz, 2011). The lower report rate among transgender and other LGBT victims

compared to cisgender and heterosexual victims may be related to the fact that they⁵ have not ‘outed’ themselves as LGBT yet and they fear that an investigation will disclose their gender identities or sexuality (Transgender Netwerk Nederland, 2018; Turner et al., 2009; AT5, 2017⁶). Moreover, British research shows that the transgender community displays a lack of trust in the criminal justice system and that they believe that the police is ineffective in controlling anti-LGBT violence (Walters, et al., 2017). A lack of faith in the legal justice system and the fear that the police will not take allegations seriously due to the victim’s sexual orientation or transness might also play a role (Turner et al., 2009). Bad experiences with the police or even victimisation at the hands of the police is another possible explanation for the low willingness to report, Turner and colleagues (2009) suggest.

Societal relevance

Despite the difficulties with regards to statistics, what follows is a selection of studies that focus on the increased vulnerability of transgender individuals regarding violence and discrimination. An extensive study on transphobia in Europe by Turner and colleagues (2009) found that 79% of respondents had experienced some form of harassment in public. The majority of respondents had endured comments and verbal abuse, while threatening behaviour, physical abuse and sexual abuse happened to respectively 15, 7, and 2 percent of respondents. Research conducted in the United States suggests that transgender people have a higher likelihood of being the victim of intimate partner violence (Langenderfer-Magruder et al., 2016). Other research shows that transgender children are at a higher risk of facing harassment and bullying at school than lesbian, gay, and bisexual children (Greytak, Kosciw, & Diaz, 2009; Grant, et al., 2011). Transgender individuals have also reported discrimination and stigma in the workplace leading

⁵ In order to be inclusive, I chose to use singular they/them when referring to people in general. When referring to individuals in particular, I used gendered pronouns that they use to refer to themselves. See also GLAAD’s reference guide: GLAAD Media Reference Guide - Transgender, 2016.

⁶ AT5 (2017, April 18). Geweld tegen transgenders wordt te weinig gemeld. AT5. Retrieved from: <https://www.at5.nl/artikelen/168077/geweld-tegen-transgenders-wordt-te-weinig-gemeld>

to losing their job or having to resign (Grant, et al., 2011; Mizock & Mueser, 2014). Prunas and colleagues (2015) noted that, between 2008 and 2013, 71 transgender individuals were murdered in Europe. In 2017, 29 transgender people were killed as a result of violence in the U.S. (Human Rights Campaign, 2018). Among the transgender population, sex workers, migrants, and trans people of colour are exceptionally vulnerable to being murdered⁷ (Human Rights Campaign, 2018). The most recent report on worldwide statistics shows that, between October 2018 and September 2019, a total of 331 trans and gender-diverse people were murdered (Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide (TvT), 2019). The authors express that it is impossible to estimate the real number of cases, as data on violence towards trans and gender non-conforming people are not systematically produced.⁸

Transphobia is not limited to the general public. Even in institutional contexts transgender people often experience direct discrimination and harassment (Bauer, et al., 2009). This can occur when searching for housing and when wanting to access healthcare or social services (Hill & Willoughby, 2005). For example, a 2002 survey in the United States showed that only a minority of respondents supported health coverage for sex reassignment surgery. Transphobic reactions from healthcare professionals may lead to transgender individuals avoiding to seek healthcare, as a study by Levitt and Ippolito (2014) shows. Moreover, transphobic reactions are also prevalent in the workplace. Incidents such as being fired, demoted, or unfairly disciplined were reported by trans persons who attributed those incidents to their gender non-conformity (Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Research conducted by Transgender Network Netherlands shows that, in the Netherlands, 40% of transgenders have experienced transphobia in the workplace

7 When inequalities intersect, individuals are increasingly vulnerable to unequal treatment. It is important to note that a considerable number of transgender people killed were people of colour and immigrants. This means that these individuals were not only subjected to transphobia but also to racism and/or xenophobia. An example of this can be found in Stotzer's (2009) review of United States data. One finding was that a shocking 91% of transgender murder victims were people of colour, most were poor, and most had a feminine gender expression.

8 Crimes against trans individuals are often not registered as transphobic crimes and the lack of acknowledgement of the victim's trans identity draws attention away from the possibility that the crime was in fact a transphobic hate crime. Victims are sometimes even called by their 'dead' name [the name they used before their transition] and misgendered in news articles (Turner et al., 2009).

(Transgender Netwerk Nederland, 2018). The organisation's spokesperson thinks that the reported incidents are just the tip of the iceberg and that there have been many more unreported events have occurred.⁹

The current study

The incidents described above might indeed be just 'the tip of the iceberg'. Most reports on transphobia focus on the prevalence of cases and on the statistics and characteristics of victims. This may result in the victims and their stories to be often overlooked in the process. Susan Brison (1993, p. 8) explained the importance of victim narratives:

"[critical race theorists Patricia Williams, Mari Matsuda, and Charles Lawrence...] have incorporated first person narratives into their discussions of the law. In writing about hate speech, they have argued persuasively that one cannot do justice to the issues involved in debates about restrictions on speech without listening to the victims' stories." (Brison, 1993, p. 8)

She goes on to say that, instead of silencing the victims' voices, the three scholars described the injustices they themselves experienced. Brison (1993) argues that topics such as the impact of racial and sexual violence cannot be broached without the stories of those to whom the harm was inflicted. In similar fashion, the voices of transgender victims are commonly silenced. With this in mind, for the present study transgender victims of verbal, physical and sexual abuse were asked to tell their life stories and speak about experiences of transphobia. Only Dutch individuals participated in this study. A substantial proportion of the existing research on transgenderism and the experiences of transgender individuals has been conducted outside of the Netherlands, but this does not mean that trans issues are insignificant in this country. For

9 Transgender François (22): ' Volledige acceptatie is helaas nog ver weg'. Retrieved from: <https://eenvandaag.avrotros.nl/item/transgender-francois-22-volledige-acceptatie-is-helaas-nog-ver-weg>

example, the percentage¹⁰ of transgenders in the Netherlands is estimated at 0.6 of the population, and transgenderism is increasingly reported on in the news. There is positive news, such as a more inclusive Pride and ‘feel good’ TV programs¹¹ on the transition of young transgender people, but there is also a fair share of horrible news such as the occurrence of beatings and killings of transgender victims in the country (Redactie De Gelderlander, 2018; 1Limburg, 2018; Omroep Brabant, 2018). In sum, a significant percentage of transgender individuals live in the Netherlands, there is reason to believe that these individuals are subjected to transphobia, and there is not much research that involves their personal tales of negative experiences. Yet, narratives are valuable for victimology. They provide information on the experiences of victims, which is something statistics cannot do. Hence, the present study aims to shine a light on transgender victim experiences in the Netherlands by means of narrative (life story) analysis.

The next chapter introduces the central questions of this thesis and the theoretical background.

Theoretical framework

The research questions work as guidelines rather than hypotheses that need to be proven or falsified (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998; Chaitin, 2002; Creswell & Creswell, 2008). The central question of this thesis is: *which role does victimisation have in the life stories of the six participating transgender individuals?* The sub questions that are asked are *what is victimisation for these respondents?*, *how do these respondents make sense of their victimisation?* and *how does victimisation affect these respondents?*. In this chapter the link

10 In the Netherlands, the percentage of individuals who experience an incongruence between birth sex and gender is estimated to between 0.6 and 1.1% for those with the male sex assigned, and between 0.2 and 0.8% for those who were assigned with the female sex (Kuyper, 2012). The people who have gone through transition were not taken in consideration when calculating these percentages, as they do not experience the same incongruence between their body and their gender. This indicates that the number of persons who identify as transgender is likely somewhat higher (SCP, 2012; Kuyper, 2012). Furthermore, only people who come to clinical attention are included in the estimates of the prevalence of gender dysphoria, which also indicates an underestimation of the actual number of transgenders in society (Prunas et al., 2015).

11 For example: *Hij is een zij* is a Dutch TV programme in which young transgender individuals are followed throughout their transition. *Genderbende* is a documentary on gender fluidity.

between a transgender person's victimisation and the victim label will be examined, and the concept of the *ideal victim* (Christie, 1986) will be introduced. Following this, different forms of victimisation based on or motivated by a person's transgender identity are illustrated. In the next section, possible meaning-making strategies of transgender victims are discussed. The chapter then continues with examining the potential effect of victimising experiences on transgender individuals and the concepts *agency* and *communion* are introduced. The chapter ends with a concise explanation of narrative, as this is the overarching theme of the thesis.

The ideal victim

Christie's (1986) concept of the *ideal victim* is used here to help understand more about which (types of) incidents are deemed victimisation by the participants. According to Christie, someone who experienced a victimising event is evaluated by others. This evaluation is based on factors such as what happened to the individual, the conditions under which the event took place, to whom it happened, who was responsible for the victimising behaviour, and whether the two parties had a relationship prior to the event. If the victim meets the expectations society has of a victim, they fit the image of the hypothetical *ideal victim*. The concept was introduced by Christie, and refers to a person or category of people who, when targeted, are readily given the status of a complete and legitimate victim (Christie, 1986). This means that the person's victimhood is acknowledged. In order to be viewed as an ideal victim, one needs to be (seen as) weak, blameless, and carrying out a respectable project, and they should be unfamiliar with the big and bad perpetrator (Christie, 1986). It is usually implied that the ideal victim is a woman (Donovan & Barnes, 2018).

The ideal victim influences not only society's view of who is deserving of the victim label, but also that of the person who was victimised. The latter might not recognise themselves as a victim because they are not like the ideal victim. This lack of recognition or identification may lead to a denial of victimisation altogether, as Donovan and Barnes (2018) have argued. One

may not view an incident as victimisation because they do not view themselves as a victim. Donovan and Barnes (2018) interviewed LGBT individuals who experienced domestic abuse and hate crime. According to the authors, LGBT people who have been victimised often do not view themselves as a victim.

Not only does the ideal victim concept influence one's own identification as a victim, it also affects the way in which they are perceived as others. Being (regarded) as a less than ideal victim could result in negative responses from others who think that the person's claim to victim status is illegitimate. Van Dijk (2009) explains that critique on the victim's non-conformation to societal expectations could lead to secondary victimisation. In the case of secondary victimisation, the masses would engage in character derogating when the victim does not behave the way that is expected from them. A victim should not have too much agency, not be critical of the justice process, and instead be ready to forgive. In other words, when the victim is not an ideal victim, they run the risk of being victim blamed. They are held responsible for the misfortune they experienced. Secondary victimisation such as victim blaming and character derogation may cause the victim to 'relive' the victimizing event. It can also sabotage the narrative process. For example, a third form of secondary victimisation, psychological distancing, makes it more difficult for the victim to connect their story to that of the observer.

Transgender individuals are generally not regarded to be ideal victims. Compared to non-LGBT individuals, members of the LGBT community as a whole, transgender individuals included, are often victim blamed in the event of victimisation (Donovan & Barnes, 2018; Thomas, Amburgey, & Ellis, 2016; Dunn 2012). They are unlikely to be viewed as innocent (Thomas et al., 2016; Davies & Hudson, 2011), either because their lifestyles are considered to be risky, or because people think their moralities are flawed (Donovan & Barnes, 2018). Furthermore, as discussed earlier in this chapter, LGBT individuals are less likely to identify themselves as victims, either because they choose not to, or because they are unable to. Donovan and Barnes

(2018; 2019) claim that some LGBT victims do not see themselves as a victim because they believe that they are (in part) to blame for their negative experiences. The conceptualisation of the ideal offender as a big, bad, masculine stranger does not help either in recognising their own victimisation, as the perpetrator of transphobic or homophobic hate crime or microaggressions may very well be their feminine partner (Donovan & Barnes, 2018; 2019), or a family member. Moreover, Dunn (2012) found that gay men in particular are reluctant to identify themselves as victims, thinking that doing so would challenge their masculinity as victimhood has connotations of non-masculinity. Based on Dunn's findings, one might expect to find a similar effect among transgender men, who may also feel the need to establish a credible masculinity.

Victimisation and identity

As mentioned in the introduction, transgender individuals have been found to be more prone to being victimised (Haynes & Schweppe, 2017; Walters et al., 2017; Kuyper & Vanden Berghe, 2017). Their victimisation may be unrelated to their transgender identity, but in many cases their transgender identity does play a role (Stotzer, 2009). In this section, the forms of victimisation transgender individuals deal with and the relation between victimisation and identity are recapped and further explained.

Transgender victims may be targeted based on their transgender identity, as can be the case with physical and sexual violence, or even robbery (Stotzer, 2009), or the identity itself is used against the individual in order to victimise them, as is the case with discrimination, microaggressions, and identity abuse (Nadal et al., 2014; Donovan & Barnes, 2019).¹² When a criminal act against a transgender person is motivated by hate, this can be classified as a hate crime or hate incident, as is discussed in the introductory chapter (Langenderfer-Magruder et al., 2016).

¹² An example of identity abuse is threatening to 'out' somebody (to disclose their transgender identity) to others, which could challenge the transgender person's safety or wellbeing (Donovan & Barnes, 2019).

In contrast to hate crimes, microaggressions do not receive as much attention. They are, however, everyday (identity-based) victimisations to many people who belong to minority groups (Nadal et al., 2014). Nadal and colleagues (2014) studied microaggressions experienced by transgender people. An example of a microaggression towards transgender individuals is the refusal to use a person's correct pronouns or chosen name. The result of behaviour like this is that the transgender individual feels as if their identity is invalidated and that they are rejected. It is important to note that the impact of microaggressions on the victim seems to depend on the source (Nadal et al., 2014). Nadal and colleagues found that when strangers engage in microaggressions it upsets the recipient, but the negative effect is stronger when the aggressor is a loved one. The victim appears to find it more difficult to cope when the microaggressor is significant in their life. Disclosure to parents is particularly important in achieving a clear sense of self and self-approval (Maguen, Shipherd, Harris, & Welch, 2007), and on the basis of these findings, one may expect that when parents engage in microaggressions or display other behaviours that could be interpreted as rejection of their transgender child, it may affect the transgender individual's self-approval as well as their understanding of their own identity.

In order to understand the impact of denying one's identity which is implied in microaggressions, one needs to know more about witnessing and mirroring. Devor (2004) explains that all people need to feel validated and to have their sense of self reinforced. This is attained by the practice of witnessing and mirroring. People need to be witnessed: to be seen as others for whom they are. They also need to see themselves mirrored: seeing themselves in the eyes of others similar to them. Not being witnessed or mirrored (correctly) means that the message the person receives back from others does not match how they feel inside. This can result in psychological distress and maladaptive behaviours (Devor, 2004). A transgender individual may suffer dysphoria as a result. Although a controversial term when used in a clinical sense, gender dysphoria is used by some transgender individuals when explaining the

feeling that arises when they are not witnessed correctly¹³. Certain aspects of their body may be put under the microscope, leading to a downward facing spiral of insecurity. Dysphoria may be experienced as a feeling similar to anxiety, and it contrasts with gender euphoria, which can result from being gendered and witnessed correctly.

Meaning-making

Victims may cope with victimisation in a variety of ways. Their strategy may be influenced by their abilities and preferences, their identification as a victim (as elaborated on in an earlier section of this chapter), social support (Budge, Adelson, & Howard, 2012), and the nature of their victimisation (Hein & Scharer, 2013), to name a few. In most cases, the victim will need to understand what happened. They need to make sense of, or give meaning to, the event. One important aspect of meaning-making is whether the victim recognises and acknowledges the event as victimising. When they are able to view the situation as victimisation, they can choose to ask for help.

The victim may recognise and acknowledge the situation as victimisation, or be unable or unwilling to do so.¹⁴ Browne and colleagues (2011) argue that LGBT individuals tend to view the domestic abuse and harassment they endured as normal, instead of harmful and victimising, because it happens frequently. Closely linked to normalising is the rationalising of victimisation. The victim may acknowledge that they were victimised, but try to explain it on the basis of the lack of sensitivity or of ignorance on the part of the perpetrator (Nadal et al., 2014). Another possibility is that a victim recognises certain behaviour directed at them as abuse, but decides to ignore it in order to be able to carry on with their life (Browne, Bakshi, & Lim, 2011). Browne and colleagues (2011) also found that transgender individuals (amongst

¹³ Gender dysphoria as a feeling is simplified here. Transgender writer Sam Dylan Finch has written extensively about the phenomenon on the feminist platform Everyday Feminism. See Finch, S. D. (2015). 5 Ways to Support a Trans Person Experiencing Body Dysphoria.

¹⁴ In the latter situation, the victim most likely does not identify as a victim. Not identifying as a victim was discussed earlier in this chapter, where it was linked it to the concept of the ideal victim.

LGBT victims) normalise discriminatory experiences. Not expecting the negative comments they received to be recognised as abuse by the institutions and made them decide to refrain from reporting this type of incidents.

Pemberton and colleagues (2019) point to the difficulties that victims may encounter in their attempts to make sense of their victimisation. The interpretations of a victim could vary between different points in time, and a victim could struggle with contradictory feelings and experiences regarding the victimisation. They may find it difficult to acknowledge that they are a victim at one point, accept a victim identity at another, and vice versa. They may also know that they were not to blame for the victimisation, but find reasons to blame themselves regardless.

Furthermore, agency also complicates the abilities of a person to make sense of their victimisation. Having fought back, or being able to fight back, could complicate their view on the situation. They may not recognise themselves as a victim due to their agency which the ideal victim does not seem to possess. On the other hand, they may wonder why they did not employ their agency to stop the victimisation. This idea paves the way for self-blame, and removes the person further away from the ideal victim, who is blameless.

Effects of victimisation on transgender victims

Victimisation affects people in numerous ways. Besides the victimisation of oneself, a person may also be affected by the victimisation of another. Hate crimes, for example, are committed on the basis of what the person stands for (Stotzer, 2009). In turn, they instil fear in the victim's fellow community members, wondering whether they will be the next victim.

Budge and colleagues (2013) found that transgender individuals respond to negative life events such as victimisation with avoidant and downplaying coping mechanisms, which often have a backwards effect on mental health. Emotional and avoidant coping can also have positive effects when the individual cannot change the situation (Kuyper & Vanden Berghe, 2017). This

section first explains the possible emotional, cognitive, and behavioural reactions in transgender individuals as a result of victimisation. After these, it briefly discusses the effects on the victim's sense of agency and communion.

Emotional

This section explores emotional reactions and the feelings of unsafety that stem from victimisation directed at oneself or at a community member.

Nadal and colleagues (2014) found that transgender victims' emotional reactions included feelings of anger, betrayal, distress, hopelessness/exhaustion, and feeling invalidated/misunderstood. Dutch research shows that transgender individuals in general feel more often unsafe than cisgender people, and that they estimate their chances of falling victim much higher than cisgender individuals (Scholte et al., 2016; Van Oosterhout, 2018; Kuyper & Vanden Berghe, 2017). Jackson and Gouseti (2016) studied reactions to victimisation and found that experiencing victimisation as well as hearing about the victimisation of a community member distresses a person. Experienced as well as witnessed¹⁵ victimisation increases a feeling of uncertainty and makes a person estimate their risk of being victimised as higher. Van Oosterhout (2018) also argues that violence directed at transgender individuals increases an unsafe feeling in the transgender community as a whole. This is not surprising, considering the perpetrator of a hate crime chooses their target on the basis of what they represent (OSCE, 2009), which in this context would be the transgender community. Similarly, Hein and Scharer (2013) claim that a hate crime destroys the myth of one's invulnerability. In other words: the victimisation of one community member results in the fear of becoming the next victim.

¹⁵ 'Witness' here means 'hearing about the victimisation of a person they know'.

Cognitive

The cognitive reactions Nadal and colleagues (2014) found among transgender victims of microaggressions were the rationalisation of discriminatory behaviour, engaging in cognitions around vigilance and self-preservation, and thoughts about resilience and empowerment. The cognitive reactions here overlap in part with meaning-making strategies which were discussed earlier in this chapter.

Behavioural

Among behavioural responses of transgender individuals to microaggressions, Nadal and colleagues (2014) found direct and indirect confrontation and passive coping. A common form of direct confrontation was the correction of improper pronoun usage. Indirect confrontation involved setting boundaries. Participants reportedly contacted authorities in response to microaggressions, or responded to inappropriate questions with the message the question is too intimate to be asked in the first place. Passive coping involved removing themselves from the situation or avoiding certain places in order to minimise attention.

Minimising attention may also be employed as a tactic when it comes to victimisation in general. An important factor in being targeted with a hate crime or incident is whether a person is recognisable as transgender. Transgender people who are seen as transgender by others¹⁶ seem to run a higher risk of falling victim to physical assault or to be threatened with physical violence (Van Oosterhout, 2018; Kuyper & Vanden Berghe, 2017). Budge and colleagues (Budge et al., 2013) found that appearing transgender is related to increased discrimination. Similarly, Kuyper and Vanden Berghe (2017) argue that, a transgender person is generally less visible as trans after their transition, which decreases their chances of being victimised. Based on these statistics and expectations, one may expect to find that a transgender person who is

¹⁶ Van Oosterhout (2018) found that those who indicate that they are recognisable as transgender most of the time or always, 34% were physically assaulted or threatened with physical violence in the past year. The Dutch report is based on quantitative research and bases this finding on participants' self-reported 'recognisability as transgender'.

anxious about their risk of falling victim will try to conform to stereotypical notions of how a person of their gender looks. In turn, Nadal and colleagues (2014) suggest that the degree to which a person is visible as transgender affects their experiences with, and their reactions to, microaggressions.

Agency and communion

Aside from its emotional, cognitive, and behavioural effects, victimisation can also affect a person's sense of agency and communion (Pemberton, Mulder, & Aarten, 2019). Pemberton and colleagues (2019) argue that victimisation attacks a person's agency through their sense of self-control and self-esteem and respect. Communion is affected by the damage victimisation brings to relationships, togetherness and values. That is, victimisation may cause a person to no longer believe that they are in control over what happens to them, and to feel as if they are without a supportive network.

Narratives

The overarching theme of this thesis is narrative. Narrative analysis is employed with the purpose to learn more about the experiences of the victims in this research. This section briefly discusses the value of narratives.

A narrative, or life-story, is a means by which a person can make sense of their experiences (Wigren, 1994). A negative life event such as victimisation demands attention in a person's life story, and, as such, people often feel the need to make *sense* of their victimisation experiences (Pemberton, Mulder, & Aarten, 2019). Narratives teach us about the aspirations, pain, desires, and memories a person has (Chataika, 2005). One reason why narrative analysis is important is that it does not only help gain an understanding of the personal experiences of the storytellers, but it can also help provide insights into the social structures and dynamics in which the interviewee lives (Chaitin, 2002). The story of an individual can thus be understood as part of

a broader context (Pemberton, Mulder, & Aarten, 2019; Chataika, 2005). Studying narratives is especially important in the context of victimology. Stories about victim experiences can provide insight on closure following victimisation, the recognition of one's own victimisation, and coping mechanisms (Pemberton, Mulder, & Aarten, 2019).

