



When dad becomes a woman

A Critical Discourse Studies approach to gender performativity in American and Norwegian reality TV and documentary film

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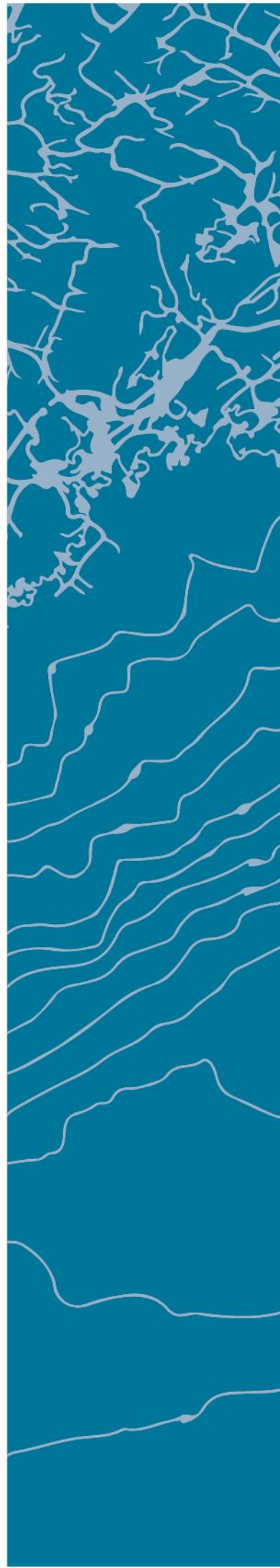
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Preface

I would like to thank my supervisor, Ingrid Kristine Hasund, for excellent guidance and for believing in me and seeing the project through to the finish line.

I am grateful for the education I have received at the University of Agder and for all the different lecturers who have made me interested in English Linguistics and Gender Studies.

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A very special thanks to my son, Dennis, for being the light of my life.

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Summary

In this master's thesis I have wanted to say something about male-to-female transgender identity construction and the way in which it takes place in ordinary life. I have investigated how two different families negotiate the feminine gender identity of their father, and how these MTF informants 'do' gender. The conversations I have analyzed come from the Norwegian documentary film *All about my father* (2002), and two episodes each from the American reality TV series *Keeping up with the Kardashians* (2015) and *I am Cait* (2015). Documentary film provides research material that resembles authentic speech and contributes to the construction of linguistic reality. The aim and scope has been to perform a qualitative case study.

I have taken a Critical Discourse Analysis approach that includes several theories and methods that make up an interdisciplinary approach. Judith Butler's theory of performativity and social constructionist theories about gender has made up the theoretical gender studies framework. The main research method has been Membership Categorization Analysis, combined with the 'identities in interaction'-model and theories about pronouns and naming.

The vantage point has been conversations concerned with gender transitions and the feminine part of the transgender father's identity. I have investigated how the informants construct themselves, and how they are constructed by others through membership categories, in particular those related to the MCDs 'family' and 'gender', and through pronouns and names. Where relevant, stance and stylistic features come into consideration.

I have found that the membership category 'dad' seems to be a difficult category for MTF transsexuals, especially when it comes to 'passing' as female. Both informants authenticate, and express positive stances towards, the category, but its use involves challenges in terms of MCD 'family' membership and one's gender identity. While the informants 'do' gender through their linguistic choices, they also attest to having a gendered 'core' or soul, which is contradictory to Butler's argument that the soul is culturally inscribed on the body. I have also found that the families express ambivalence towards the transition, and that there seems to be more resistance towards the membership category 'woman' than 'transgender', although there is a bit more resistance towards the latter in the American family. Finally, my findings show that while the American informant takes control of her gender performance through the use of feminine name and pronouns, the Norwegian informant seems to be more dependent on the context.

Content:

<i>Preface</i>	2
<i>Summary</i>	3
<i>Content</i>	4
1. Introduction	6
2. Theoretical framework	7
2.1. Critical Discourse Studies.....	7
2.1.1. CDS and qualitative case studies.....	7
2.1.2. CDS background and research theory.....	8
2.2. Membership Categorization Analysis.....	10
2.2.1. Origins and definition of MCA.....	10
2.2.2. Main concepts of MCA.....	12
2.3. Indexicality and the 'identities in interaction' model.....	13
2.3.1. Indexicality.....	14
2.3.2. The 'identities in interaction' model.....	15
2.4. Pronouns and names.....	17
2.4.1. Pronouns.....	17
2.4.2. Names.....	18
2.5. Gender identity according to social constructionism.....	21
2.5.1. Definition, history and background.....	21
2.5.2. Gender identity and the individual.....	23
2.5.3. Gender identity, language and the media.....	24
2.6. Judith Butler and the theory of performativity.....	24
2.6.1. Grand theory and CDS.....	24
2.6.2. Gender identity according to Butler.....	25
2.6.3. Performativity.....	27
2.6.4. Biology and transgender identity.....	29
2.6.5. Language and gender.....	31
3. Research method	32
3.1. Selection of methods.....	32
3.2. Operationalization of methods.....	34
3.3. Structure of analysis chapters and appendix.....	38
4. Empirical data and selection of informants	40
4.1. Documentary film.....	40
4.2. Selection of informants.....	41
5. Analysis of <i>All about my father</i> (Norway, 2002)	42
5.1. Esben Esther Pirelli Benestad constructs h/erself.....	43
5.1.1. Names and naming.....	43
5.1.2. Pronouns.....	43
5.1.3. The membership category 'dad' and MCD 'family'.....	45
5.2. Esben Esther Pirelli Benestad is constructed by others.....	47
5.2.1. Names and naming.....	47
5.2.2. Pronouns.....	49
5.2.3. The membership category 'dad' and MCD 'family'.....	51
6. Analysis of <i>Keeping up with the Kardashians</i> and <i>I am Cait</i> (USA, 2015)	57
6.1. Caitlyn Jenner constructs herself.....	57
6.1.1. Names and naming.....	58
6.1.2. Pronouns.....	60
6.1.3. The membership category 'dad' and MCD 'family'.....	62
6.2. Caitlyn Jenner is constructed by others.....	63

6.2.1. Names and naming.....	63
6.2.2. Pronouns.....	72
6.2.3. The membership category 'dad' and MCD 'family'.....	78
7. Discussion.....	80
7.1. Membership Categories.....	80
7.2. The construction of self through names, naming and pronouns.....	83
7.3. The negotiation of gender identity through co-construction in interactions.....	85
7.4. The difficult concept of the membership category 'dad'.....	88
7.5. The performative and everyday gender construction.....	91
8. Conclusion.....	93
<i>Literature.....</i>	<i>96</i>
Appendix (1): <i>All About my father</i> (2002).....	99
Appendix (2): <i>Keeping up with the Kardashians</i> (2015) 'About Bruce part 1'.....	111
Appendix (3): <i>Keeping up with the Kardashians</i> (2015) 'About Bruce part 1'.....	121
Appendix (4): <i>I am Cait</i> (2015) 'Meeting Cait'.....	134
Appendix (5): <i>I am Cait</i> (2015) 'A New Beginning'.....	147

1 Introduction

The study of gender performativity is a field of research in which gender studies and linguistics intersect. Gender identity work is accomplished through negotiations with other people and the surrounding context, in which language and its available categories play an important part. A common social constructionist approach to identity is that it is in part constructed through culture, and in part through a person's inner feelings about themselves (Mæhlum et. al. 2008: 110). A qualitative approach to gender and language research may accentuate the dynamic aspect of gender identity construction, or more precisely, how people 'do' gender in everyday interactions. An interesting and relatively new research project in this regard is the investigation of masculine and feminine speech styles in the mediation of identity production in Greek TV, where Stamou et. al 2012 shows how participants make use of membership categories to construct feminine gender identities. However, more research on transgender identity construction is in demand.

Gender identities and gender constructions repeat gendered norms that already exist within society, but also contribute to make or remake them. The Critical Discourse Studies approach (Fairclough 2010, Meyer & Wodak 2016) combined with Judith Butler's theory of performativity and Membership Categorization Analysis (Sacks 1984, Schegloff 2007, Stokoe 2012) allow for a case study that investigates these social constructs on a micro-level. My aim is to take a critical approach to transgender identity construction through language choices, investigate it qualitatively and discuss the findings in relation to existing theories about gender construction. The scope is limited to membership categories, naming and the use of pronouns in one Norwegian and one American family with a male-to-female transsexual parent, through source material from documentary films and reality TV.

Chapter 2 gives a survey of the different theories that makes up the theoretical framework of this thesis, with Critical Discourse Studies as the overarching frame. Chapter 3 explains the research method and the structure of the appendix and the transcription conventions, while chapter 4 sketches out the empirical data and defends the selection of informants and source material. Chapter 5 and 6 are the analysis chapters, with the Norwegian documentary first, followed by the American reality TV series. Finally, chapter 7 discusses the findings and connects the theory with the analysis, while the conclusion in chapter 8 sums up the main findings and suggests further research projects.

2 Theoretical framework

This chapter starts with an overview of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), which constitutes the overall framework of this thesis. Then, the other aspects of the linguistic framework are discussed, starting with Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), which is the most important linguistic theory and method for analysis. Theories about indexicality and the 'identities in interaction'-model provides some tools that are necessary for the reading of MCA in the context of gender identity. A short theoretical discussion about pronouns and names follows, before a discussion of gender identity and Judith Butler's theory of performativity.

2.1 Critical Discourse Studies

Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) provides a framework in which ideological effects may be investigated, and it provides the freedom to do so through the combination of various interdisciplinary methods and so-called 'grand theories'. The grand theory that has been selected for this thesis is Judith Butler's performativity theory, which will be discussed thoroughly in part 6 of the theory chapter.

2.1.2 CDS and qualitative case studies

Fairclough (2010) recommends that Critical Discourse Studies should take an interdisciplinary approach through a combination of methods. In this thesis, the main research method will be Membership Categorization Analysis as it is explained by Harvey Sacks (1992, in Schegloff 2006: 462) and Elizabeth H. Stokoe and Janet Smithson (2001), supported by the 'identities in interaction' model (Bucholz & Hall, 2005) and theories about pronouns (Eckert and MC-Connel-Ginet 2013), and naming (Pilcher 2017). Before getting into these approaches in detail, Critical Discourse Studies will be discussed. The entirety of this case study leans on social constructionist epistemology, which conceives "[...] discourse as the result of jointly constructed meanings of the world" (Wodak 2016: 16, Linell 1998: 210).

Through the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Studies, it is possible to investigate issues related to power in a critical way while making the researcher's personal position and interests in the matter clear to the reader (Meyer & Wodak 2016: 3-4).

"CDS see discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as a social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258).

In CDS, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned, which means that gender identity is *simultaneously shaped* by and *contributes to shaping* its discourse. That means that the gender identity that is performed and negotiated in conversations both maintains and is based on existing gender expressions, while simultaneously contributing to transforming or changing them.

This thesis is structured as a qualitative case-study of a narrow and limited set of empirical data. Qualitative studies are concerned with human issues or processes, and explore these in their natural setting (Postholm 2010: 43). Postholm (2010: 36) explains that qualitative research is inductive, which means that the research takes situational conditions into consideration. Inductively oriented approaches gather abundant data to discover new insights about problems the researcher is curious about (Meyer & Wodak 2001: 18). Postholm (2010: 33-34) argues that the key to qualitative research is its strong connection to the constructivist paradigm and the idea that meaning is a social construct made by individuals in their lifeworld. That way, the qualitative approach is well suited for the aim and scope of this thesis and its investigation of gender identity as a social construct or 'doing'.

2.1.2 CDS background and research theory

Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak founded Critical Discourse Studies after a symposium in Amsterdam in 1990 (Meyer & Wodak 2016: 4). In contrast to what Wodak/Fairclough calls 'closed' theories of linguistics, CDS includes an expanding number of methods and is open to new additions. What is important with CDS research is not the method per se, but the approaches and goals that are connected with it. In this way, CDS is better viewed as a *school* or *paradigm* rather than a method. Teun van Dijk (2013) argues that what started out as Critical Discourse Analysis should be regarded as Critical Discourse *Studies* to avoid the confusion that CDS is one method, when there are several methods available for its use. More important than method are the principles that define the approaches of CDS: They are problem-oriented,

interdisciplinary, concerned with the deconstruction of power and ideologies, investigate semiotic data, and the investigators try to make their own positioning and interests clear, while being self-reflective towards their research process (Meyer & Wodak 2016: 4).

Meyer & Wodak (2016: 2) explains that researchers of CDS take an interest in disciplines that have emerged in the point of intersection between the humanities and social sciences, such as semiotics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, conversation analysis and discourse studies. Investigators take interest in 'naturally occurring' language use instead of fabricated examples, and the focus is on larger units than isolated words and sentences, for instance conversations and speech acts (Austin 1962: 6). This fits in nicely with the format of the documentary film and reality television, which should represent conversation that occurs spontaneously, or in the least, that is not scripted.

When it comes to the concept of 'critical', it is important to clarify what this term means in the context of CDS. Critical does not necessarily mean 'negative', rather, it "[...] implies specific ethical standards: an intention to make one's position, research interests and values explicit and their criteria as transparent as possible [...]" (van Leeuwen 2006: 293). Wodak (2016: 7) explains that critical research focuses on "the reduction of illusion in society". That means that this kind of research could show how ideologies or concepts that explain social phenomena are false, or that social norms that everyone perceives as 'truth' could be based on myths and preconceptions rather than reality (Fairclough 2010: 34).

Fairclough (2010: 7) explains that critique brings a normative element into analysis, which means that it focuses on something that is wrong with a society, and suggests how to make it better. In addition, it makes the interconnectedness of things visible (Fairclough 2010: 39). This implies that the critique must be grounded in values, i.e. 'the good society', and what Fairclough calls "human well-being and flourishing". The values of a person depends in part on their cultural background, in part on other factors, but it has to be mentioned that 'values' is a difficult concept that is indeed quite subjective. If the researcher takes the position of judge in this regard and assumes the role of the one with a better judgement, it could cause all kinds of prejudice and wrongdoings.

"A primary focus of CDA is on the effect of power relations and inequalities in producing social wrongs, and in particular on discursive aspects of power relations and inequalities: on dialectical relations between discourse and power, and their effects on other relations within the social process and their elements. This includes questions of ideology, understanding ideologies to be 'meaning in the service of power' (Thompson 1984): ways of representing aspects of the world, which may be operationalized in ways of acting and interacting and in

'ways of being' or identities, that contribute to establishing or sustaining unequal relations of power [...]." (Fairclough 2010: 8).

Ideologies regarding patriarchal gender hierarchies and heteronormative power structures may appear as common sense through societal discourses (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 40). Linguistic practices may contribute to create, sustain or challenge such ideologies, and thereby demonstrate the performativity of gender identity (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 41). In the case of transgender identity, the access to a position within the binary gender system may be restricted, while the language choices of the transgender subject signals the desired position. If the ways of being a gendered subject in society represents and operationalizes these power structures, it should be reflected in the language that is used for communication between representatives of each gender.

Fairclough (2010: 17, 18) suggests that there should be a change in priorities in CDS research from structures to strategies. He explains that strategies have a strongly discursive character, and because they include imagined changes for new practices and systems as well as discourses, arguments, and narratives that interpret and explain different areas of social life, they may contribute to make a change for the better of human well-being in the future. This means that the strategies employed in 'doing' gender are interesting in and of themselves, not only as means to support overarching power structures in society.

2.2 Membership Categorization Analysis

2.2.1 Origins and definition of MCA

Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) is a method for the analysis of lexical categories and their relation to culture and social order. MCA is based on theories by Harvey Sacks, who wanted "to describe [the] methods persons use in doing social life" (Sacks 1984: 21, in Silverman 1998: 63). It belongs to ethnomethodology, which is a sociological approach that investigates what people actually do in order to find out how social order is achieved (Fitzgerald & Housley 2015: 5). MCA is well suited for specific case studies that focus on certain categorical features of talk and interaction, and the intention is to reveal the discourse practices people make use of to accomplish social action (Stokoe & Attenborough 2014: 161). A membership category is a turn-generated identity-for-interaction (Stokoe 2012: 278), such as 'mother' or 'baby'. MCA has a focus on methodical practices of describing the world, instead of focusing on how courses of social action are structured into systems of interaction

(Stokoe & Attenborough 2014: 163). Because of its connection to social norms (Fitzgerald & Reynolds 2015: 100), MCA is a useful tool for the examination of 'doing gender' outside of the binary gender system.

Elizabeth H. Stokoe and Janet Smithson (2001: 227) defines Membership Categorization Analysis as follows:

"[...] MCA examines the 'locally used, invoked and organized membership categories' (Hester and Eglin 1997: 3) and claims to be the study of culture-in-interaction. When speakers problematize some aspect of the interaction, common-sense knowledge or culture is displayed to each other and to the analyst."

This means that the categories that are invoked in every-day conversation in order to identify the speaker and their interlocutor display the local cultural context that is embedded in each category and the actions that are connected with it. This way, 'common-sense-knowledge' is actually an expression and identifier of local culture that becomes apparent in talk.

Furthermore, Schegloff (2007: 433) argues the importance of separating '(membership) categorization' from '(person) reference'. Terms for categories of people may be used for both referring and describing, where the main difference is that when someone is referred to, they are simply mentioned, while the process of describing someone ascribes some kind of meaning content to them as a person (Schegloff 2007: 444). Each membership category belongs to different groups or pairs and has a set of activities that are connected with them. A certain MCA may be realized through direct categorization or labeling, or through predicates bound to different categories.

MCA has been described as 'culture in action' because of its general functions in language, which are described as common-sensical, obvious, and as cultural clichés (Licoppe 2015: 72). According to Harvey Sacks (1992: 25, in Licoppe 2015: 72), people are so committed to the correctness of membership categories that if these categories are faulty or incorrect, it may cause communication to break down. This means that the person who is unable to do category work correctly may be seen either as incompetent 'members' or as unable to 'do being ordinary' (Sacks 1984, in Licoppe 2015: 72). This means that the speaker's gender expression should be in accordance with the gendering membership categories that are selected by them in order to do their gender. Also, one may assume that their interlocutors will select membership categories according to the perceived gender expression.

2.2.2 Main concepts of MCA

Initially, the term 'category bound activities' was used to describe actions, knowledge, features or values that were connected to a certain category (Sacks 1974 in Fitzgerald & Reynolds 2015: 100). Later, the term was expanded to include knowledge, beliefs, entitlements, obligations and typifications of activities, and is now known as 'category-bound predicates' (Fitzgerald & Reynolds 2015: 100). This means that MCA is inference-rich in that it is linked to a set of activities, category-bound activities, and 'common-sense' expectations. As a consequence, membership categories can reveal a great deal about a person (Silverman 1998: 74). It also helps members of a society sort each other, sometimes normatively, through category-based attribution, which gives it a function of moral ordering (Fitzgerald & Reynolds 2015: 100). Through category-bound predicates, the characteristics of a category are expressed through the predicate that is tied to it (Stokoe 2012: 281). A subject such as *he* or *<name>* may also be realized through category-tied predicates, even though the subject is not categorized in itself. There are two different terms which are used within MCA predicates. The term 'category tied' refers to those category features that are not taken for granted and need to be made explicit, while 'category-bound' refers to taken-for-granted features that are experienced as naturally related to a category (Fitzgerald & Reynolds 2015: 99). In addition to this, *category-bound activities* may be linked to certain categories in context, such as "'Why are *men* (category) so *reluctant to go to the doctors* (activity)?" (Stokoe 2012: 281, Silverman 1998: 83).

There are several options for group membership for each category. *Membership Categorization Devices* refer to the collective categories that each membership category belongs to. Each category may belong to several MCDs according to various rules of application (Stokoe 2012: 281, Silverman 1998: 79). For instance, both 'dad' and 'daughter' belong to the MCD 'family', but 'dad' may also belong to the MCD 'gender'. Although it may be perceived as an analyst's resource, an MCD is enacted upon and made operational and relevant by participants throughout the course of interaction (Butler & Fitzgerald 2010: 2465). This means that implicit MCDs may also be important to the identity work that is taking place in a given context. The categories may also go together in *standardized relational pairs*, which are pairs of categories that are in some way obligated to one another, such as 'husband-wife' or 'parent-child' (Stokoe 2012: 281). There is also a *duplicative organization* in which categories that work together as a unit has certain obligations towards each other, such as 'mother', 'father', 'aunt', 'sister, and 'daughter' in the same 'family' (Stokoe 2012: 281). In

relation to grouping, membership categories may stand in a hierarchical relationship to each other, such as 'baby', 'teenager' and 'adult' (Stokoe 2012: 281). Lastly, gendering is often marked through *category-activity puzzles*, such as 'male nurse' (Stokoe 2012: 281).

In addition, there are some rules and maxims that are connected to membership categories and its analysis. *The economy rule* states that "[a] single category may be sufficient to describe a person" (Stokoe 2012: 281), even if other categories are linguistically available. *The consistency rule* states that two categories that are used next to each other belong to the same MCD by default (Stokoe 2012: 281), for instance will 'father' and 'daughter' be understood as members of the same family. *The hearer's maxim* (Stokoe 2012: 281) states that if two or more categories are used in a way that makes it seem like they belong to the same MCD, that is how the listener should interpret them. Similarly, *the viewer's maxim* explains that if the viewer sees a category-bound activity being done, they should interpret it as being done by a member of the category the activity is bound to. The second viewer's maxim explains the relationship between activities that follow each other as the consequence of a norm and the natural order in which one follows the other, such as when a baby cries, there should be a mother there to lift it up (Silverman 1998: 86).

2.3 Indexicality and the 'identities in interaction' model

Part of constructing a 'new' MTF transgender identity involves 'passing' as the desired gender, i.e. being acknowledged by others (Pilcher 2017: 818). Therefore, in order to answer questions in this regard, concerned with how gender identities are constructed through linguistic interactions, it is necessary to be able to analyze the interlocutors' attitudes towards the meaning content of the interaction. Especially, the stance towards linguistic choices in regards to gender construction or 'doing' gender may signal whether or not an interlocutor confirm their MTF interlocutor's expressed gender. Two tools for linguistic analysis will come into play in this regard. The first, indexicality, pertains to lexical items which gain their meaning through cultural and social ideologies. They are often indirectly connected to style through the stances that are invoked through the use of indexical devices and their associations to women or men (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 251). The second, the 'identities in interaction' model (Bucholz & Hall, 2005), provides a framework for the analysis of gender identities with its five basic principles for the linguistic analysis of identity. The principles that are relevant to this thesis are related to indexicality, the construction of identity

as an inter-subjective phenomenon, and the connection to constructions of identity may be ideological and simultaneously intentional, habitual, or not consciously practiced.

2.3.1 Indexicality

"In its most basic sense, an index is a linguistic form that depend on the interactional context for its meaning, such as the first-person pronoun *I* (Silverstein, 1976). More generally, however, the concept of indexicality involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings. In identity formation, indexicality relies heavily on ideological structures, for associations between language and identity are rooted in cultural beliefs and values – that is, ideologies – about the sorts of speakers who (can or should) produce particular sorts of language." Bucholz & Hall (2005: 594).

The term 'index' refers to linguistic forms that gets their meaning from association with things in the social world (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 251). In accordance with Membership Categorization Analysis, the indexical processes of gender identities belong to the application of categorical terms of women and men, combined with feminine and masculine communicative strategies. According to Bucholz & Hall (2005: 594), the lexical choices that speakers make contribute to construct both their own identity and the identity of their interlocutors. The process of creating these kinds of indexical ties is inherently ideological, as it creates a set of interactional norms for particular social groups (Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 596). Bucholz & Hall (2005: 598) argue that "by considering identity formation at multiple indexical levels rather than focusing on only one, we can assemble a much richer portrait of subjectivity and intersubjectivity as they are constituted in interaction." This means that indexicality may be considered as part of a membership categorization analysis of gender identity construction.

Stance is the display of evaluative, affective, and epistemic orientations in discourse, and it is related to the way speakers evaluate something and then position themselves (Du Bois, 2002 in Bucholz & Hall 2005: 595). In discourse analysis stance comes into play through evaluation (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 594). Stance becomes emergent in the linguistic marking of a speaker's orientation to ongoing talk, but can also be visible in the speaker's participant roles (Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 595). Elinor Ochs (1992, in Bucholz & Hall) argues that "the indexical connection between a given linguistic form and a particular social identity is not direct. [...] linguistic forms that index identity are more basically associated with interactional stances such as forcefulness, uncertainty and so on, which in turn may come to be associated with particular social categories, such as gender."

Style marking, i.e. linguistic structures below the discursive level that are habitually tied to identity, is also an important linguistic feature of identity construction. Robin Lakoff (1975) introduced the idea of 'Women's Language', a register of style that was typically feminine (Lakoff 1975, in Bucholz: 2004). In accordance with the middle class ideal of the small and delicate woman, typical women's styles are, among others, features that make the speaker sound less certain, confident, authoritative, or powerful, which means that a person marks femininity linguistically by symbolically minimizing one's power (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 24, 27, 34, Cameron & Kulick 2003: 48). Cameron & Kulick (2003: 49) also explain that it is typical of women to organize a conversation on a collaborative floor rather than a competitive. Since women's language also tend to index heterosexual identity, this in turn creates the assumption that minority sexual identities will be created through gender-inappropriate speech (Cameron & Kulick 2003: 50-51). However, MTF transsexuals often seek guidance in changing their speech in a gender-appropriate way, defined according to certain stereotypes (Cameron & Kulick 2003: 51). In relation to membership categorization analysis, Stokoe (2004: 117) explains that "Whether the group's talk is typical of women's and men's interactional styles is not relevant: what is important is how the 'doing' of gender is embedded in the 'doing' of categorization." This means that the focus on the MCA analysis should be on membership categories and other MCA features, while style merely provides additional information.

2.3.2 The 'identities in interaction' model

The 'identities in interaction' model (Bucholz & Hall, 2005) provides a framework for the analysis of gender identities in linguistics. It gives five basic principles for the linguistic analysis of identity. The researchers behind this model work within the field of sociocultural linguistics, an interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture and society, and which involves subfields such as sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis, among others (Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 586).

Bucholz & Hall (2005: 607) suggest that the research tradition that their framework is used within should decide which aspect of identity the researcher should focus on, which means that it is possible to leave out some of the principles if they are irrelevant to the aim and scope of the research project. Because of the main focus on Membership Categorization Analysis in this thesis, *the indexicality principle* and *the relationality principle* will be most

important for the analysis and interpretation of data, and will be prioritized. *The principle of partialness* and *emergence* connects well with social constructionist thinking and Judith Butler's theory of performativity, and will be taken into consideration as part of the overarching framework for the research, but may not be discussed or included in detail.

The principle of indexicality is strongly connected to Membership Categorization Analysis. Its main focus is on specific linguistic features that point to or index specific identity categories. Bucholz & Hall (2005: 594) explain that the principle of indexicality may be evident in the straight-forward mention of categories and labels through specifically selected lexical items. It is also possible to find examples of it in the way participants are 'speaking between the lines', or in their stance or in the way they position themselves in the interaction. Finally, the ideology associated with specific personas or groups also signal the principle of indexicality.

The relationality principle "emphasizes identity as a relational phenomenon" (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 598), with a focus on the construction of identity as an inter-subjective phenomenon through three pairs of intersubjective relations. All of the processes are played out in discourse. The relationality principle provides a vital part of the framework for the analysis, because it is important to transgender identity to 'pass' (Pilcher 2017: 818), which makes it important to the analyst to identify whether an identity has been accepted or rejected. First, specific lexical choices like the selection of certain membership categories may signal *adequation* with or *distinction* from, womanhood or maleness (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 600). Second, *authentication* and *denaturalization* are related to authenticity and being recognized or dismissed as members of a social category (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 601). Authentication is a social process in which a speaker claims and is granted realness and gives focus to the verification of identity (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 601). Denaturalization signals subversion or falsehood and means that the speaker is perceived as artificial or fake (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 602). Third, the positive term *authorization* and the negative *illegitimization* are related to power and ideology on an institutional level (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 604).

The principle of emergence explains that "identity emerges from the specific condition of linguistic interaction" (Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 588), which connects it to theories of performativity and 'doing' gender. The last principle, that of partialness, connects the analytical framework to cultural anthropology, ethnography, and feminist literature, in that postmodern critique challenges the conception that social life is internally coherent (Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 605). Through the principle of partialness, this thesis is connected to Judith

Butler's theory of the performative and postmodern theory of fractured identity. Just like identity, reality and social life are joint constructs that members of a society may perceive a little differently, depending on perspective, context and ideology. The construction or 'doing' of gender identity takes place when people come together and negotiate it through their interactions. In addition, constructions of identity may be simultaneously intentional, habitual, and not consciously practiced (Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 606).

2.4 Pronouns and names

Pronouns and names are used for person reference, and may have the syntactical function of subject, object or subject complement (Hasselgård et. al. 1998: 249). The subject is the agent who performs the action of the verb and the object is affected by the action (Hasselgård et. al. 1998: 250). The subject complement denotes the properties of a nominal referent and is often realized by some form of the verb 'to be' (Hasselgård et. al. 1998: 251).

2.4.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are used for purposes of categorization in order to refer to someone that is already contextually known. Pronouns signal individuality or group membership, and the thirs person pronouns are gendered. A pronoun has to agree with the social gender of the person that is being referred to (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 83). The link between pronouns and gender is strong, because they belong to the more stable parts of the lexicon, which in turn is a storage unit for cultural preoccupations (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 69). In addition, a pronoun usually has an antecedent, i.e. a noun that it substitutes for, although this antecedent is not always overt (Aaron & Fowler 2010: 345).

The pronoun system of English and Norwegian language has three genders, masculine, feminine and neutral. Eckert & McConnel-Ginet (2013: 82) argue that gendered third person pronouns systems force speakers to assign gender to people every time they are mentioned, and explain that this "[...] puts gender on the table far more often than in languages that does not make this distinction [...]". As in many other languages, both pronoun systems are remnants of case systems that stem from Old Norse and Old English language (Hock & Joseph 2009: 191, Almenningen et. al. 2002: 34, 42). However, the English feminine third person pronoun was once *heo*, which is the masculine pronoun with a suffix, which changed in the 12th century (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 70). Unlike the first and second person

pronouns, the third person pronouns *he* and *she* are gendered in English and Norwegian. In Sweden, the gender-neutral personal pronoun *hen* was included in the official glossary of the Swedish Academy in 2015 (Benestad and Nylund, 2018). At the time this thesis is written, the pronoun has been debated in Norway, too, but has not yet been officially recognized. In English, the alternative, gender-neutral pronoun is usually *them/they/their* (Hasselgård et. al. 1998: 128, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 82).

For the purposes of this research project, the masculine and feminine third person pronouns are the most interesting. These may appear in the nominative case *he* and *she*, in the objective cases *him* and *her*, and in the possessive case *his* and *her* (Hasselgård et. al. 1998: 126). The Norwegian equivalents are *han* and *hun* for the nominative case and *han/ham* and *henne* for the objective case (Kulbrandstad 2005: 159). While *hans* and *hennes* traditionally have been Norwegian possessive pronouns, they now belong to the determinative subclass of possessives (Kulbrandstad 2005: 165). Where appropriate in accordance with membership categorization, the first and second person pronouns may also be considered. Hasselgård et. al. (1998: 128) and Prosser (1998: 26) suggests that the lexical form 's/he' may be applied to avoid sexual bias with pronouns.

2.4.2 Names

Each of the two main informants' names will be considered throughout the analysis, seeing as names are important factors for gender categorization. Both transgender subjects have changed or added feminine names that belong to their female identities. An assumption on behalf of the analyst is that it should be expected that the feminine name is made use of when the transgender person appears in female gender expression, and vice versa. Names, from a common-sense perspective, are labels applied to individuals to identify them as such (Pilcher 2017: 818), but they also operate as important tools for gender categorization.

Pilcher (2017: 812) argues that names need to be considered as 'doing' words and that they are important for categorization of sex and gender. Personal names mark individual and social identities (Finch 2008 in Pilcher 2017: 812), which means that several kinds of identities are expressed through the process of naming. First of all, names express which gender a person belongs to, from the very moment of having been given a name as an infant, all the way throughout a person's life. In the U.S, 97% names are gender specific (Pilcher 2017: 813), and it is the sex categorization of the child that determines the choice of first name. There is a strong cultural norm connected to the choice of a sex-specific name, and

these names become important in the management of gender conduct appropriate to sex category (Pilcher 2017: 814).

"Whether normative and compliant, pragmatic, or creative and resistant, forenaming and surnaming practices are revealed as core to the production and reproduction of binary sex categories and to gendered identities, difference, hierarchies, and inequalities." Pilcher (2017: 812)

Because there are strong norms connected to the naming traditions in a society, it becomes difficult to resist the normative practices connected to them. A name signals more than just gender because it always operates on more than one level, which means that it signals both individuality and group membership (Norbert Elias 1991 in Pilcher 2017: 812). That means that a name signals individuality, connectedness, and sex and gender. The most common naming processes are when newborns given forenames, transgender choose forenames, heterosexual women marry, children given surnames.

Pilcher (2017: 812) uses the term 'gendered embodied names and identities' to explain how people's identities involve both their bodies and their names, and shows how gendered bodies are not easily separated from practices of personal naming (Pilcher 2017: 813). For instance, even though there have been changes in traditional gender models in Western society in the last 30 years, no significant increase in androgynous names has been found. (Pilcher 2017: 813).

"If individuals are perceived to have (whether by themselves or by others) a gender-wrong forename, a person's femininity or masculinity may be disrupted as a consequence." (Pilcher 2017: 814).

In relation to MTF transsexuals, Lieberman et. al. (2000: 1282 in Pilcher 2017: 814) argue that in symbolic terms, having an androgynous name is an advantage for girls, but less so for boys because "[...] their distinctive features are merged with the less advantaged population." That means that forenames help maintain a gender hierarchy where masculinities are ranged higher than femininities (Pilcher 2017: 814). As a result of the patriarchal power hierarchy, women who pursue masculinity are often favored over men who pursue femininity (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 24).

"For transgender people, forenames are very obviously intertwined with the embodiment of sex and gender and, like these individuals' visual appearance, are an important part of their purposeful 'redoing' of their sex category and gender display. [...] In changing their gender-

wrong birth forename to a sex-specific and/or gender-right one that is appropriate to their chosen gender, forenames are an important element of the efforts of some transgender people to pass in everyday interactions." (Pilcher 2017: 815).

Even though a new first name confirms the new, civil-legal identity of a transgender person, resisting the gender binary comes at a cost (Pilcher 2017: 815). Because forenames are key to the social practices of placing others in gender categories, they become important tools for presenting individuals and authenticating them within the framework of the binary sex categories (Pilcher 2017: 815). If it is hard to interpret the individual within the framework of the binary, there is a risk of that individual not 'passing' as the desired gender (Pilcher 2017: 815, 818). Such normative breaches can cause disapproval or confusion, which may be a form of 'punishment' for having a forename that does not coincide with the gender expression of the person (Pilcher 2017: 819).

Naming reinforces heteronormative gender images, and the masculine gender often emerges as the dominant one (Pilcher 2017: 816). White, heterosexual men have the strongest, most consistent, embodied named identities over their life courses (Pilcher 2017: 820). For instance, surname practices are constrained by cultural traditions, predominantly patronymic and patrilineal in the US, which means that children usually are given their father's surname (Pilcher 2017: 816). It is the same in Norway, where a survey from 2003 shows that only 6% of men took their wife's surname when marrying (Grønstad 2015: 264). 72% of Norwegian children are given their father's surname (Wiik 2005: 2). These practices are related to sex categorized bodies and the doing of gender and affects the way gender differences are routinely accomplished in everyday life (Pilcher 2017: 818). Since women and children take the name of the father in the family, it signals that they belong to men in a hierarchal gender order (Pilcher 2017: 819). This means that there is an opportunity within naming to either reproduce the heteronormative patriarchal gender order, or to disrupt it, and there are not that many people who choose to do the latter (Pilcher 2017: 818).

"[Research] (Connell 2010; Gabbatt 2013; Kessler and McKenna 1978; see also, Schilt 2006 in Pilcher 2017: 818) suggests that (non-gender neutral) forename choices made by transgender people can contribute to the reproduction of normative naming practices which habitually link forenames to one or the other of the binary sex categories (female/male) and to the associated display of gender."

Pilcher (2017: 818) conceptualizes forenames as routinized, normative tools of categorization that are used by individuals in the determination, confirmation, and display of sex category,

but also as 'tools of negotiation'. She argues that for transgender people, selecting a new name is a key point in their redoing their gender. Because names downplay similarities and accentuates gender differences, they are important in doing and redoing gender (Pilcher 2017: 818). Since forenames are categorized according to sex and gender, they make up important markers of transgender people's chosen gender identification (Pilcher 2017: 820). Pilcher (2017: 820) suggests that the practices of transgender people offer a rich opportunity for exploring the part forenames play in constituting and displaying gender identifications. She also argues that naming practices are core to the production and reproduction of binary sex categories and to gender hierarchies and inequalities, and that they are related to important ways of 'doing' difference, which in turn makes personal names powerful cultural tools (Pilcher 2017: 820).

Based on the fact that names are important tools for the construction and reproduction of gender identity, and also do a lot of cultural work when it comes to gender hierarchies, names are an important part of a study of MTF identity categorization devices. While names at first are given instead of taken, this changes when a transgender person selects their own gender appropriate name, which means that it is a categorization device it is possible to take control of. However, for a name to be acknowledged it must be in accordance with a person's appearance, which does not necessarily mean biological gender, but how they are 'doing' their gender in that particular context in time. This means that the interlocutors also play a big part in the construction of a subject in and through their names.

Names are used to talk about people and to address them directly, and the selection of either forename or surname signals the level of formality and personal relations of the interlocutors. Swann (2005: 338) explains that using someone's forename is informal and used among relatives, while forename and surname signals a neutral stance, which means that the interlocutors do not know each other and are trying to be polite. Finally, using the surname only is often used to talk about men or occasionally women in public life, or members of all-male groups.

2.5 Gender identity according to social constructionism

2.5.1 Definition, history and background

Identity is a concept that is defined by Bucholtz & Hall (2005: 586) as "the social positioning of self and other". The word identity stems from latin *idem*, which means 'the same'. Within

social sciences, identity pertains to group membership, and a person may possess several identities based on age, gender, sexuality, social class, ethnicity, nationality, religion and politics (Lorentsen & Mühleisen 2006: 155). Within psychology, the term is related to a person's experience in being themselves, even if this is a situation that may evolve or change over time. Lorentsen & Mühleisen (2006: 155) further explain that the different aspects of one's identity is not experienced as separate entities, but make up a feeling of being whole. According to them, a person's gender identity is connected to the gender they belong to in their own personal experience, and also to the different femininities and masculinities that they identify with or signal distance to. Even if the concept of identity presupposes a certain sense of stability, both inner contrasts and a sense of fluidity may occur (Lorentsen & Mühleisen 2006: 156).