Narratives may also help the victims who share them. The creation and sharing of a victim narrative can help the repair of their damaged sense of agency and communion. It can provide empowerment to the victim and help regain their sense of agency, or it can help the victim connect to others and as a result rebuild communion.

Having discussed the value of narratives for victims as well as for the field of victimology, this thesis now proceeds with the methods which were used to collect narratives and analyse the data.

Methods

Participants

Six respondents who self-identified as transgender were interviewed for this study. In order to find respondents, a call for transgender individuals with victimization experiences to participate in an interview on life stories was published on social media (Facebook and LinkedIn) as well as on Dutch transgender online forum 'T Nederland'. Several organizations, prominent transgender activists, and spokespersons were also contacted. The introductory message specifically asked for individuals who identified as transgender and had experienced victimisation. A total of eleven transgender individuals approached the interviewer by e-mail or private message in order to participate and six people were eventually interviewed. Of the ones who were not interviewed, two did not respond to the question when they would be available for the interview, two did not identify as transgender, and another was in the Netherlands for a very short amount of time.

Ages ranged from 20 to 67 at the time the interviews were conducted. Half of the respondents identify as men and half identify as women. All respondents live their lives according to the gender they identify as¹⁷. Identifying characteristics such as name, exact age, and place of residence are fictitious in order to protect the participants' identities and they were informed of this before the interview took place.

Procedure

Data were collected through interviews with open-ended questions. The method used for interviewing participants is based on McAdams's (2008) life story interview. The purpose of the procedure McAdams proposes is the exploration of how the participant organizes their life story and attach meaning to life events. Respondents were first asked about their life story, from as early as they can remember till now. When the respondent completed outlining their life story, the following questions were asked:

1. Which moment in your life do you see as the saddest moment?
2. Which moment in your life was the happiest moment?
3. Can you tell me about the obstacles you have faced?
4. How do you see your future?
5. Which theme would you attach to your life?

The questions listed above led to stories about victimization in the majority of the interviews, partly because participants were already informed about the main topic of the interview.

The length of the interviews ranged from 52 minutes to 2,5 hours. Most interviews did not end formally but rather ended in small talk. However, after all questions were answered the final question was whether the participant wanted to add anything or if they thought the interviewer should have asked a specific question. The six participants were interviewed using a variety of

¹⁷ Important to note, as not all trans individuals are 'out' for a variety of reasons, including fear of discrimination.

methods: three were interviewed face-to-face in their homes, two were interviewed through video chat, and one was interviewed over the phone. A recording device was used with every interview with the purpose of being able to transcribe each interview at a later stage. Participants were informed of the interview being audio recorded, of the purpose of the study (the analysis of life stories of victimized transgender individuals to use in a master thesis), and of the procedure after the interview (receiving the transcript of their own interview). Participants did not receive any form of compensation for their participation.

Analysis

The method that was used here is called thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a technique for the systematic identification and organisation of patterns of meanings (themes), and helps provide insight into these themes (Braun & Clarke, 2012) After the interviews were held and audiotaped, the conversations were transcribed. Initially, all seemingly important phrases that were voiced by the participant were marked in the transcript. The marked phrases were then linked to themes, such as acceptance, witnessing, self-blame, identity, and agency. Themes were compared across transcripts in order to assess whether important commonalities and differences could be found, such as shared experiences or different responses to similar situations.

Results

Before their stories are analysed, the participants are introduced in brief.

Lucia (67) was assigned male at birth. When she was young, she realised that her assigned male gender did not match her true feelings, but she did not have the liberty to experiment with gender expression. As a result of her strict surroundings she lived life as a man and started a family. After the birth of her second child, however, she promised herself that she would transition after the child's 18th birthday. Upon disclosing her transgender identity, she was met

with misunderstanding from family, her employer, and other members of her community. She also experienced severe physical victimisation on two occasions. She was raped by a group of three men at a railway station, and a year later she was beaten up by a group of men.

Evan (20) was assigned female at birth. When he was 17, he disclosed his transgender identity and started living his life as a boy. The bullying he already endured in school increased and he was ostracised. He lost many friends and he left school for some time due to his deteriorated mental health. At the time of the interview, he is often met with misunderstanding and degrading comments about his transgender identity.

Estelle (45) was assigned male at birth. She realised she was transgender when she was well into her twenties. Because she did not accept her transgender identity at the time, she decided not to act on it and she started a family. When she and her wife started having marital problems, her feelings regarding her transgender identity rose. The couple eventually divorced, and in the years that followed, Estelle was verbally abused and physically attacked by her ex-wife.

Céline (31) was assigned male at birth. From a young age she knew that she was a girl. A few years later, when she was 12 or 13 years old, she started living her life as a girl. What followed, were years of being bullied by other children. At the same time, she suffered from the inability to accept herself, and especially the transgender aspect of her transgender identity. At the time of the interview, she says to have found confidence and self-acceptance.

Jonas (30) was assigned female at birth. When he was 19, he realised that he was transgender. His mother did not accept his transgender identity and hindered his development. During that same period, he was met with invasive questions about his gender identity asked by strangers, and even groped on a night out. The transition went through regardless, and Jonas's mother has slowly learned to accept his identity.

Isaac (27) was assigned female at birth. He shared his gender confusion with his girlfriend when he was 19, and her negative reaction caused him to keep it a secret for years. After the couple broke up, he experimented with gender expression for years until he finally disclosed his transgender identity and started his transition. When Isaac had fallen mentally ill, he was dependent on his roommate. The roommate took advantage of him and started a sexual relationship with Isaac, who was unable to really consent.

What is victimisation for the participants?

In order to understand the impact of victimisation on the lives of the participants, one needs to take a closer look at how victimisation is experienced by them. What falls under victimisation for these individuals? All had an idea of which experiences count as victimisation when they signed up for the interview. However, not every participant recognises themselves as a victim. This section first discusses the victimisation experiences of each participant, followed by examples of the sort of victimisation they all have in common: microaggressions. It also briefly discusses identification as a victim which will be elaborated on further in the next section.

Evan had already experienced bullying in school, and had tried to conform in order to stand out less, but to no avail. When he disclosed his transgender identity, the bullying worsened. In response, Evan developed a depression and did not go to school for months on end. In the midst of all this, he lost many of his friends because they did not accept him being transgender. When he did return to school, he avoided his peers during lunch breaks. Eventually he befriended people who stood up for him, and people who mirrored his trans and/or gay identity. In his story, Evan emphasises his responses to injustices.

Evan's responses to the victimisation he endured are very similar to those described by Nadal and colleagues (2014). At first, his behavioural response was to avoid the situation of being bullied in school by not going to school. Moreover, just like Nadal and colleagues (2014) had

found when studying reactions to microaggressions, Evan ultimately set boundaries. He speaks up when people engage in microaggressions, and he says he fights injustices against women, gay people, and transgender people. According to him, being transgender cannot be separated from being a feminist. This result resonates with Devor's (2004) model of the development of a transgender identity, in which activism is one of the final stages.

Estelle experienced physical violence and abuse from her ex-partner. Before she was ready to disclose her transgender identity, her then-partner told Estelle's parents about it¹⁸ and she mocked her gender identity. She continued to mock her on the basis of her transgender identity after their separation and Estelle's coming out. She insulted Estelle on social media, physically attacked her, and threatened to drive her over with her car. Estelle's response to her ex-partner's behaviour is calm. She does not fight back physically, but she does not give in to demands she finds unreasonable either, such as paying a large amount of money. As a contrast to her own role in the story, she depicts her ex-partner as a vengeful woman who uses their children as a weapon against Estelle. The divorce also indirectly causes institutional discrimination, according to Estelle. She explains that it is more difficult for her to win custody or fair visitation rights over her children because she is transgender. Professionals would have treated her more fairly if she were a gay father, she claims. She first responded by filing complaints against the institutions, but does not feel that she is taken seriously. When she talks about the situation, she tries to rationalise the way she is treated by the institutions, which resonates with the rationalisation Nadal and colleagues (2014) found among behavioural responses.

As a child, Céline was tormented for years because of her transgender identity. Back then, she wanted revenge. She told her mother that she wished for her bullies' future children to be tormented the way she was, so the former bullies would know how it feels. Now, she no longer

¹⁸ Donovan and Barnes (2019) refer to the threatening to disclose someone's transgender identity with 'identity abuse'.

wishes to see her former tormenters or their children suffer. Instead, she says their behaviour was normal at that age in response to a transgender peer. She emphasizes that her tormenters did not know any better and that they lacked empathy. She claims that the ability to empathize and show compassion is what sets her and them apart. Yet, she feels justice has been served when she compares her life today to the lives of the people who used to bully her when they were children.

Jonas was intimidated and groped by a stranger on a night out. He explains that the man and his friends were triggered by Jonas's gender expression, which was why they targeted him. He responded angrily to the man who had grabbed his crotch, only to be met with sexist slurs. He says he hopes that his outburst deterred the men from (sexually) intimidating others in the future. However, in line with findings from Nadal and colleagues (2014) and Maguen and colleagues (2007), the negative response from his mother to his transition seems to have had a stronger negative impact on Jonas. He initially brought his mother along to doctors' appointments for support during his transition, which, for the person who does not easily ask for help, may be interpreted as a big deal. He describes his mother as being clearly opposed to his transition from the start, wondering out loud in front of the doctors what she had done wrong in Jonas's upbringing to have caused this. When Jonas decided to no longer involve his mother, he quickly received the news that he was ready for the next step in his transition. The relationship with his mother slowly improved over the years when she realised that Jonas was much happier living his life as a man. Just like Evan and the participants in Nadal and colleagues' (2014) study, Jonas avoided further victimisation by removing himself from the harmful situation.

Isaac was sexually abused by his roommate. He struggled with his mental health at the time and depended strongly on his roommate for support. Due to his poor mental health, he was not in a position to consent to the sexual relations his roommate initiated. He broke off all contact, but

has not found closure. He explains that he would like to see his former roommate suffer. What seems to infuriate him the most is that his abuser hides behind his own diagnoses, and that he does not take responsibility for what he has done. Yet, Isaac sometimes wonders whether he himself is also to blame for the sexual abuse: *What was my part in those events?*

Lucia experienced severe physical abuse on two different occasions. Before the interview officially started with the question about her life story, she started talking about the first incident in which she was raped by three men. In the story, she shifts between emphasizing her blamelessness regarding the attack and the fault she finds with herself. She compares other incidents of severe physical violence, discrimination, and sexual intimidation to the group rape, and downplays them, saying *It's not as bad as the other [incident]*. She is still very afraid of revictimisation, which is why she avoids certain places at night. Another tactic she talks about, but is not possible for her at the moment, is facial feminisation surgery. Not appearing visibly transgender would make her feel much safer than she does now.

Apart from the types of victimisation mentioned above, the participants also shared a common victimisation experience: they had all experienced microaggressions on the basis of their transgender identity. Most did not refer to microaggressions as victimisation, though. Only Isaac unambiguously referred to microaggressions, asking whether he may include them when talking about victimisation. This suggests that microaggressions are not easily identified as a type of victimisation, even for those who have experienced them. Microaggressions seem to be regarded as 'not the worst thing that can happen', or as negative responses that transgender people can expect to hear. This does not mean that the effects of microaggressions are not to be taken seriously. For example, Céline tells about an incident on social media. She had posted a story about disclosing her transgender identity at work. A friend commented to Céline's post, saying that she found it odd that Céline is expected to tell people at work that she was 'born with a penis'. Céline explains that when she read the word 'penis', it made her nauseous. She

finds it hard to accept the fact that she was not born a cisgender woman. The comment of her friend was unintentionally hurtful, but it caused her to feel dysphoria.

Lucia was initially accepted by her employer when she disclosed her gender identity. But only a few days later, her employer seemed to realise that the change in Lucia was definite and he started treating her differently.

...because he made a lot of silly comments, such as “No earrings, no bras”. For heaven’s sake, I was already legally a woman. Legally. And so, I... He told me “You have to dress and behave more masculine”. I said “Sorry boss, I can’t. I don’t have any clothes, it’s all gone. I only have women’s clothes”.

It did not stop with her employer urging her to change her behaviour and her appearance in order to appear more masculine. He refused calling her by her chosen name, and even ignored her in full when she appeared at work dressed as a woman for the first time.

But... I suffered a lot from the sexual assault case, but that affair made me suffer at least as much. He... psychologically he pushed me into the ground. With comments like... (...) “Steven¹⁹”, because he never called me by my female name... His employees did, but when they saw him, they didn’t because he did not allow it. When I came out and he said that he didn’t want to lose me, I called him... It was on a Wednesday and on Friday I said “I’m taking a day off”. I was in [the city], one day in [the city]. On Monday I arrive at work as a girl. “You can’t do this” and “You can’t do that”. I said “You don’t want to lose me”. I arrive at work on Monday... He didn’t utter a word on Monday and Tuesday. The employees were talking to me and he would pass by and say “Are you going to start working now?”

¹⁹ “Steven” is not the real name by which Lucia was known before her transition (the term for this is *deadname*). It is made up in order to preserve her privacy.

Lucia's employer did not stop at communicating his disapproval. By prohibiting his other employees from calling her by her new name, he deliberately made her feel even worse. He clearly did not accept and acknowledge her identity. For Lucia, the situation became unbearable and eventually she went on sick leave. At the time of the interview, the conflict with her employer has been going on for years and she still suffers from a lot of stress because of it.

Isaac is also distressed by microaggressions, and especially when he feels that people are aware of their hurtful comments:

[Women would] say a bit too loud behind my back "Was that a man?". And on the streets... Yes, I had people calling me dyke. And I think to myself "Don't you see I'm at least trying to just look like a guy?" So that's when I think that they know, but they're like "We think it's a dyke". And also, people who would... Not misgender me per se, but who really want to know... Like "I'll call them 'young man'", or something like it. Or 'miss'. And especially men call you 'miss' because they want to be blind. Which is ridiculous. Maybe it's all in my head, but sometimes I just think "People don't want to think about the possibility".

Being misgendered clearly bothers Isaac, but what seems to be more important and infuriating to him, is that people want him to know that they question his gender identity. That they actively single him out and want him to respond to their inquiry. This behaviour goes beyond witnessing as seen in Devor (2004), in which a person correctly sees the other for what and who they really are. Evan speaks about a similar phenomenon in which strangers at work try to treat him respectfully but miss the mark. They would come close, stare at him, and ask him if he really is a man or a woman. He says that he would rather have people trust on their instincts and if they make a mistake, he can correct them. Again, misgendering does not seem to be the main issue here, but rather people feeling entitled to information about Evan's gender identity, and seeking the opportunity to question his gender identity on top of it. They seem determined to start a discussion about his identity and respect and acceptance appear to be out of reach.

The stories above are concentrated on individual experiences of microaggressions, but they tell us a lot about what microaggressions do to a person. They communicate non-acceptance and rejection of the transgender identity the receiver has. This means that two hurtful views are implied: 1. Transgender people are worth less than cisgender people and as such do not deserve respect and dignity; and 2. The receiver of the microaggressions is rejected on the basis of their identity. Moreover, Céline's story is a good example of gender dysphoria, which in this context refers to being seen as the opposite of their gender identity, and thus not being witnessed correctly.

Making sense of the victimisation

One aspect of meaning-making, or sense-making, of victimisation is identification as a victim. Not identifying as a victim may mean that a person does not view what happened to them as victimisation, and this requires them to view the situation in different light than had they identified as a victim. Although the participants signed up for the interview on the basis of their victimisation experiences, many expressed they had not felt a victim. An explanation some provided was the agency that they employed. For example, Jonas does not regard himself as a victim because he is someone who does not easily ask for help and tries to figure things out himself:

I'd really like to say I haven't. In any case, because I didn't have the feeling. Or, really, have never had the feeling. And... yes, I can only speak for myself. I've never felt... I never presented myself in that manner. Maybe more like someone who asks for help too late because I first want to figure everything out on my own, or I want to figure things out and fix them myself. And that... if that really doesn't work anymore, so when I've tried everything and I don't know what to do anymore, I'll ask for help. But a victim of situations? No. I also feel, especially since recently, that I'm aware... Yes, a certain... privilege compared to other people. I just don't get harassed on the street or get called names.

Jonas rejects the victim label because he has never ‘felt’ like a victim, and his agency also seems to play an important role: because he does not ask for help before he has tried everything in order to come to a solution, he cannot be a victim. The belief that one is either a victim who is passive or dependent on others, or an agent who actively works to help solve a situation, resonates with the widespread idea of Christie’s (1986) ideal victim that Jonas seems to have. Moreover, due to the unstable family situation he grew up in, Jonas took on heavy responsibilities from a young age. The responsibilities did not suit his age and at the same time he lacked support. Not wanting to ask for help seems to stem from his family situation. Besides, being a transgender man, Jonas might especially distance himself from the victim label. This seems to fit within Dunn’s (2012) findings, that say that men who have difficulties establishing a credible masculine image of themselves are quick to reject the victim label. Jonas even seems to add a characteristic to ‘his’ ideal victim: underprivileged. He himself is privileged, as he is not harassed on the street, compared to those more vulnerable to victimisation.

Céline immediately rejects the victim identity. She curtly answers that she has not felt like a victim, and changes the subject by asking whether she should describe her transition in more detail. When asked again about the victimisation, she focusses on the current power imbalance between her and the people who used to torment her in school. The idea that she is now more successful than they are gives her the feeling that justice is being served. To this, she adds that she got where she is right now ‘despite everything’, and by working very hard. This description sounds more like that of a survivor. She acknowledges that she was treated terribly, but she fought and persisted. Just like Jonas, the image she sketches of herself is that of an independent, hard-working person. It seems that Céline also does not reconcile the concept of the ideal victim with her own self-image.

Rejection of the term victim may also be influenced by the connotations the word has for them. For example, Jonas says that his former roommate took on a victim identity when he felt that he kept on giving while not receiving anything in return:

But he was great at wallowing in a victim role, like “The world does this to me... and I always do all I can for others and I’m never repaid...” And yeah, I... at a certain point I was... apart from... The entire house was filled with his things, and I had a very tiny room in which I had my things. And every single thing that was in other parts of the house was too much, or he didn’t want that, it was hard for him.”

Jonas does not refer to a situation in which he feels that his roommate rightfully took on a victim role. On the contrary: he describes him as someone who complains about not receiving the recognition and praise for all that he does for others (which is why Jonas thinks the roommate believes he himself is a victim), while at the same time not allowing Jonas to take up space in the house they share. Jonas’s use of the word ‘victim’ in this context suggests that the connotation he has of the word is not particularly positive.

Isaac initially rejected the victim label as well:

No. No, I don’t feel like I’m a victim. Not because I happen to be transgender. It’s true that I was sexually intimidated. But I think that I’d rather think of myself as a target. I think every woman is, in a certain way. And when men ‘read’ you as a woman you’re usually kind of a target, I believe. So, I think that that’s how I feel. Not a victim per se. It’s more like a fucking coincidence that it’s happened more than once.

Isaac rejects the term ‘victim’ and opts for ‘target’. Because he does not elaborate on why he prefers the word ‘target’, it seems as if his objection is based on choice of words. Another possibility is that he may feel as if the victim label may clash with his masculinity. This is similar to the situation of Jonas and his aversity to identify as a victim, and what Dunn found

in his research about victim identity among homosexual men (2012). However, when asked about the situation with his roommate, in which Isaac was sexually abused by him, he says: “*In that, I do feel like a victim, yes.*” With this statement he refutes his earlier statement in which he said he did not feel like a victim. Perhaps Isaac tried to shield himself from the reality and the seriousness of the event when he referred to it in his initial answer to the victimhood question. Another possibility is that he realized during the course of his answer that his definitions of target and victim do not differ much.

Apart from determining whether or not they identify as a victim, another way in which participants made meaning of their victimisation included expressing an understanding of the reasons why they were targeted, and focusing on more severe cases. Participants said that it could have been worse, or that they feel privileged compared to others.

Céline explains that she thinks she was bullied in school for being different. She drew more attention to her than other children by being transgender. Red-haired children and children who wore glasses were targeted, but bullies quickly lost their interest in them when they saw Céline. Another explanation she provides is age. When her peers now apologise for what happened in the past, she meets them with understanding and says that children simply do those things. Céline shows a development in her attitude toward her victimisation. When she experienced the bullying, she did not understand why it happened to her. She also expressed the wish that her tormentors would suffer in the future because their own children would be bullied like Céline was. Much later, she seems to have normalised and diminished the victimisation for herself, and it appears that she distanced herself from the experience. A possible explanation is that one does not wish to think of herself as weak.

Like Céline, Isaac also thinks that the way he is seen by others explains his victimisation. In the excerpt earlier in this chapter he explains that the fact that men see him as a woman makes him a target to them. Similarly, Lucia referred to men as *predators*.

Yes. Yes, men are hunters, so women are... Cis women as well... They are simply sitting ducks for men. They try everything... try to control everything. That's what I talked about with my friend yesterday, because of that thing, that "I want to fuck you". "Yes", she said, "that's inherent to men."

In contrast, Estelle is not regarded as the ideal victim, and the reason for this will be explained further along this paragraph. The result of it is that she is treated unfairly by the professionals that she relies on regarding her divorce, that her suffering is not taken seriously, and that she is met with institutional discrimination. She argues that the abuse and discrimination she experiences are based on her transgender identity. Her ex-wife has made transphobic and homophobic remarks, physically attacked her, and used her transgender identity against her in an attempt to make her seem unfit for parenting. Mediators interpret the abuse as a fight between two equally guilty parties, and advise the ex-partners to get counselling. Estelle compares herself to other frustrated parents in divorce cases, saying that she is on her best behaviour in order not to harm her case. However, despite the contrast in behaviour between her and her ex-wife, they are viewed as two equally guilty parties fighting whenever they report each other to the police. This may be related to Estelle not resembling the ideal victim. To illustrate, elsewhere in the story, Estelle described herself as very tall. She was also strong enough to engage in a fight with a man she describes as at least as tall as her and very broad. Because of her appearance, she looks like someone who is able to stand up for herself, and her ex-wife does not match the image of the big and bad offender. Estelle also explains that due to institutional discrimination her visitation rights are delayed. Estelle's understanding of the situation is that none of the professionals know how to act. She says that, had she been a homosexual man, the case would be much simpler. It is commonly known that a parent's homosexuality does not negatively affect their child, she says, and her transgender identity is no different. However, she also puts her situation into perspective. Her ex-wife had accused her first ex-husband of

child abuse. Had Estelle not been transgender, she believes she would have been accused of abuse as well.

Estelle seems to have a clear understanding of why she was (and continues to be) victimised. But for some, understanding their victimisation is more difficult than for others. When a person's worldview is changed by their victimisation, they may have a harder time making sense of the negative experience they had. Lucia, for instance, who in the past believed that she would not fall victim to sexual violence.

It is so disgusting, so inhumane... And you often read about it in the paper, thinking "This won't happen to me". And yet. Yes...

She did experience sexual violence and, just as described by Hein and Scharer (2013), the incident shattered her belief that she was safe from this type of violence. Because what happened conflicted with her worldview, she actively needed to make sense of her victimisation. When she talks about her role during the two instances in which she was assaulted, it almost seems as if she is taking part in a dialogue instead of a monologue. She makes comments that imply a lot of self-blame, followed by counter-arguments that stress that she was blameless.

I was so ashamed. Even though it wasn't my fault. I wasn't dressed provocatively; I was wearing something similar to this... Very long clothes. Look, I have... You could wonder... But my fault was that I couldn't get any further [on my way home²⁰] at night. I would never... Nowadays, when I need to go somewhere, I first check if I can get home at night. I never want to be at a station again.

and

²⁰ Added 'on my way home' to clarify.

And I still hope... the hope that they'll be caught. But it's really my own fault... Well, I do hope they'll be caught. Who knows who the next victim will be...? Because I also talked about it with my friend, like... what do you do? "Well, it's a lesson for next time", she said. "Well", I said, "I hope it will never happen to me again".

Her contradicting stances may indicate that she struggles to make sense of her victimisation, but they could also be the result of secondary victimisation and victim blaming. Her friend tells her that the assault can be seen as a lesson Lucia should learn, which is one of the forms of victim blaming Van Dijk (2009) mentioned in his article about secondary victimisation. Lucia's focus on her blamelessness seems to indicate that she tries to assure herself that it was not her fault. It may also serve as an assurance that she is really a victim. By claiming blamelessness, she fits in her image of the ideal victim. On the other hand, her self-blaming comments are persistent as well. An explanation might be that blaming herself for what happened gives her the idea that she can prevent potential sexual assault in the future. Thinking that she was in some way responsible allows her to believe that she can exert control over what happens to her. In other words: self-blame helps Lucia rebuild her agency. All in all, her conflicting comments indicate that she is trying to make sense of herself as a victim.

Similar to Lucia, when Isaac talks about the sexual abuse he experienced, it appears that he struggles with confusing thoughts surrounding his victimisation. An earlier excerpt, in which he explains that he is viewed as feminine by men, shows his rationalisation of why he is targeted. However, when he tries to make meaning of the victimisation, he seems to blame himself:

Regarding [my former roommate]... Very mixed feelings and a lot of confusion actually. I wonder 'what was my part in those events? What did I do wrong? Where was I at fault?' But on the other hand, I want to beat him up, so it varies. When I saw him walk by not too long ago, I felt like hitting him in the face. Maybe overreacting, but... Well, justice, I think that would be

when someone would make him eat dirt. Make sure that he cannot hide behind things all the time. Like behind a diagnosis and another possible diagnosis... I think that's what caused things between us to go so wrong. Every time [he says] 'I have ADD' and 'Yes, but I'm on Ritalin and that's why I'm like this'. He's insensitive to others and that needs to change. Someone should tell him what's what. And kick him in the nuts. He deserves that. I'm not homicidal, but I am angry. I tried to forgive him, but no.

What is striking about his description of the situation and of the abuser in particular is that, apart from himself, he also holds his abuser responsible for the incident. It is apparent that he wishes his former roommate to be hurt, as some sort of compensation for what he did to Isaac. Perhaps his ability to regard himself as a victim in this case allows him to express anger towards his offender. The same dynamic can be seen in Céline's situation, although reversed. Not accepting a victim identity allows her to understand the people who hurt her, and even forgive them.

In order to make sense of their victimisation, some participants give examples of hypothetical scenarios that they see as worse than the experiences they have had. In Estelle's case, she refers to the possibility of being accused of child abuse. Jonas, on the other hand, mentions people who cannot walk the street without being harassed or shouted at. Comparing himself to these people, he thinks of himself as privileged. And just like Jonas, Evan also calls himself privileged. Being seen as a member of the 'dominant' and 'normal' group (in this case men and cisgender individuals) helps them to be regarded as unremarkable and unproblematic. (Mason, 2001). Perhaps putting their negative experiences into perspective helps them comfort themselves. The rationalisation helps them distance themselves from a victim identity. If they do not have to pay attention to their victimisation because it is not pertinent, they are able to let go of the past and focus on the future.

How does victimisation affect the participant?

It seems that victimisation affects participants in a variety of ways. Some fear falling victim to severe physical violence for the first time, and another is afraid of being revictimized. Tactics such as avoiding certain places at night are implemented in an attempt to reassure oneself that they are safe. Others have taken control by fighting back against the aggressors, and by this they found their agency. The employment of agency led in some cases to developments in their relationships with other people. Another outcome of victimisation is a change in trust with regard to organisations such as the police. The aftermaths of the victimisation participants endured described here will be elaborated on in this chapter.

Having experienced severe violence and coming to the realisation that she can be targeted, Lucia has developed a fear of being assaulted again. She is afraid that she will fall victim again if she does not avoid certain behaviours or places.

It gets worse. You're becoming more scared. The only thing is when I [travel back home from another province] ... You can take the short route through the woods to here. I really don't dare going through the woods anymore. (...) During the day I don't care, but I really don't like it at night. Because I'm not fast on my bike, I don't mind telling you, because I'm not the fastest bike rider. They pull you off your bike and you're finished.

In order to prevent being victimised again, Lucia adapts her behaviour, just as Mason (2001) described in her article about keeping oneself safe by hiding their homosexual identity. Lucia takes a longer route because she feels unsafe in the forest after dark, especially because she describes herself as slow. In the past she did not believe that she would ever become the victim of sexual violence. It seems that the event made her aware of her vulnerability, which she emphasizes throughout the interview. She describes herself as unable to defend herself, an easy

target, and afraid. Viewing herself as a victim might cause her to overstate her chance of becoming a victim again, which in turn reinforces the fear of being revictimized.

Evan is afraid of being targeted as well. He talks about his fear of being witnessed as transgender during a visit to a public restroom. He says that if the person who sees that he is transgender does not accept this, he might physically assault Evan. He clarifies that he has not been confronted with ‘real’ physical violence yet, but he has experienced moments in which he thought a person would attack him physically. Even though Evan does not talk about the physical violence he has endured, his choice of words does imply that something did happen. It is possible that his judgment of the incident is that it was not severe, it was not ‘actual’ physical violence. Moreover, he draws a spectrum of possible responses of people to his transgender identity, which run from full acceptance to physical violence. A person may respond positively upon learning that he is transgender, or they may attack him because they do not accept his gender identity and feel as if he deserves punishment for not conforming to the ‘two gender’ division. Evan says that when a person does not accept him, that is their problem, but he hopes not to be ‘beaten up’. Lucia also hints at a spectrum of responses,

And I always say “if they don’t accept us... don’t respect us... But let them please not touch you”. When they’re respecting, that’s nice. Accepting, that’s a small group. But let them please... We don’t lay a finger on anyone either, do we? And we didn’t choose to be born in the wrong body.

Both Lucia and Evan compare possible responses of people to their transgender identity. They both suggest that accepting responses, which is something they hope for when coming out as transgender, do not carry the most importance when it comes to their safety. For them, not being met with physical aggression is most important.

Another change in behaviour is seen in the story of Céline. She would spend her breaks in school with friends in places that they deemed ‘safe’: away from other people. Sometimes, a group of bullies would approach and start bullying them. At one point, Céline put herself to the test: would she pretend she did not see and hear the boys? Or would she stand up for herself and her friends? She chose the latter and gave the biggest bully a piece of her mind. It worked, and Céline decided that she was going to be tougher. This story shows a breaking point: Céline was bullied and harassed daily and she chose to fight back. Whereas she was used to getting out of her way to avoid being targeted, she now had enough and decided to act. Her agency seems to have been born out of victimisation. Years later, she experienced another change in her attitude towards her victimisation. As a young girl, she used to express the wish that her tormentors’ future children would be bullied just like she was. Today, however, she displays understanding towards the people who abused her in the past. She says that she understands why she was targeted, and that the children simply did not know any better. Although this sounds like a normal statement for an adult, one should take into consideration that the effects of her victimisation on her well-being and self-esteem were severe. Perhaps Céline’s ability to let go of grudges and forgive is facilitated by her meaning-making strategies that rationalise the abuse she endured. Her understanding that her perpetrators’ ignorance caused them to bully her is very similar to the cognitive reactions Nadal and colleagues (2014) found to discriminatory behaviour.

Similarly, Jonas was also inspired to employ his agency when his mother committed microaggressions. As mentioned earlier, Jonas had cared for his mother and younger brother for years. Only when he moved out of his parental house, he found the freedom to think about who he really was. Upon disclosing his transgender identity, he was met with rejection from his mother:

So that was a process that almost lasted a year in which I had meetings with a psychologist nearly every month because I involved my mother who was extremely against it... She said 'It's all my fault' and 'I did everything wrong in your upbringing, you know? So she was in fact trying to make me feel guilty because she felt bad about it. She dumped her problems on me, like 'I feel terrible about this and I feel like I'm about to lose one of my children', you know? At one point I had a very hard time dealing with it, and I asked myself 'is this worth the contact?'. Eventually I decided not to involve her any longer in the process because it drives us both mad. And I'm not going to feel bad about it because it's my life and not hers. And one way or another it'll be OK. And now I have to prioritize myself'. I told the psychologist 'I'm leaving her home' and then I could start treatment. Because I didn't have to defend myself from my mother which was very tough.

The misunderstanding and rejection of his identity that are visible from his mother's comments eventually led him to prioritise his own needs over hers. By doing this, he employed his agency and he was being rewarded with the gender clinic enabling him to 'become himself' by means of the transition. Starting hormone treatment vastly improved his well-being, as his body started changing into the body that fits his gender identity. The improvements even convinced his mother and helped rebuild their relationship:

And she has and had a difficult time, but surely it got better, and she has been going into the right direction. Because she just noticed that she didn't... Yes, that I wasn't 'gone'. And that I started looking healthier and happier. She did see that. So thankfully she... With really tiny steps, but she really came around.

At last, Jonas's mother learned that the change was final. She could no longer deny that her oldest son was transgender and that his transition had a positive impact on his life. Despite being met with non-acceptance and rejection, Jonas persisted and, in the process, learned that their relationship did not necessarily end.

Apart from relationships and behaviour, victimisation also influenced the amount of trust some of the participants had in the police and other organisations. For example, Estelle has contacted the police multiple times because of violence directed at her. Her first experience was positive: within five minutes four police officers were on the scene and helped find a solution. However, her confidence in the police and their willingness to help eventually declined. Whenever she reported her ex-wife's violent behaviour and abuse, her ex-wife would report Estelle in return. She says that the police did not make an effort to investigate and simply interpret the case as a fight between two equally guilty parties. She had the same experience with Child Protective Services and mediators. These experiences fit with the findings Donovan and Barnes (2019) discuss in an article about help-seeking among LGBT victims. They found that police officers are more likely to assume that the LGBT victim is the perpetrator. And just like Estelle experienced, Turner and colleagues (2009) found that the police tend to not take transgender victims seriously. Similarly, Lucia also frequently met with the police, only to be disappointed and lose trust in their abilities:

It's a... it's a story for statistics, because they'll never [catch] those boys. If they were to catch those boys, and if they do catch them... Just like they wrote in the papers last week about that man who... who dealt with that paedophile who harassed his daughter... A day later they're free to walk the streets again. What kind of jurisdiction do we have then? They didn't even investigate. They simply released...

The combination of her own experiences and her overall image of the police make that Lucia does not expect justice will be done. However, she never mentions that she is disadvantaged on the basis of her transgender identity. In contrast, Estelle's explanation revolves around transphobia within organisations. Responses by professionals to victimisation toward transgender individuals are important, as they can reinforce the victims' own ideas on the

significance of their experiences. They may influence the sense-making process, providing input in the internal discussion about what to make of the victimisation experience.

Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to study the ways in which transgender victims experience their victimisation. The main question that was asked was *which role does victimisation have in the life stories of the six participating transgender individuals?* The sub questions were *what is victimisation for these respondents?*, *how do these respondents make sense of their victimisation?* and *how does victimisation affect these respondents?*. In order to answer these questions, a narrative analysis was conducted.

Not surprisingly, the answer to the question *what is victimisation?* was not clear-cut. For the participants, victimisation was physical, psychological, and sexual violence, property damage, and discrimination. However, all had a particular victimisation experience in common: they all dealt with microaggressions. The majority (4 out of 6) did not identify microaggressions as victimisation, and one of them asked whether microaggressions even count as victimisation.

An important factor when attempting to answer the question is victim identification. Most of the participants did not view themselves as a victim in their story, and their reasons for this were linked to the connotations the word ‘victim’ has for them, and their focus on agency in their lives. The ways in which most participants view themselves (i.e. agentic) do not coincide with Cristie’s (1986) ‘ideal victim’ concept, which may cause them to deny the victim role altogether. The implication of not acknowledging one’s own victimisation is that they are less likely to seek help. Donovan and Barnes (2019) have written extensively about why LGBT victims not seeking help is a significant problem.

The meaning-making mechanisms employed to make sense of their victimisation were closely linked to downplaying of the situation. Most participants explained that the victimisation could

have been worse, or that they are privileged compared to others, which Case (2010) also demonstrated. Almost all participants rationalised the motivations of the perpetrators. They explained that they were targeted because their appearance draws attention to them, or because others are ignorant or not empathetic. The underlying belief seems to be that they differ intrinsically from the perpetrators, and this helps them cope, as well as make sense of the situation. The problem with this is, just like with the inability or unwillingness to identify as a victim, that one is less likely to report victimisation, or ask for help, as Browne and colleagues (2011) have shown in their research about responses from LGBT persons to victimisation.

Not being victimised, or not being targeted with severe physical victimisation, led to some participants believing that they are privileged. This was one of the more surprising findings from the interviews. It was surprising because the privilege participants talked about consisted of being able to move in public spaces without feeling unsafe, being harassed, or physically abused. However, according to Dutch law, intimidating a person and damaging their dignity and sense of safety is not permitted²¹. One may assume that not being harassed would be the norm rather than a privilege. This finding does suggest that narratives are especially valuable and important when exploring a topic like experiences of a nondominant group in society, because they provide space for unexpected results.

Victimisation affects the participants in different ways. Some are afraid of (repeat) victimisation and adapt their behaviour in order to avoid victimisation. For example, just as seen in research conducted by Browne and colleagues (2011), Lucia avoids situations because of her previous experiences with victimisation. Others employed agency and ended their ongoing victimisation (for instance: the psychological abuse and bullying they endured). Jonas is an example of this:

²¹ *Algemene wet gelijke behandeling* (1994, March 2nd). Retrieved from <https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0006502/2020-01-01> on March 29th, 2020

he decided to no longer involve his mother in his transition process because she engaged in microaggressions and sabotaged his development as a result.

To conclude, victimisation seems to have affected the lives of the participants in different ways. For most, the effect on their daily lives is not directly visible. Yet, they may have become different persons as a result of the agency they learned to employ. For instance, Céline decided to talk back to one of her tormenters, which resulted in him backing down. As a result, she learned to stand up for herself.

The results of this research help us gain a better understanding of how these transgender individuals experience victimisation. They may not emphasize suffering and instead normalise their experiences, but that does not mean their experiences should be disregarded. As Browne and colleagues (2011), Donovan and Barnes (2018; 2019), and Nadal and colleagues (2014) claim, discrimination and microaggressions may have detrimental effects on victims' mental health. Moreover, it may be particularly difficult for transgender individuals to recover, as Budge and colleagues (2012) argued that marginalised populations experience more distress than the non-marginalised. What further complicates the situation for transgender victims is that, in most cases, family bonds have weakened after they revealed their gender identity, which means that their sources for support are limited compared to the average cisgender person.

However, some stories included an interesting finding regarding coping mechanisms. As Budge and colleagues stress in their 2012 study about coping processes of transgender individuals, participants in this study also unambiguously indicate that their transition vastly improved their lives. Some said that the joy that came with their transition helped them to muster the emotional strength to cope with rejection from others. Just like in the study from Budge and colleagues (2012), participants in this study explained that their gender transition and the opportunity to be their authentic selves helped them attain their best emotional state.

In conclusion, the results in this thesis generally suggest that the participants do not fret about the daily victimisations in the form of microaggressions (which most do not recognise as victimisation), and neither about the incidents they do identify as victimisations. Two participants express worry about severe physical or sexual assault, but they also emphasize how happy their transition has made them despite it all, and seem not to want to focus solely on the hardship.

Limitations and future research

This thesis ends with a recommendation for future research. Because it is in part derived from the limitations that this thesis dealt with, those are discussed as well.

A central limitation of this thesis is the subject group. Only six individuals participated. A possible explanation for this is that the interviewer is not a member of the transgender community, which makes it difficult to come across as trustworthy. Research with a larger number of participants is recommended.

Because inequalities intersect, the stories of transgender individuals who belong to other minority groups as well would be especially valuable. The current group consists of solely white individuals, of which most are employed, able-bodied, and financially independent. A larger and more diverse group of transgender individuals would improve understanding of the ways in which this population experience and make sense of the victimisations they deal with.

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Appendix

Themes index

Category	Themes within parent category
Victimisation (VIC)	(secondary) victimisation, physical violence, discrimination, microaggressions, safety, sexual violence, property damage, non-acceptance, threat, provocation, misgendering, intimidation, insecurity, fear of abandonment, verbal abuse, violence, conflict with employer, bullying, sexual violence, rape, sexual intimidation, non-consensual sex, secondary victimisation, normalising victimisation, victim blaming
Aftermath (AFT)	aftermath, trust in institutions, fear of (re)victimisation), response, forgiveness, coping, no report, confusion, future, trust in police shattered assumptions, consequences, avoidance, feeling unsafe
Meaning-making (MEA)	meaning-making, self-blame, sense-making, narrative creation, rationalisation, downplaying, putting in perspective
Identity (IDE)	authenticity, witnessing, mirroring
Agency (AGN)	agency, self-blame, self-care, resistance, emancipation, vulnerability, blameless, making a statement, freedom, defending her friend, setting boundaries, fighting back, (self) acceptance, confidence, choosing transition
Mental health (MHE)	mental health
Family situation (FAM)	family situation, divorce
Transition (TRA)	transition, authenticity, transgender, gender knowledge, disclosure of gender identity, stealth, agency, development, gender experiments, prioritising oneself, passing
Communion (COM)	support, social expectations, relationships, helping others, activism

Codebook

Participant	Category	Theme	Note	Quote
Lucia	AFT	aftermath	Negative memories resurface	Het hele verhaal komt weer naar bovendrijven
Lucia	AFT	coping	Received trauma therapy	Ik heb nu ruim driekwart jaar EMDR gehad
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Avoids leaving the house at night	Ik ben ook heel lang niet meer naar buiten geweest in het donker
Lucia	VIC	Violence	Was physically assaulted by a group of men	.. in [city] in elkaar geslagen
Lucia	VIC	victimisation	Boys who offered help had trapped her	met een groep me op te wachten
Lucia	VIC	Violence	She was pushed to the ground and beaten	hard tegen de grond geduwd en tegen mijn hoofd geslagen
Lucia	MEA	Putting in perspective	Puts the assault into perspective: not as bad as the group rape	Het is niet zo erg als het andere
Lucia	AFT	Aftermath	Negative memories resurface	Elke keer komt dat beeld toch weer naar boven
Lucia	AFT	Aftermath	She's afraid of other people	Ik kijk heel angstig naar andere mensen
Lucia	COM	Support	Best friend supports her	Ik heb gelukkig een hele goede hartsvriendin die me heel veel begeleidt
Lucia	COM	Relationships	Moved to another city to live close to her friend	Op diens aandringen ben ik ook in [city] komen wonen
Lucia	VIC	Discrimination	Employer hurt her with his discriminatory behaviour	Die heeft me psychisch zó'n pijn gedaan
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Employer seemed accepting at first after she disclosed transgender identity	"Ik wil je voor geen goud kwijt"
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Employer wanted to pay in order to get rid of her	"ik heb 5000 euro zwart geld, als je tekent dat je per 1 januari weg bent "

Lucia	MEA	Self-blame	Takes responsibility for what happened to her	Ik doe het ook nooit meer
Lucia	AGN	Blameless	Blameless: she was stuck at a train station	ik zat om half 3 vast in [city]
Lucia	VIC	Physical violence	Physically assaulted by a group of young men	die een begint te stompen en te doen
Lucia	VIC	Sexual violence	The men raped her	de een na de ander... heeft me aangepakt
Lucia	AGN	Resistance	She tried to resist	Dus ik verweren: "Nee, nee, nee".
Lucia	AGN	agency	She fled from the scene and the men	ik ben op een gegeven moment... kunnen ontsnappen
Lucia	COM	Support	Found a staff member whom she asked for help	Ik zei "Ik ben in gevaar"
Lucia	COM	Support	Staff offered a safe space by letting her stay in a train	die hebben mij in de trein gezet
Lucia	VIC	Secondary victimisation	She spent all night in the train without any apparent care	zondagmorgen om kwart over 8 hebben ze de trein losgemaakt en ben ik met de trein
Lucia	AFT	Aftermath	Showered for a long time and burned her clothes when she got home	Ik heb een uur onder de douche gestaan. Ik heb al mijn kleren verbrand
Lucia	AFT	Coping	Could not talk about the event with others	daar wil je met niemand over praten hè
Lucia	COM	Support	Talked about it at an event for transgender people	het er met horten en stoten eruit gebracht
Lucia	AFT	No report	Did not want to file a report because she did not think it would help	dat heeft geen zin
Lucia	SUP	Trust in police	Told police what had happened to her	Beetje verteld
Lucia	SUP	Support/trust in police	Told police what had happened to her	Recherche van [city] belt op