The term 'gender identity' was formulated in 1963 by the American psychoanalyst Robert Stoller, who connected the sense of knowing which sex one belongs to with one's self-image (Moi 2005: 22). The history of sex and its binary two-sex model starts in the 18th century, when Thomas Laqueur invents the term 'sex' in his discussion of male and female biological differences (Moi 2005: 10). Before this event, man and woman had been perceived as two different versions or arrangements of the same body parts. When the term 'sex' first had been coined, a hierarchy started to take form, based on what was thought to be the 'natural order' of the sexes. The man, or the masculine, was thought to be the active, intelligent sex, while the woman or the feminine played the passive part, being value less than the man (Moi 2005: 10). These qualities or characteristics created two different 'species' exclusively based on the reproductive organs of the body (Moi 2005: 12). As Moi (2005: 13) points out, the two-sex model became the foundation of a set of sexual norms that it became very difficult to go beyond the limits of. The different rights and expectations that have historically been connected to each gender has also created a basis for a biological determinism that favors the masculine over the feminine. In addition, there is not much room for those who do not belong to either of these genders.

To turn away from the concept of biological determinism, in which the physical appearance of the body both determines one's sex and the norms connected to one's gender identity, a different concept started to appear in the 1980s. West and Zimmerman (1987: 125) argued that gender should be understood as something that is being 'done' in social context, thereby taking an interactional approach to gender (Pilcher 2017: 812). It was controversial at the time, but the concept has become more mainstream over time. Still, the binary gender

model was dominant. Often in this perspective, analyses focus on how men do masculinity and how women do femininity. On a larger scale, doing gender has been connected to how power structures are maintained, and to the patriarchy. Judith Butler takes doing gender a bit further, and criticizes heteronormativity as the main regulating force of gender norms and relationship norms. Butler's argumentation is directed towards the production of the norm that makes up the premise of West and Zimmerman's gender theory (Sørensen, 2018). Butler is preoccupied with gender performances that break these norms and create a multitude of genders rather than a gender dichotomy. To Butler (1990: 186), an interesting aspect of transgender identity is the way that it inverts several different power structures at once, creating a double subversion that testifies to appearance as an illusion.

2.5.2 Gender identity and the individual

On an individual level, one of the first macro-categories a child identifies with is gender, usually through comparison with the parents. Lorentzen and Mühleisen (2006: 163-164) explain that developmental psychology argues that a child becomes aware of their gender at the age of one and a half years old. Together with generation, gender is the first dimension of separation, through which the child gains identity in comparison with the significant other. Nancy Chodorow (1978, in Lorentzen & Mühleisen 2006: 165) has argued that, given that the first caregiver in a child's life is usually a woman, it means that the first basic separation in a boy's life happens through gender, while it happens through generation in a girl's life (Lorentzen & Mühleisen 2006: 165). For a boy, this means that the identification process is based on the difference between mom, as female, and themselves, as male. Since this distinction does not exist between mother and daughter, the difference in identity for girls is instead found in the comparison between small and large size of person.

When it comes to language and identity, Mæhlum et al. (2008: 106) explain that there are long traditions in sociolinguistic research for a close relationship between human identity and language. In addition, language has been treated as one of the most important factors of identity construction in the traditions of philosophy, psychology and anthropology. They explain that the important potential of language as a system of symbols for collective units that may contribute in the identity work of people in that society. On the micro-level, language is important for the construction and realization of each person's identity, and it is to some extent possible to read a person's multifaceted identity from the language selections that they make (Mæhlum et al. 2008: 107). Furthermore, personal and social identity is

intertwined, and both contribute to construct someone's individual identity. That means that identity is fluid, multifaceted and a work in construction, and not something that is fixed or determined, but constructed through various interactions (Mæhlum et al. 2008: 109). They explain that the theory of gender as something performative that people do, and which does not spring from an inner 'core', belongs to the constructivist perception of identity. This is the way Butler sees it, too. The opposite is the essentialist approach, where identity is something permanent and immune to change. Mæhlum et al. (2008: 110) suggests a third approach in which the two ways of seeing identity construction are intertwined, where identity construction is dependent on both models. As subjects in the world, people are constantly negotiating identity with their interlocutors, the present context, and their inner versus outer perceptions of self. What is important is that the identity that a person negotiates in the world with is consistent with who they feel they are on the inside (Mæhlum et al. 2008: 111).

2.5.3 Gender identity, language and the media

Traditionally, research on the TV and film medium has been looked down upon by sociolinguists because it does not analyze 'authentic speech'. However, this has changed because this medium is one of the key contributors to the construction of sociolinguistic reality (Stamou et. al. 2011: 40). Even though TV and film does not reflect this reality, they have a central role in the shaping of postmodern life (Coupland 2007, 2009: 297 in Stamou et. al. 2011: 40). The linguistic variations that are presented through TV series and film play a part in how sociolinguistic reality is constructed, and may reproduce hegemonic ideologies about language and the world. When it comes to gender identity, this means that prototypical or stereotypical identities are constructed through the characters or personalities in TV and film, who in turn affect the social reality they exist within (Stamou et. al. 2011: 40).

[2.6 Judith Butler and the theory of performativity](#)

2.6.1 Grand Theory and CDS

Critical Discourse Studies calls for a 'Grand Theory' that can serve as a conceptual framework through which the topic of research may be approached (Fairclough 2010: 519). Wodak (2016: 17) argues that the use of a general social theory will contribute to form a concept of the relations between social structure, on the one hand, and social action, on the other. That way, theories of this kind link together sociological issues on the micro-level with ideologies

on the macro-level. In the case of the negotiation of gender identity in everyday conversation, especially in close relations, Judith Butler's famous book *Gender Trouble* (1990) and its theory of performativity may prove to be the theory that helps provide such a link.

Butler takes issues on the macro-level of society as a vantage point, by problematizing the power structures surrounding gender expressions that find themselves outside of the categories 'man/male/masculine' and 'woman/female/feminine' (Sørensen, 2018). What is interesting about Butler's theory is that it describes a way of expressing gender, or 'doing gender', that is not based on pre-determined biological assumptions, so-called biological determinism. Instead, gender, according to Butler, is done through the expression of social norms that is inscribed on the body through cultural impressions. These impressions stem from the culture the subjects find themselves in, and thus, may change according to different cultural norms and values. This means that Butler's theory of performativity creates a conceptual framework in which it is possible to move away from biological determinism and read gender as something people *do*, not something they *are*. The ideas that Butler's research is based on stem from the previously discussed West and Zimmerman's interactionist perspective of 'doing' gender (Sørensen, 2018).

While Butler provides an interesting point of departure for investigations of gender identity, there are some problems with her theory that should also be addressed. Toril Moi (2005: 52-54) criticizes Butler for converting *gender* into *sex*, and in the process conforming to biological determinism instead of moving away from it. Moi suggests a turn to Simone de Beauvoir's concept of the woman as a human being, moving away from any kind of gendered identity construction (Moi 2005: 8). Jay Prosser (1998: 32, 43), on the other hand, is concerned with the materiality of the body, and the fact that transsexuals often feel the need to make changes to their physical appearance and become part of the 'normal' gender dichotomy, because the touch of the body is more important than the look. These views will be taken into consideration throughout the discussion of Butler's theory of performativity.

2.6.2 Gender identity according to Butler

Judith Butler does not perceive gender identity as something stable, but instead sees it as fluid and changeable. She also argues that several common concepts that are popularly used to define and discuss identity, such as 'soul' or 'psychological core', are cultural constructs more than actual signifiers of identity (Butler 1990: 175, 184, 191). According to her, gender can be neither true nor false, but becomes a 'truth effect' of a discourse of primary or stable identity

(1990: 186). This way, gender performances are copies of copies, without a 'true' original to refer back to (Butler 1990: 188).

"If the inner truth of gender is a fabrication and if a true gender is a fantasy instituted and inscribed on the surface of bodies, then it seems that genders can neither be true nor false, but are only produced as the truth effects of a discourse of primary and stable identity" (Butler 1990: 186).

Butler's stance is that what people perceive as their 'soul' or 'core' are in fact cultural constructs that are inscribed on the body from the outside (Butler 1990: 184). These constructs come from the norms and traditions that surround a person in the culture within which they find themselves.

Each society contains and maintains a gender norm that is simultaneously produced by, and re-produces, a myth about 'true gender identity' (Butler 1990: 186). The problem with such a myth is that since it is perceived as truth, and often quite a narrow one, it only leaves room for those who conform to the traditional binary gender model. Consequently, those who do not find themselves within the binary gender norms are seen as 'abject' or outcasts (Butler 1990: 168, 181). Butler's proof of the falseness of gender identities and their cultural inscription on the body are men who dress in drag. Butler calls them 'the subversive', meaning 'those who overthrow the [gender] system', and explain that they reveal that gender norms are social products (Butler 1990: 191, 200). This way, the 'parody' becomes the antidote against heteronormativity and dominant cultural gender identities (Butler 1990: 200). Prosser (1998: 30) explains that 'straight' gender hides its performativity behind an illusion of substance, while transgender shows that all genders are inherently performative. This is because transgender, or drag, demonstrates that doing gender is the repetition of imitations, and these imitations are based on other imitations, so that no original or 'true' gender exists because each performance is modeled on a former imitation (Butler 1990: 188).

Both Moi and Prosser cites Beauvoir's famous words "One is not born, but rather becomes, woman" (Beauvoir 1949: 293). To Moi (2005: 63, 65, 67), this means that a woman is a human being before anything else, while to Prosser (1998: 29) it means that one does not necessarily have to be born a woman to become one. According to him, there are transsexuals who seek to be non-performative, constative, and simply to *be* in the materiality of the sexed body (Prosser 1998: 32). This is why Prosser (1998: 30-32) has issues with Butler's launching of drag as the subversion of gender (Butler 1990: 173), the antidote for oppressive, binary gender norms. Prosser explains that transsexuals themselves often and clearly do not identify

in this way. As Prosser (1998: 32-33) puts it, transsexuals do not want to be drag, and they do not want to be subversive of gender norms. On the contrary, what transsexuals seek is confirmation that they belong to the gender that they 'feel like' inside. This feeling of belonging to a different gender is often accompanied with a sense of not belonging in one's own skin, and a sense that the exterior of the body does not fit with the interior, or the 'soul' (Prosser 1998: 43, 83). In cases like these, it seems that the inscription of the soul upon the body becomes a little more difficult to explain, since the nature of one's soul becomes evidence of their bodily expression.

Moi's (2005: 45-46) main issue with Butler's approach to sex and gender is its failure to avoid the normative. Even though the creation of gender and the illusion of a gendered core is well accounted for in performativity theory, the discursive practices remain the same. There are still pre-created categories that 'male' or 'female' must fit in to, and the other categories, such as 'queer' or 'transsexual' are still the subversive, the 'abject', or the outcast. Even if Butler is not able to prove it through her theory, it can be argued that she also has encountered these very same issues. Butler (1990: 179) explains that the boundaries of the body and discourse contributes in naturalizing the very social taboos that institute and maintain these boundaries. This means that Butler recognizes the problems Moi points at, but the theory of performativity proves unable to avoid them, because even if performativity proves that no gendered 'core' exists within the self, the repetition of the script of gender still comes from and reproduces the gender norms that performativity has proven are not inherent in human beings. In other words, the cultural norms stay the same, even when they are inscribed *on* the body, instead of created in a mystical core or 'soul' *within* the subject. The subject still believes in their naturalness, and the categories remain narrow and excluding.

2.6.3 Performativity

"If gender attributes are not expressive but performative, then these attributes effectively constitute the identity they are said to express or reveal."
(Butler 1990: 192).

Based on the theory that gender is culturally inscribed on the body, Butler (1990: 184-185), argues that gender is performative, and that instead of it being something that seeps out from an inner 'core', it is something that a person constantly does. An act can be repeated, and it can be changed, which means that the act of doing gender does not necessarily need to be the

same act every time. It can be done differently depending on the doer, the interlocutors, and the context. However, most commonly a person will adhere to the norms of society in order to 'pass', which means to be accepted as the gender identity they construct themselves within (Pilcher 2017: 815, 818, 819). By repeating the acts, gestures and desires of the male or female gender, the subject constructs the illusion of an inner gendered self. This way, gender performativity helps the cultural inscription of gender on the body, because the 'doing' of gender is a repetition of the cultural norms associated with the gender one desires to express.

One of the problems with Butler's argumentation is the notion of agency that is connected to the subject. Lorentsen & Mühleisen (2006: 159) explain that Butler's project is to deconstruct the philosophical priority of the subject, not its existence in a psychological sense. A culturally constructed subject is still vested with an agency, i.e. the capacity for reflexive meditation, which remains intact regardless of its cultural embeddedness. Butler (1990: 196) argues that there is no pre-discursive agency, but that agency exists in the self-reflexive ability, i.e. the ability to reflect upon the self, and that this is evident because the culturally manipulated subject negotiates its constructions, even when those constructions are the foundations of its own identity. In that case, this is very much true for transgender people, who do not accept their cultural constructions at all. In the last pages (1990: 195), Butler states that, "For an identity to be an effect means that it is neither fatally determined nor fully artificial or arbitrary, which opens up possibilities of agency." In Butler's (1990: 195) model of the performative, 'culture' and 'discourse' holds the subject back, but do not constitute that subject. Butler argues that there is no need for the 'I' to be prediscursive in order for it to have agency (Butler 1990: 195). This means that the philosophical priority that the subject comes before agency is deconstructed in Butler's performativity theory.

"From the perspective of an interactional approach to identity, the role of agency becomes problematic only when it is conceptualized as located within an individual rational subject who consciously authors his identity without structural constraints." (Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 606).

Butler argues that even though gender identity is performative, it is not performed the way one performs a part in a play, but instead subconsciously done as a consequence of gender identities that have been culturally ascribed to the body from the outside (Butler 1990: 186). This resonates well with Bucholz and Hall's argument that is quoted above, because an individual seldom authors their identity fully consciously and in a controlled way, and because one is always a product of the society one exists within. Still, the use of language is

an act of agency (Duranti, 2004 in Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 606). For instance, in sociocultural linguistics, agency is seen as the accomplishment of social action, which makes it possible to keep the micro-level perspective while considering the macro-level constraints that affects individuals: "Identity is one kind of social action that agency can accomplish." (Bucholz & Hall, 2005: 606).

2.6.4 Biology and transgender identity

As Toril Moi (2005: 45) underlines, little doubt exists that Judith Butler's critique of heterosexism and homophobia in *Gender Trouble* (1990) was an important and game-changing contribution to the sex/gender debate, as well as to post-structuralists' feminist thinking and to queer theory. In her words, Butler's attempt to show that sex is a cultural construct and an effect of regulatory discourses might have been the most important work on sex and gender in the 1990s, especially when it comes to Butler's political task. However, Moi has issues with how Butler understands the biological bases of the categorization of human beings (Moi 2005: 41).

Jay Prosser (1998: 31) agrees with Moi when it comes to Butler's problem of the materiality of the body. Prosser problematizes the portrayal of queer sexualities as 'fun' and 'playful' antitheses to heterosexuality, and the fact that gender appears as identity at all. As Moi (2005: 40) points out, a multiplicity of gender categories, or the mere existence of hermaphrodites and transsexuals, does little to change or affect the normatively established categories of 'man' and 'woman'. Moi further explains that even though a body carries with it a potential for different kinds of identity projects, the structure of the body does not create individual choices or social norms.

The transsexual's dilemma has been summed up as a sense of being 'trapped in the wrong body' and a feeling that the sex of one's body does not correspond to the sex of one's mind (Moi 2005: 21). Moi (2005: 21) explains that the English language distinction between the words *sex* and *gender* was first developed in the 1950s and 1960s by psychiatrists and medical personnel who were working with intersexed and transsexual patients. She argues that the 'cure' for transsexualism ever since has been to bring their sex and gender into harmonious correspondence by changing the body through surgery and hormone treatment.

Contemporary transsexuals claim that gender is between the ears, while sex is between the legs. In other words, sex equals body, and gender equals mind (Moi 2005: 26). When divorced from the mind, the body becomes an object that is subject to the mind's decisions, a

"blank slate on which gender writes its script" (Moi 2005: 27). This is an idealist view that body, i.e. 'nature', is subordinated to mind, and not something contemporary feminist theory favors (Moi 2005: 27, Butler 1990: 201). Moi (2005: 27) argues that from the point of view of socio-cultural power structures, the feminist movement should dream of the elimination of obligatory sexuality and sex roles, modeled after the genderless society that makes up Gayle Rubin's (1975: 204 in Moi 2005: 27) utopia:

"[I dream of] an androgynous and genderless (though not sexless) society, in which one's sexual anatomy is irrelevant to who one is, what one does, and with whom one makes love."

Prosser (1998: 31) further argues that transgendered subjectivity is not inevitably queer, and points to the great pains transsexuals go through in order to be 'real', 'true', 'normal', and in MTF's case, to 'pass as women'. Transsexuals do not necessarily want to be 'fun/playful/queer/subversive' - they long for ordinary lives as 'normal' people (1998: 32). That means that there exists a wish to be able to adhere to a heteronormative social category or gender norm that is socio-culturally pre-defined. Prosser (1998: 33) takes issue with Butler's discussion of drag in relation to performativity theory, because if transgender represents gender performativity, then non-transgender or straight gender is assigned to the category of the constative. He argues that transsexuals seek only to *be*, and to be non-performative, rephrasing Beauvoir's epigram; "One is not born a woman, but *nevertheless* may become one" (Prosser 1998: 33). However, Prosser seems to read Butler a little narrowly, because she makes it very clear that the performative and the masquerade is not the same thing. While the lexical item 'perform' is popularly connected to the theatre, the concept of gender performativity belongs to a different scene. In speech act theory, 'the performative' describes the way in which a language user constructs their reality through various speech acts. While gender performativity is also realized through other actions than language use, it is important to keep in mind that it is designed as a means to describe the way a person's identity is simultaneously realized, constructed and co-constructed through their various actions and interactions in everyday-life.

The dilemma in conducting research that aims at understanding the transsexual situation is that between the different theories of performativity, the body as a situation and the body as material, the transsexual subject must be met with respect for the reality and the truth in which they regard their own subjectification. There is a sense of self in which the 'inside' and the 'outside' of the body does not correspond, regardless of where the boundaries

of these may be situated and what we decide to call them - body, soul, inside, outside, both together or none at all. Subjectification may be difficult enough when one *is* able to define one's sex and gender within the narrow, pre-determined, binary heteronormative categories that are accepted in contemporary society - take the situation of women in relation to power structures as an example. So what happens to subjectivity when one has to battle not only the oppression of women, but also the interpellation one receives as the 'wrong', masculine gender, and in addition, the need to fight for the right to be included in the narrow membership category of 'woman'?

2.6.5 Language and gender

"Language is not an exterior medium or instrument into which I pour a self and from which I glean a reflection of that self."
(Butler 1990: 196)

The production of norms takes place through repeated acts, which may or may not include speech acts (Butler 1990: 168). Butler explains that this repetition is the ritualized form of the legitimation of the norms, which means that they are the 'cause' that performs as 'effect'. As previously discussed, Butler's (1990: 192, 196) theory of performativity reveals that the illusion of a gendered core is discursively maintained. In mundane, everyday life, the discourse of gender is in part maintained through actions and words that are connected to the membership categories 'male' or 'female' and feminine and masculine indexicality such as style, which signifies the regulation of sexuality within heteronormativity (Ehrlich & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 41). This means that the gendered membership categories within language remain narrow, and there seems to be little room for those who construct their identity outside of the heteronormative regime.

"Indeed, to understand identity as practice, and as a signifying practice, is to understand culturally intelligible subjects as the resulting effects of a rule-bound discourse that inserts itself in the pervasive and mundane signifying acts of linguistic life." (Butler 1990: 198)

People receive the cultural inscription to be a given gender through discursive routes, for instance through membership categories like "to be a good mother" (Butler 1990: 199, Moi 2005: 7).