Lucia	VIC	Secondary victimisation	Employer suggested she was a perpetrator of a nasty crime when police called	"Wat heb jij nou weer uitgevreten, vieze vuile geilerd?"
Lucia	SUP	Support/trust in police	Her understanding of police is that reports are mainly for statistics	ze willen de aangifte verder doen... Nou ja voor de statistiek
Lucia	SUP	Support/trust in police	Police did not follow up	halfjaar later gebeld. Ik heb er niks meer van gehoord
Lucia	AFT	Aftermath / secondary victimisation	Found out she had an STD	geslachtsziekte
Lucia	VIC	Secondary victimisation	Her community knew about her STD	wist de huisarts en wist iedereen
Lucia	VIC	Secondary victimisation	Ashamed because community knew	ik schaamde me zo rot
Lucia	AGN	Blameless	Stresses her blamelessness regarding the rape	Terwijl ik er niets aan kon doen. Ik was niet uitdagend gekleed
Lucia	MEA	Self-blame	Seems to blame herself still	Maar mijn fout is geweest
Lucia	AGN	Blameless	Suggests blamelessness	Ik zou nooit...
Lucia	AFT	Coping/avoidance	Changing behaviour in order to prevent repeat victimisation	Als ik voortaan ergens naartoe moet kijk ik of ik 's nachts terug kan
Lucia	MEA	downplaying	Puts the assault into perspective: not as bad as the group rape	ik kom er nou heel goed vanaf
Lucia	MEA	downplaying	Puts the assault into perspective: not as bad as the group rape	Ja ze hadden gebeukt en getrapt, maar... Ze hebben verder niks gedaan
Lucia	MEA	downplaying	Puts the assault into perspective: not as bad as the group rape	was bang dat het datzelfde scenario weer zou zijn
Lucia	AFT	Fear of revictimisation	Afraid of being sexually assaulted again	Daar was ik echt heel bang voor
Lucia	AFT	Aftermath / coping	The assault left a mark	het is een kras op je ziel

Lucia	AFT	shattered assumptions	Thought sexual assault would not happen to her	Het overkomt mij niet. Maar dus toch
Lucia	SUP	trust in police	Still hopes the assailants will be caught	De hoop dat ze nog gepakt worden
Lucia	MEA	Self-blame	Blames herself: says it was her fault	Maar het is in principe mijn eigen schuld
Lucia	VIC	Victimisation	Afraid for the next victim	Wie weet wie het volgende slachtoffer is...
Lucia	VIC	Secondary victimisation	Victim blamed by friend: victimisation is a lesson for future	Nou, het is een les voor de volgende keer zei ze
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Does not matter non-acceptance as long as people leave her alone	“als ze ons niet accepteren... niet respecteren... Maar laat ze alsjeblieft met de poten van je afblijven”.
Lucia	AGN	Blameless	Did not choose being born in 'the wrong body'	En wij hebben er ook niet voor gekozen in het verkeerde lichaam geboren te zijn
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Her mother was happy when she disclosed her transgender identity	en die was dolgelukkig
Lucia	IDE	Witnessing	Describes her transition to her mother as 'losing a son but gaining a daughter'	“je hebt een zoon verloren en een dochter erbij”. Ze was heel blij
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Her father would not have accepted her	... Die zou me kapotslaan
Lucia	AGN	Self-acceptance	She tried to commit suicide	zelfmoordpoging gedaan
Lucia	AGN	Self-acceptance	Describes her situation as 'something was off'	dat er iets niet klopte met mij
Lucia	IdE	Witnessing/mirroring	Did not know about transgenderism when she grew up	nog niemand van transseksualiteit en travestie en dat soort dingen gehoord
Lucia	ACC	Self-acceptance/freedom	Experimented with gender expression while in college	Toen heb ik me kunnen uitleven

Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	The school board threatened to expell her when they found out she experimented with gender expression	word je van school verwijderd
Lucia	AGN	Self-acceptance	Did not want to be confronted with own genitalia	wou mijn eigen ding niet zien.
Lucia	ACC	Self-acceptance/freedom	Promised herself to transition after her youngest child would turn 18 years old	“Ik ga aan mijn eigen werken als de jongste 18 is ”
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Rejected by her children/daughter at first	hard als je kinderen je afwijzen als je voor je eigen opkomt
Lucia	AFT	Coping, avoiding victimisation	Wants facial feminisation surgery so she will be less likely to be recognised as transgender	aangezichtschirurgie wil ik zodat ik op straat niet zo herkend word als trans
Lucia	VIC	Conflict with employer	She is in a long-lasting conflict with her employer	want hij gaat niet betalen
Lucia	MEA	downplaying	Puts her situation in perspective: most transgender people are unemployed	de meeste transseksuelen hebben geen werk
Lucia	MEA	Self-blame	She received warnings regarding her safety in the neighbourhood but was assaulted there - self-blame	was ik eigenlijk wel voor gewaarschuwd
Lucia	MEA	Self-blame	Someone told her she should avoid the neighbourhood after dark	“in het donker moet je hier niet alleen zijn”
Lucia	AGN	Blameless	Blameless, as she was there before night fell	... toen ik die zaal niet kon vinden was het 's avonds half 9 en toen was het nog niet donker
Lucia	AGN	Blameless	Blameless: the men trapped her	Ik werd letterlijk in een fuik gelokt
Lucia	SUP	Support/trust in police	Her friend asked whether she would report	ga je het nou vanavond aangeven?”.

Lucia	IDE	Witnessing/mirroring	Went to an all boys school	en dat was gescheiden: jongens en meisjes
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Employer started making comments about how Lucia was not allowed to wear earrings and a bra at work	allerlei flauwe opmerkingen te maken van 'geen oorbellen, geen beha's aan'
Lucia	AGN	Blameless	She had already legally changed her gender	Ik was notabene voor de wet van het [gender clinic] uit was ik al vrouw geworden
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Her employer demanded she behave and dress more masculine	"je moet je mannelijker gaan kleden en gedragen"
Lucia	VIC	Victimisation	Suffered at least as much as from the sexual assault	Ik heb dus van die aanranding- en verkrachtingszaak een hoop geleden, maar van dat verhaal heb ik minstens zoveel geleden
Lucia	VIC	Victimisation/acceptance	Employer refused to call her by her name	want hij noemde nooit mijn vrouwennaam
Lucia	VIC	Victimisation	Employer did not allow colleagues to call Lucia by her name	het personeel deed het wel, maar als ze hem zagen dan niet, want dat mocht niet
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	After she disclosed her transgender identity at work her employer ignored her	Hij heeft maandag en dinsdag niks gezegd
Lucia	AFT	Coping	Says that she now feels very happy despite all the hardships	Voel ik me supergelukkig
Lucia	IDE	Authenticity / identity	Can finally be her true self	Ik ben nou wie ik zijn mag
Lucia	IDE	Authenticity / identity / freedom	Played a role her entire life before she transitioned	Ik heb mijn leven lang een toneelspel moeten spelen
Lucia	VIC	Victimisation/acceptance	She is often stared at and people shout things at her	Je wordt van alle kanten nagekeken, je wordt nageroepen
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	People in her church made transphobic comments about her attending church	Het zou toch niet moeten kunnen. Wat doet die in deze kerk?

Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Pastor seemed accepting at first	"hoe jij je voelt vind ik heel belangrijk"
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Pastor did not accept her having surgeries	je gaat iets aan je lichaam veranderen dat God niet gemaakt heeft
Lucia	AGN	Standing up for herself	She stood up for herself against the pastor	dan heeft God toentertijd een foutje gemaakt
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Pastor did not accept her having surgeries	niet die operatie moeten doen
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Pastor's critique made her wife doubt whether having the surgeries was the right decision	Maar ja, daardoor heeft hij wel mijn vrouw... Die accepteerde alles, maar die is toen ook gaan twifelen of die operatie wel goed is geweest
Lucia	AGN	Standing up for herself	Stood up for herself and stressed that it's her body, her choice	het is mijn lichaam
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	She is now very happy with herself (and her body)	Ik ben heel tevreden met mezelf
Lucia	TRA	Complications after surgery	She suffered from complications after surgery	Daar hebben ze me leren katheteriseren en toen ben ik naar huis gegaan. En sinds die tijd kom ik elke 2, 3 weken daar
Lucia	TRA	Complications after surgery	The complications are of less importance than the body she wants	als dat het enige ongemak in de rest van m'n leven is dan vind ik het goed
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Does not regret surgeries despite complications	Maar ik heb er geen moment spijt van.
Lucia	VIC	Victimisation	Does not like the harassment but compares it with physical assault which she finds much worse	En wat ze dan roepen da's allemaal niet leuk en wat ze schelden is allemaal niet leuk, maar als ze me maar niet aanraken
Lucia	MEA	Sense-making	Thinks mean comments are fostered by ignorance	Want als ze wat roepen zeg ik altijd maar "ze weten niet beter"
Lucia	AGN	agency	Stands up for herself by referring to Jesus who would forgive transgender people	Jezus op het kruis vergaf zijn grootste vijanden die naast hem... De grootste moordenaars en bandieten die vergaf hij nog. Zou hij ons dan niet vergeven?

Lucia	AGN	Blameless	She does nothing wrong	Ik doe verders geen vlieg kwaad
Lucia	COM	Helping others	Stresses the importance of helping others	Ja, naastenliefde, (...) respect voor elkaar, elkaar helpen
Lucia	COM	Helping others	Stresses the importance of helping others	Wij zijn naar voren gelopen, die tassen gepakt en (...).
Lucia	COM	Helping others	Judges people who do not help others in need	Dan denk je “is dat nou dienstverlening? Is dat nou naastenliefde?”
Lucia	COM	Helping others	Enjoys helping others	En van dat soort dingen kan ik genieten , als je zo iemand kunt helpen
Lucia	TRA	Complications after surgery	Complications after surgery	Dan heb ik gekatheteriseerd
Lucia	SUP	Support brother	Her brother helps her fight injustices, such as the situation with the government and with her employer	Mijn broer die helpt me heel veel met alles, maar die was echt razend [over gemeentebesluit]
Lucia	ACC	Acceptance daughter	Daughter now accepting	mijn dochter accepteert me nou volledig
Lucia	COM	Indifference son	Son started out indifferent	Toen ik uitkwam had hij niet zoveel moeite met mij
Lucia	ACC	Acceptance daughter	Daughter accepting after having met with psychologist	Maar mijn dochter die heeft hulp gekregen van haar psycholoog
Lucia	ACC	Acceptance daughter	Now accepting because she gained understanding	heel wat uitgelegd, dat het geen modegril was, dat het geen toneelspel was, dat het allemaal...
Lucia	ACC	Acceptance daughter	First daughter rejected her but now she accepts her	Die ontwikkeling die je ziet... Ja, eerst helemaal afwijzend en helemaal niet...
Lucia	ACC	Acceptance daughter	Used to ignore her	ze zwaaiden niet terug, en ze zei geen gedag op straat, helemaal niks.
Lucia	COM	Indifference son	Son is indifferent and perhaps in denial?	Ja, en mijn zoon zei “het zal allemaal wel ”. Daar zit geen ontwikkeling in. Hij wil er ook niks van weten, hij wil geen hulp hebben, helemaal niets

Lucia	COM	Relationship son	Relieved her son moves out of the parental home	Daarom ben ik wel blij dat 'ie nou op zichzelf gaat wonen.
Lucia	AGN	Freedom	Used to care for her son well into adulthood	En 's avonds die stress van dat 'ie thuiskwam en dat het eten klaar moest zijn
Lucia	AGN	Freedom	Now she is free to do what she likes	ik doe maar gewoon waar ik zin in heb
Lucia	AGN	acceptance	Wish to be left alone by others	echt door anderen met rust gelaten worden
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	Cousin used to accompany her to transgender events	Dan ging ik met mijn neef elke tweede vrijdag
Lucia	AGN	Defended her friend	Defended her best friend when she was treated unjust	Dus ik een mailtje daarheen: onder deze omstandigheden gaan wij niet meedoen
Lucia	AGN	Defended her friend	Defended her best friend when she was treated unjust	hebben ons respectloos behandeld
Lucia	AGN	Acceptance	The transgender group she meets with tries to integrate in society and therefore meets in public	we proberen dus te integreren in de samenleving
Lucia	AGN	Setting boundaries	She sets boundaries when confronted with possible fetishists/perverts	Dus ik zeg ook op een gegeven moment: "Afblijven"
Lucia	AFT	Fear of victimisation	Afraid of being sexually assaulted again	Voor hetzelfde geld sleuren ze je mee naar een wc toe en je weet niet wat er gebeurt.
Lucia	VIC	Sexual intimidation	Afraid of being sexually assaulted again	Kom van het toilet af, ik sta met een dikke vette lul voor je ". Dus ik kom het toilet niet uit
Lucia	AFT	aftermath	Avoids places for fear of victimisation	Ik ben sinds die tijd ook niet meer in de [bar] geweest
Lucia	AFT	Fear of revictimisation	Afraid of being sexually assaulted again	Want voor hetzelfde geld staat zo'n gek je buiten op te wachten dat 'ie je grijpt . Ik ben voor dat soort figuren zo bang geworden

Lucia	MEA	Self-blame	Blames herself for a situation in which a man harassed her	Ik heb ook de fout gemaakt: ik heb een aantal maanden geleden een - daar een leuk gesprek mee in [city], heb ik met m'n gekke gezicht m'n adres gegeven.
Lucia	VIC	Intimidation	Was harassed by a man she had met previously	Op een gegeven moment staat 'ie hieronder te bellen. "Nou maak je open".
Lucia	VIC	Victim blaming	Victim blamed by friend: you should never give your number to people	Ja m'n vriendin... "je moet nooit je adres en nooit geen telefoonnummer..."
Lucia	VIC	Sexual intimidation	Sexually intimidated by the man	krijgt een telefoontje van 'm: "Ik wil je neuken
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Afraid of revictimisation leads to avoiding places/routes	ik durf echt niet meer door het bos te gaan
Lucia	AFT	Fear of revictimisation	Afraid of revictimisation	Ze rukken je van je fiets af en je bent er geweest
Lucia	AFT	Fear of revictimisation	Asks for recommendations on how to prevent victimisation	of die tips hebben over wat die doen. Hoe die dat proberen te omzeilen om
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Preventing revictimisation through avoidance	Het enige is blijf binnen en ga niet weg
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Does not speak a lot in public so her voice does not give away her transgender identity and puts her at risk	Dus als ik in gesprek ben in het openbaar, dan praat ik relatief heel weinig.
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Afraid of being assaulted again	Voor hetzelfde geld heb je dat diezelfde gek er weer zit. Dan kom ik niet eens meer heel buiten vrees ik.
Lucia	AFT	trust in police	Asked a venue if they could call the police when the person who intimidated her returns	"anders de politie erachteraan".
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Avoids many places out of fear of being victimised again	Ja, ik zeg... als ik daar niet meer heen kan en [city] ligt overhoop, als ik niet meer naar [city] kan

Lucia	AFT	aftermath	The memory of breaking down emotionally and admitting the incident to the officer keeps her from attending events in that city	maar daar is dat voorval geweest, dat ik brak naar aanleiding...
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Expresses the wish of attending events without the fear of being assaulted	Maar ik wil ook gewoon normaal weg kunnen gaan zonder de angst dat ik wéér gepakt word
Lucia	AGN	agency	Learned how to defend herself	Ik heb al in de tussentijd een opleiding gedaan: gevechtstraining. Zelfverdediging.
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Thinks the course will not help her in real-life situations. She fears being attacked by multiple people at the same time	Maar ja, als er 3 of 4 tegenover je staan, dan doe je niks . En het komt meestal uit onverwachte hoek.
Lucia	TRA	transition	Her transition process went relatively fast	Toen had ik in augustus, zo snel al , nog geen 2 maanden later, de intake
Lucia	TRA	transgender health care	Policy to shorten the waiting list to the transition process	Om die wachtlijst op de [gender clinic] omlaag ... Heeft de [gender clinic] nieuw personeel aangenomen
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	Tried to commit suicide but other people noticed and intervened which saved her life	Ik heb ook zelfmoord proberen te plegen maar bij mij is het mislukt.
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	The transition process gives her a reason to live?	Maar ja, je hebt het hele proces doorlopen . Dat is toch niet voor niks geweest ?
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	The day of her surgery was the day of her liberation for her	Het staat ook in mijn agenda: Dag van de Bevrijding
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	She celebrates the day on which she legally changed her gender as her second birthday	Komende maandag vier ik mijn tweede verjaardag
Lucia	VIC	non-acceptance	Her employer never allowed her to take time off to celebrate Pride Week	ik heb nooit geen vrij gekregen.

Lucia	VIC	non-acceptance	He seems to have sabotaged her from partaking in the festivities of Pride Week	Maar vooral toen die hoorde dat ik naar [city] wou. Altijd gedwarsboemd.
Lucia	AGN	acceptance	Pride does not show the true image of transgender individuals, as they prefer to not draw too much attention	En de mensen krijgen een heel fout beeld.
Lucia	COM	communion	A small minority partakes in the remembrance of transgender victims of homicide	Als je ziet hoe weinig er dan aan meedoen
Lucia	MEA	downplaying	Compares what happened to her to the situation for transgender individuals in other countries	Kijk, wat wij meemaken is in principe nog niks.
Lucia	COM	communion	Concerned with other people's hurt	En dat zijn wel de minder leuke kanten, maar ook die mensen hadden recht op leven.
Lucia	AFT	fear of revictimisation	Does not feel for gender neutral toilets, as she would feel unsafe when men went to the same toilets	Ik voel me niet veilig op een ma... ik zou van m'n leven niet op een mannen-wc durven gaan.
Lucia	COM	communion	Says bystanders do not help in case of emergency	En omstanders doen niks. Die mensen worden op straat neergestoken en niemand die ingrijpt
Lucia	COM	communion	Thinks society has deteriorated	Maar vroeger was het niet zo hard, de maatschappij. Niet zo individualistisch zoals nu.
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	Did not want to be confronted with the sight of her genitals before her surgery	Een doorn die eraf moet. Ik heb er ook zelf nooit naar willen kijken
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	She had sex underneath the covers so she would not have to see her own naked body	Toen mijn vrouw kinderen wou... ik had nooit geen seks... seks onder de dekens. Ik wou het niet zien
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	Important that her body matches the way she feels	Ik zeg: "die operatie heeft niks met seks te maken". Ik zeg "het heeft met mijn lichaam te maken. Mijn

				lichaam komt nu overeen met hoe ik me voel”.
Lucia	IDE	witnessing	Her cousin noticed that Lucia was not comfortable with her assigned gender but never dared to talk about it	Mijn neef zei “ik had het al jarenlang gemerkt”.
Lucia	AGN	acceptance	If her cousin would have confronted her it would have helped her disclose her transgender identity earlier	ik zeg “dan was ik misschien aan de rest ook sneller uitgekomen”.
Lucia	TRA	transition	Cousin was closely involved but she decided to keep him away from the medical transition	Alleen het transitieproces...
Lucia	TRA	transition	It is too personal for her; it is a woman’s thing and her cousin has never been in a relationship with a woman	Ik zei nee. Dat is zo persoonlijk. Dat is een vrouwending.
Lucia	COM	communion	Her best friend accompanied her on appointments at the gender clinic	Nou, zij is altijd mee geweest
Lucia	TRA	transition	Clear to psychologist 3 sessions that Lucia was really transgender, but she needed to go to at least 6 sessions	het is wel duidelijk . Maar het protocol schrijft voor dat er 6 gesprekken zijn”.
Lucia	AGN	acceptance	Thinks people would have understood transgenderism better if the media attention had started decades earlier	Als je... die programma’s die je nu kan zien, als je die 30, 40 jaar geleden had, hadden mensen er misschien ook meer begrip voor gehad
Lucia	AGN	agency	Came out publicly in the local newspaper	Ja, ik heb het gewoon in de krant gezet. Klein stukje in de krant.
Lucia	AGN	acceptance	Knew her employer was homophobic before she disclosed her transgender identity	Maar ik wist het wel omdat hij altijd gezegd... “Wie niet honderd procent hetero is heeft een paar draadjes ...”,

Lucia	VIC	victimisation	She reported the incident with her employer to the Human Rights Commission	Er ligt een proces-verbaal bij het college van de rechten van de mens.
Lucia	COM	activism	Concerned with improving the position of potential future employees who are LGBT	Ik zeg “voor mij hoeft het niet meer. Mijn portie is geweest.” Maar ik zeg, “misschien dat de anderen die na mij komen en een andere seksuele geaardheid hebben of anders zijn dan normaal ...”
Lucia	AFT	coping	Told her best friend that she was assaulted but did not specify	En dit... want zij weet ook niet echt de details ervan. Ik heb in eerste instantie ook tegen haar verteld dat ik alleen mishandeld was.
Lucia	COM	communion	Friend thinks she has the right to know, being a best friend	“Ja”, zei ze, “maar hartsvriendinnen moeten alles tegen elkaar kunnen vertellen”.
Lucia	AFT	aftermath	It hurts Lucia too much still and talking about it is painful	en ik heb er zóveel last van gehad , en nog last van...
Lucia	AGN	agency	Decided to keep this incident to herself	Maar dat laatste stukje hou ik voor mezelf ...
Lucia	TRA	surgery	Passed out as a result of complications and might have suffered nerve damage	En vermoedelijk heb ik daar iets... Toch een zenuwbeschadiging aan overgehouden in de hersenen...
Lucia	AFT	fear of victimisation	Women are targets to men, she says	Ook cisvrouwen... zijn gewoon aangeschoten wild voor ... voor mannen
Lucia	VIC	Secondary victimisation	Friend normalises predatory behaviour	“Ja”, zei ze, “dat is man eigen”.
Lucia	VIC	misgendering	Misgendered on the phone - she now calls people out when this happens	“Dag meneer ”... Dat is toch... Godsallejan... Op een gegeven moment, ik zeg gewoon gelijk “zeg maar mevrouw”.
Lucia	AFT	forgiveness	Forgives those who accidentally use her former name, but does not forgive those who do it on	Maar net als mijn baas, die het opzettelijk continu doet, ja die vergeef je dan niet. Want die doet het niet per ongeluk, die doet het expres.

			purpose, like her employer	
Lucia	VIC	microaggressions	Her former employer sent her pay checks with her old name until recently	Hij heeft me tot afgelopen voorjaar nog steeds de loonafschriften gestuurd waarop staat '[deadname]'
Lucia	AGN	agency	Sent multiple people a copy of her changed birth register to confirm her name and sex change	Heb ik dus iedereen, óók hem, een uittreksel gestuurd uit het geboorteregister en de geslachtsverandering én de naamsverandering
Lucia	AFT	aftermath	The quarrel cost her a lot of stress and money	Mij heeft het ook een hoop stress en een hoop geld gekost
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	Is happy now and has changed positively	En zo zitten we. Maar ik ben gelukkig. En de meeste mensen zeggen "dat straalt je ook uit. Je bent heel anders als eerst"
Lucia	AGN	confidence	She not afraid anymore to look people in the eye	Ik durf nou mensen aan te kijken.
Lucia	AGN	confidence	She walks with more confidence	Ik heb een heel andere houding aangenomen. Heel af en toe als ik onzeker ben draai ik mijn hoofd wel eens een keer weg...
Lucia	IDE	authenticity	Used to be ashamed of herself because she was not authentic	Ik schaamde me voor m'n eigen. Omdat ik een ander persoon zat, dan die ik was.
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	She now loves looking at herself in the mirror	Ja ik kijk heel graag in de spiegel. En dat is... Och... je ziet er nog niet 100% uit, maar wat ben ik blij zoals ik eruitzie...
Lucia	AGN	self-acceptance	Says she is not there yet, but is happy with the way she looks now	je ziet er nog niet 100% uit, maar wat ben ik blij zoals ik eruitzie