A speaker who produces a linguistic utterance is doing something, by making meaning and performing a speech act. J.L. Austin (1962: 100) explained that of the three different

types of utterances, the illocutionary act is a speech act that enables the speaker to do something, but only if it is recognized by the hearer and performed in the correct context (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 74). Austin called these speech acts 'performative utterances', and Judith Butler's theory builds on his philosophy (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 75). Moi (2005: 44) argues that language in general and concepts or categories in particular often carry ideological implications. Used in different situations by different speakers, the word or membership category 'woman' takes on very different implications. Like Linell (1998: 119) suggests, it is important to avoid leaping to the conclusion that the same word must mean the same oppressive thing every time it occurs, or that words oppress us simply by having determinate meanings, regardless of what those meanings are.

3 Research Method

The chapter starts with a discussion of selection of methods and choices made in relation to the aim and scope of the thesis. An explanation of the way the research is executed in relation to theory and methods follows. Finally, the structure of the analysis chapters and the appendix will be laid out. Here, transcription conventions and translation choices will be explained.

3.1 Selection of methods

Part of the aim with this thesis is to apply Judith Butler's theory of performativity to empirical research through Critical Discourse Studies and Membership Category Analysis. In that regard, the method should allow for the combination of gender theory and queer theory with conversation analysis and other elements of analysis of linguistic features. In addition, the chosen medium, documentary film and reality television, demands at least some form of focus on multimodality. However, multimodality will only come into play in a contextual manner where relevant, not as a research tool per se. The research will be organized as a case study (Postholm 2010: 43, 50) based on three different documentary films and TV-programs, focusing on two different informants and their families. The thesis will be placed firmly within the tradition of social constructivism, and a certain stand will be taken on the topic in order to discuss it from a chosen point of view. Critical Discourse Studies fits nicely with these demands and provides the overall framework for the research.

Judith Butler sees gender construction as a social practice (Lorentzen & Mühleisen 2006: 159), while CDS see language use in oral communication as a form of the same (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258). That means that it is important to take the context of the discursive event, in this case the conversation, into consideration, which is why documentary films have been selected as source material, rather than audio recordings. As Fairclough (2010: 8) argues, "[...] it is a feature of the social world that interpretations and explanations of it can have effects upon it," i.e. the social world simultaneously creates and is created by discourse(s). Through the film medium, extra-linguistic features like body language and facial expressions may also be examined. Furthermore, the film medium gives the researcher access to describe what each participant in the conversation looks like, a question that is of essence in transgender research.

The qualitative approach has been chosen because it makes it possible to observe an individual's gender construction, or their doing gender, in detail. The inductive method is a useful tool for the investigation of large amounts of data (Postholm 2010: 36, Meyer & Wodak 2001: 18). The aim and scope of this thesis, which is to investigate how MTF transgender 'do' gender during their transition between genders, demands such an amount of data to be analysed. Furthermore, since the membership categories that were to become the focus of this research were not determined beforehand, a qualitative approach seemed more suitable, since it is not bound to pre-existing set of variables that are not open for change during the research process (Postholm 2010: 36). A qualitative approach makes it possible to identify the more frequently used membership categories, in addition to possible problem areas regarding the use of categories and the linguistic features of pronouns and naming.

The data sets are not comparable in size, because the American data set lasts almost twice as long as the Norwegian one. However, they are comparable in content, because they are both concerned with the transgender informants' transition from male to female gender expression. It is this transition from one gender identity to another that is of interest here, with a split focus on how the informants themselves 'do' such a transition, and how their close families and friends relate to it and participate in gender identity construction. The story of the transitioning father is told in a longer perspective, time-wise, in the American TV documentary than in the Norwegian documentary film.

The strengths of a qualitative approach is that it provides the researcher with an opportunity to study identity construction through language and the performative in great detail. Furthermore, the qualitative approach has a strong connection to the constructivist

paradigm, which is well suited to operate within CDS and the minor theoretical frameworks that have been selected to support the research (Postholm 2010: 33-34). The qualitative approach will provide the necessary tools for the in-depth investigation of gender identity as a social construct or 'doing'. However, there are also some weaknesses to the approach. There are only two informants, in addition to their families, and this makes it impossible to make generalized conclusions. There need to be a quantitative aspect to the research for such findings to be available. Postholm (2010: 40) explains some of the challenges for a qualitative researcher, and what to be aware of during the project. The challenges that are relevant for this thesis are to be able to cope with the large amounts of data, the requirement to be open-minded about changes and new knowledge that emerge along with new findings, and for the researcher to be aware of their own subjectivity and preconceptions in relation to the topic.

3.2 Operationalization of methods

This thesis will examine lexical items in terms of categorizing, naming and pronouns, and items with indexical functions such as style markings where appropriate. These lexical items will be sorted in terms of masculine and feminine categories, see table 1. Where appropriate, the findings will be elaborated on through the use of examples, i.e. excerpts, from the dialogues.

The CDS approach calls for an interdisciplinary investigation and problem-oriented research (Meyer & Wodak 2016: 4). The main problem is how transgender identity is communicatively created, and how it is maintained, negotiated, accepted, resisted, or acknowledged by different interlocutors who participate in social interaction, i.e. language events. The study becomes interdisciplinary through the combination of CDS, MCA, pronouns, naming, and the 'identities in interaction' model with Judith Butler's grand theory of performativity, seen in the context of gender studies and sociolinguistic studies of transgender experience. The power and ideology that is to be deconstructed is the power positions of the two binary genders versus the transgender position, and the semiotic data that is investigated is spoken and visual language. The values (Fairclough 2010: 7) that create the basis for the researcher's point of departure are values associated with the social democratic politics of Norway and Western societies, where equality, individual liberty and the opportunity to live life on one's own terms are in high regard. This means being able to live in a society where one is permitted to express the gender identity that 'feels right' rather than conforming to

gender roles that are otherwise determined by forces outside of the individual, whether the subject is conscious of them or not.

Table 1: 'Pronouns and membership categories' is a list of third person pronouns and common membership categories that are connected to the Membership Categorization Devices 'family' and 'gender'. The list is compiled by the analyst, based on Kulbrandstad (2005), Hasselgård et. al. (1998), Schlegoff (2006) and Stokoe (2012). The Norwegian pronouns come from Kulbrandstad, while the membership categories are translated to Norwegian by the analyst. The list is preliminary and may be expanded throughout the analysis chapters.

Masculine		Feminine	
English	Norwegian	English	Norwegian
He	<i>Han</i>	She	<i>Hun</i>
His	<i>Hans</i>	Her	<i>Hennes</i>
Man	<i>Mann</i>	Woman	<i>Kvinne</i>
Male	<i>Mannlig</i>	Female	<i>Kvinnelig</i>
Dad	<i>Pappa</i>	Mom	<i>Mamma</i>
Husband	<i>Ekte mann</i>	Wife	<i>Kone</i>
Brother	<i>Bror</i>	Sister	<i>Søster</i>

Table 1. Pronouns and membership categories

The lexical items that are selected for gender identity construction through pronouns and the act of categorizing someone demonstrate how the language user perceives, or wishes to perceive, this person. In the context of gender, it expresses how someone sees a person, but also how that person wants to be seen. This creates a foundation for negotiation between the interlocutors in the conversation.

Indexicality investigates specific linguistic features that point to or index specific identity categories (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 24, 27, 34, Cameron & Kulick 2003: 48). Some of the focus of the analysis in this thesis will be on stereotyping words that signal stance and indexicality. The list in table two is assembled from two lists that Toril Moi (2005: 102-103) has created in order to discuss vocabulary that is connected to attitudes to male and female gender. Moi's list is partly based on Mary Ann Case's case study of the *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* lawsuit (1989), on Case's list of adjectives that psychologists and other researchers consider to be coded as masculine or feminine in contemporary American

culture. In turn, Case's list is based on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI). These stereotyping words may contribute to demonstrate someone's stance or attitude towards the topic of the conversation, and towards the people who are involved in the conversation. In the case of gender expression, these stereotyping words will either have a masculine or a feminine value, see table 2.

Masculine		Feminine	
English	Norwegian	English	Norwegian
Aggressive	<i>Aggressiv</i>	Affectionate	<i>Kjærlig</i>
Ambitious	<i>Ambisiøs</i>	Cheerful	<i>Munter</i>
Analytical	<i>Analytisk</i>	Childlike	<i>Barnlig</i>
Assertive	<i>Bekreftende</i>	Compassionate	<i>Medfølende</i>
Athletic	<i>Atletisk</i>	Flatterable	<i>Smigrende</i>
Competitive	<i>Konkurransedyktig</i>	Gentle	<i>Mild</i>
Dominant	<i>Dominant</i>	Gullible	<i>Lettlurt</i>
Forceful	<i>Mektig</i>	Loyal	<i>Lojal</i>
Independent	<i>Selvstendig</i>	Sensitive	<i>Sensitiv</i>
Individualistic	<i>Individualistisk</i>	Shy	<i>Tilbaketrukket</i>
Self-reliant	<i>Selvhjulpen</i>	Soft-spoken	<i>Vennlig</i>
Self-sufficient	<i>Selvforsynt</i>	Sympathetic	<i>Sympatisk</i>
Strong	<i>Sterk</i>	Tender	<i>Øm</i>
Integrity	<i>Integritet</i>	Understanding	<i>Forståelsesfull</i>
Decisiveness	<i>Besluttsomhet</i>	Warm	<i>Varm</i>
Forthrightness	<i>Likefremhet</i>	Yielding	<i>Følgelig</i>
Productivity	<i>Produktivitet</i>	Emotional	<i>Emosjonell</i>
Energy	<i>Energi</i>	Kind	<i>Snill</i>

Table 2: Stereotyping words that signal stance and indexicality

Not all of these words may occur in the empirical data. However, the list provides a foundation for the categorization of stereotypically masculine and feminine lexical items in relation to MCA, stance, and indexicality.

The English and Norwegian families may construct MTF transgender family members differently. Are they authenticated or denaturalized? How is gender negotiated differently in the Norwegian and the American families? How do they address each other, and how do they describe each other? The jargon or slang that is connected with a certain

subculture is used as acts of identity, often in order to signal belonging and identification with the subculture in question (Robert Le Page & Andée Tabouret-Keller 1985, in Mæhlum et. al. 2008: 106). Similarly, jargon can be used to signal distance from a subculture that someone does not want to be associated with. In regards to transsexuals who are in the process of transition, the jargon or vocabulary that is selected should signal that they no longer belong to the membership category 'male' and instead belong to the category 'female'. Likewise, their family members may use jargon or vocabulary to signal their protest or acceptance in this regard, thus demonstrating possible difficulties with accepting the transsexual's passing.

These are the interactional stances that are prototypically attached to women and men. They were identified by Holms and Stubbe (2003: 574), and characterize feminine and masculine speech style in a modern Western society. The table is organized in binary oppositions.

Feminine	Masculine
Indirect	Direct
Conciliatory	Confrontational
Facilitative	Competitive
Collaborative	Autonomous
Minor contribution in public	Dominates public talking time
Supportive feedback	Aggressive interruptions
Person/process oriented	Task/outcome oriented
Affectively oriented	Referentially oriented

Table 3: Interactional stances

The following categories and Membership Categorization Devices are relevant for this thesis. The categories may be further divided through identifiers like caring, traditional, dynamic, irresponsible, immoral, unprotected and progressive. Some social categories may belong to several MCDs.

MCD category	Social categories (standardized relational pairs)
'Gender'	Man, woman, trans, sexually oppressed, liberated woman
'Family'	Mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter, aunt, uncle
'Marriage'	Husband, wife, housewife, fiancé, ex-husband, ex-wife

Table 4: Membership Categorization Devices (Stamou et. al. 2011:)

For practical reasons, there will be some discussion throughout the analysis of the empirical data. However, the main discussion of the findings will be restricted to the discussion chapter towards the end (see chapter 7).

3.3 Structure of analysis chapters and appendix

The analysis section is structured according to the main linguistic features that are investigated, and which participant is responsible for the gender identity construction. There is one analysis chapter for the Norwegian informant, and one chapter for the American informant. Each of these chapters are further divided into one main section for when the informant is doing the identity construction, and one section for when they are constructed by others. Each of these sub-chapters are further divided into naming, pronouns and the membership category 'dad'. Other relevant membership categories will be discussed throughout, and there is a table listing all the gendering membership categories that are used in the beginning of chapter 7.

To respect Jenner's gender transition, the feminine pronoun will be used consistently when discussing her. On Benestad's part, who contains both gender identities and operates with a fluid identity, an abbreviated mix of the two third person pronouns will be used, s/he for he/she, h/er for his/her, and h/erself for himself/herself (Hasselgård et. al. 1998: 128, Prosser 1998: 26). In the excerpts from the transcripts, the feminine or masculine first name will be used to indicate the gender expression they appear in at the time of the utterance.

The appendix contains a simple transcription of the complete conversations in *All About My Father* (2002), *Keeping Up with the Kardashians* (2015), season 10, episode 10 and 11, *I am Cait* (2015), episode 1 and 8. Mostly, a very simplified format of transcription conventions is used in the appendix, but there are some parts that are transcribed more thoroughly. Some conventional uses of grammatical punctuation may occur. The extracts from the appendix that are cited in this thesis are transcribed following a simplified version of the transcription conventions that are given in Linell (1998: 321) and Hasund & Hydle (2007: 129-130). Although the transcription conventions are modeled after Conversation Analysis, only those relevant to the aim and scope of the thesis will be used. Thus, none of the pauses will be timed.

<u>Underline</u>	The syllable nucleus or word stress
UPPERCASE	Louder volume or emphatic stress
[]	Brackets on two adjacent lines marks simultaneous, overlapping talk
(xxx)	Talk that the transcriber has not been able to decipher
(.)	Micro-pause [or relatively short pause]
((pause))	Timed pause [or pause of markedly longer duration]
-	In the middle of the word indicates that the speaker interrupts himself
--	The speaker leaves his utterance incomplete
° °	Speech in a low voice, 'sotto voce'
* *	Laughter in the speaker's voice while pronouncing the enclosed words
[...]	Some talk has been left out from the excerpt
(P: yes)	The occurrence of a listener support item, 'yes' being an example here
(())	Material within double parentheses marks comments on how something is said / context
:	Indicates prolonged sound
<sad> </>	Text within brackets explains how something is said, 'sad' being an example here

For the excerpts from the Norwegian language film, the original speech samples are written first, with an English translation following in italics directly after. The author of this thesis have performed all of the English translations in chapter 5, and only the excerpts that are used in the thesis are translated to English. The translation is simple and aims to come as close to the Norwegian original as possible, including discourse markers and other linguistic features. In the appendix, each turn is numbered, and the numbers start over from (1) for each new excerpt. There are five appendixes in total:

- (1) *All About My Father* (2002)
- (2) *Keeping Up with the Kardashians* (2015), season 10, episode 10, "About Bruce" part 1
- (3) *Keeping Up with the Kardashians* (2015), season 10, episode 10, "About Bruce" part 2
- (4) *I am Cait* (2015), season 1, episode 1: "Meeting Cait"
- (5) *I am Cait* (2015), season 1, episode 8: "A New Beginning"

These will be referred to as 'app. (1)' throughout the analysis and discussion chapters, the number 1 being an example here. Each appendix is divided into a number on excerpts based on the number of scenes in each film or TV series episode. Some scenes that are not relevant to the aim and scope of this thesis have been omitted.

4 Empirical data and selection of informants

4.1 Documentary film

Documentary film makes recordings of everyday language situations performed presumably without a script, which renders the dialogue suitable for sociolinguistic research. Furthermore, the film medium in general provides a satisfactory empirical source because it testifies to the entire multimodal aspect of communication. A qualitative case study emphasizes social, cultural and psychological information as well as purely linguistic data (Mæhlum et al 2003: 81). Through the documentary film medium the informants provide conversation data that resembles naturally occurring dialogue, without the observer being present. Although the American research material comes from episodes of reality TV series rather than one feature length documentary film, they will be described as 'documentary films' for the sake of simplicity. The documentary film genre and the reality TV genre are related, although the realness of reality TV can be debated. In the case of this thesis, the comparison between the two is eligible because it is the language choices rather than the meaning content that is investigated. For convenience, the term 'documentary' will be used to refer to the source material.

The documentaries that have been selected for analysis are *All About My Father* (Aarskog, Holst & Benestad, 2002), *Keeping Up with the Kardashians* (Seacrest & Goldberg, 2015), season 10, episode 10 and 11: "About Bruce" part 1 and 2, and *I am Cait* (Metz & Jenner, 2015), season 1, episode 1: "Meeting Cait", and 8: "A New Beginning". While *All About My Father* lasts for 75 minutes, each episode of *Keeping Up with the Kardashians* lasts for 44 minutes, while *I am Cait* lasts for 60 minutes each. The episodes from *Keeping Up with the Kardashians* and *I am Cait* have been selected because these are the episodes where Caitlyn informs her family about her gender transition, and her family gets to meet her for the first time. In the last episode of *I am Cait*, she arranges her naming ceremony and 'becomes' Caitlyn Jenner. This corresponds well with Esben Esther Pirelli Benestad's becoming Esben and Esther in *All About My Father*.

In recent years, a number of documentaries reporting on gender transitions have become available. In order to narrow down the variables that will be discussed in this thesis, it has been necessary to select informants of the same relative age and somewhat similar social status. This way, age and class does not need to be corrected for. The main variable will be

gender, more precisely the process of transition from male to female gender identity. Level of education is a bit different between them, with Pirelli Benestad being the more educated of the two. Ethnicity will come into consideration in terms of national languages, while other contexts in which we are used to think about ethnic differences might not play a part (i.e. color of skin, West vs. East, first world vs. third world), since both informants are white Western males of wealthy, industrialized nations. The selected informants are of Norwegian and North American nationality, which means that there will be some linguistic differences between them. For instance, the Norwegian informant speaks in a more distinctive dialect or geolect associated with h/er birthplace, Grimstad, while the North American informant will speak in a New York accent.

4.2 Selection of informants

The informants and their interlocutors will use gendered lexical items in the process of constructing and negotiating alternative gender identities, and it will be interesting to look for similarities as well as differences in the Norwegian and the English language choices they make.

Esben Esther Pirelli Benestad was born Esben Benestad in Grimstad, Norway, 1949. Benestad is a physician and professor of sexology at University of Agder. S/he has published several academic works on sexology and transgender issues. In 2007, s/he participated in the Norwegian reality TV show *Skal vi danse* (Dancing with the stars) on TV2. Benestad changed h/er name in 2000 to include the name of h/er female expression, Esther Pirelli. S/he is one of the most prominent transgender personalities of Norwegian cultural life.

Caitlyn Jenner was born William Bruce Jenner in New York, USA, 1949. Jenner graduated from Graceland University with a degree in physical education. She won the Olympic gold medal for decathlon in 1976, while setting a world record and being unofficially named 'the world's greatest athlete'. Since 2007, she has been appearing in *Keeping Up with the Kardashians*, which is a long-running reality show about Jenner's daughters, stepdaughters, ex-wife, and other extended family and friends. Jenner starred in her own reality show on E!, *I am Cait*, for two seasons in 2015 and 2016. The show focused on her gender transition. She officially came out as a trans woman in April 2015, and her gender change and name change was announced September 25, 2015.

Both informants are middle class or upper middle class, Jenner being worth an estimated US\$100 million (Anderson, 2017) and Benestad being a medical practitioner and University professor. They are the same age, and they transition late in life. Jenner came out as a trans woman in an April 2015 20/20 interview with Diane Sawyer (Bissinger, 2015). Benestad has not received gender confirming surgery and claims to be both male and female (Benestad 2002: 25:49, 26:56), which means that s/he *maintains* the state of transition through fluid gender identification (Butler 1990: 25). Therefore, even though the informants confirm to somewhat different gender identities, Jenner being a trans woman and Benestad being in-between or both, they both experience the state of transition at a later stage in life; Jenner once, Benestad recurrently. None of the informants are gay and they both orient toward women sexually.

5 Analysis of *All About My Father* (Norway, 2002)

All About My Father (2002) stars Esben Esther Pirelli Benestad, who is a medical doctor and sexologist. Esben Esther's name will be abbreviated EE for practical reasons throughout the analysis. In addition, several other close family members appear in the documentary. Ex-wife Liv is the first person to be interviewed, and we also get to know daughter Elisabeth, younger son Even (26) who is also the director of the documentary, and wife Elsa Almås, who is a psychologist by trade and works with gender issues. During the first 35 minutes of the documentary, EE appears in male gender expression. The same happens towards the end of the documentary, in excerpt (20). EE appears in female gender expression in excerpt (9), (10), (15), (16), (17) and (19). There are some scenes in which family members seem to be interviewed alone, and these personal interviews will be marked in a separate column in each of the tables below where relevant. The column will be labelled 'not present', indicating that EE is not there to be constructed in person.

5.1. Esben Esther Pirelli Benestad constructs h/erself

5.1.1. Names and naming

<i>Self</i>	Masculine name	Feminine name
Esben		
Esther		

Table 5

There are no instances during the documentary *All about my father* (2002) in which Esben Esther uses any of h/er legally registered names. However, the names are used to address her directly during two different interactions (app (1) ex. 17:2, ex. 20:16). EE does not resist any of these constructions. Excerpt (17) is from a book launch event where EE and Elsa's newest book in the field of gender research is celebrated. The speaker welcomes them on stage and uses both of EE's first names in the introduction. EE appears in female gender expression, and the construction is not resisted. There is only one other instance in which names are used during a conversation where EE is participating. In excerpt (20), the full feminine name is used by Even, but it does not construct EE in the context of the interaction.

16. 62:44 Even: Jeg kan aldri akseptere Esther Pirelli som min far (.) sant (.) du må forstå at jeg må hele tiden prøve å se gjennom og det blir vanskeligere og vanskeligere pappa (.) for stemmen forandrer seg
I can never accept Esther Pirelli as my father (.) right, you have to understand that I have to the whole time try to see through and it becomes harder and harder dad (.) because the voice is changing

Rather, *Esther Pirelli* is the object of the clause, and even though the name is aligned with *father* (*far*) through the conjunction *as* (*som*), the construction is resisted by Even through the negator *never* (*aldri*).

5.1.2 Pronouns

<i>Self</i>	Masculine pronoun	Feminine pronoun
Esben	1	
Esther	1	

Table 6

There are only two instances in which EE uses third person pronouns in relation to h/erself, but none of them are used as direct identity construction. There is a lengthened discussion

during excerpt (6) in which the topic is EE's gender identity and role as Even's father. The interaction is organized on a collaborative floor, and EE appears in male gender expression. At one point EE constructs h/erself through the category 'woman' (*kvinne*, 17), upon which Even responds with an inquiry as to where the category 'man' is within EE's identity at that point.

19. 26:33 Esben: Nei da er han ikkje *sansbar* i den situasjonen
No then he is not perceptible in that situation

The prompt response from EE is to deconstruct the category 'man' in that particular time and place by constructing the pronoun *he* through predicates bound to the category 'non-existing person'. Furthermore, the pronoun has the antecedent *the man (mannen)*, the category that Even used in the former turn (18). This way, EE does not resist the identity construction through the category 'man' and the use of the masculine pronoun, but is instead carefully constructing the masculine identity as a separate part of h/er persona, something that it is possible to detach from. There is a similar construction in excerpt (10), where EE's response to having been constructed through the masculine third person pronoun by an interlocutor is to strongly resist. The difference is that this time, EE is in feminine gender expression.

18. 38:09 Esther: Syns du jeg ser ut som en mann eller?
Do you think I look like a man or what?

19. 38:10 Clerk: (xxx) ((shakes her head))

-

20. 38:12 Esther: Må'kkje si *han* da vettu
Can't say he then you know

The category 'man' is used as a comparison to contrast EE as standing apart from it rather than to construct h/er through it. In (19), the clerk shakes her head to signal that she acknowledges EE's identity as a woman, upon which EE responds using the masculine third person *him (han)* and the negator *not (ikke)*. Again, the pronoun is used to signal distance from a masculine identity rather than connectedness to it.

5.1.3 The membership category 'dad' and MCD 'family'

Self	'Dad'	'Mom'
Esben	13	
Esther		

Table 7

The only time EE uses the membership category 'dad' as a means to construct h/erself is when s/he appears in male gender expression. There are thirteen occurrences of the category in total during EE's own identity constructions. In addition, the category is used several times by others, which will be discussed later. Similar feminine membership categories, for instance 'mom', or alternative concepts, are not used or discussed at all during any of the interactions.

In excerpt (3), which discusses EE's first marriage and the birth of their children, EE is constructing h/er identity as a parent by rejecting masculinity. When Elisabeth was born, EE wished that dolls would have been a natural part of h/er childhood, and explains that,

5. 06:46 Esben: E syntes hendene mine var svære og sterke (.) lissom (.) slik at hvis jeg fikk et lite rykk i fingeren så ville jeg jo knuse dette lille barnet (.) jeg va – åsså tenkte jeg lissom (.) faen også at ikkje man blir oppdratt med (.) dukker
- I thought that my hands were large and strong (.) like (.) and if my fingers jerked I would crush this little child (.) I wa- and then I thought like (.) damn it that you're not raised with (.) dolls*

During this sequence in the movie, EE also invokes the categories 'trans' (*transe*, 12), 'trans wife' (*transekone*, 12), and 'the female part' (*kvinnedelen*, 16), constructing a female identity connected to the MCD 'gender'. This identity indirectly remains unauthorized by the other family members, who uses masculine ways of addressing their father/ex-husband. The exception is when Even asks Elisabeth about 'the trans trips' (*transeturene*, 13), which were trips that their father regularly took to meet other transsexuals, and which she attended once. This lexical item categorizes EE as transsexual, but does so because it is used to describe a journey that Elisabeth and their father took together, rather than a direct description of their father.

There is a lengthy discussion in excerpt (6) involving the membership category 'dad' and its role as a concept in a child's life.

- 19 26:39 Even: [Jeg kaller deg] jeg kaller deg pappa like [mye da som]
[I call you] I call you dad just as [much then as]

In (19), Even states that he will call EE *dad (pappa)* no matter what, and in (38) he directly addresses his father as *dad (pappa)*, labelling h/er as the male parent. In (42), Even once again resists EE's claim that 'father' is also a 'woman', using the negator *not (ikke)*. This prompts EE to take a new direction in the conversation, using arguments from biology and nature to explain what a 'father' is (app. (1) ex. 6:45, 47, 49, 51, 59), which in turn introduces Elsa's statement that a 'father' is an institution in a child's life. EE explains that h/er father had the same profession as s/he does, which made it possible for h/er to identify with him, and that having a father who expresses themselves as a woman must be difficult for Even.

72. 29:28 Esben: E skjønner godt at begrepet 'pappa' er mye mer omfattende enn det (.) e skjønner godt at det må være en utfordring å ha en pappa som da uttrykker seg kvinnelig
I understand perfectly that the concept 'dad' is much more comprehensive than that (.) I understand perfectly that it must be a challenge to have a dad who expresses himself as a female

Note that the translation from Norwegian to English is a bit problematic here, because EE is using the gender neutral Norwegian reflexive pronoun *seg* in the phrase 'expresses himself' (*uttrykker seg*, 72). This is translated with *herself* or *himself* in English, and even though the pronoun points back to masculine *dad (pappa)*, a gender neutral term would be more suitable since EE has both of these gender identities. In response, Even labels EE as *transvestite (transvestitt, 76)*, which seems to be the first time during the exchange that Even has used a gender expression to label his father that EE seems to be able to accept without discussion. Even though the membership category 'dad' (*pappa*) has been used before, and EE seems to accept it, it has also been the subject of a prolonged discussion. However, the membership category *transvestite (transvestitt)* is authenticated without discussion.

5.2 E Esben Esther Pirelli Benestad is constructed by others

5.2.1. Names and naming

<i>Others</i>	Masculine name			Masc. and fem. name	Feminine name		
	Esben	Benestad	Both		Esther	Pirelli	Both
Esben							1
Esther				1			
Not present	9				1	3	

Table 8

Whenever the masculine name is used by family members, the first name *Esben* is consistently selected. This happens nine times in total during the documentary. Both first names, *Esben Esther*, only appear once, when EE is announced as a speaker at an event. When it comes to the feminine names, there is less consistency. The first name *Esther* appears independently only once, when ex-wife Liv is telling the story about their past. Similarly, the feminine last name *Pirelli* appears three times when EE is not present, all of them during utterances made by wife Elsa. Only once except the event is a feminine name used during an interaction, this time uttered by son Even and including both first and last name, *Esther Pirelli*, as discussed in (5.1.1).

In excerpt (3), ex-wife Liv explains why she fell in love with EE, and the circumstances regarding the birth of their first child, Elisabeth. The scene also involves EE explaining the situation from h/er point of view. Liv is consistent in the use of the masculine pronoun *he*.

11. 12:07 Liv: Jeg hadde ikke lyst til å se han som dame (.) jeg hadde gifta meg med Esben (.) ikke Esther
I did not want to see him as a woman (.) I had married Esben (.) not Esther

Liv puts the masculine pronoun up against the feminine category *dame* (lady), and then uses the two names *Esben* and *Esther* as contrast to each other to mark that she denaturalizes the female identity of EE. This is done through the basis of MCDs 'family' and 'marriage' that is connected to patriarchal society. Both Liv and EE have been interviewed separately. That way, they do not really negotiate gender with an interlocutor in this sequence. However, they are both constructing EE as a gendered subject. While Liv is constructing EE as male through

the use of masculine pronouns, the noun 'fyr' (*bloke, guy, dude*), and the previously discussed denaturalization of Esther.

The next excerpt (4) is concerned with EE's wife and the children's step-mother, Elsa Almås. After a short discussion of the events surrounding the beginning of their marriage, Elsa explains her difficult relationship with step-daughter Elisabeth. During this section, Elisabeth is also interviewed, but they do not appear to be in the same room, talking with each other.

1. 17:29 Elsa: Hvis en ikke lever i følelsene sine (.) hvis en har en smerte som en ikke vil kjenne på så så begynner en å leve et ikke-autentisk liv (.) og på en måte så har jeg nok inntrykk av at Esben gjorde det (.) at at han e:h ikke kunne føle at han var til stede i sitt eget liv og at han kunne være til stede i verden som den han var
If you don't live in your emotions (.) if you have a pain that you don't want to feel then then you start to live a non-authentic life (.) and in a way I am under the impression that Esben did that (.) that that a:h he couldn't feel that he was present in his own life and that he could be in the world as the [person] he was

When discussing her husband, Elsa constructs EE as *Esben*, using the masculine half of the first name. She also uses the masculine pronoun five times. Throughout the documentary film, there seems to be a consistency in Elsa's choice of names for EE, in which either the masculine first name or the feminine last name is selected. In excerpt (11), Elsa contrasts the two names to address how EE shifts between the two gender identities.

- 1 39:10 Elsa: Asså når han har vært mye Pirelli så trives han som Esben når han har vært mye Esben så trives han som Pirelli (.) så det kan gå begge veier
Well, when he has been Pirelli a lot he is happy as Esben and when he has been Esben a lot he is happy as Pirelli (.) so it may work both ways

Elsa constructs EE as a male subject, even though h/er female expression is mentioned. There are four occurrences of the masculine third person pronoun, and four occurrences of EE's name. Interestingly, Elsa selects the male first name, but the female last name, *Pirelli*. Using someone's last name signals distance (Swan 2005: 338), which indicates that Elsa is denaturalizing this identity. She goes on to explain how she experiences EE as a woman (app. (1) ex. 11:6, 7) by mentioning a list of traditional items that belong to the category 'woman', such as *make-up, getting dressed, women's stuff, pantyhose, skirts, jewelry, hair, make-up*.

Even though these items categorize EE as a female subject, it is evident from the extra-linguistic information that Elsa's stance towards them is negative. Her body language demonstrates dissatisfaction, and she also adds towards the end that it's ok to not think about how you look sometimes (8).

5.2.2 Pronouns

<i>Others</i>	Masculine pronoun	Feminine pronoun
Esben	3	
Esther	1	1
Not present	33	

Table 9

Interestingly, there is a large discrepancy in the use of masculine versus feminine third person pronouns during the interactions presented in the documentary. The masculine third person pronoun dominates, with 33 occurrences when EE is not present, three occurrences during interactions with EE in masculine gender expression, and once when EE is in female gender expression. Even though EE appears in female gender expression several times, and uses both masculine and feminine names, there is only one occurrence of the feminine pronoun. It is used as a correction when the masculine pronoun is used wrongfully (app. (1) ex. 6:16).

After a trip in the car with Elsa, in which she is asked by EE to look at h/er hair, the couple visit a garment store (app. (1) ex 6). Here, EE encounters a situation in which s/he does not 'pass' as a woman. Present in the store is EE's wife, Elsa, and a female clerk, who is helping them try on garments. Even's camera team also participates, and there are other customers in the store as well, of whom we can hear the noise in the background. EE is trying on a scarf when the exchange takes place, and the two other interlocutors are helping h/er arrange it around h/er neck.

1 37:40 Clerk: Jeg tror jeg ville brukt det

I think I would use that

2 37:42 Elsa: Åja prøv prøv prøv det da

Oh yes tr tr try it then

3 37:45 Clerk: Det kler deg bedre der da så du prøve å ha sånn

It suits you better there then so you should try to have such

4 37:50 Elsa: Nei ikkje sånn du må ha det rundt skuldrene vettu

No not like that you have to have it around your shoulders you know

5 37:52 Clerk: Ja jeg tror det
Yes I think so

6 37:52 Elsa: Se det
Look at that

7 37:52 Clerk: Ja ((in-breath))
Yes

8 37:53 Elsa: Åsså må du ha alt tjafset ut
And then you need to have all the tuft out

9 37:54 Clerk: Ja ((in-breath))
Yes

10 37:55 Elsa: Alt tjafset må ut - så:nn
All the tuft has to be out – like that

11 37:59 Elsa: Stola!
Stole!

12 38:00 Clerk: Ja åsså ska det lissom litt til sida da skjønner du
Yes and then it has to kind of go a little to the side then you see

13 38:03 Elsa: Ja
Yes

14 38:04 Clerk: For å gjøre det litt mer spennende
To make it a little more exciting

15 38:07 Clerk: ((to Elsa)) Nei du det e syns han var fin e
((to Elsa)) No you that I think he was nice [I]

16 38:08 Elsa: *Hu:n*
She:

17 38:09 Esther: Syns du jeg ser ut som en mann eller?
Do you think I look like a man or what?

18 38:10 Clerk: (xxx) ((shakes her head))
-

19 38:12 Esther: Må'kkje si han da vettu
Mustn't say he then you know

20 38:13 Clerk: Sa jeg det? Unnskyld
Did I say that? I'm sorry

21 38:14 Esther: ((Laughs)) ((touches the clerk's shoulder))
-

22 38:14 Elsa: ((Laughs))
-

23 38:16 Elsa: Nå er det aftenskjole (.) ikke sant [...]
Now it's evening gown (.) right [...]

EE is quite clearly taken as a man in female clothes, as given away by the clerk's choice of the third person pronoun *han* (*he*), who constructs h/er in the membership category 'man' through her choice of pronoun. When it comes to the physical surroundings, the context of the conversation is a shop that sells women's clothing, the interlocutors are all in female expression, and the conversation from 37:40 to 38:04 has been focused on the garment that EE is trying on. While trying on clothes in itself may not necessarily be a gendered act, the context of the store and the apparent gender of the interlocutors contribute in gendering this exchange as stereotypically female. EE is wearing make-up, jewelry, a tight tank top with clearly visible braier straps underneath, and s/he is sporting notable breasts. Elsa and the clerk are helping h/er arrange the scarf, draping it around her neck to achieve the perfect fit, a stereotypically feminine way of gendered female behavior when shopping for clothes with girlfriends, at least according to the norms of Western society. There is nothing in the discourse or its context alone that should encourage the clerk to use the masculine pronoun when addressing EE, but she still does. The mistake leads to an embarrassing moment in which EE and Elsa both confront the issue directly, and the clerk promptly offers an apology. After, they all have a little laugh, and Elsa changes the subject.

5.2.3 The membership category 'dad' and MCD 'family'

<i>Others</i>	'Dad'	'Mom'
Esben	15	
Esther	1	
Not present	9	

Table 10

Similar to the construction of EE's identity by h/erself, there are no occurrences of feminine categories similar to the membership category 'dad'. There is no theoretical or hypothetical discussion about such a term, either. However, the category 'dad' comes up many times, 25 in total. During interactions with EE in male gender expressions it appears fifteen times, while it only appears once during EE's conversations in female gender expression. The category is also used nine times during conversations in which EE is not present.

When Elisabeth and Even are having their first conversation, they are both constructing EE as a gendered subject through the membership category 'dad', related to MCD 'family', but also using the category 'transgender' (app. (1) ex. 3:6, 13, 14). Later, in excerpt (4), Elisabeth explains how she used to fight with her stepmother, categorizing EE as 'dad'

But what are you THEN?

17 26:29 Esben: Jeg er en kvinne i kvinneklær

I am a woman in women's clothing

18 26:31 Even: Og hvor er mannen hen da?

And where is the man at that time?

19 26:33 Esben: Nei da er han ikkje sansbar i den situasjonen

No then he isn't perceptible in that situation

In this excerpt, EE is constructing h/herself by means of lexical items connected to the binary categories 'man' and 'woman'. In (8), (26), (28) and (41) male membership categories are juxtaposed with female categories in an attempt to construct EE's identity as both male and female, interchangeably. Again, EE uses 'to be' as a predicator to stress that the two gender expressions are not something that is pretended, but something s/he experiences as reality. Even resists this claim by denaturalizing the female identity EE claims to possess (10, 45). In (5), Even uses the phrase 'dresses like' instead of a 'to be'-construction. The protest against a father who is a woman is accentuated in (7).

22 26:39 Even: [Jeg kaller deg] jeg kaller deg pappa like [mye da som]

[I call you] dad just as [much then as]

23 26:41 Esben: ((agitated)) [For det er æ alltid] og det må du det må du gjerne
((clears throat)) kalle meg bestandig og det må du gjerne kalle meg i butikken [også nå]

[Because I am always] your dad and you may

((clears throat)) *call me that at all times and you may even call me that at the store [now, too]*

In (23), EE confirms Even's construction of h/er through the membership category 'father' and encourages him to use it whenever and wherever. The remainder of the excerpt has been discussed in part (5.1.3).

After footage where EE dances alone in the streets and a musical interlude, a new scene is introduced in which Even and Elisabeth have a discussion about their father and h/er gender status (excerpt 7).