Participant	Category	Theme	Note	Quote
Evan	IDE	identity	Some people no longer identify as transgender after surgeries. Evan does not recognize	[Mensen] die zeggen nadat ze operaties hebben gehad 'nou ik ben klaar en zie mezelf niet meer als trans', ik

			himself in this. He will always see himself as transgender	denk dat ik me wel altijd als trans zou zien.
Evan	TRA	transition	Disclosed his transgender identity when he was 17. He lived the first 17 years of his life as his assigned gender (female)	in 2014 was ik ongeveer 17 jaar oud. De eerste 17 jaar van mijn leven heb ik gewoon geleefd als
Evan	TRA	transgender health care	Needs to decide whether he wants to have children in the future, and tell the doctors at the gender clinic	Ja, ik moet bij mijn volgende psychologische gesprek al aangeven of dat ik later kinderen wil
Evan	AGN	self-acceptance	Disclosing his transgender identity feels liberating	het is zoveel vrijer om gewoon te zeggen 'ja trouwens, ik ben trans'
Evan	AGN	self-acceptance	Non-acceptance is not his problem	Als mensen het niet accepteren is het hun probleem
Evan	AFT	fear of victimisation	Jokes about his fear of physical violence	En hopelijk slaan ze me niet in elkaar of zo, weet je... [lacht]
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Tests whether people accept transgenderism before disclosing his transgender identity	eerst dan... dan... ga je al een beetje zo testen
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Was unsure whether his parents would accept and waited before he disclosed his transgender identity to them	Dan zei ik 'ik wist niet wat jullie zouden doen'
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Parents turn out to be very accepting	ze accepteren heel veel dingen en ze zijn heel erg tolerant en dan denk ik zo van 'waarom ben ik hier zo bang voor geweest?'
Evan	AGN	acceptance	People do not easily accept transgenderism because it is a new concept for them	Omdat mensen er niet enorm veel vanaf weten

Evan	AGN	acceptance	Some do not want to know about the topic	ze willen er ook niet vanaf weten ,
Evan	AGN	self-acceptance	He is proud of his name so he says he would not care if people responded negatively to his new name	als mensen stom gaan reageren op mijn naam... Leuk voor ze, ik ben nog steeds trots, weet je?
Evan	AFT	future	Starts studying shortly after the interview	Ja, ik ga [study] studeren
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Tested whether his new fellow students were accepting of transgender people	‘ja, en hoe zit het hier eigenlijk met acceptatie als het gaat om...?’
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Disclosed his transgender identity and his new classmates hardly responded because they did not see it as abnormal	“ja, ik ben trans” en ze knikten en ze gingen gewoon door met wat ze aan het vertellen waren
Evan	IDE	mirroring	He will be one of 6 transgender students in the class	“ja, we hebben er nog vijf bij in onze klas”
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Professors are familiar with transgender students which saves Evan a lot of effort	Professoren die hebben al mensen meegemaakt die trans zijn
Evan	TRA	transition	Disclosed his transgender identity to his teacher through an essay on transgender rights and she did not have a problem with it	"Daarover gesproken..."
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Evan describes responses to his disclosing his identity as ‘ok’ and ‘not a big deal’.	helemaal geen probleem
Evan	COM	support	Mentor helped in ensuring that people treated Evan well and did not misgender him	mijn mentor zorgde ervoor dat iedereen in 6 VWO me aansprak met ‘hij’ en [name]

Evan	COM	activism	Thinks transgender rights have decreased since Trump became president of the US	ik blame Trump
Evan	COM	activism	Thinks it will take a lot of time until transgender individuals have equal rights	... Ik denk dat ik dan 60 ben of zo
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Disclosed transgender identity at bank and ended up talking for a very long time with the gay employee	ik zei het en de, de... gast die mij eh, hielp die zei zo van "oh, ik ben homoseksueel",
Evan	COM	activism	Trans women started a riot to fight for equal rights for LGBT people but ended up being left out	riots werden geleid door een groep transvrouwen
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Does not think non-acceptance is rational, as being transgender is an identity and not an opinion	van 'je bent het niet eens met mijn identiteit?
Evan	IDE	witnessing	Misunderstanding of transgender men as heterosexual women wanting to be a part of the gay community	dat transgender mannen dat dat gewoon hetero meisjes zijn die zich in de gay community willen eh dringen
Evan	COM	activism	Mentions discrimination within the transgender community towards nonbinary people	binaire transgroep dat mensen al gewoon zeggen 'hmm, maar non-binair..
Evan	COM	activism	Exclusion from the transgender community, gate keeping	ik ben trans maar jij bent niet trans
Evan	COM	activism	Non-acceptance gender neutral toilets	die zeggen van 'ja, maar genderneutrale toiletten, dat is ook weer een stap te ver...
Evan	COM	activism	Transgender individuals do not cause unsafe situations	er is geen enkel incident geweest dat...

Evan	TRA	transition	Dynamics differ between men's and women's restrooms which is something only a trans individual can experience	de dynamiek in de twee verschillende toiletten is heel anders .
Evan	TRA	transition	Would need to go to women's restroom during his period	altijd naar het vrouwentoilet moeten omdat er geen prullenbakken zijn in het mannentoilet
Evan	AFT	fear of victimisation	Too scared to go to men's restroom	nog zo bang om naar het mannentoilet te gaan
Evan	AFT	fear of victimisation	Uncertainty bathroom situation	van 'gaat er iemand in het vrouwentoilet, komt er iemand uit?' .
Evan	IDE	witnessing	Witnessed as man by a woman while in the women's restroom	'Nee, ze ziet me als man'
Evan	AFT	fear of victimisation	Feels safer in men's restroom as no one pays attention	niemand kijkt je aan
Evan	AFT	fear of victimisation	Fear of physical violence. He runs a high risk when seen as trans man in men's restroom	En dat je dan in elkaar geslagen wordt of zo
Evan	COM	activism	Gender neutral toilet would be solution	genderneutraal toilet zou je zoveel kunnen oplossen.
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Disabled toilet is not an option	En ik ben niet gehandicapt. En dan wil ik daar dus ook niet zijn.
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Being leered at	Soms word je ook gewoon nagestaard
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Forced to change in girls' changing room at school for P.E.	ik moest nog wel in de meisjeskleedkamer omkleden
Evan	AGN	self-acceptance	Showering is confrontational	Douchen is ook niet echt geweldig als het daarom gaat. Dan word je gewoon immens geconfronteerd met je lichaam

Evan	AGN	self-acceptance	Going to bed is confrontational as the binder needs to be taken off	Zelfs naar bed gaan, weet je. Je moet, dan moet je je binder uit
Evan	AGN	agency	Binders flatten a person's chest which makes a trans man appear more masculine	Sommigen dragen een binder
Evan	AGN	self-acceptance	Confronted with body	word je weer geconfronteerd met je lichaam
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Being misgendered	als je al een hele dag hebt gehad waarbij mensen je hebben benoemd met het verkeerd woord, dus constant 'mevrouw'
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Being constantly misgendered at work	mensen spraken me áltijd aan met 'mevrouw'
Evan	AFT	fear of victimisation	Fear of physical violence	een aantal keer gehad dat ik er echt bang voor was dat iemand dat ging doen
Evan	MEA	downplaying	Compares his situation to that of transgender women who run a higher risk of being targeted with physical violence	transvrouwen hebben het in dat opzicht veel moeilijker dan dat ik heb .
Evan	MEA	downplaying	Being misgendered as a girl in boys' clothes is not dangerous, compared to being misgendered while being a trans woman	Als mensen mij zien als meisje in jongenskleren is dat compleet acceptabel
Evan	MEA	downplaying	Compares his situation to that of transgender women who run a higher risk of being targeted with physical violence	man in een jurk', is dat al gelijk gevaarlijk voor die persoon
Evan	COM	activism	Is a feminist and experiences privilege as a man	ik ervaar heel veel male privilege

Evan	AGN	acceptance	Dutch programme helps with attitudes towards transgender individuals	Hij Is Een Zij, ook al is de titel een beetje problematisch... Een beetje heel erg problematisch, het helpt wel enigszins.
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Helps people understand problematic behaviour towards transgender individuals	dan zeggen mensen van 'oh, dat heb ik ook een keer gezegd. Hmm, misschien moet ik dat een keer veranderen'
Evan	COM	activism	Focus on transgender women victims	Als je ziet hoeveel transvrouwen er per jaar worden vermoord
Evan	COM	support	Found new friends in acquaintances based on acceptance	want ze kwamen voor me op ,
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Misunderstanding and confusion in others regarding transgenderism	zeggen ze 'ja maar transgender, waarom moet je er nou een woord op plakken? '
Evan	AGN	acceptance	End of friendship because of nonacceptance and nonunderstanding	Moet je je naam veranderen, moet je er nou echt een label opplakken...? ''.
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Friend gave Evan responsibility of informing her so that she would be more accepting	als je me nou had verteld dat dit... wat transgender betekende dan had ik het best kunnen weten en had ik veel acceptabeler gereageerd
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Forced to educate people	Ik ben niet verplicht om alles uit te leggen
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Sincere interest vs inappropriate curiosity	als het echt oprechte interesse is, van hé hoe werkt het nou met testosteron, en dat soort dingen, dan denk ik van 'oké sure',
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Unwanted questions about genitals	van, ja maar wat heb je nou eigenlijk in je broek ?
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Stranger rejecting Evan's transgender male identity	En hij ging hélemaal door over waarom ik geen man was

Evan	COM	activism	Thinks it would be illogical for a trans man not to be a feminist	als een transman niet feminist is vraag ik wáárom...
Evan	IDE	mirroring	LGBT friends all came out after having been friends for a while	we werden vrienden en drie jaar later waren we allemaal uit de kast
Evan	AFT	fear of victimisation	Does not attend comic conventions anymore	niet meer naar conventies toe, ook al ben ik een enorm grote <i>geek</i> .
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Misgendered at comic conventions	ben jij aan het cross-playen
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Unwanted attention	Ga weg. Ik ben trans. Ik wil alleen maar merchandise kopen. Ga weg'
Evan	TRA	transition	When his voice becomes lower due to hormone therapy he will attend the conventions again	Vooral als m'n stem veel lager is
Evan	TRA	transition	Changing voice will make it less likely for Evan to be misgendered	dat je dan aan de telefoon zit en die zeggen van 'oh, meneer ...'
Evan	IDE	witnessing	People try being respectful but make mistakes in witnessing	Mensen die proberen respectabel te zijn, en dan gaat het ergens fout ...
Evan	AFT	avoidance	Tried conforming to assigned gender for a while	ik heb een hele tijd geprobeerd om wat meer meisjesachtig te zijn
Evan	AFT	avoidance	More feminine gender expression so bullying would not increase further	Ik wil gewoon dat ze zo min mogelijk redenen hadden om mij te pesten.
Evan	AFT	aftermath	Suffered from depression	En toen werd ik echt depressief.
Evan	AFT	aftermath	Attempted to commit suicide	ik heb ook geprobeerd zelfmoord te plegen
Evan	AFT	coping	One of the happiest moments was when he learned that his depression had gone away	En later dacht ik pas van "wacht even, ik ben depressievrij. Sinds wanneer?"

Evan	VIC	victimisation	Isolated and ostracized at school	was er gewoon niemand die nog met me wilden praten
Evan	VIC	victimisation	Did not receive an explanation for being ignored by former friends	het enige wat ik maar kon bedenken was... het logische
Evan	VIC	victimisation	Former friend misgendered Evan and said that she did not want to be in a picture with him	En toen zei... een vroegere vriendin van me "ik wil niet dat zij met mij op de foto staat".
Evan	VIC	victimisation	Spent his breaks at school alone	al mijn pauzes bracht ik door in het computerlokaal.
Evan	COM	support	Teachers checked on Evan and suggested they stay in the classroom so Evan did not have to have lunch alone	Zo van "gaat het goed trouwens?"
Evan	VIC	victimisation	Being left out	ik werd altijd al als laatste gekozen en nu nóg meer
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Rejected identity by classmates	"ik ben eindelijk mezelf" en mensen keuren het gewoon af".
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Happy with those who did accept him	heel gelukkig met m'n ouders en die leraren en de paar vrienden die ik had.
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Learned who his friends were	je leert tegelijkertijd ook je vrienden kennen
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Natural selection of friends	natuurlijke selectie, zo van "oké wie gaat het accepteren ?
Evan	TRA	transition	Would not be happy if he still lived his life as a woman	ik ben er wel gelukkiger van geworden door uit te komen. Want als ik nu nog als vrouw door het leven was gegaan
Evan	TRA	transition	The process of transitioning takes a long time	Dus dan heb ik 7 maanden erover gedaan om diagnostiek af te ronden

Evan	TRA	surgery	Expectations and wishes regarding transition	als ik mijn borstoperatie wil laten doen wil ik wel dat het eruitziet alsof ik het niet heb laten zien
Evan	TRA	transition	Compares transition process to a fight	heb ik zo lang sociaal moeten vechten, en dan moet ik ook nog gaan vechten op het gebied van mijn eigen transitie ?
Evan	TRA	transgender health care	Thinks the gender clinic does not have the same technologies and resources the other clinics in the hospital have	Poli K heeft dat incheckding niet. Dus je moet naar de balie lopen om je aan te melden. En dat is gewoon een van de dingen waar je dat dan aan ziet, weet je
Evan	TRA	transgender health care	Waiting times are a big problem	vooral die wachttijden zijn nu de grootste boosdoener in Nederland.
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Another big problem is people who do not accept the existence of transgender individuals	Samen met mensen die niet accepteren dat wij überhaupt bestaan.
Evan	AGN	agency	Needed help from a lawyer to change his name before his graduation	Ik moest mijn naam laten veranderen via een advocate. Om ervoor te zorgen dat het op tijd werd veranderd voor mijn eindexamen
Evan	AGN	agency	The official process through the gender clinic takes too long	als ik had moeten lopen bij het [gender clinic] dan had dat veel langer geduurd
Evan	AGN	agency	Obstacles tend to make him think that he should take matters into his own hands	dan heb je gewoon van zoveel fronten tegenslag, dat je op een gegeven moment zoiets hebt van “ik ga illegale hormonen kopen”, “ik ga gewoon naar Thailand en dit doen zonder dat de doctors ervan weten”.
Evan	MEA	downplaying	Being mistaken for a girl in boys' clothes does not put him in danger	goh, dat is een meisje in jongenskleren”, dan gaat er niks fout .
Evan	MEA	downplaying	Trans women are more at risk	transvrouw, dan gaat er wel gelijk iets fout

Evan	COM	activism	Men think that it is degrading to be feminine	It's degrading to be feminine
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Colleague asking inappropriate questions	van "ja, maar hoe gaat het nou eigenlijk met seks?"
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Not responding like he wants to out of fear or consequences	Dit gaat me best wel ver, maar ik ga toch lief tegen je zijn want ik wil niet ontslagen worden".
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	People pushing the boundaries	"ja, maar je hebt best wel wat persoonlijke grenzen overschreden "
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	fetishizing	Dan ben je... dan ben je geïnteresseerd in mijn lichaam. Nou weet je, dat vind ik vrijwel fetishizing
Evan	TRA	mental health	happiest moment was hearing that depression had gone	In mijn transitie wel, ja
Evan	IDE	mirroring	came out to friend who in turn came out as bisexual	En toen zaten we dus gewoon weer te praten
Evan	AGN	self-acceptance	refutes stealthing, as disclosing his transgender identity made him feel free and secure	voor mij heeft het gewoon voor heel veel vrijheid gezorgd en ik ben veel zelfverzekerder geworden
Evan	AGN	acceptance	parents are proud	Mijn ouders zijn heel erg trots op me. En dat is heel erg lief en leuk
Evan	COM	support	Better relationship with his father	Mijn vader en ik hebben een veel hechtere band gekregen
Evan	IDE	mirroring	Close friendships in which he feels mirrored and witnessed	En mijn vrienden zijn al helemaal treasures
Evan	AGN	self-acceptance	Jokes about surgery	"nou jongens, als ik <i>top surgery</i> heb gehad: ik loop 100 dagen zonder shirt rond ".

Evan	AGN	acceptance	No longer feels connected to vegan community because of anti-transgender sentiments	Ik voel me niet enorm erg thuis meer in de <i>vegan community</i> , want ik heb ook een paar keer gehad dat er ook anti-transdingen werden gezegd.
Evan	AGN	acceptance	“transgender individuals pose a risk for children”	Want het is niet veilig voor andere kinderen. En het is zo van “hoe bedoel je, niet veilig voor andere kinderen?”
Evan	COM	activism	Hopes for future that transgender people will be reimbursed for forced sterilization before legally changing gender identity	Ik hoop dat dat gebeurt maar realistisch gezien, ja...
Evan	AGN	acceptance	People who do not accept his transgender identity seem to publicly denounce violence towards LGBT	Alleen maar de mensen die mij niet accepteerden hadden hun profielfoto veranderd, uit mijn vriendenlijst.
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Transgender individuals have always existed but are often overlooked or forgotten	weet je, we zijn er gewoon letterlijk altijd geweest
Evan	AGN	agency	The theme in his life is the fight to be himself	Een gevecht. Ik ben constant in gevecht om mezelf te zijn.
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Tired of correcting people	“waarom heb je die persoon niet gecorrigeerd?” Omdat ik moe ben.
Evan	AGN	acceptance	His identity is rejected very often by people	En ik heb er heel erg lang voor moeten vechten om mezelf te zijn en dan moet je daar weer voor afgewezen
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	Misunderstanding: does not <i>want</i> to be a man but <i>is</i> a man	nog steeds vang je heel veel onbegrip. Want weet je, ik wil geen jongen zijn, ik ben een jongen
Evan	VIC	microaggressions	people announce they do not want to see his transition	ja maar ik hoef niet te zien hoe... ik hoef jouw transitie niet te zien, bla bla bla”

Evan	IDE	identity	He becomes the person he really is through transition	Dat je wordt zoals je eigenlijk bent.
Evan	IDE	identity	Does not see himself when looking at old photos	Ik zie een jongen in een pruik.
Evan	AGN	acceptance	Feels his voice is heard through interview	“hey, m’n stem wordt wel gehoord”.

Participant	Category	Theme	Note	Quote
Isaac	TRA	transition	First notion of gender confusion	Ik denk toen wij die oppas hadden
Isaac	TRA	transition	Gender confusion	maar ik weet wel nog dat ze zeiden “[name] wil een jongen zijn” en dat ik toen altijd dacht van... [begint te lachen] “dat wil ik ook”,
Isaac	TRA	transition	Gender confusion / conformation	Dus ik dacht echt van... “ik wil dat ook maar is dat erg of...”
Isaac	FAM	family situation	Grew up with mother and sister	eerst hebben we bij onze moeder gewoond
Isaac	FAM	family situation	Half-brother died at 3, when Isaac was 7	broertje overleden is en ook toen die ziek was en zo, dat dat wel een grote rol heeft gespeeld.
Isaac	IDE	identity	Outsider/ostracized	Een einzelgänger denk ik. Ik had altijd maar 1 of 2 vriendjes
Isaac	IDE	identity	‘boyish’ interests when young	ik vond het normaal dat ik van jongensdingen hield.
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Assumed homosexuality	En later dacht ik “misschien ben ik lesbisch of zo”.
Isaac	MHE	mental health	Development mental health problems	ook wel een beetje meer psychische problemen kreeg en somber werd en zo
Isaac	MHE	mental health	Start of therapy at 21	21. Toen zo ongeveer inderdaad

Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Knowledge regarding identity developed through therapy	En vanaf dat moment is eigenlijk anders anders gegaan. Hoe ik ben en hoe ik in elkaar zit.
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	At first rejected transgender male identity	dat ik weet dat ik verderga als man. Maar heel lang wilde ik dat ook niet.
Isaac	TRA	transition	Consequences of starting transition: girlfriend threatened to break up the relationship	"als jij dat doet dan maak ik het uit".
Isaac	AFT	coping	Went abroad after relationship ended	Toen ik 20 was en daarna ging ik naar [country] .
Isaac	AFT	coping	Lovesickness	ook omdat ik dat liefdesverdriet niet aankon
Isaac	AFT	coping	Created distance between himself and ex to protect himself	Misschien wel uit zelfbescherming
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Experimenting with gender identity	"misschien ben ik wel zoals een drag queen maar dan geen drag queen".
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Fear of 'failing' transition	En toen dacht ik "ja maar straks lukt het bij mij óók niet".
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Experimenting with gender expression	dacht ik van "ja, misschien kan ik mezelf wel verkleeden tijdens het uitgaan en zo". Daar kende toch niemand me.
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Confidence regarding gender identity experiments	Toen dacht ik "nou ja als dat kan dan kan ik ook wel als man rondlopen.
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Disappointment gender experiments	Dat ik er niet uitzag als een jongen
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	First time experimenting with gender identity	Daarvoor had ik het wel eens geprobeerd op [city] met carnaval.
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Experimented inconsistently with a more masculine way of presenting himself but	Ik had wel periodes waarin ik me meer als man ging kleden. En dat ik dan weer terugkrabbelde.
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Gave himself space to experiment with gender expression	en op een gegeven moment dat korte haar... Dat ik mezelf meer ruimte gaf.
Isaac	TRA	transition	Researching his preferences regarding gender expression	En toen was ik wel veel meer onderzoekend hè?