1. 34:56 Elisabeth: Jeg har lurt noen ganger på åssen barn av transseksuelle har det jeg (.) hvis de har vokst opp med pappaen sin lissom hele livet åsså skifter han kjønn i ganske høy alder

I have wondered some times about how children of transsexuals fell [I] (.) if they have grown up with their dad like all their lives and then he changes gender at a fairly high age

2. 35:07 Even: Ja tror ikke pappa vil gjøre det °jag veit ikke° det hadde jo vært en tragedie da på en måte syns [jeg]
Yeah don't think dad will do that °I don't know° it would have been a tragedy
In a way [I think]
3. 35:11 Elisabeth: [ja] ja: det s ja: det hø- men det er jo noe med atte fordi at (.) da dør lissom den mannlige delen (Even: mm) og de:t (.) nei det hadde jeg synes var veldig trist
[yeah] yeah: that s yeah: that h- but it is something about because (.) then the male part will kind of die (Even: mm) and tha:t (.) no I would think that was very sad

The exchange is similar to the statements about loss and grief that Caitlyn Jenner's ex-wife and children make when h/er transition is discussed (see for example app (3), ex. (5), app (5), ex. (1) and the discussion in ch. 6). When EE's children are categorizing h/her, they use the membership categories 'transsexuals' (*transseksuelle*) and 'dad' (*pappa*) to construct EE, although these items belong to different MCDs. 'Transsexual' is a gendering category, while 'dad' belongs to 'family'. Furthermore, *dad* (*pappa*) is described to have a male side or identity that will die if a transition were to take place, indicating the membership category 'dead person'. This also contributes to the construction of their father as a transsexual, but still a more male than female subject.

In excerpt (10), as previously discussed, there is an interaction with a clerk at a garment store (5.2.2). After the exchange with the clerk is over, EE goes over to a mirror to comb h/er hair. Even joins h/er and states

- 25 38:58 Even: Du er ganske dollete, pappa [...]
You're kind of dolled up-y, dad [...]
- 26 39:03 EE: Ja liker å dolle meg (.) liker å jåle meg også (.) jeg
Yes I like to doll up (.) and I like to be vain (.) too
- 27 39:05 Even: Du speiler deg hvert minutt (xxx) speilet?
You are looking at your reflection every minute (xxx) the mirror?

EE is constructed through the membership category 'dad' and simultaneously as a feminine subject through the adjective *dollete*, and the predicates *dolle*, *jåle*, *speiler*. These words all

index femininity, ref. table 2. EE does not resist the construction, but goes along with it and confirms the feminine categories that are used.

Excerpt (12) was also discussed previously, in the section about names (5.2.1), where Elsa uses the feminine last name *Pirelli*. The segment continues with Elsa explaining that EE wants to be accepted and loved as Pirelli, and that s/he wants h/er wife to relate to what is behind the way s/he looks. She goes on to explain that she likes EE's male qualities, and that she identifies as a heterosexual person. To construct EE, Elsa uses the categories 'father' (*far*) and 'husband' (*mann*), which belong to the MCDs 'family' and 'marriage'. Elsa goes on to make a list that indexes EE's masculine qualities, which are the qualities she likes in her husband. These are *strength, masculinity, intelligence, willpower, determination* (table 2).

The children also discuss EE's fluid gender identities. Elisabeth, states that, "dad used to be dad" (app. (1) ex. 18:1), but that [s/he] is less so these days, and that there has been a change or a process taking place. She uses the masculine third person pronoun in addition to the membership category 'woman' (*kvinne*). The categorizing work in this segment is mixing the category 'dad' (*pappa*) related to MCD 'family' and the pronoun *han* (*he*) with the feminine category 'woman' (*kvinne*). However, the word *woman* is used in a distanced way, not describing EE directly but rather in a statement where Elisabeth says that she hopes her father does not become a woman exclusively. Elsa is also interviewed in the same sequence, which starts with Elsa constructing EE as a male subject using h/er masculine first name *Esben*. She then explains that it might become 'existentially impossible' for her to live with a woman and not have a husband (*mann* in Norwegian) which might force her to consider other options (2).

Towards the end, EE appears in feminine gender expression in the kitchen, baking bread (app. (1) ex. 19). S/he recites a poem that s/he has written, and states that she 'gave birth' to it (*fødte*, 5), indexing herself as feminine through an activity that is reserved for women. EE constructs herself through the adjectives *skinless* (*hudløs*, in the sense 'excoriated', 'raw'), *angry* (*sint*), *sad* (*trist*), and explains that there is no defense, no protection, and that there is something about being held responsible for who you are (*'å stå til rette for det en er'*, 6). These lexical items mostly index femininity and belong to categories of emotion and being emotional (table 2).

In the final scene, EE states that she has 'stopped defending her choices', and that not even h/er son can attack h/er for making them (app. (1) ex. 20:1). Even expresses disagreement and resists his father's dominance by claiming that he has the right to react (4, 7). The interaction is interrupted by a phone call that EE accepts, and then continues with

Even negotiating his inability to authenticate *Esther Pirelli* (10, 14, 19, 21) and acknowledge that part of EE as his father (16). Even attempts to denaturalize EE's identities through the use of *dad* (*pappa*, 11, 13, 15) two times, *father* (*far*, 13, 15), (MCD 'family', 'man'), *trans doing* (*transeri*, 13), *predisposition* (*legning*, 'sexual orientation', 13) (MCD 'gender'), and the repetition of the phrase 'a man who dresses in women's clothing' ('en mann som kler seg i kvinneklær', 13) (MCD 'gender', binary oppositions/standard relational pair). When Even mentions EE's female gender expression, he uses the full name *Esther Pirelli*, as previously discussed (5.1.1). To resist Even's attempted denaturalization, EE turns to the argumentation that s/he is not defending h/erself, but explaining who s/he is (12).

13 62:08 Even: Jo men jo men det er greit (Esben: ja) alt som har med det med far- alt som har med det med det som har med transeri:greiene det er helt greit sant det har jeg forstått sant (Esben: mm) jeg forstår at du er mye mer enn en mann som kler seg i kvinneklær sant (.) jeg forstår alle de tingene der (Esben: Ja:) jeg forstår at du har en legning jeg forstår at det er deg (.) vi er langt forbi alle disse skilsmissehistoriene og vi ligger langt forbi alt sånt (Esben: ja) det er sånn det er nå (Esben: ja) men likevel så er det min- så må jeg få lo:v til (.) å si (.) og mene og tro at du har en legning og atte du dels er en mann som kler seg i kvinneklær fordi atte du er du er pappa like mye sant

Yes but yes but that is ok (Esben: yes) everything that has to do with that about dad- everything that has to do with that about the trans: doing that is quite allright right I have understood that right (Esben: mm) I understand that you are a lot more than a man who dresses in women's clothing right (.) I understand all of those things (Esben: yes) I understand that you have a predisposition I understand that that is you (.) we are long past all these divorce stories and we are way beyond all of that (Esben: yes) it's like that now (Esben: yes) but still it's my- I have to be allo:wed to (.) to say (.) and to think and believe that you have a sexual orientation and that you are in part a man who dresses in women's clothing because your are you are dad just as much right

Even expresses a more positive stance towards the membership category 'transgender' than to the category 'woman'. While the former category is authenticated, the latter is denaturalized. Although the topic is challenging, EE is trying to manage the conversation on a collaborative floor, which is typically feminine (Cameron & Kulick (2003: 49), by acknowledging Even's arguments (12, 16) and using the category 'father' (*far*) two times (MCD 'family', 12, 23). EE is also addressing Even through his name several times (9, 22), repeating Even's fear of losing his father, and mentioning Elsa's fear of losing her husband (24). All of these strategies implies that EE has a supportive and conciliatory role, indexing femininity (table 3) with the

goal of achieving mutual agreement and consensus about h/er identity. Towards the end of the exchange, there is an incident of emotional outburst, and EE is in tears at one point. A voice interrupts the discussion with a question:

1. 25 66:23 Crew: Vil du at e:h Even ska: rive seg løs fra deg som farsfigur er det det du mener egentlig?
Do you want u:h Even to: become detached from you as a father figure is that what you mean?

EE confirms, and repeats something that has been touched upon in a former conversation, which is that s/he hopes that something of h/er lives in him, just like s/he feels that some of h/er father lives in h/er (26). The documentary ends with old footage of Even as a child, with EE in female gender expression.

6 Analysis of *Keeping up with the Kardashians* and *I am Cait* (USA, 2015)

In *Keeping Up with the Kardashians* (2015), there is a two-episode special regarding Caitlyn Jenner's transition from male to female gender. The episode takes place a few months before *I am Cait* (2015) is premiered. It stars Caitlyn Jenner, formerly known as Bruce Jenner, who is born in 1949 in New York, USA. Caitlyn's name will be abbreviated CJ in the following analysis for practical reasons. Also starring in the reality TV series are CJ's ex-wife Kris Jenner and their children. While the transcription contains CJ's former, male first name Bruce, the following discussion will address her as CJ, using the feminine third person pronoun. *I am Cait* is a documentary/reality TV series that ran for two seasons in 2015 and 2016. It stars Caitlyn Jenner, family and friends.

Both of the TV series are filmed in a way that cross-cuts conversations with one-on-one interviews. That way, the participants' stance towards the conversation is made clear through the personal interviews that often comment on the conversation that is going on. These interviews also contribute to clarify and provide additional information. To keep them apart in the transcription, the conversations are marked with numbers, while the personal interviews are marked with letters. Each episode consists of a number of sections or scenes, which are marked as different excerpts in the analysis and can be found in their entirety in the appendix.

6.1. Caitlyn Jenner constructs herself

6.1.1. Names and naming

<i>Self</i>	<i>Masculine name</i>		<i>Feminine name</i>	
	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>
Bruce	2	3		
Caitlyn	4	1	9	6

Table 11

Caitlyn Jenner appears in male gender expression in both of the episodes of *Keeping up with the Kardashians*, and in female expression in the two episodes of *I am Cait*. The TV-series are organized in such a way that revealing CJ's name is an event that is saved for the premiere of her new, female identity, and the name is first known to the world through an in-depth interview published in *Vanity Fair*'s July issue in 2015 (Bissinger, 2015). Because the name was kept a secret until then, CJ does not use the feminine name at all during her appearances in male gender expression. Once her female identity is revealed, however, her feminine name comes up more often than her masculine name does. In total, the masculine name comes up ten times, while the feminine name comes up fifteen times.

Judith Butler (1990: 92) argues that the 'soul' is culturally imprinted on the body, rather than something which emerges from within a person's 'core'. This theory is part of the basis of her theory of the performative, i.e. that gender is something that a person *does* rather than something that a person *is*. If the soul is culturally imprinted on a person, so is their gender, and if it does not emerge from some core within, then it is something that is dynamic rather than static, and it has the ability to change. However, the way CJ is using the expression makes the soul something that is static and lives within her, the soul becoming an evidence of the truth about her gender (app. (2) ex. 5).

g. 40:22 Bruce: The haircuts for me has been the most traumatic things in life [pause] I can't take that, ok, I want my hair to be longer (.) But society say, I've got to cut my hair 'cos you're a guy [pause] Getting my hair cut (.) Does it look better on Bruce? Yes (.) But it doesn't look better on my soul, you know

This is also the first mention of *Bruce* as someone else and the 'other part' as someone or something that belongs to the person who makes the utterance. CJ constructs herself as someone who stands apart from *Bruce* through the juxtaposition of the name and the phrase 'my soul'. Later, CJ again uses the feminine name as person reference in a sense that makes it seem that the person bearing the name is not present (app. (4) ex. 8:72, d, e). There is no indication that the speaker of the utterance is the same person as the person who is named *Caitlyn*. Furthermore, The pronoun *her* with the antecedent *Caitlyn* constructs CJ through predicates bound to 'fun person'. *Caitlyn* is separated from *Bruce* through a juxtaposition and the conjunction *than*. Another use of *Caitlyn* as person reference occurs later in the excerpt (app. (4) ex. 9 19, 23). Through the predicates bound to these references, Caitlyn is constructed as 'stranger' in relation to CJ's children and step-children (19, 23).

Another juxtaposition takes place in excerpt 10, where CJ once again constructs herself through mention and comparison of both names. Here, Esther has just expressed how difficult she finds it to start using feminine names and pronouns for her child (10)

11. 26:22 CJ: No it's not easy (Esther sighs) In what aspect is it not easy? Loosing a son?
- 12 26:34 Esther: The problem before with you and I (.) I I'm guessing this, you felt uncomfortable with me (.) we'd see each other (.) it was like you wanted to get away
- 13 26:49 CJ: At that point in my life I was very much an isolationist (.) I would isolate myself from the world (.) many many many many occasions 'cos I never felt like I fit in anywhere (.) I didn't fit in with the male side I didn't fit in with the female side you're kind of stuck in the middle ((Esther nods)) I feel like Caitlyn fits in a lot better into society ah than Bruce ever did 'cos Bruce ah had to *lie* about all that stuff and Caitlyn's kinda got a place
- 14 27:17 Esther: But Bruce will always be in there (.) your values are always gonna be the same
- 15 27:23 CJ: Oh the same (.) I'm still the same person
- 16 27:26 Esther: Changing (.) that's your soul
- 17 27:28 CJ: Yeah that's your soul (.) it's you're right
- 18 27:30 Esther: You you have the same soul you were born with

CJ responds to Esther's expression of stance by constructing herself through the membership category 'son', on the basis of the MCDs 'family' and 'gender' (11). However, she uses the impersonal indefinite article *a*, which is used when the referent of the noun is unspecified. This contributes to create distance between her and the membership category. In 13, CJ uses both of the names twice, but constructs them differently. Caitlyn is constructed through predicates bound to 'person who fits in', while Bruce is contrasting that through predicates

bound to 'non-authentic person'. Furthermore, CJ constructs herself through predicates bound to 'man', 'woman', and implicitly, 'transgender' through the utterance 'you're kind of *stuck* in the middle'. Here, the floor turns a little competitive where Esther resists CJ's attempt to construct herself closer to *Caitlyn* than *Bruce* by constructing her through the masculine name and predicates bound to 'the same person' (14). This is not contested by CJ, who confirms by constructing herself through a similar predicate in 15. The floor returns to a collaborative form, and in 16-18 they both construct CJ through predicates bound to 'the same person' and 'authentic self/person'. Again, there is a discussion of the soul as a signifier of CJ's 'true identity'.

At the lunch table, CJ and her sisters and mother discusses her choice of feminine name (app. (4) ex. 5). For the main part of the interaction, which is organized on a collaborative floor. The name is used three times, once in a personal interview regarding an incoming phone call from daughter Kylie (a) and twice during the conversation (2). CJ is the only one who uses the name, and it is used for person reference. *Caitlyn* is constructed through the use of the category 'trans person' through a predicate referring to 'other trans people' (2). She is also constructed through a predicate bound to the category 'woman' through the mention of 'to get your female name' (2). Initially, the masculine first name *Bruce* is used to address CJ, and this is also the only time a third person pronoun is used, which is the masculine form *he*. Later (app. (4) ex. 7), the name *Bruce* is contrasted with *Cait* by CJ through the construction of the former through predicates bound to 'better athlete', implying that *Cait* belongs to the opposite category (40). Stereotypically, it is possible to interpret this as each name belonging to traditional gender roles where the man is the stronger and the woman is the weaker (table 2).

6.1.2 Pronouns

<i>Self</i>	Masculine pronoun		Feminine pronoun	
	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>
Bruce	2		4	8
Caitlyn				1

Table 12

CJ is quite consistent in the use of pronouns when it comes to marking the identity that she wishes to construct. While both *Caitlyn* and *Bruce* are used to construct identities that seem to

belong to someone who is not present during the interaction, the use of pronouns only mark CJ in such a way during the interactions that involve CJ's masculine gender expression. Once *I am Cait* is launched, CJ only uses the feminine pronoun once, to construct herself during a personal interview. During *Keeping up with the Kardashians*, however, where the name *Caitlyn* is not yet revealed, the feminine pronoun is used twelve times in total. This is also the only TV series where the masculine pronoun is used by CJ.

The feminine pronoun is only used in one of the extracts from the personal interviews, (app. (2) ex. 2), where CJ uses *her* four times. Most of the uses are in a similar fashion to (15), where *her* is an object. In (16), *her* is constructed through the third person possessive instead of the first, emerging as an object that is not realized through the predicates connected to CJ's use of the first person pronoun. These constructions gives the listener a feeling that *her* is referring to a different person than the speaker of the utterance in (15).

While she is still in masculine gender expression, CJ constructs herself through feminine pronouns during a personal interview (app (2) ex. 2). She does so in a way that signals distance towards the identity the pronoun expresses.

e. 24:49 Bruce: At this point in my life I'm (.) yes I'm planning on going forward (.) I've pushed the 'her-side' off all my life (.) I can't die and not experience (.) her

CJ does not construct herself by means of feminine membership categories, but uses the objective case *her* of the third person pronoun, without an antecedent. Again, this makes the listener feel that the person identified by *her* is not present. The implied category 'the feminine side' contributes to this impersonal construction of *her*. The same happens in a later personal interview, but this time CJ makes an effort to bring the identities together (app. (3) ex. 6):

f. 35:38 Bruce: They're a:ll kind of nervous to meet her (.) It's obviously pretty funny 'cos I've been doing this a long time (.) she is always more fun, more at ease (.) a:h, feeling good about herself (.) it's just all part of *me* (.) you know (.) it's like having *Bruce* with a little icing on the cake ok? It only gets better

The feminine third person pronoun appears in the objective case. However, it also appears as a subject, and in the reflexive form *herself*. There are also two cases of juxtaposition, once where they [the family] being nervous to meet her is countered with 'I've been doing this a

long time', and once towards the end of the turn where the feminine pronoun is compared with the masculine first name *Bruce* through the preposition *like*. Here, CJ also brings the masculine and the feminine identities together through predicated bound to 'authentic self/person', by saying 'It's just all part of *me*'. During the conversation, the feminine third person pronoun is used by CJ as person reference in (28) and (89). None of the occurrences have an antecedent, and all except (28) appear in the objective case. The topics of the exchange where these pronouns occur are clothes, make-up, and CJ's desire to '[...] experience her, 'I wanna enjoy her, 'cos she's such a part of my life' (89), which relates her positive stance towards the transition. Except for (89), all of these uses are impersonal and makes it seem like the person referred to is not present. The style is feminine, referring to clothes and make-up (table 2).

6.1.3 The membership category 'dad'

<i>Self</i>	'Dad'		'Mom'	
	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>
Bruce	2			
Caitlyn	1	1		

Table 13

Although CJ does not resist the construction of her by others through the category 'dad', she is very restrictive in its use. The category occurs once more during the episodes from *I am Cait*, but there are still only two occurrences in *Keeping up with the Kardashians* and three in the latter TV-series. Also, the category 'dad' only occurs one time during an interaction once CJ starts appearing in feminine gender expression, and it happens through some resistance (app. (4) ex. 8:79).

When CJ has just premiered her female gender expression, daughter Kylie arrives to braid some colorful hair extensions into CJ's long hair (app. (4) ex. 8). As the hair is getting done, Kylie takes a photo from the back to post on Instagram, and there is a discussion about the caption of the photo.

- 71 21:54 Kylie: Back ((takes a picture with her phone)) hm-hm ((laughter, chatter))
 72 21:56 CJ: This will be Caitlyn's first post! They would never know who it is
 73 21:59 (someone): They'll be like 'aww'
 74 22:00 Kylie: What do you wanna say?

75 22:01 CJ: A good friend modeling my new extensions or something like that
 76 22:04 Kylie: I don't wanna say 'a good friend'
 77 22:06 CJ: Ok (.) a:h
 78 22:07 (someone): My dad?
 79 22:08 CJ: My dad ((laughter))

CJ suggests to construct herself through the category 'good friend' (75), which Kylie resists (76). Instead, she suggests the category 'dad' (78), and while CJ laughs disarmingly, she does not resist the construction. Instead, she confirms by repeating Kylie's utterance, 'my dad' (79). While the construction of CJ through this category is not explicitly resisted, the laughter might imply that there is some resistance in CJ regarding this. CJ's own suggested category 'good friend' contributes to reinforce this interpretation. This way, the resistance is implied through CJ's suggestion of a different category rather than through a denaturalization of Kylie's suggestion 'dad'.

While there seems to be two uses of the category 'dad' to construct CJ during personal interviews in the final episode of *I am Cait*, these two instances are really the same utterance, both of them from a different episode in the series. Here, CJ states, "I want them to be proud of their daddy" (app. (4) ex. 2:b, repeated at the end). CJ only constructs herself indirectly through the category 'dad', since 'their daddy' does not have a clear connection to the subject of the sentence, *I*. Still, she signals a positive stance towards the membership category through her choice of predicate.

6.2 Caitlyn Jenner is constructed by others

6.2.1 Names and naming

<i>Others</i>	<i>Masculine name</i>		<i>Feminine name</i>	
	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>
Bruce	21	32		
Caitlyn	6	2	15	6

Table 14

Caitlyn Jenner's masculine name *Bruce* is overrepresented, with 53 occurrences versus 29 mentions of the feminine name. As previously mentioned, this has to do with the fact that CJ's feminine name was concealed until the big reveal in *Vanity Fair*'s June-edition, 2015, which

was issued after the events in *Keeping up with the Kardashians* episode 10 and 11 took place. Consequently, the statistics of usage for the feminine name are not accurate, since the selection of names when CJ is in masculine gender expression is not regulated in a natural sense.

It is common for names to be used for identification-as-such and thereby for person reference (Pilcher 2017: 818). When CJ is still in male gender expression, Kim arrives at CJ's house to have a one-on-one conversation, she greets CJ by her first name, *Bruce* (app. (2) ex. 2:1). CJ does not resist the construction of her through her masculine first name, and it does not become the topic of the conversation. Similarly, Kris uses the first name *Bruce* as a direct way of addressing CJ during the long exchange in her kitchen (app. (3) ex. 5:29), enhancing the second person pronoun *you* and effectively constructing CJ with a male identity, which is not resisted. Kim also uses the name *Bruce* to call her step-father, who responds with a greeting and does not resist the construction (app. (3) ex. 6:1). After the gender reveal, the name *Cait* is suggested by Ronda when CJ asks what to sign the greeting card for her mother (app. (4) ex. 3). *Caitlyn* is also used as person reference in the first personal interview (app. (4) ex. 1:a). The name appears in object position and although CJ uses the first person pronoun to express her stance later in the utterance, there is no clear linguistic connection between *Caitlyn* and CJ. Later, *Caitlyn* is constructed through a predicate bound to the category 'familiar person' when Pam argues that CJ's friends will experience her as having the same personality as *Bruce* (app. (4) ex. 7:22). The name *Bruce* is not mentioned here, only implied.

After CJ has revealed the news about her transition to her family, they use CJ's masculine name to express their concern that she will stop existing as *Bruce* when the transition is complete. CJ appears in masculine gender expression here. Step-daughter Khloe comes to visit (app (2) ex. 1) and has brought a stack of wrapped gifts, of which the initial conversation is concerned. After a while CJ's daughter Kendall also arrives. The interaction is organized on a collaborative floor at first, but it changes in (48), where Khloe asks about CJ's planned transition and initiates a bit of drama.

48 10:06 Khloe: Look I don't know if this is too deep but are you planning on not being Bruce anytime soon?

49 10:10 Bruce: Yeah (.) that's quite possible, yeah

50 10:14 Kendall: Well it's something that we all need to know

Here, Khloe constructs CJ through her masculine name and the verb *to be*, but the negator creates an oxymoron connected to being and not being the identity, simultaneously. In addition, the predicates the six different uses of *Bruce* are bound to are mostly associated with disappearance or non-existence, as in (58) and (62):

58 10:50 Khloe: So (.) when is Bruce gonna be gone? Do you have a time-frame?

62 11:02 Khloe: So Bruce is gonna be gone in the next four to five months?

There is only one time during the exchange that the name is not used with these predicators, which is when Khloe uses it as a soft nickname in (22). During the personal interviews, the name is sometimes used with a present tense predicator (p, u, w) and sometimes with a past tense predicator (s, t), creating somewhat the same effect. It happens again later on, when Khloe constructs *Bruce* through a predicate that is connected to 'non-existing person', using *Bruce* as a subject and *gone* as subject complement (app. (3) ex. 3). The verb *to be* is used in the present tense, indicating that the disappearance of Bruce is something that is currently taking place. One of the most interesting uses of CJ's masculine name takes place when there is a series of short personal interviews with Kim, CJ and Kris (app. (2) ex. 2).

d. 24:39 Kim: It's confusing for us (.) we wanna be respectful to (.) Bruce (.) when does it start that Bruce is now not Bruce and 'he' is a 'she'?

f. 25:01 Kim: Is she like Bruce? Do they act the same but she's just a woman? I really don't know how this works I don't know what to expect

Here, *Bruce* is juxtaposed in two different ways. First, 'is now not' signals being through the present tense of *to be*, the adverb *now*, which is made negative through the negator *not* (d). Then, the masculine third person pronoun *he* is juxtaposed with the feminine third person pronoun *she*. This way, *Bruce* is constructed at the center of two very powerful contrasts connected to the MCDs 'person in existence' and 'gender'. In f), Kim first uses *she* and *Bruce* in comparison through the preposition *like*. She then constructs these two antecedents through the plural pronoun *they*, and proceeds to construct the feminine third person pronoun *she* by the means of the membership category 'woman'.

Ex-wife Kris also contribute to construct Bruce as someone who is missing or no longer in existence (app. (3) ex. 5). Kris is in her kitchen making Belgian waffles. While she is scrambling about in her pot locker, CJ enters the room in male gender expression. The

larger part of the interaction is organized on a competitive floor. However, the conversation starts out in a collaborative fashion, with CJ entering the interaction through a feminine speech style, signaling that she wants to discuss Kris' emotions with the aim to stop her being upset (2, 5). Later on, however, the interaction has taken a turn towards the competitive.

67 29:12 Kris: °I just miss Bruce° ((pause)) and that's gonna take a minute for me to mourn that relationship ((sobs)) and I'm trying so hard to just process my pain and get through my days and it's a struggle (.) I wake up in the morning (.) like (.) and then I realize 'oh my God this is really happening' (.) I have to mourn this person I was married to for all these years you know (.) you think you're gonna grow old with somebody and then they drastically change over the course of a few years (.) It's like I have to mourn Bruce Jenner ((breathes)) it's like I'm confused what happens to Bruce (.) 'cos I miss Bruce (.) I'll never be able to really ((sobs)) have Bruce and all I have really is my memories even when I look at pictures with you and the kids ((sobs)) it's I get really sad because I feel like ((pause)) you d-die:d you know (.) Bruce died and it's really hard for me to wrap my head around that

68 30:20 Bruce: Honestly (.) I'm not going anywhere (.) things may *change* but I still wanna be part of your life ((pause)) and I want you you know (.) I want you to be part of my life (.) look at the twenty-five years together [you know (.) wonderful times wonderful memories all these great things]

The name *Bruce* returns several times when Kris explains that she experiences loss and mourning (67). The phrase 'I miss Bruce' is repeated twice, and here, the masculine first name is not used to address CJ directly. Rather, it indicates a past presence through the predicator *miss*, which indicates the lack of someone. *Bruce* and *you* are also constructed through the past tense predicate *died*, which indicates a past event and acts like an oxymoron to the context, in which CJ is very much alive. In the phrase 'never be able to really have Bruce', the negator also indicates that *Bruce* belongs to the past. In addition, *Bruce Jenner* is constructed through the predicate 'mourn', which in turn also constructs 'this person I was married to' and 'that relationship'. These are all connected to the membership category 'dead person'.

Although the person Bruce Jenner is sitting right in front of her, Kris is constructing him in the past, as someone who has ceased to be. CJ rejects the identity categories constructed for her through a present progressive predicate bound to the first person pronoun (69). Close to the end of the sequence, Kris once again constructs CJ through the use of the past tense predicate *were*, which is repeated three times and bound to the second person pronoun. CJ strongly resists the construction of her in a past tense manner (69).

Later, Kim uses *Bruce* as person reference to explain an event that took place in the past (2) ex. 4:7). The same goes for the use of Bruce in the first personal interview (a). A third use of the name is in another personal interview (c),

c. 31:20 Kim: As uncomfortable and you know (.) I really truly can't understand what is in Bruce's mind (.) you will have to you know (.) respect it and support it (.) just support his decision on wanting to go through this journey

Here, the transgender feminine or female identity of CJ is once again constructed as something that is on the side or apart from *Bruce*, through the statement "[I] can't understand what is in Bruce's mind." The construction could be contrasted with 'I can't understand Bruce's mind', which makes the way Kim selects to say it seem more impersonal. This happens again later (app. (3) ex. 1), where *Bruce* is constructed as false through predicates bound to 'being a lie' (34), although the topic is CJ's sexual orientation. Similarly, Kourtney creates a compound noun using the name *Bruce* connected with *thing* (app. (3) ex. 4:5), a construction which also seem to denaturalize CJ's transgender identity.

Throughout the interaction in the documentaries, CJ is constructed as a male athlete and sports hero, and more generally through the membership category 'man'. At one point, Esther initiates her turn by constructing CJ through the masculine first name and the masculine third personal pronoun, which is used five times in the forms *he* and *him* (4) ex. 11:c). *Bruce* is the clear antecedent of the masculine pronouns, and is constructed by means of predicates bound to the categories 'great athlete' and 'courageous person'. The turn ends with a juxtaposition of *him* and *her*, and while there is no clear linguistic marking of *her* as belonging to the antecedent *Bruce*, it is clearly indicated by the context that these two are the same person. Later, Kris is also makes some attempts to construct CJ by means of masculine categories, once through her former male first name *Bruce* (69), and once through the predicate 'dating this girl' (79) (app. (5) ex. 1). While CJ does not clearly resist any of these attempts, she dismisses them by not picking up the topic and instead changing the subject (70) or simply not responding (80). In one of the last cut-scenes (e), there is another construction of CJ as male, but it is countered during the conversation:

e. 10:23 Kris: Kris: One of the things I always used to notice was that Bruce wasn't as sensitive as I wished he was (.) I think I just used to chalk it up to the fact that you know (.) he was a gu:y but I'm kinda realizing now that maybe that's just Bruce slash Caitlyn's personality (.) both of them if

you will you know it's the it's just (.) it's just the way she is (.) think that we just have to continue to communicate with each other so we can keep our family together (.) 'cos that's the most important thing I think to both of us

When discussing the past, Kris is constructing CJ through her former first name *Bruce*, the membership category 'guy' and the masculine third person pronoun, which is used twice. However, she switches to the feminine third person pronoun when returning to the present tense through the predicator *is*.

At the premiere of the female gender identity, *Bruce Jenner* is used twice, both of the times by voice overlay from TV broadcasts (app. (4) ex. 1). At the beginning of the sequence, the participants listen to the TV reporter stating that 'Bruce Jenner confirmed her transition to a woman on the cover of *Vanity Fair*' (6). The feminine third person pronoun is used three times during this turn, and all of them point back to the antecedent *Bruce Jenner*. This is the only pronoun use throughout excerpt (2) that refers to CJ. The construction of *Bruce Jenner* through the membership category 'woman' and the feminine pronoun is confirmed by the first personal interview, in which CJ states that she is 'living her true identity'. Here, CJ constructs herself by means of predicates bound to 'authentic self/person'. In addition to the masculine name, the feminine name *Caitlyn* is used six times. Two of these occur during the conversation. In (b), CJ uses the name as person reference to refer to her feminine identity. The name also occurs once during the same personal interview in a shot from future episodes. Most of the other uses of the name are as person reference, but a tweet from Khloe, which is read out loud by the TV presenter, constructs *Caitlyn* by means of a predicate bound to the category 'beautiful person'. Later, Lisa constructs CJ as Bruce through predicates bound to 'athlete' and 'brother' ((app. (4) ex. 3:13). The pronoun that is selected to refer back to the antecedent *Bruce* is the feminine *her*.

The categories bound to the MCD 'gender' often come up during the documentaries, especially with focus on 'transgender' and 'woman'. Khloe addresses one of the recurring topics of the first episode, which is that the girls do not feel that they have been informed about the time-span and full outcome of the process CJ is currently going through (app. (2) ex. 5:18). *Bruce* is constructed through a predicate bound to the 'transgender' category, predicting that he is going to transition in the near future. Later, Scott also constructs *Bruce* by means of predicators connected to 'transgender', 'man' and 'woman', all part of the MCD 'gender' (app. (3) ex. 2:g):

g. 08:40 Scott: Bruce is gonna open the door for so many people that are finally gonna be able to live their life the way they want to (.) I mean you're talking about the biggest male athlete maybe of our time (.) who was known as the man's man (.) turning into a lady (.) for anybody who's going through this and thinks that it's impossible well here it is right in front of your face (.) it's not

Here, Bruce is constructed as a 'door-opener in the transgender community', a 'great male athlete', and a 'macho man' who becomes a 'woman'. Scott's stance towards the content of this utterance seems to be positive. Another use of the category 'woman' occurs when Kim uses the name *Bruce* to construct an event that took place in the past (app. (3) ex. 6:7).

7 33:46 Kim: [Yeah that was (.) I got, I got] caught off guard (.) out of the blue it's like 'So is Bruce transitioning into a woman?'

In the quoted direct speech from Kim's previous encounter with some reporters, *Bruce* is constructed through predicates belonging to the categories 'transgender' and 'woman'. CJ does not reject this construction. The other occurrences of *Bruce* are all in the personal interviews. The last minutes of *About Bruce part 2* (app. (3) ex. 6) consists of ten personal interviews with the different family members. Here, *Bruce* is constructed to predicates bound to 'authentic self/person' (l, m) and 'cherished person' (n, o), all of which signal positive stances towards the transition.

At some points, CJ is constructed as transgender. For instance, during an exchange between Kris and CJ, Kris indirectly constructs *Bruce* as transgender through a mention of taking hormones (app. (3) ex. 5).

29 24:23 Kris: That's just what the only thing I experienced with you Bruce (.) and I don't know when you went from ((pause)) 'this isn't working for me anymore and I'm gonna go all the way and I'm start start taking hormones

Kris uses the first person pronoun *I* and its objective case *me* to relate what she believes CJ was thinking at the time she started taking hormones. There are also some instances after CJ's gender transition in which she is constructed by means of predicates bound to categories such as 'woman' and 'transgender', like these statements by Pam and mother Esther (app. (4) ex. 4):

a. 10:07 Pam: I was quite apprehensive, I knew *she* would be different looking (.) ah, and I was hoping that she would have the same personality a:h as Bruce (.) and she does and she's so relaxed and so happy (.) that makes me very happy

Pam constructs CJ by means of feminine pronouns and predicates bound to the categories 'familiar person' and 'happy person'. Although the feminine pronoun does not have an antecedent, it is clear from the context that Pam is using it to directly refer to CJ. The name *Bruce* is used in juxtaposition to the pronoun *she* through the adverb *as*. This means that *Bruce* and *she* does not appear as the same person in the sentence. In contrast, Esther uses the masculine third person pronoun to construct CJ by means of predicates connected to the categories 'trans person' and 'woman'.

b. 10:57 Esther: It is overwhelming (.) I guess I must have been preparing myself (.) ah, I knew he was going to be (.) *dressed* as a woman (.) ah, but he is a very good-looking woman ((laughs)) (.) ah, he's still Bruce

These categories appear in contrast to each other, where 'dressed as a woman' is immediately followed by 'a very good-looking woman'. While the first form of the verb, 'was going to be', expresses the future tense, the second form is the present tense, which makes 'a very good looking woman' the subject complement of *he*. Even though these pronouns do not have an antecedent to begin with, it is made clear in the last part of the utterance where *he* is constructed as *Bruce* through another subject complement. The difference between (a) and (b) is that *Bruce* becomes a person that is still relevant in (b), but exists outside of the contexts in (a). A similar situation occurs in excerpt 10, where Esther juxtaposes CJ's two identities using names and pronouns.

12 25:23 Esther: It's going to be so difficult for me to co- to co- think of you as she (.) and to *say* Caitlyn when I wanna speak with you or: call your attention you know (.) 'Hey Caitlyn' instead of 'Hey Bruce' ((CJ nods)) I don't think it's not easy (.) it's not easy ((sobs))

Here, CJ is constructed through both of the names, and Esther expresses her stance towards the name change, which she states 'is not easy' (10). The same goes for the feminine pronoun *she*, to which Esther expresses a similar stance. Even though the two names are juxtaposed to make clear Esther's stance, they are not explicitly used for membership categorization. However, the names implicitly invoke the categories 'man' and 'woman', which belong to the

MCD 'gender'. According to Esther's stance, constructing CJ through the category 'woman' will represent difficulties to her.

The interactions that involve CJ's friends from the transgender community tend to present other membership categories than those selected by her family. At her naming ceremony, Reverend Allyson James selects several categories related to MCDs 'woman', 'family' and 'friendship' to construct CJ.

10. 36:33 Allyson: So what's in a name? Names are symbols (.) they're symbols of a parent's hopes and dreams they're symbols that can honor the past or that can point toward the future and so we gather (.) with our dear friend (.) with our sister (.) we've known her most of her life by: another name (.) but today at this moment she chooses to set that name aside (.) will you join me to receive for us your new name? (.) and so here we are daughter of God (.) what shall your name be called?

11. 37:29 CJ: Caitlyn Marie Jenner

In addition to the excerpt above, which is included in the following analysis, CJ is constructed by means of categories related to *wife* (app. (5) ex. 6:1), *friend* (1, 2, e, 10), *sister* (2, 3, 4, 10), and *daughter* (10). Furthermore, CJ is constructed through her feminine first name *Caitlyn* (5, 6, d, h, 12) and its abbreviated form, *Cait* (a, b, e, f, h16), in addition to her full name *Caitlyn Marie Jenner* (11, 12) and *Caitlyn Jenner* (e). *Trans* (c, e) is also used as categories in which CJ is presumably included, but in this context they are used to describe communities or groups of people in the plural. CJ is constructing her friends as a group through the membership category *sisters* (3), indicating MCD 'gender' and 'family'.

The membership categorization device 'family' and the categories 'father', 'brother' and 'son' occur in relation to the names on several occasions during the documentaries. CJ is constructed by means of the predicates belonging to the categories 'father' and 'excellent father' in several different interactions during the TV-series. For instance, 'Bruce' is constructed through predicates connected to the category 'excellent father', such as 'afraid to let us down' and 'raised us' (app (2) ex. 2:a). During personal interview, Khloe returns to the construction of *Bruce* through predicates belonging to the 'great dad' category, mentioning car-pooling and being walked down the isle at her wedding (app. (2) ex. 5:b). The same happens when Scott constructs *Bruce* through the categories 'father' and 'step-father', and even though these are used with a negator, Scott still connects them to *Bruce's* identity (app. (3) ex. 2:a).

6.2.2 Pronouns

<i>Others</i>	Masculine pronoun		Feminine pronoun	
	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>
Bruce	70	112	9	10
Caitlyn	12	10	8	9

Table 15

Naturally, the categories of third person pronouns are the most frequently used categories during the interactions and personal interviews in the TV-series *Keeping up with the Kardashians* and *I am Cait*. Since pronouns are used for reference, sometimes referring back to a known antecedent and sometimes not, they occur more often than names or explicit membership categories. There is a strong overrepresentation of the use of the masculine third person pronoun during the personal interviews when CJ appears in male gender expression in the two episodes of *Keeping up with the Kardashians*. In total, the masculine pronoun occurs 204 times and the feminine 36 times.

Some of the family members have a feeling that CJ will cease to exist. While only feminine pronouns are used to construct CJ during the first exchange in male gender expression, they are not constructing her as a subject in the present tense (app. (2) ex. 1).