Isaac	TRA	transition	Realizing identity gender	Dat ik echt dacht 'ik ben niet gek, dit is echt zoals ik me voel'
Isaac	TRA	transition	Confidence in true identity through contact with psychologist and psychiatrist	was toen ik al met een psycholoog en een psychiater sprak. Dus toen pas geloofde ik mezelf ook
Isaac	TRA	transition	Gender confusion: is this who I am?	Daarvoor was het 'ben ik dit wel echt?' en 'kan het wel? '.
Isaac	MHE	mental health	'Seen' or discovered by psychiatrist	Die vroeg uiteindelijk "weet jij wat genderdysforie is?". En toen moest ik huilen en ik wilde het er niet over hebben. Ik voelde me heel erg betrappt en ik dacht ook van 'shit, het is dus ook te merken of te zien aan me'.
Isaac	MHE	mental health	Tried to conform to societal expectations	en ik ga proberen toch een... dan maar een goed gelukt meisje te zijn
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Wish for future is to appear more masculine	Met een baard
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	Wish that people stop misgendering him	En dat mensen niet de hele tijd 'mevrouw' tegen me zeggen.
Isaac	COM	support	Wish to have a relationship in the future	En een vriendin.
Isaac	TRA	transition	Wants clarity over transition process	Ja, dit jaar hopelijk meer duidelijkheid over mijn transitieproces. Meer concrete plannen daarin
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	Wants to be seen as a man	En dat het ook meer zichtbaar is voor andere mensen.
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Wants to see himself as a man as well	Dat ik niet meer soms in de spiegel kijk en denk 'oh ja, ik snap wel waarom mensen mevrouw zeggen'.
Isaac	AFT	future	No plans or wishes for future on the long run	verder weg in de toekomst weet ik nog niet zo goed.
Isaac	AFT	future	Difficult to envision a future. Fear of looking ahead	dat het moeilijk is om te kijken naar de verdere toekomst, en ik denk dat het wel wat te maken heeft met niet durven
Isaac	TRA	transition	Insecurity regarding changes	Want ik denk ook dat ik misschien nog heel veel ga veranderen, mentaal.

Isaac	MHE	mental health	Wants to get through the day and feel well	niet heel veel verder denken dan elke dag me oké voelen en de dag doorkomen .
Isaac	AGN	acceptance	Image outsiders see	Me niet zo bezig hoeft te houden met hoe ik overkom op de buitenwereld. Me bezighouden met presentatie en zo
Isaac	MEA	self-blame	Am I asking for problems if I do this?	“Vraag ik nu om problemen als ik dit of dat doe?”.
Isaac	MHE	mental health	Suffered from a psychosis and worries about the effect on sister and father	Ik denk dat zo’n nasleep z’n sporen heeft achtergelaten.
Isaac	MHE	mental health	Most painful and sad period of his life. Bad memories from early life came back during psychosis	pijnlijkste, verdrietigste periodes was uit mijn leven omdat toen heel diepe herinneringen van vroeger terugkwamen
Isaac	COM	support	Happiest moments include being in love for the first time and being together with that person	zoals voor de eerste keer echt op iemand verliefd zijn en ook met diegene zijn .
Isaac	AGN	acceptance	Happy recent event: being acknowledged as a son by his father	hele fijne gelukkige gebeurtenis is bijvoorbeeld papa die me voor het eerst [name] noemt. Of ‘m’n zoon’
Isaac	AGN	acceptance	Being accepted by friends	En de mensen van de [city] ook, die alsof het heel normaal was met me omgingen
Isaac	AGN	acceptance	Unexpected acceptance from grandmother	En oma natuurlijk, die blijkbaar er toch niet zoveel moeite mee heeft als ik dacht. Of in ieder geval, nou ja, in ieder geval accepteert.
Isaac	COM	communion	Isolation and depression are obstacles in his life	dat ik weinig contact heb met mensen. Dat is wel een obstakel. En ja, somberheid of zo.
Isaac	MHE	mental health	depression	mijn psychische gezondheid is niet stabiel. Dat is denk ik een van de grootste obstakels.
Isaac	MHE	mental health	Difficult to connect with people due to mental health	een beetje een kettingreactie waardoor je ook moeilijker contact krijgt met mensen
Isaac	COM	communion	judgment of others	Want mensen veroordelen het heel snel dat je geen werk hebt, en dat je dus... Nou, omdat ik nogal vaak sommige periodes heb.

Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Wanting to wait with social contact until transition has progressed	Soms denk ik “laat dat contact maar even voor wat het is ”, want ik wacht wel tot ik straks gewoon meer als cis-man eruitzie of zo. Ja, dat is natuurlijk ook niet echt een optie. Want misschien duurt het nog een jaar of twee jaar.
Isaac	COM	support	Wish to connect with someone who is also transitioning	maar het zou ook fijn zijn als ik er met iemand over kon praten die er middenin zit .
Isaac	COM	support	Fear during contact phase which results in him not opening messages	toen was ik zo bang dat ik ‘m niet heb geopend
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Thoughts resulting in him not undertaking action	En dat zijn dan zoveel gedachten dat ik het maar laat of zo.
Isaac	COM	support	Contacted by another person in same situation	en die ik ook kende als meisje. En die stuurde me laatst een bericht met “Hé [name], er zijn 2 geheime Facebookgroepen waar ik je in kan gooien als je wil, voor transgenders”.
Isaac	COM	communion	Difficult to meet up with groups of new people	Zulke dingen vind ik altijd erg moeilijk.
Isaac	COM	communion	Feels an outsider even when in a group ‘of outsiders’	Ja, maar zelfs in groepjes van buitenbeentjes ben ik het buitenbeentje.
Isaac	AGN	agency	Became more assertive to deal with obstacles when he feels well	Ja, ik ben wel iets assertiever geworden, maar het ligt eraan hoe ik in mijn vel zit.
Isaac	MHE	mental health	Difficult to cope with obstacles when he does not feel well	Als ik klote in mijn vel zit komt er ook niks terecht ... Tegenslagen en zo.
Isaac	AGN	agency	tries to figure things out himself	Ja, ik probeer gewoon dingen op te lossen. Ik denk dat het gewoon oplossen is. Die dingen.
Isaac	AGN	self-acceptance	Careful with connecting. Fear of ruining the connection	Maar ik ben altijd heel voorzichtig met contact leggen. Het gevaar is zo groot dat ik het weer verpest.
Isaac	IDE	identity	Always connected to other people who were different	Ja, die zelf vaak ook een beetje ‘uniek’ waren.
Isaac	IDE	identity	Difficult for him to conform	Het duurt voor mij nooit zo lang, met de stroom mee zwemmen.

Isaac	IDE	identity	Theme is swimming against the stream and trying to be who he really is	Ja dat is altijd wel zo geweest. En mezelf proberen te zijn of zo.
Isaac	MEA	meaning-making	Does not feel like a victim	Nee, ik voel me niet een slachtoffer. Niet omdat ik toevallig transgender ben.
Isaac	VIC	victimisation	Was sexually intimidated	Het klopt dat ik seksueel geïntimideerd ben
Isaac	VIC	victimisation	Feels like a target	Maar ik denk dat ik me eerder een doelwit vind.
Isaac	VIC	victimisation	Misgendered - Is seen by men as a woman which makes him a target	En als mannen jou 'lezen' als vrouw ben je toch vaak een beetje een doelwit, denk ik.
Isaac	VIC	victimisation	Thinks it is a coincidence that he was sexually intimidated multiple times	Het is meer een klotetoeval dat het meerdere keren is gebeurd.
Isaac	VIC	victimisation	Does feel like a victim regarding the abuse of his roommate	Daarin voel ik me wel een slachtoffer ja.
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	Roommate wanted to see something that was not there	Maar ik denk dat hij heel erg in mij zag wat hij wilde zien.
Isaac	VIC	victimisation	Roommate tried to find clues for attraction	Hij heeft altijd geprobeerd om die ruimte te vinden om te denken dat ik hem wel een kans zou geven .
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	Roommate ignored the truth	Ik denk dat hij Oost-Indisch blind was of zo
Isaac	AFT	fear of victimisation	No longer feels like a sexual target	Ik voel me nu minder een doelwit. Tenminste, niet een seksueel doelwit
Isaac	AFT	fear of victimisation	Had problems in public restrooms	Met wc's heb ik wel vaak last gehad .
Isaac	VIC	safety	Feels safer in men's rooms than in women's rooms	Ik ga nu wel naar de mannenwc's en de eerste slechte ervaring moet nog komen.
Isaac	VIC	microaggressions	Felt unwelcome in women's toilets	Of vuil aangekeken
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	Witnessed correctly but felt unsafe	Of nog net iets te hard achter me gezegd "was dat nou een man?" of zo

Isaac	VIC	discrimination	Misgendered and insulted with homophobic slurs	Ja, ik heb wel meegemaakt dat ik voor pot uitgemaakt word
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	Anger regarding people who fail to see his gender identity	En dan denk ik “zie je niet dat ik in ieder geval m’n best doe om wel gewoon als een jongen eruit te zien?”.
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	People wanting to know his gender identity / sex	maar die heel graag willen weten ... Van ‘ik spreek diegene aan als jongeman’, of zo. Of als ‘jongedame’ of zo
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	Men do not want to see true gender identity	En vooral mannen noemen je al heel snel jongedame omdat ze heel erg blind willen zijn.
Isaac	IDE	witnessing	People do not want to think about existence of non-cisgender people	soms denk ik gewoon van ‘mensen willen niet nadenken over dat die optie er is ’.
Isaac	VIC	microaggressions	Mentions microaggressions	ik weet dus niet zo goed hoe breed ik microaggressies mag trekken
Isaac	VIC	discrimination	Being treated badly on purpose on the basis of gender identity	als ik het gevoel heb dat iemand mij expres klote behandelt vanwege mijn niet duidelijke identiteit
Isaac	VIC	microaggressions	Targeted on the basis of transgender identity	of omdat ik transgender ben , dan ben ik wel echt boos
Isaac	MEA	meaning-making	Mixed feelings regarding victimizer sexual intimidation	Hele gemengde gevoelens en ook wel veel verwarring eigenlijk
Isaac	MEA	self-blame	Wonders what he did wrong	Dat ik me afvraag: hoe groot is mijn aandeel in die gebeurtenissen en heb... wat heb ik fout gedaan?
Isaac	AFT	aftermath	On the other hand very angry and wants to beat up the victimizer	Maar aan de andere kant wil ik hem ook in elkaar slaan, dus dat wisselt.
Isaac	AFT	aftermath	Feels inclined to beat the victimizer	geleden had ik wel echt de neiging om hem op z’n bek te slaan .
Isaac	AFT	aftermath	Says it might be overreacting	Ook een beetje overdreven misschien
Isaac	AFT	aftermath	Justice is for him that someone tells the victimizer what is what	Nou ja, dat iemand hem gewoon op z’n plek zet .
Isaac	AFT	aftermath	Angry at victimizer using excuses and diagnoses	Gewoon die plaat voor z’n kop , dat die weg is

Isaac	AFT	aftermath	Thinks victimizer should be hurt	En dat iemand hem flink in z'n kruis trapt. Dat verdient hij wel.
Isaac	AFT	forgiveness	Tried to forgive but says he cannot do it	Dat heb ik wel geprobeerd, maar nee.

Participant	Category	Theme	Note	Quote
Estelle	FAM	family situation	Grew up in a village with parents and a sister	Ik ben opgegroeid in een dorp
Estelle	IDE	identity	Was a withdrawn and smart child	Ja ik was wel altijd een beetje een teruggetrokken persoon
Estelle	COM	Communion	Was not bullied but included either - isolation	Maar, ja toch altijd een beetje afgezonderd geweest. Niet gepest, dat waren meer anderen, maar ik stond overal buiten.
Estelle	IDE	Gender confusion; identity	Always knew something was different about her	Ik heb altijd wel gevraagd van goh er is wat met me.
Estelle	IDE	identity	Tried to figure out what was different when she was in puberty	In de puberteit ook he, er klopt echt iets niet en dat zoeken en ja.
Estelle	IDE	Mirroring	The only LGBT information referred to gay men and did not apply to her	Ja, dat was niet voor mij dus dat klopte niet dus dat heb ik weer apart gelegd en verdergegaan
Estelle	IDE	Mirroring	What she knew about transsexuality did not match her feelings – not mirrored correctly	het enige voorbeeld wat er was wat er was wat je herkende was de spreekwoordelijke man in een bloemetjesjurk.
Estelle	IDE	identity	In her mid-twenties she knew that she was transgender	Uiteindelijk totdat ik 26-27 was geduurd totdat ik echt wist wat er speelde.
Estelle	AGN	Self-acceptance	Was insecure about gender identity and decided to hide it	Ik was zelf ook onzeker erover dus we hebben besloten om het weg te stoppen
Estelle	AGN	Agency	When her relationship ended she decided to prioritise herself	dan ga ik gewoon m'n eigen weg
Estelle	AGN	Self-acceptance	It took her a lot of time to understand again who she was	En heeft het weer een tijdje geduurd voordat ik teruggevonden had hoe het ook alweer zat en wie ik was en welke kant ik op moest
Estelle	COM	Communion	Joined a message board for transgender people and would later meet her now partner	op een zeker forum aangemeld waar [partner] een van de beheerders was

Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Incidents related to the divorce and her transgender identity	een paar nare dingen gebeurd die aan de ene kant te maken hebben gehad met de scheiding maar aan de andere kant ook heel erg erop gericht zijn geweest dat ik transgender ben
Estelle	FAM	Relationship children	Relationship between daughter and ex was bad and the children at that moment did not live with Estelle and her then wife	Dat lag natuurlijk niet aan m'n ex, dat lag aan [daughter]. Die was vast ook autistisch en die moest ook het huis uit
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Estelle's ex had decided that their daughter would stay with her instead without discussing it and despite the relationship she had with her daughter	zo van [daughter] komt niet meer terug
Estelle	VIC	Threat	Men who came to pick up household items threatened to smash in the window	Als je de deur niet openmaakt dan... Dan slaan we wel een ruit in
Estelle	VIC	Threat	Men who came to pick up household items threatened to smash in the window	En toen maakten ze echt aanstalten om ergens daar of daar...
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Complied and offered to help load things into the car	Tuurlijk je kan een bed meekrijgen je kan dat meekrijgen je kan zus meekrijgen maar niet alles. Ik heb zelfs nog geholpen om dingen buiten te krijgen
Estelle	AGN	Agency	Things that were not agreed on were taken by one of the men and Estelle protested	Nou allerlei dingen die niet bij dat lijstje hoorden
Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	Homophobic slurs and provocation	Maar die begint te schelden. En vuile homo dit en zus en zo en uitdagen. Echt uitdagen
Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	Provocation and violence	en hij doet expres een flinke stap naar achteren. En geeft mij dus een duw. Om vervolgens te roepen: Vuile homo blijf van me af!
Estelle	AGN	fighting back	Provocation resulted in a fight	dat werd dus inderdaad een soort van knokpartij . Ik ben er een stukje van kwijt ook van wat er precies gebeurd is.
Estelle	AGN	fighting back	Provocation and fighting back	Ja. Je... je verliest jezelf. Je gaat wat terugdoen

Estelle	AGN	fighting back	She fought back and dominated the fight for a while	ik zat er bovenop en ik had 'm in bedwang.
Estelle	AGN	fighting back	afraid that if she stopped fighting she would lose	ik wil hier weg. Ik wil stoppen, maar dan is het ook afgelopen
Estelle	COM	Support	A neighbour came to help put an end to the fight	Dus uiteindelijk een buurman
Estelle	VIC	Violence	She was outnumbered but the men eventually left	Maar toen zaten ze ineens met z'n drieën bovenop me. En toen lukte het ook die buurman niet meer om ze weg te krijgen.
Estelle	VIC	Provocation	Another men had provoked her as well	zeker die zoon van 'm, die stond ook te, flink te provoceren, die stond ook te stoken, te jennen en te doen
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	The divorce resulted in homophobia	Maar het begint met een ordinaire echtscheidingsruzie en op een gegeven moment verschuift 't in een keer... Word je voor vuile homo uitgemaakt en weet ik wat allemaal.
Estelle	AFT	Aftermath	Spent time with her parents after the incident and couldn't sleep due to the injuries	Ja ik ben twee weken bij m'n ouders geweest daarna. Echt de eerste paar nachten kon ik ook niet echt lekker liggen en goed slapen, dat wilde niet
Estelle	VIC	Violence	From then on most violence was verbal	Daarna... is het meestal verbaal geweest.
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Charges dropped because ex reported Estelle as well	Want ja je doet aangifte, en zij doen gauw tegenaangifte, en ja dan wordt het geseponneerd hè.
Estelle	AFT	trust in police	Police dropped the charges because both parties seemed to be equally guilty	maar ja dan heb je twee partijen die allebei schuldig zijn. We gaan er geen moeite in steken: het is goed zo. Zo werkt dat.
Estelle	AFT	trust in police	Police did take time to take her statement, which she appreciates	Er werd wel aandacht aan besteed, dat moet ik zeggen. Dat was goed.

Estelle	COM	Support	Neighbours and family and friends supported her after the incident	Ook wel van hier mensen uit de buurt. Ja zeker ook van m'n ouders en familie eh...
Estelle	TRA	Transition	At the same time she was in transition to become more herself, which allowed her to stay positive	Het was ook het begin van mezelf worden, en dat hielp wel weer om een beetje... Een beetje positief te kunnen blijven.
Estelle	TRA	Transition	Knew how she wanted her transition to go	Toen, toen was het ook redelijk snel oké en nu gaan we het zo en zo doen en eh... We doen het netjes en fatsoenlijk
Estelle	IDE	Identity; transition	Disclosing her transgender identity helped her get rid of the biggest secret in her life	Ja, heeft er ook mee te maken dat ik gewoon blij was om van het grootste geheim van m'n leven af te zijn.
Estelle	AGN	Self-acceptance	Does not have problems with her past	en het is ook helemaal, ik heb er geen moeite mee met, met, met foto's van vroeger.
Estelle	AGN	Acceptance	Clarifies <i>stealth</i> and explains why this is not an option for her due to her social life	Mensen doen dat soms. Maar ja, ik heb m'n familie en ik heb kinderen en ik heb van alles en nog wat. Dat kan helemaal niet.
Estelle	AGN	Acceptance	People who are not met with acceptance more readily go stealth	Ja er zijn mensen die hebben het natuurlijk qua acceptatie een stuk moeilijker en dan is het makkelijker om het allemaal achter je te laten.
Estelle	COM	Communion	Not willing to leave her social life behind	en ik wil al die mensen die ik om me heen heb verzameld, die wil ik niet kwijt
Estelle	ACC	Acceptance; communion	Acceptance by people from her past	Waar ik juist sinds ongeveer toen 5 jaar terug opeens weer contact mee heb
Estelle	ACC	Acceptance; communion	Has a larger social circle than before her transition	M'n kennissenkring is 10x zo groot als eh... m'n vriendengroep 4x zo groot.
Estelle	IDE	Identity; transition	Changed from an insecure person to a confident go-getter	Niet goed genoeg niet dit genoeg niet dat... Zo kan je het niet zeggen en ja, hallo... Maar nu eh... Maar nu is het binnen een halve minuut is het weg, klaar, geregeld.

Estelle	IDE	Identity; transition	Changed from an insecure person to a confident go-getter	En dat is natuurlijk wel zo maar je wordt van binnen word je niet zomaar iemand anders. Alleen je laat zoveel andere dingen van jezelf zien die je altijd verstoppt voor jezelf hebt gehouden. Dat je voor de buitenwereld echt wel iemand anders geworden bent.
Estelle	IDE	Identity; transition	Already possessed the positive qualities but they were invisible prior to her transition	Het was er wel maar het kwam er niet uit.
Estelle	IDE	Identity; transition	Transition helps a person learn to know themselves	Je leert heel veel over jezelf. Misschien is dat ook wel wat sommige mensen eng vinden.
Estelle	TRA	Transition	Transition added to her current happiness	Stiekem eigenlijk ook gewoon de transitieperiode en ja. Het gaat nu geweldig
Estelle	AFT	coping	It is now easier for her to cope with unpleasant events	er zijn wel dingetjes die vervelend zijn, die niet goed gaan, die flink niet goed gaan, maar eh... Ja op de een of andere manier stap ik daar redelijk snel overheen.
Estelle	AGN	Agency	She is not the person to feel sorry for herself when something bad happens	Niet zielig in een hoekje gaan zitten. Ben ik nooit geweest, iemand die zielig in een hoekje ging zitten
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Due to the divorce she was not allowed to see her daughter for 6 or 8 weeks	ik weet niet precies hoelang, niet kon zien. Niet mocht zien. Nee er moesten afspraken, het moest op papier komen te staan
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	The judge decided that Estelle could see her daughter	"Komend weekend gaat [daughter] naar haar vader toe. Punt." "Ja maar". Tegengesputter van de andere kant
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Ex blamed Estelle for many problems due to her transgenderism	daarna is wel iedere keer de transseksualiteit naar voren geschoven als reden voor van alles en nog wat
Estelle	MEA	Putting in perspective	Compares her situation to one that would have been worse to her	Op zich, had het slechter uit kunnen pakken. De vorige ex is van kindermishandeling beschuldigd. Was ik geen transgender geweest dan

				was het gegarandeerd misbruik geweest als beschuldiging.
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Her ex was in a relationship with the person Estelle fought with	Nou die kerel die dus dat veroorzaakt had
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Her ex argued about money when Estelle picked up the children	Ja, ik krijg nog geld van je
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Ex scared the children to hurt Estelle	dan ben je een boef. Een boef moet naar de gevangenis. En in de gevangenis weten ze wel met wijven zoals hij. Want die neuken ze in hun kont.
Estelle	VIC	property damage	After the verbal fight, ex damaged Estelle's property	Ze slaat de autodeur dicht, boog nog even de ruitenwisser om. [son] zat te brullen in de auto.
Estelle	VIC	discrimination	Organisation she called did not take the claims seriously	Dan bel je Veilig Thuis. Wat moet ik doen de volgende keer? "Ja, ja. Klinkt als een scheidingsruzie."
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Children are told by mother that other children would laugh at them because of Estelle	"Mama en [name] die hebben gezegd dat je maar niet op school moet komen want als je op school komt en andere kinderen zien je, dan gaan ze je uitlachen. Dan gaan ze mij uitlachen."
Estelle	AGN	Agency	Went to school to meet with teacher anyway	Uiteindelijk heeft dat wel een tijdje in haar hoofd rondgespookt. Ik ben uiteindelijk gewoon op school geweest bij een oudergesprek van na schooltijd
Estelle	AFT	fear of revictimisation	After the earlier incident she never went to pick the children up alone	Na dat incident van die zomer ben ik ook niet meer alleen de kinderen op gaan halen. Was er altijd iemand bij geweest
Estelle	FAM	divorce	Ex did not follow the rules of the arrangement	was met regeling dat de kinderen gebracht moesten worden. Ja, die werden niet gebracht dus toch geen keuze, moesten toch gehaald worden.

Estelle	FAM	divorce	Ex did not follow the rules of the arrangement	“ik krijg nog duizend euro van je. Je gaat maar pinnen. In het dorp zit een PIN-automaat. En eerder krijg je de kinderen niet te zien.”
Estelle	FAM	divorce	Used the children against Estelle	“Kom je nog? Eikel. De kinderen staan buiten in de kou .”
Estelle	FAM	divorce	Ex argued about money	Toen kreeg ik dus toegebeten dat ik moest betalen en anders zou ze me wel ten gronde richten.
Estelle	MEA	Narrative creation	Admits that she is not sure how the story went	In je herinnering gaat je verhaal ook zo z’n eigen leven leiden. Het klopt niet helemaal
Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	Estelle and her father physically attacked by ex	en vervolgens loopt ze achter ons aan, ben ik fysiek aangevallen , m’n vader werd aangevallen. Eh...
Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	Property damage	Ja wacht eventjes, we gaan eerst even die bril zoeken. “Nee die ben je kwijt en die zal ik nog even kapot stampen.”
Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	Ex took pictures in order to make fun of her	foto’s van me zitten te maken. Van mij. Wat precies de bedoeling was. Ik gok leuk rondsturen aan haar vriendenkring van kijk hoe raar haar ex er wel niet uitzag
Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	Threatened to run her over with the car	Stopt, zet de auto in de achteruit en begint met de koppeling ingedrukt flink gas te geven, van als je opzij stapt kom ik naar achteren
Estelle	AFT	trust in police	Reported her ex to the police	Dus het was echt met opzet. Toen ben ik nog een keer naar de politie geweest en aangifte gedaan van beide voorvallen.
Estelle	VIC	discrimination	Discrimination online from ex	Wel op Facebook een opmerking van als je homo bent dan laat je je toch gewoon lekker ombouwen? Dan kun je doen alsof je hetero bent.
Estelle	AGN	acceptance	Eventually she received apologies from her ex	kreeg ik ineens een brief van ‘goh’, en ‘ja sorry’, en eh... “ja, ik heb toch wel

				veel respect voor wat je allemaal...".
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Ex did not follow the rules of the arrangement	En twee weken later: weer geen [daughter]. En ik moest eerst maar eens betalen en dingen regelen. Het ging alleen maar over geld en ik moest zus en zo doen.
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Estelle does not believe the children did not want to visit her	Maar de rode draad in het verhaal was dat de kinderen zelf niet meer wilden komen want ze hadden het zo moeilijk met mijn transitie.
Estelle	MEA	downplaying	Put the event into perspective	Dat was gewoon verzonnen. Maar het was... Ja goed. Achteraf gezien moet ik maar blij zijn dat het dat was en dat je niet van misbruik beschuldigd wordt of zo
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Ex withhold the children from Estelle	Geen enkel teken van leven van je kinderen
Estelle	VIC	discrimination	Institutes do not know how to treat the situation, and as a result do not help Estelle as a parent	Maar dan wordt het weer gebruikt en geen enkele instantie heeft enig idee wat je daarmee moet doen
Estelle	FAM	divorce	Professionals say that both parties are guilty	Oh, jullie zitten allebei... jullie zijn allebei schuldig. Dus ga maar in relatietherapie. En tot die tijd doen we niks.
Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	Ex used homophobic slurs in a conversation about the children	En nou ja, dan word je in zo'n gesprek ook voor ordinaire homo uitgemaakt
Estelle	AGN	Agency	Communicated that she does not accept slurs and that she would leave	Terwijl ik op dat moment, want het was heus niet de eerste keer, opsta en zeg "als je alleen op deze manier een gesprek kan voeren ben ik weg".
Estelle	VIC	discrimination	Despite her consciously good behaviour, the organisations don't or are unable to help	Ik probeer dat zo netjes mogelijk te regelen, geen gekke dingen te doen... Niet zoals een aantal andere ouders doen als ze daar binnenkomen in de hal en de boel kort en klein slaan.

Estelle	VIC	discrimination	Her complaints about not being treated fairly are not taken seriously	Ik zei gewoon wat er wat mij betreft mis is en ik dien een klacht in. En daar fietsen ze gewoon overheen.
Estelle	VIC	discrimination	Does not believe the organization is independent	Dat is een onafhankelijke klachtencommissie zeggen ze. En bij die onafhankelijkheid heb ik zo mijn twijfels bij
Estelle	AGN	Agency	Decided to have her surgery abroad	We zijn vorig jaar augustus naar [country] gegaan. Operatie gehad
Estelle	FAM	divorce	Her money was taken by the bailiff	van een klant waar ik toen voor werkte. "Goh ja, er is net een deurwaarder geweest en die heeft beslag gelegd op je factuur".
Estelle	FAM	Divorce	Protects the children from having to testify	Dat zijn geen leuke gesprekken. Dus dat ga ik niet zomaar doen.
Estelle	FAM	divorce	Organizations diminish the fights and think there are two guilty parties	Ja, die instelling zit er een beetje bij, van 'jullie zijn allebei aan het vechten dus dan hoeven wij niets te doen'.
Estelle	COM	Support	Responsibility for normal interaction between the divorcees is forced upon them so organizations do not have to take responsibility	Vervolgens zeggen ze van "Nou ja, jullie maken ruzie en we doen niks tot jullie in relatietherapie zijn geweest".
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Ex does not want current wife to be there when the children visit because she is transgender as well	Ja, want [son] mag dan wel hier komen, maar dan mag [partner] niet thuis zijn
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Using transgenderism against Estelle and her current wife	"Ja nee, want [partner] is ook transgender en dat is te moeilijk en dat snappen ze niet ". Iedere keer weer dat argument.
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Ex attacks her on her identity	Je wordt aangevallen op wie je bent. En daar kun je niks mee. Daar kun je je niet tegen verdedigen. Iedere keer weer, met allerlei opmerkingen, met allerlei dingen... Je moet je iedere keer weer verantwoorden voor wie je bent.

Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	The organisations invested in the divorce discriminate Estelle	Op het moment dat ik alleen maar homoseksueel was geweest, dan had niemand z'n vingers eraan durven branden. Dan was het heel simpel en was het snel klaar geweest. Want dat is bekend. Daarvan weten we inmiddels dat het eigenlijk niks uitmaakt. Dat kinderen er geen last van hebben, dat het gewoon werkt. En dan zitten ze je aan te kijken van 'dit is toch heel anders?'. Dit is niet anders. Dit is gewoon discriminatie .
Estelle	VIC	Victimisation	Ex is together with the person who fought with Estelle after the divorce	Sinds de scheiding hokt ze nu al met de tweede kerel samen, waarbij de eerste degene was die mij in elkaar...
Estelle	COM	activism	Helps other transgender people by informing them about their rights	Er gebeurt dat, er gebeurt zus, er gebeurt zo. Kunnen we daar niet wat mee doen? Je kunt mensen individueel...
Estelle	IDE	Witnessing	Knows the importance of witnessing and mirroring a person correctly regardless of their stage in the process	'wat ben jij aan het doen? Dat is toch een man?' Maar ik weet dat ik iemand er een groot plezier mee kan doen.
Estelle	AGN	acceptance	Mother sometimes uses wrong pronouns	Mijn moeder vergist zich af en toe zoals in het afgelopen jaar bijvoorbeeld.
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Other family members probably refer to her as a man, but her father does not	Mijn vader doet daar zeker weten niet aan mee.
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Ex decided to ridicule Estelle in front of her parents	Nou, toen moest ik maar in feite voor gek gezet worden bij mijn ouders. Ze is naar mijn ouders toegegaan.
Estelle	IDE	Witnessing	Father witnessed correctly but Estelle could not tell him	"ja, maar zit jij niet gewoon in het verkeerde lichaam?". En toen was er een stemmetje in mijn hoofd van "ja, ja! Zeg nou ja" en ik heb 'nee' gezegd
Estelle	AGN	Acceptance	Father understood difficulty with disclosing gender identity	"ik heb het je toen toch gevraagd? Ik wist het toch?". "Ja", zeg ik, "maar ik kon geen 'ja' zeggen". "Nee", zei hij, "dat weet ik".

Estelle	AGN	Acceptance	Father accepted immediately and never used old name	Het was ook meteen goed. Het was meteen goed. Hij heeft me daarna nooit meer met mijn oude naam aangesproken
Estelle	IDE	Identity	Father sometimes refers to young Estelle as a boy when talking to others and she also acknowledges that she was a little boy	Want daar liep een jongetje rond.
Estelle	AGN	Emancipation	Participated in a TV program which adds to visibility	Het is ook heel fijn voor de zichtbaarheid
Estelle	AGN	Acceptance	People know about her transgender identity and do not act upon it	Het speelt geen rol. Op mijn werk niet, hier in mijn omgeving niet... Terwijl mensen het weten, ze doen er niks meer mee.
Estelle	AGN	vulnerability	Feels less vulnerable since disclosure	Het maakt je een stuk minder kwetsbaar. Ik heb geen geheimen meer.
Estelle	AGN	Self-acceptance	Is open about transgender history	Een tijdje terug had iemand het over niks vertellen, over stealth leven. Ik ben heel open over waar ik vandaan kom.
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Approached by fetishists online	maar dan zit er nog net een extra laagje achter. Want die vinden het wel interessant om misschien eens de kans te krijgen om te kijken hoe dat er allemaal uitziet. Dat vinden ze opwindend
Estelle	VIC	Microaggressions	Approached by fetishists online	Dat gebeurt gewoon. Er zijn mensen die het verschrikkelijk interessant en opwindend vinden.
Estelle	IDE	Witnessing	Difficult: objectification is wrong but it is also a flattering acknowledgement of her femininity.	Het is niet leuk om geobjectiveerd te worden, maar het is wel weer erkenning. Dat is zo'n aparte tegenstelling. Af en toe dan word je er boos om en af en toe word je erdoor gevlaid.
Estelle	IDE	Witnessing	Acknowledgement of successful transition	Dan is dat veel meer een bevestiging dat het dan wel goed afgelopen is. Dat je de transitie goed bent doorgelopen

Participant	Category	Theme	Note	Quote
Céline	FAM	Family situation	Grew up with her mother	Ik ben eigenlijk opgegroeid in een eenoudergezin. Eigenlijk alleen m'n moeder, een alleenstaande moeder
Céline	VIC	Victimisation	Refuses victim identity and changes the subject to transition	Nou, ik voel me niet een slachtoffer. Wil je trouwens weten hoe dat allemaal gegaan is, dat hele transgendersverhaal?
Céline	TRA	Transition	Mother knew early on that gender identity or heterosexuality did not apply	had ze wel zoiets van 'oké er is iets met mijn kind aan de hand maar wat het is dat weet ik niet'. Ze dacht wel dat ik homo zou worden, om het maar even zo te zeggen.
Céline	TRA	Transition	First talked about gender identity when she was 7	Toen ik een jaar of 7 was heb ik voor het eerst geuit dat ik heel graag een meisje wilde zijn.
Céline	TRA	Transition	mother learned more about gender identity	'oké ik zit nu een aflevering over mijn eigen kind te kijken'. Maar wij kenden dat niet. Er werd ook nog gesproken van transseksuelen.
Céline	TRA	Transition	first steps towards transition	En zo zijn we toen doorverwezen naar [city] want daar zat een kinderpsycholoog die daarin gespecialiseerd was
Céline	TRA	Transition	start of transition	Toen kreeg ik inderdaad de diagnose opgeplakt, en dan kom je in het medische circuit terecht, hoe dat dan gaat.
Céline	TRA	Transition	transition process	dan moest je ieder halfjaar komen, of iedere 4 maanden...
Céline	COM	support	mother helped her realise transgender identity and to commence transition	Ik zeg het eigenlijk heel vaak, dat ik alles aan mijn moeder te danken heb
Céline	TRA	Transition	back in the day, no one knew about transgenderism	Niemand had ooit gehoord van het woord 'transgender'. Als ik zei 'ik ben transgender' keken ze me aan alsof ik aan het vloeken was.

Céline	IDE	witnessing	importance of knowing about transgender identity	Dat is hetzelfde als dat jij je been breekt maar je weet niet dat je je been kan breken. Dan weet je wel 'er is iets niet goed', maar er is niemand die tegen je zegt 'oh meid, je hebt een gebroken been'.
Céline	IDE	witnessing	importance of knowing about transgender identity	Je hoort tegenwoordig wel verhalen van kinderen die het heel jong al weten, maar nu weten de ouders ook wat het is
Céline	FAM	Family situation	difficult for her that her mother's ethics and lifestyle are different than hers	omdat ik zo'n intens goede band met mijn moeder heb. Wij zijn echt 4 handen op 1 buik. En het feit dat zij niet dezelfde levenswijze aanhoudt als mij vond ik ontzettend moeilijk.
Céline	FAM	Family situation	grew up to be very close to her mother	En omdat mijn moeder en ik samen waren de hele tijd... Dat we elkaar steunden, dan heb je gewoon een extra speciale band
Céline	TRA	Transition	transition was most important choice she had made in her life	De transitie is de beste keuze die ik ooit gemaakt heb, maar daarnaast...
Céline	TRA	Transition	compares transgenderism to a disease one needs to deal with	dat is toch een soort ziekte. En dan heb ik het niet over een geestesziekte, maar een aangeboren afwijking
Céline	TRA	stealth	did not choose to go 'stealth'	Soms hoor je wel verhalen van 'we zijn toen verhuisd om ervan af te zijn', en dat heb ik niet gehad
Céline	TRA	stealth	everyone knew that she was transgender	dat zorgde er wel voor dat het moeilijk is. Omdat iedereen gewoon van je verhaal afweet
Céline	VIC	Victimisation	says that her peers were 'naturally' crude	En kinderen, die zijn natuurlijk kei, en keihard.
Céline	IDE	witnessing	nobody was surprised when she disclosed her transgender identity	Niemand was in shock toen ik naar buiten kwam van "nou jongens, ik denk dat ik in het verkeerde lijf geboren ben".
Céline	IDE	witnessing	nobody was surprised when she disclosed her transgender identity	"Dat wisten we eigenlijk al wel". Het kwam niemand als een verrassing, zeg maar.

Céline	AFT	coping	says happiness does not really exist	Weet je, ik ben eigenlijk tot de ontdekking dat geluk niet echt bestaat
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	has only accepted herself since the past 5 years	Maar het probleem bij heel veel transgenders is zelfacceptatie en dat heb ik eigenlijk pas nu sinds de laatste 5 jaar denk ik
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	it is still difficult for her to accept her biology	En ik had altijd dat ik niet kon accepteren dat ik zo geboren ben. Dat blijft toch wel een dingetje. Nog steeds hoor, trouwens
Céline	TRA	Transition	she did not like the uncertainty revolving her transition	Je weet niet hoe je eindigt, hoe je je ontwikkelt, je weet niet wat ze voor je kunnen doen.
Céline	TRA	Transition	it was difficult for her future to depend on professionals	Je bent afhankelijk van mensen waarvan je niet afhankelijk wil zijn. Je bent afhankelijk van wat psychiaters vinden en van wat artsen vinden, en dat is heel moeilijk
Céline	TRA	Transition	she worried about her development	En je bent ontzettend bang omdat je niet weet of je wel ontwikkelt zoals je hoopt dat je ontwikkelt
Céline	AGN	acceptance	fear of never being accepted by others	Ontzettend veel angst om nooit geaccepteerd te worden
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	fear of never being satisfied with the way she developed	en om ook niet tevreden te zijn met wie je bent
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	knowing how she would end would have calmed her nerves	Als ik zeg maar op m'n 12de had geweten dat ik er zo bij zou zitten dan had ik me geen zorgen hoeven maken, snap je
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	fear of never being satisfied with the way she developed	Maar ik was bang dat ik 2 meter zou worden met schoenmaat 43. Dat was echt een onoverkoombare angst
Céline	TRA	Transition	it was difficult for her future to depend on professionals	Dat wat ik zei: constant afhankelijk zijn van artsen en verpleegkundigen en psychiaters, en dat is heel naar om te weten dat je afhankelijk bent van die mensen om te bepalen of je krijgt wat je nodig hebt .

Céline	TRA	transgender health care	depending on transgender health care	Zo van “dit is het transgenderplaatje en daar moet je aan voldoen. Als je daar niet aan voldoet kunnen we je niet geven wat je wil”.
Céline	MHE	mental health	would not be treated if she suffered depressive complaints	Dan werd gezegd “oh nee, als je depressief bent dan kunnen we je niet behandelen”. Ja jongens, weet je... ik zit in dit lijf en natuurlijk ben ik depressief
Céline	TRA	transition	performed the role of the 'perfect' girl in order to go through with transition	Dat ik toneelspeelde, van “ja hoor, nee, ik ben uit geweest en ik heb met jongens gezoend”.
Céline	VIC	victimisation	was ostracized because she was transgender	Paria of zoiets? Dat ze je mijden.
Céline	VIC	non-acceptance	being straight made it even more difficult for her to find a boyfriend	Ik had ook nog eens de pech dat ik hetero was, dus ik viel op jongens. Dat was helemaal niet te doen. Die hebben vooral zoiets van “wat is dit voor iets engs?”
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	did not accept the fact she was transgender	Maar ik ging me daarin natuurlijk ontzettend tegen verzetten want ik hoorde daar niet bij, vroeger als kind
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	did not accept the fact she was transgender	Ik zag mezelf gewoon als vrouw. Ik accepteerde niet het feit dat ik transgender was.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	still difficult for her to see herself as transgender	Als ik in de spiegel kijk dan zie ik gewoon mezelf. Dan zie ik mezelf als vrouw, en niet als transgender
Céline	AGN	agency	knew how she wanted the course of her transition to look like	Je kan aan de blokkers, je kan aan de vrouwelijke hormonen, en ik wist ‘dit pad gaan we bewandelen’
Céline	AGN	agency	first steps in social transition	En vanaf dat moment heb ik gezegd ‘ik knip m’n haar niet meer, ik ga me genderneutraal kleden’
Céline	AGN	agency	first steps in social transition	Toen ben ik van het ene op het andere moment als [name] door het leven gegaan

Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	she felt the strong urge to be as feminine as possible	En als transgender zijnde heb je maar 1 ultrasterke drang en dat is continu maar zoveel mogelijk in dat ene aspect van gender zijn te passen
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	she felt the strong urge to be as feminine as possible	Weet je, alles moest natuurlijk soort van perfect zijn. Ja en dat is natuurlijk niet haalbaar.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	being the perfect girl helped her distract from feelings of dysphoria	Nou dat is meer... Voor mij was dat heel erg om die dysforie zeg maar zo min mogelijk te ervaren.
Céline	TRA	passing	she no longer has to disclose her transgender identity, years after her transition	Ik hoef het niet meer te vertellen, weet je wel.
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	colleagues found out that she is transgender and act differently towards her	Dus nu via-via waren ze daar achter gekomen en dat is wel een dingetje bij hun merk ik.
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	people often tell her they had a hunch that she was transgender, which she does not believe	Die opmerking krijg je dan natuurlijk ook, van 'ik dacht het al aan je te zien', of 'ik had al een gevoel'. Ok, seriously?
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	colleague told her she had large hands which gave her transgender status away	"je hebt toch wel een beetje grote handen".
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	hands did not differ in size from those of her female colleague	Dus wij doen onze handen tegen elkaar aan en we hebben allebei dezelfde handen. Dus zij zegt ineens "oh, je hebt helemaal geen grote handen".
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	she is now confident enough to look critical at responses of other people	Omdat ik nu wel genoeg zelfvertrouwen heb. En weet dat ik er gewoon goed uitzie als vrouw.
Céline	TRA	passing	she is confident about her feminine looks	Weet je, dat er gewoon geen twijfel over mogelijk is dat ik gewoon presenteer als vrouw in deze maatschappij. En dat ik me ook zo voel
Céline	AFT	response	a comment like above would have caused her to be obsessed with changing her hand size, if she were younger	Maar vroeger... had dat gezegd toen ik 16 was, en ik had bij wijze van spreken geobsedeerd geweest over de vorm van mijn handen en wat ik er eventueel aan kon

				doen om dat anders te krijgen
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	always obsessed over her length and is now fine with it	Mijn hele leven heb ik daar problemen mee gehad terwijl ik nu... denk ik helemaal niet meer “ik ben te groot”.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	When she was younger, she felt the need to be as feminine as possible	Automatisch trek je heel erg naar dat extreme vrouwelijke toe
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	is now more confident than earlier in her transition	Als je jong bent maak je je daar druk over. En nu denk ik “meid, waar heb je je druk over gemaakt?”.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	she sometimes still feels dysphoria	Snap je, om die dysforie echt te onderdrukken . Dat gevoel... Ja dat is een heel naar gevoel. Ik kan het nu nog hebben hoor
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	another person described her as someone who was born with a penis	“hallo ik ben [name] en ik ben met een penis geboren”. En toen ik dat woord ‘penis’ las werd ik gewoon misselijk vanbinnen.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	another person described her as someone who was born with a penis	En dat iemand erkent dat dat ooit aan mij heeft gezeten, daar word ik gewoon helemaal misselijk van
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	would not be able to continue living, had she a male body	Dat het niet met het leven verenigbaar is. Tenminste, voor mij is het zo.
Céline	TRA	passing	passing is very important to her	Er zijn ook heel veel transgenders die vinden het niet erg dat ze niet passabel zijn, hè?
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	would not be able to continue living, had she a male body	Want die dysforie is bij mij zo sterk dat enigszins niet passabel zijn was bij mij niet verenigbaar geweest met het leven
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	Self-acceptance is difficult. All insecurities seem to be based on her transgender identity	Ik denk dat dat bij mij juist het moeilijker gemaakt heeft, zelfacceptatie. Weet je, als jij een hele sterke dysforie ervaart bij transgender zijn dan is het nooit goed genoeg

Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	developed an eating disorder because she did not know how to be happy with her body	Ik heb 130 kilo gewogen. En dat was voor mij denk ik een soort copingmechanisme omdat ik niet wist om te gaan met een lichaam waar ik blij mee moest zijn zeg maar.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	gaining a lot of weight gave her a new reason not to be happy with her body	Dus toen had ik weer een goede reden om niet blij te zijn met mezelf
Céline	AGN	agency	decided to lose the weight	En toen heb ik op een gegeven moment de keuze gemaakt van “oké, ik moet hier hulp bij zoeken want ik kan het niet kwijtraken, die overvullige kilo’s”.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	after losing the weight she was finally happy with herself	En sinds dat moment ben ik tevreden met mezelf.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	thinks the value she attaches to appearance makes her shallow	Wat heb je voor persoonlijkheid als je alleen uiterlijk belangrijk vindt?
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	refutes the idea that she is only shallow	Maar weet je, heel eerlijk, van binnen ben ik best een goed mens geweest heel mijn leven
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	value based on her character	Ik was wel al met mijn innerlijk, met mijn karakter heel erg tevreden.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	it was difficult for her to be happy with her looks because of her transgender status	Ik was alleen ongelukkig met hoe ik eruitzag en dat heeft natuurlijk deels te maken met het transgenderzijn.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	she is searching for fulfilment	Ik merk wel dat ik een bepaalde onrust in mezelf heb. Dat ik continu op zoek blijf naar een soort vervulling in dit leven waar ik genoegdoening uit kan halen.
Céline	COM	activism	activism helps her feel useful	Ook met activisme vooral hè, dat ik me daar goed in kan uiten. Dat ik me daar heel nuttig voel.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	unreasonable demands of herself: she would want to be pregnant if she would want to have children	dan zou ik per definitie zelf zwanger willen zijn en zelf het kind willen baren. Want dat hoort dan bij het label vrouw dat je op jezelf gestempeld wil krijgen

Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	realises that she would not be immediately happy either, had she been cisgender	weet je [name], al was je wel als vrouw geboren, dan waren er waarschijnlijk ook dingen die je anders had gewild ”.
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	she can always blame her transgenderism	En ik heb altijd een soort van boeman die ik daar de schuld van kan geven
Céline	TRA	development	Did not learn what she wanted and liked in relationships and sex – important part of identity formation	toen mijn klasgenoten gingen ontdekken hoe het is om relaties te hebben, om op seksueel gebied elkaar te ontdekken en te kijken van “wat wil ik?” en “waar hou ik van?” , dat heb je allemaal niet
Céline	TRA	development	gap in her development compared to her peers	Daar loop je natuurlijk ontzettend in achter. Je bent alleen maar bezig met jezelf en met overleven
Céline	TRA	development	had friendships but no romantic relationships	Dus ik heb altijd hele goede sociale contacten gehad. Maar op het gebied van relaties loop je wel echt achter
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	blames her lack of self-acceptance for not having had relationships	Maar dat komt ook deels doordat je jezelf niet accepteert. Daar ben ik veel te laat mee begonnen
Céline	VIC	Victimisation	was confronted with abuse on a daily basis	geweld en over discriminatie en dat is natuurlijk iets... Dat maakte ik dagelijks mee hè, in mijn jeugd. In de buurt, op school... Ik was natuurlijk het mikpaaltje van alles
Céline	MEA	meaning-making	rationalises why she was targeted	Kijk, kinderen met rood haar en een bril werden gepest, maar op het moment dat ik langs liep was er natuurlijk niks interessants meer aan je rode haar of je bril.
Céline	AFT	coping	finds solace in knowing that her life looks better than the lives of her former tormenters	ik kom heel af en toe nog wel iemand tegen en dan zie je ze zo kijken van... En dan denk ik ‘ja kijk maar, maar ik heb het waarschijnlijk beter voor elkaar dan jij’

Céline	AFT	aftermath	the bullying she endured caused damage that cannot be repaired	Het is natuurlijk wel dat het een schade aanbrengt die onomkeerbaar is.
Céline	MEA	meaning-making	she rationalises the bullying	Het was ook de leeftijd. Die mensen wisten niet beter. En wat ik zeg, heb je rood haar en een bril, dan heb je het ook zwaar op school
Céline	AFT	forgiveness	former bullies regret their behaviour	‘Oké, weet je, ja ik vind het heel rot dat het zo gegaan is’, en dat zeggen heel veel mensen dan ook
Céline	MEA	meaning-making	she rationalises the bullying	Van ‘sorry hoe ik gedaan heb toen ik zo jong was’. En dan zeg ik ‘daar ben je ook jong voor’.
Céline	AFT	coping	used to hope for some kind of payback	En ik zei vroeger al tegen mijn moeder van ‘ik hoop dat als hun later kinderen krijgen dat die dan net zo gepest worden als dat ik gepest word’
Céline	MEA	meaning-making	her tormenters would understand the hurt they caused if their own children would be bullied as well	Weet je, dat ze dan voelen van binnen van ‘oh wat heb ik haar aangedaan’
Céline	AFT	coping	she no longer wishes for their children to be bullied	Nu heb ik dat niet meer. Ik denk alleen ‘ik hoop dat je kinderen niet hetzelfde meemaken als dat ik heb meegemaakt
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	transgender status made it difficult for her to accept herself	zeker het transgenderzijn niet aan bijgedragen heeft
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	thinks her perfectionism is also genetic	Het was nooit goed genoeg en het kon altijd beter dus het zit er ook wel een beetje in qua genen
Céline	COM	communion	stood up for others who were bullied	Dan werd ik zelf heel erg gepest, maar dan was er iemand in de klas die gepest werd en dan ‘hup’, kwam ik ervoor op
Céline	COM	communion	passionate about fighting against injustices since she was young	dat ik echt het beeldscherm in wilde kruipen en het op wilde lossen . En dat was al... toen ook heel intens bij mij aanwezig, dat soort gevoelens.
Céline	IDE	identity	thinks she is wired differently and has more	dat bij ons het empathiecentrum zeg maar overontwikkeld is of zo.

			empathy than most other people	Dat moet wel, want ik kan er anders geen verklaring voor vinden
Céline	FAM	Family situation	mother created her new name	en ik wil eigenlijk toch als [name] door het leven'. Die naam heeft mijn moeder gemaakt.
Céline	VIC	institutional discrimination	was not allowed to go by her chosen name until after surgery	Dus toen had ik 2 voornamen. Dat mocht ik toen natuurlijk pas aanpassen na de operatie
Céline	VIC	institutional discrimination	was not allowed to go by her chosen name until after surgery	Eerst moest je sowieso onvruchtbaar gemaakt zijn, dus je mocht niet meer in staat zijn om jezelf voort te planten, en daarna mocht je je naam veranderen
Céline	VIC	institutional discrimination	found it terrible to have documents that did not have correct gender and name	Ja, wel van dat ik mijn geslacht en naam niet mocht aanpassen want dat vond ik natuurlijk vreselijk
Céline	AFT	avoidance	avoided situations in which she would have to show her ID	of 'ik doe dat maar niet want dan willen ze m'n identiteitskaart zien. Dus je ging bepaalde dingen natuurlijk ontwijken.
Céline	VIC	institutional discrimination	her high school diploma's all have her old name	Ik heb al mijn hogeschooldiploma's... Dat is allemaal met mijn oude naam
Céline	TRA	disclosure of gender identity	because of her diploma she was forced to out herself during job interviews	Dus je moest continu overal opnieuw vertellen wat het verhaal was.
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	people would tell others, so that everyone knew she was transgender	En op andere momenten hoorde je weer via via dat het dan toch door de mensen waar je je sollicitatiegesprek mee had doorverteld was
Céline	AGN	self-acceptance	says she is not ashamed of her transgender identity	Ik hoop dat jij dat ook zo ervaart, van 'ze praat er heel open over en heel makkelijk'. Want het is niet iets waar ik me voor schaam.
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	was not allowed to hang out with certain girls in school	Omdat je ook vooral toentertijd mensen had die het niet snapten. Ik mocht bijvoorbeeld niet meer omgaan met Marokkaanse meisjes uit mijn klas

Céline	VIC	microaggressions	was not allowed to sleep in the girls' room on school trips	gevraagd 'joh, vinden jullie het goed als [name] dan bij de meisjes slaapt?', weet je wel? Nou, dat was echt een ding. Dat kon niet, ik moest apart.
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	ostracized because she could not stay in girls' or boys' rooms	Dus ja, dan word je ergens apart in een kamertje gestopt in een bed, en dat is dan jouw schoolkamp.
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	ostracized because she could not change in girls' or boys' changing rooms	Ik mocht niet omkleden bij de meisjes. Dat wilden de ouders niet. Maar ik kon ook niet bij de jongens gaan staan.
Céline	VIC	microaggressions	ostracized because she could not change in girls' or boys' changing rooms	Nou, dan werd je in het kleedhokje van de leraar gezet, van 'kleed je daar dan maar om'. Je wordt constant door de buitenwereld neergezet als... Ja. Als anders

Participant	Category	Theme	Note	Quote
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	his parents used to party often	omdat mijn vader en moeder nogal feestbeesten waren
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	his mother quit drinking when she became pregnant with Jonas	Mijn moeder is meteen gestopt met drinken toen ze wist dat ze zwanger was, en mijn vader niet
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	his parents fought often	snel ruzie met mijn vader daarover
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	his parents fought often	m'n ouders ruzie hadden
Jonas	VIC	Isolation	He did not know other children until he went to primary school	pas in aanraking met andere kinderen
Jonas	TRA	Gender knowledge	Learned that people focus on differences between boys and girls when he went to school	achter dat er een scheiding gemaakt werd
Jonas	TRA	Gender knowledge	Learned that he apparently was viewed as a girl	blijkbaar in de categorie meisjes viel

Jonas	TRA	Gender knowledge	Learned that people focus on social differences between boys and girls when he went to school	dat die verschillen er wel zijn
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	His younger brother's father has schizophrenia	de vader van m'n broertje is eh... schizofreen
Jonas	IDE	Identity and behaviour	Was generally quiet as a child but sometimes had tantrums	Ik was altijd wel een rustig kind maar ik kon ook hele woedeuitbarstingen hebben
Jonas	VIC	Insecurity / fear of abandonment	Used to stay close to his mother as a child and became angry if she left	Dus als ze dan wegging dan was ik heel boos of heel verdrietig
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	his mother was unhappy with the living situation	m'n moeder werd daar ook wel heel ongelukkig van
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	Mother's boyfriend was not child friendly	Kon ook niet goed met kinderen omgaan
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	Jonas used to fight with mother's boyfriend as a child	Voorals ik had heel vaak ruzie met hem, zelfs toen ik nog 7 of 8 of zo was
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	The boyfriend left without saying goodbye to the mother	en toen heeft 'ie z'n spullen gepakt en is 'ie weggegaan
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	Mother could not cope and dropped parenting responsibilities and Jonas took on those responsibilities	gewoon huilend op de bank heeft gelegen
Jonas	MEA	Putting in perspective	Says it was probably a shorter period than how it felt	het is waarschijnlijk een week of zo geweest
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	Mother often had short-term relationships	daartussen ook nog wat relaties gehad, eh... die ook allemaal vrij kort hebben geduurd
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	Mother eventually started dating a dangerous man	heftige relatie gekregen met een man die echt psychotisch en psychopaat was
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	The boyfriend hit the mother and she seemed to let it go	had 'ie haar eh... geslagen (...) en de volgende dag is ze weer teruggegaan naar hem

Jonas	AGN	Making statement	a	Jonas ran away from school because he was upset with his mother	ben ik weggelopen
Jonas	AGN	Self-care		He stayed with a friend for a month	Volgens mij heb ik daar een maand bij haar gewoond
Jonas	FAM	Family situation		Relationship eventually ended	geëscaleerd was door een ruzie of zo ergens een keer, die zo heftig was dat ze... dat ook hij niet meer terug is gekomen
Jonas	VIC	Isolation		He felt isolated in school because he was different from his peers	ook geen aansluiting vond bij de mensen uit mijn klas omdat ik gewoon hele andere ideeën en hele andere dingen leuk vond, en andere ideeën had en ja...
Jonas	IDE	Identity behaviour	and	He did not feel as one would expect based on his assigned gender	Ik weet dat ik eigenlijk van make-up zou moeten houden en eh... van dat soort dingen zou moeten doen, maar ja dat voelt gewoon niet prettig.
Jonas	VIC	Isolation		He did not feel typically male either	Maar ik wil ook niet meedoen met de jongens en ehm voetballen en dat soort dingen, dus ik was heel erg eenzaam in die periode.
Jonas	VIC	Isolation		Did not have people around him he connected with	Dus ik deed dat soort dingen maar ik had niet echt iemand om dat mee te doen
Jonas	MEA	Putting perspective	in	Peers did not bully because they thought Jonas was too weird	Ze hadden zoiets van 'ja, jij bent zo raar... Laten we jou maar met rust en we hebben wat makkelijkere slachtoffers om te pesten'
Jonas	IDE	Realisation gender identity		Learned about transgender identity	En in het eerste jaar kwam ik eigenlijk tot de realisatie van wat me eigenlijk dwarszat, de... het hele... transgendergedeelte kwam toen naar boven
Jonas	FAM	Family situation		freedom to realise who he was because he did not have to take responsibilities for mother and brother anymore	dus ik had niet meer m'n moeder en m'n broertje waar ik voor moest zorgen, of de zorgende rol voor nam
Jonas	IDE	Identity behaviour	and	Time to figure out gender identity	en ik had dus tijd voor mezelf om te realiseren wie ik zelf was

Jonas	SUP	Help from friend	Friend helped by providing information about transition	die zei van 'Oh, dan kan je gewoon naar het [gender clinic] en moet je je daar aanmelden want ze hebben daar eh... ze hebben daar mensen voor die je daarbij kunnen helpen'.
Jonas	IDE	Identity	Transition process started out difficult and Jonas needed to be absolutely sure	En in het begin was het heel zwaar, want je wordt gewoon helemaal door de mangel gehaald, en of je het wel aankan, en of het wel zeker is, en of je het wel zeker weet
Jonas	COM	Support	In transition it is important to inform social circle	en hoe de relatie is dan met je omgeving. En ja, of je het aankan om het mensen te vertellen
Jonas	AGN	Acceptance	Mother was against transition	omdat ik er in het begin heel erg mijn moeder erbij betrok die er extreem tegen was...
Jonas	VIC	Microaggressions	Mother implied transgender identity was a problem and she was the cause	Die zei van 'Ja, het komt door mij' en 'Het is mijn schuld' en eh... 'Want ik heb alles fout gedaan in jullie opvoeding'
Jonas	VIC	Microaggressions	Says his mother tried to make him feel guilty	mij aanpraten van een schuldgevoel dat zij zich daar er naar over voelde
Jonas	VIC	Microaggressions	Mother compared transition to losing her child	"ik voel me hier naar bij en ik eh... voel me alsof ik een van mijn kinderen ga verliezen", en weet je wel
Jonas	AFT	coping	wondered whether contact was worth the abuse	Dat trok ik op een gegeven moment zo slecht dat ik zoiets had van 'ja, is het contact het nog wel waard?'
Jonas	AGN	agency	Decided to go through the process without mother	maar op een gegeven moment had ik zoiets van 'ja nu ga ik haar niet meer betrekken bij het proces
Jonas	AGN	agency	prioritised himself	En ik ga me er niet meer naar over voelen want het is mijn leven en niet haar leven
Jonas	AGN	agency	No longer involving mother resulted in being allowed to start treatment	En dat heb ik toen tegen die psycholoog gezegd, van 'ik laat haar thuis' en toen mocht ik inderdaad met de behandeling beginnen

Jonas	AGN	agency	prioritised himself	die beslissing voor jezelf gemaakt dat eh... dat je je niet meer laat tegenhouden door wie dan ook, en dat je voor je eigen geluk gaat kiezen .
Jonas	TRA	transition	transition was the right choice for him	En ik merkte gewoon vanaf het eerste moment dat het de juiste keuze was geweest om hormonen te gaan gebruiken en eh... dat mijn lichaam steeds meer paste bij hoe ik me voelde
Jonas	MHE	mental health	transition helped improve other aspects in his life as well	maar dit was wel een van de oorzaken die ik direct kon aanpakken waardoor ik gewoon minder ehm... minder belemmerd werd in het dagelijks leven waardoor ik ook andere problemen waar ik mee zat beter kon aanpakken .
Jonas	MHE	mental health	transition helped improve other aspects in his life as well	was op een gegeven moment wel goed om weer m'n bed... om het huis uit te durven en de moeite te nemen om op te staan in de ochtend
Jonas	AGN	acceptance	accepting responses of social circle	de vrienden die ik heb ontmoet in [city] die reageerden allemaal heel goed , en de rest van mijn omgeving eigenlijk ook
Jonas	AGN	Acceptance	mother found it difficult to accept	Behalve mijn moeder, die bleef eh... ja die bleef er heel veel moeite mee houden.
Jonas	AGN	Acceptance	mother realised transition had a positive effect on Jonas	en is ze steeds meer de goede kant op gegaan , want ze merkte gewoon... dat ze me niet.. Ja dat ik niet 'weg' was
Jonas	MEA	downplaying	Rationalises his mother response	Het is met ouders, of in ieder geval goede ouders dat ze zich je hele leven zorgen om je blijven maken
Jonas	AGN	Acceptance	media coverage helped his mother understand	zeker de laatste tijd is er gewoon in de media veel meer sprake van transgenders
Jonas	VIC	Microaggressions	no longer feels guilty when contact with mother is rough	Het is niet meer zo dat wanneer ik bij haar ben, dat we dan ongemakkelijke stiltes hebben, of dat het... vervelend is of dat ik me bezwaard voel of schuldig of...

Jonas	TRA	surgery	certain surgeries are not necessary for him to feel complete	Dat vind ik niet belangrijk en het definieert niet wie ik ben
Jonas	COM	communion	could not connect with fellow students so quit education	of die waren zich aan het aanmelden bij een studentenvereniging en zo.. En ik was daar allang... allang voorbij. Dus toen ben ik daar halverwege het jaar mee gestopt
Jonas	TRA	transition	needed to disclose gender identity when applying for new job because of gender mark in passport	mijn paspoort was toen nog niet aangepast , dus ik heb meteen bij de aanmelding kenbaar gemaakt wat er aan de hand was.
Jonas	AGN	Acceptance	organisation treated the matter respectfully	En daar zijn ze heel goed mee omgegaan
Jonas	AGN	Acceptance	new colleagues responded well to his transgender identity	En de groep heeft het gewoon goed op gereageerd, en gewoon eigenlijk meteen geaccepteerd
Jonas	AGN	agency	told colleagues he was willing to answer questions and showed understanding in case they were confused	kom gerust naar me toe, want ik wil best jullie vragen beantwoorden . En ik vind dat niet erg. En ik snap het ook best als jullie vragen hebben
Jonas	TRA	passing	did not have to disclose his gender identity at his new workplace	En op m'n nieuwe baan heb ik het niet meer hoeven vertellen, dus dat eh... Dat was wel prettig
Jonas	AGN	Acceptance	Argues gender identity is a private matter	Je hebt gewoon recht op je eigen privacy, je eigen leven
Jonas	AGN	Acceptance	transgender identity might influence his chances of being employed	Dat je daar een eerlijke kans krijgt of zo
Jonas	MEA	meaning-making	negative connotations with victim role	Maar hij kon heel goed zwelgen in een slachtofferrol, van “de wereld doet mij dit aan... en ik doe altijd alles voor mensen en ik krijg er nooit wat voor terug...”
Jonas	AGN	agency	left job and the house where he did not feel at home	Ik ben weg bij een baan die ik haatte en weg uit een huis waar ik me heel onprettig voelde.

Jonas	AFT	future	happy with the current situation and neutral to positive about future	leef ik gewoon met de dag en ben ik blij met waar ik nu ben . En zie ik dingen in een positieve lijn verder gaan
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	unhappiest moments included middle school and the period in which he had an aggressive stepfather	Ja eigenlijk wel de middelbare school , en die hele heftige periode met die vriend van m'n moeder die zo agressief was. En gewoon heel angstig
Jonas	FAM	Family situation	thinks he would have killed stepfather if he were present when his mother was beaten up	En ik dacht dat als ik erbij was geweest had ik hem waarschijnlijk doodgemaakt, weet je wel?
Jonas	MEA	meaning-making	rationalises the situation	Ik weet me altijd wel te realiseren 'alles gaat voorbij'.
Jonas	VIC	victimisation	never felt like a victim	Ja, ik wil eigenlijk zeggen van niet. In ieder geval, omdat ik... ja... het gevoel niet heb gehad.
Jonas	AGN	agency	generally does not ask for help	Misschien eerder als iemand die te laat om hulp vraagt omdat ik altijd eerst alles zelf wil onderzoeken, of zelf iets wil onderzoeken of oplossen
Jonas	MEA	meaning-making	thinks not being harassed on the street grants him a certain privilege	een zeker privilege heb ten opzichte van andere mensen. Dat ik gewoon niet op straat word lastiggevalen of nageroepen...
Jonas	MEA	meaning-making	Looking masculine and being white support his privilege	Ja ik ben gewoon... blank en ik heb een mannelijk voorkomen.
Jonas	MEA	meaning-making	thinks not being harassed on the street grants him a certain privilege	die... privilege heb, van dat ik me vrij kan bewegen en dat ik niet bang hoeft te zijn dat mensen me op mijn uiterlijk, of op hoe ik eruitzie beoordelen
Jonas	MEA	downplaying	compares his situation to that of transgender women	de transitie doormaken van man naar vrouw... Ook op latere leeftijd. Die hebben gewoon veel meer eh... ja veel meer vooroordelen waar ze mee te maken krijgen
Jonas	COM	activism	concerned with situation of transgender women	als ik dat dan lees dan denk ik 'ik wil heel graag iets doen, maar ik weet niet zo goed wat'

Jonas	COM	activism	tries shielding himself from too many cases as reading about them affects him negatively	Dus dat bedoel ik met afschermen. Want ja, je kan jezelf er helemaal gek mee maken, met alles dat er gebeurt, maar daar zijn zij ook niet mee geholpen.
Jonas	VIC	Microaggressions	because of his ambiguous gender expression people often asked him if he was a man or a woman	mensen wisten nooit helemaal zeker, en sommige mensen vroegen het dan , weet je wel? Dat is gewoon... best wel naar als mensen aan je vragen van 'Goh... ben je een jongen of een meisje?'
Jonas	VIC	Microaggressions	thinks it was none of their business	Waarom willen mensen dat weten? Waarom is het belangrijk?
Jonas	VIC	victimisation	he was groped by a man on a night out	op een gegeven moment komt een jongen op me af en die pakt me in mijn kruis vast.
Jonas	AGN	agency	Jonas became very angry in response	En toen ben ik wel helemaal geflipt. Echt gewoon... Intens boos geworden.
Jonas	VIC	victimisation	The men shouted sexist slurs at him	Begonnen die jongens mij uit te schelden van 'Ja, wat ben je voor een hoer', en zo... Dat soort dingen
Jonas	MEA	meaning-making	knew the men were up to something	Ik voelde al een beetje aan dat ze naar mij aan het kijken waren, en ik dacht van 'Ja, ja... ik weet wel waar ze op uit zijn'
Jonas	MEA	meaning-making	the men felt entitled to figure out whether Jonas was a man or a woman	op het moment dat het gebeurde toen wist ik ook van ja... het is een controle van... ze hebben het met elkaar besproken van... 'Is het een jongen, of is het een meisje?'
Jonas	MEA	meaning-making	thinks sexual violence is much worse than a fight between two participating parties	gevecht waarbij je elkaar klappen geeft. Dat is ook heftig natuurlijk... Maar dat is minder heftig dan geweld dat iemand jou gewoon betast
Jonas	VIC	victimisation	Hopes the person who groped him will never do this in the future due to his angry response	Ik hoop ook dat degene die dat gedaan heeft. Dat 'ie op dat moment zo geschrokken is van mijn reactie, dat 'ie dat soort dingen in ieder geval niet meer doet.