16. 03:34 Khloe: Now I don't know her taste yet so I'm trying to figure that [out]

17. 03:38 Bruce: [Well] to be honest with you I
don't know her taste either (.) so

In (16) and (17), the possessive case of *she*, *her*, is used in object position, indicating that she is someone who is having the actions indicated by the predicates done to her, rather than by her. During this rather long exchange, a feminine third person pronoun is only used once more, in 90, where it is used in the objective case, *her*. The main difference between these two instances of pronoun usage is that while the antecedent of *her* remains unmentioned in (16) and (17), Khloe uses the pronoun to construct CJ with a female identity in (90):

90 16:35 Khloe: It's not the same person (.) you even said yourself 'I'm way more fun when I'm her'

Khloe is citing CJ's former utterance through direct speech. However, the utterance does not come from excerpt (1), but refers to something that has been said in a different context (app (3), ex. (6) f). Khloe is resisting the construction of the feminine identity as something that is belonging to the masculine identity *Bruce*.

Several categories and predicates bound to the MCD 'gender', such as 'transgender' and 'woman', come up during the TV series. For instance, CJ is constructed as a somewhat feminine subject through predicates like 'get dressed' (f), in this context meaning 'get dressed as a woman', and 'was gonna fully transition' and 'become a woman' (n) (app. (2) ex. 1). These predicates are bound to the 'trans person' and 'woman' categories and belong to the MCD 'gender'. Likewise, *he* is constructed through predicates connected to the category 'trans person' (app. (2) ex. 3.:

3. 25:23 Kim: Uhm, it went good (.) he basically said like a lot of things that he haven't said before (.) I didn't know he was like really having a transformation ((inhales)) like [...]
4. 25:32 Kris: I asked him point blank I said 'What are you doing, are you transitioning?' 'I don't know I haven't really decided'

Even though the quoted direct speech in (4) signals that CJ has not decided on the transformation yet, *he*, which implicitly points back to CJ, is constructed through the predicate 'having a transformation' in (3). In (12), this is reinforced by Kim when she states that,

12. 26:38 Kim: He has to deal with this for his entire life waking up and feeling like 'wow (.) this isn't my body (.) this doesn't feel comfortable'

The predicate 'isn't my body' which constructs *he* [CJ] here is a statement that is common in the trans community and is discussed by Jay Prosser in *Second Skins* (1998), Toril Moi (1995) and Jane Pilcher (2017) (2.3.4). In addition, *he* is constructed through predicates bound to 'trans person' in the means of the category-bound predicates 'comes out' and '[other people that] are struggling with the same thing' 10 (app. (2) ex. 2:b). Notice that this far in the episode, CJ has not been directly constructed as a transgender person. Instead, different synonyms and ways of rephrasing it to be able to 'say it without saying it', has been selected by the interlocutors.

12 28:37 Kim: Um dad has this publicist that he had that was his publicist in the 80s (.) this story almost came out (.) I don't know if you know this but someone caught him traveling and he had wigs and stuff in his suitcase and Bruce hired a publicist (.) in the eighties

13 28:52 Kendall: [Years ago this happened?]

14 28:53 Kim: [In the eighties, yeah] and they went to his house (.) this reporter, and said 'Please don't do this story' and the reporter said 'Fine' (.) media back then was like totally different no-one ever found out (.) so this is the same publicist that's known everything he said 'you have to be taken seriously' (.) if he does it with a serious person it really gives him some legitimacy (.) so Diane Sawyer she's coming to do this special and they start filming it in two weeks

In the story about CJ's past interaction with the media and how her the publishing of her female identity was prevented, CJ is constructed through predicates bound to the category 'female' or 'trans person' (app. (2) ex. 4). In the utterance 'he had wigs and stuff in his suitcase', having wigs projects CJ as belonging to these categories, while the choice of pronouns is still masculine.

The feminine *her* and the masculine *he* are juxtaposed in (app. (3) ex. 1:c), *her* in the objective case and *he* in the nominative case. The antecedent of *her* isn't mentioned, while the antecedent of *he* is *Bruce*. Similar to the previously discussed use of names (6.2.1), this makes the listener feel that *he* is the person that is present and the pronoun connected to the girls' father, while *she* is someone else, or someone that is distant from this person.

40. 04:20 Kylie: Maybe what he's saying is that when he like fully transforms into a gi:rl it might like (.) feel different

Here, *he* is constructed by means of predicates bound to the categories 'woman' and 'trans person'. CJ does not resist this construction, but answers affirmatively (41). Except for one occurrence in the last personal interview (app. (3) ex. 3:e), the masculine pronoun is only used in the beginning of the interaction, between 5 and 14. It is mostly used for person reference, but in 10 it is used to construct CJ through a predicate bound to the category 'transgender':

10 11:11 Khloe: He's transitioning (.) and wasn't telling us

The antecedent of the pronoun during this part of the exchange is *dad*, which is used twice (3, 6). In the context of the conversation, *transitioning* here pertains to CJ's transition from male to female gender. The interaction discussed here takes place before CJ arrives.

9 18:09 Scott: [She didn't tell] me the whole time I knew her (.) you wouldn't tell me (.) even when he shaved his adam's apple down I still [was so naïve]

10 18:16 Khloe: [Who knew that was an option] that you could shave it [down]

11 18:18 Scott: [I still] didn't know (.) I just though he wanted a slimmer neck! I literally never even dreamt of thinking that he was gonna transition

Here, *he* is constructed through predicates bound to 'transgender' in two different ways (app. (3) ex. 11:9, 11). The explicit use of transition in 11 is clearly connected with the gender issue. However, to shave someone's adam's apple down is implicit, because a bit of background knowledge regarding common plastic surgery among MTF transsexuals is necessary to interpret the utterance in that direction.

Kris constructs CJ through predicates bound to the second person pronoun, such as 'wanting to dress differently' and 'dress as a female', related to CJ's transgender identity and the MCD 'gender' (app. (3) ex. 5:27). These identity claims are not contested by CJ. Kris continues by juxtaposing the category 'married couple' (MDC 'marriage') with the category hormones (MCD transgender) (31, 34). Although taking hormones is contested by CJ (34, 38) she does not contest the construction of her transgender identity. Several of the category-tied predicates Kris makes use of during this part of the exchange are stereotypical characteristics of the category 'men', such as *angry* (13, 17, 20, 41), *irritable*, and *crazy* (45). These are connected with the masculine categories listed in table 2, such as being aggressive. In addition, Kris constructs CJ through the oxymoron *male menopause*, the phrase 'that thing inside of you that, that you can't suppress' (45) and 'go do your thing'. Once again, the selection of the lexical item *thing* signals distance to CJ's current gender identity and denaturalizes it (see 6.2.1). CJ contests this distance through categories bound to predicates signaling time, such as 'have always had these issues' and 'since [I] was ten years old' (52), constructing herself as a transgender subject in the past. CJ also constructs herself through predicates of time bound to the first person pronoun, such as 'am sixty-five' and 'not gonna be around that much longer' (74). From 70-96, the interaction returns to a collaborative floor.

In a personal interview (app. (3) ex. 6:a), Kim constructs *Bruce* through both the masculine and feminine third person pronoun.

a. 34:10 Kim: Bruce deserves to be happy and he deserves to be (.) who he wants to be, even though I haven't really seen *her*, but he talks about her he's happy, and that makes me happy

Similar to former uses of the feminine pronoun, *her* occurs in the objective case, while *he* belongs to the antecedent *Bruce*, which is the subject of the main clause. This signals a distance to the feminine identity of CJ. In addition to the occurrences discussed above, it is used in the objective case (a-e) when the daughters are discussing their stance towards meeting CJ in feminine gender expression. It is used in a similar fashion when Kendall discussed her stance towards CJ's transition by constructing her through predicates belonging to the category 'authentic self/person' (h). The only time a pronoun is used as direct personal reference is when Khloe explains that '[...] I don't wanna do anything that would be offensive or hurt her feelings' (c). This reference stands out from the others because it makes it seem that she is talking about an actual person, and constructing CJ's identity in contrast to some unidentified third part. She could have used 'he' here. During the conversation, the feminine third person pronoun is used by Kim as person reference in (124) and (126). None of the occurrences have an antecedent, and all except (28) appear in the objective case. The topic of the exchange where these pronouns occur is clothes, and all of these uses are impersonal and makes it seem like the person referred to is not present. The style is feminine, referring to clothes and make-up (table 2). In addition, the masculine personal pronoun mostly appears in the personal interviews, except for six occurrences in the beginning of the interaction (6-15), where Kim uses it to quote direct speech in her retelling of the previously mentioned encounter with the journalists. CJ does not resist this construction, but remains either neutral (8, 16) or confirming (14).

Another challenge with the use of the third person pronoun occurs when a pronoun that does not correspond with the informant's gender expression is selected by interlocutors. For instance, when CJ has started appearing as female, there is a discussion about pronouns during the interview with transgender teen and suicide victim Kyler's mother Katheryn (app. (4) ex. 12):

39 30:01 Katheryn: People always assume when they talk to me that Kyler was ((pause)) ((makes quotation marks)) bullied by other kids or something like that and that's actually not really the case (.) really where he had the most problems was with adults not understanding (.) people in society that really didn't understand that he needed them to use a male pronoun and he had a legal name and gender change

Here, Katheryn addresses the issue of pronoun usage in relation to transgender persons, just like expert Susan Landon did earlier (app. (4) ex. 6). On a general basis, Katheryn explains how transgender people need to be constructed through the pronoun that belongs to the gender they identify with, and how society tends to resist these types of constructions. In that sense, taken that some pronoun usage is indeed categorization, Katheryn is also addressing the issue of society's resistance towards this kind of categorization. That way, the desired identity of the transgender person is denaturalized, and on a larger level illegitimized, in accordance with Bucholz and Hall's (2005: 602-603) relationality principle. An example of the wrong use of pronouns occurs when expert Susan actually is the one to get the pronouns mixed (app. (4) ex. 6):

21 14:43 CJ: Right (.) to stay on point since we have Susan here the big question is (.) have you ever seen anybody like (.) get over it and get cured of this?

22 14:55 Susan: Me personally (.) no I have not.

23 14:57 CJ: Yeah I know (.) it's kinda the way you're born

24 15:00 Esther: You know how little boys outgrow their clothes

25 15:02 Susan: Yes

26 15:03 Esther: I took you ((points at CJ)) to a store and you did not want those clothes on you

27 16:09 CJ: Ah-hah!

28 15:10 Esther: You were trying to pull'em off of you and I was trying to get them on you and you didn't want'em (.) and I am 'He just doesn't want new clothes' (.) would that have been in his person then that he would rather have had a dress?

29 15:26 Susan: Well absolutely (.) let's say for a minute that that's what he would have preferred to wear (.) sorry (.) she

30 15:32 CJ: Quite alright

31 15:33 Susan: I meant he then

32 15:34 CJ: Yeah

33 15:35 Susan: She: would have preferred to wear (.) 'cos that pronouns are really important everyone (.) so if that at that point is what she had wanted to have she probably wasn't able to pick it (.) ok (.) and then when children get older they notice reactions of other people

34 15:55 Esther: [Th th]

35 15:55 Susan: [They] start taking in other information like 'This probably isn't gonna be ok so I better fit in' (.) and if anybody tried to fit in more than you I don't know who it was

The use of *he* in (28) is a moot point, because it is used to refer to CJ as a little boy in the past. The expert, Susan, corrects herself when she makes the same linguistic choice in (29), where she implicitly constructs CJ as a child through predicates bound to the category 'transgender'.

The reference of *that* in connection with 'would have preferred to wear' is found in a former contribution (28), where Esther asks if her child would have preferred to wear a dress.

Another example of such a mix-up occurs when someone responds to an inquiry from Kylie, using the incorrect gendered pronoun (app. (4) ex. 8):

- 9 19:21 Kylie: Missed you (.) where's my dad?
 10 19:22 (Someone): He's in there
 a. 19:27 Kylie: I do wanna meet her (xxx) a little uncomfortable in the beginning but I thi:nk we're both ready

Dad (9) is the antecedent of the masculine third person pronoun. It also seems to be the antecedent of *her* in (a), although these utterances are only connected through later editing. While Kylie constructs CJ through the feminine pronoun in the personal interview, the person who responds to her inquiry constructs CJ through the masculine pronoun, even though CJ appears in feminine gender expression.

Some of the pronoun constructions are related to CJ's role of father in the family. For instance, CJ is constructed through various predicates connected to the 'great dad' category, such as 'taught me how to ride a bike' (q) and 'would drive us to school' (r) (app. (2) ex. 1:q-v). Later, the masculine third person pronoun is connected to the membership category 'father' (app. (2) ex. 2). In a), the masculine pronoun refers back to *Bruce* and is constructed through predicates bound to the categories 'father' and also 'trans person', which the phrase 'his struggle' seems to mean.

6.2.3 The membership category 'dad'

<i>Others</i>	'Dad'		'Mom' or similar	
	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>	<i>Interaction</i>	<i>Interview</i>
Bruce	12	11	1 (2x 'mad')	
Caitlyn	4			

Table 16

Keeping up with the Kardashians (2015) episode 10 and 11, subtitled 'About Bruce', are the two episodes designated to tell the story about the family's relationship to CJ's transgender identity. Therefore, the category 'dad' is invoked more often in these two episodes than in the rest of the TV-series. The category rarely comes up during the two episodes of *I am Cait*

(2015). In addition, there is one interesting mention of the category 'mom' and an alternative, feminine MCD 'family' category especially crafted for CJ's gender identity, 'mad'.

When Kendall enters the room in the first scene of the first episode, she constructs CJ as 'dad' through her initial greeting (app. (2) 1:42). During the interviews, CJ is once again constructed through various predicates belonging to the 'great dad' category, such as 'couldn't ask for a better dad' (q) and 'Bruce was the greatest step-dad' (s). In addition, Khloe claims CJ as her dad through the juxtaposition of 'not blood' and 'still my dad' (85). There is no discussion about the term 'dad' or its appropriate use, and CJ does not resist when she is constructed through this category by her daughter. Later, Kim constructs CJ as 'dad' in the start of the turn that addresses the story from the 1980s, see previous discussion (app. (2) ex. 4:7). When Kylie is interviewed alone, she constructs CJ as 'my dad' and refers back to CJ with masculine personal pronouns (app. (2) 4:b). The topic is Kylie's concern for her father and her stance towards CJ coming out, which is positive. Similarly, the membership category 'dad' comes up in (7), (b) and (89) in (app. (2) ex. (5)). In (89), Khloe constructs CJ by means of the category 'great dad', and she uses the present tense of the verb *to be*. This indicates that her perception of CJ as her father is not something that happened in the past, but is still true of this moment.

There are few mentions of an alternative category to 'dad', which comes up when the family is having a discussion about feminine pronouns. Someone comes up with a 'new' membership category (app. (3) ex. 1):

45 04:47 Kim: When do we start referring to you as 'her'?

46 04:50 Bruce: You will see me and you will know!

47 04:52 Kim: Ok so as of now when we see Bruce you're just 'dad' (.) 'Bruce'

48 04:56 Bruce: Yeah (.) 'dad' (.) 'Bruce' (.) ha! I'm always gonna be your dad (.) no matter what I go through

49 05:04 Kourt.: We should call you 'ma:d' (.) mom and dad and you're a little bit crazy

50 ((the others laugh))

51 05:07 Bruce: A little crazy yeah

52 05:08 (So.): Mad! (laughter)

c. 05:12 Kim: We haven't met her yet so we don't know who Bruce is when he is a woman (.) I think now I'm ok and comfortable enough to meet her (.) I think he would be ok if we met

Similar to *All about my father* (app (1) ex. 6), the discussion about 'dad' as a concept emerges, and the family is trying to find a way to relate to this concept and its meaning content in a logical way. *Bruce* is constructed through the membership category 'dad' several times, which

is not resisted, but affirmed by CJ (48). However, instead of going into a theoretical debate like the Norwegian family does, the American family briefly discusses a new term that one of the daughters suggests; 'mad', a combination of *mom* and *dad*. While the floor is collaborative and congenial, the introduction of this term is not something that is sustained in the later episodes. The membership categories that are used here both belong to the MCDs 'gender' and 'family'. This becomes even more clear in the personal interview with Kim (c), where *Bruce* is constructed through the category 'woman'. There is still a juxtaposition of the feminine and masculine identities of *Bruce*, with *he* being the subject and *woman* being the subject complement of the sub-clause 'he is a woman'. CJ does not resist this construction, but she does not affirm the suggested construction through the new term 'mad', either.

There are several instances of the construction of CJ through membership categories related to 'great dad'. Khloe constructs CJ through predicates related to the category 'great father', but is simultaneously using various predicates bound to the category 'unhappy person' (app. (3) ex. 6:j). Later, in (app (4) ex. 5), the membership category 'dad' comes up twice during the interaction, both in relation to the phone call from Kylie. She constructs CJ as 'daddy' when the phone call starts and at its end. CJ does not resist this construction.

7 Discussion

This chapter discusses the main findings from the analysis chapters (5 and 6) according to the theory from chapter 2. The discussion starts with the main membership categories related to MCDs 'family' and 'gender' and provides a list of these. A discussion of the construction of self through naming and pronouns comes next, followed by the negotiation of gender identity in interactions. Then, the concept and membership category 'dad' is discussed, and finally the performative in relation to everyday gender construction.

7.1 Membership Categories

Membership Categorization Analysis is the study of culture-in-action and displays common-sense knowledge to the analyst (Stokoe & Smithson 2001: 227). Through turn-generated identities for interaction, methodical practices for describing the world may be observed (Stokoe & Attenborough 2014: 163). When people use common-sense knowledge to describe

the world, they are assigning certain attributes to each other, and these attributes create a sorting system, which may function as moral ordering (Fitzgerald & Reynolds 2015: 100). This means that the way we talk about each other in everyday situations contributes to maintain social order and ideological power structures on a larger scale, simultaneously shaping and being shaped by discourses of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258). Since gender is one of the main sorting systems in identity work, gender categories also constitute a hierarchy, which traditionally has been binary and in favor of the masculine gender (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 24). That means that membership categories, just like forenames, may contribute to reproduce the heteronormative patriarchal gender order (Pilcher 2017: 818). Fairclough (2010: 17, 18) suggests that it is possible to imagine change through deliberate use of communicative strategies, which in the case of membership categories means that common-sense knowledge must be put to use outside of the common-sense axis. If Butler (1990: 186, 192) is right in her claim that gender is performative and that gender is culturally inscribed on the body, these options may indeed exist within everyday membership categorization. However, it requires a conscious change on behalf of the MTF transgender person, who has to take control of their birth-assigned categories and redo them in a feminine way. In order to 'pass' as female (Pilcher 2017: 818), they need to take a step away from the binary gender model with the hopes of being able to be included in it. The inclusion of them in the membership category 'women' not only depends on them successfully re-doing their language, but also in their interlocutors accepting their language use as genuine (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 598, Cameron & Kulick 2003: 51). Any interlocutor of the MFT transsexual has the power to either authenticate or denaturalize h/er expressed gender identity (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 601). This way, through transitioning from one gender to another, transgender people not only battle systemic ideological gender hierarchies and constructions, but also common-sense, everyday membership categorization and moral order.

Table 17 provides a list of membership categories and predicates that are selected by the interlocutors that appear in in *All About My Father* (2002), *Keeping up with the Kardashians* (2015) and *I am Cait* (2015). These membership categories are used in order to address different aspects of gender identity, but also to signal membership in the MCD 'family'. There are three genders represented in the table, man, woman, and transgender.

	English	Norwegian	CJ's films	EE's film
1	Woman	<i>Kvinne</i>	x	x
2	Girl	<i>Jente</i>	x	
3	Lady	<i>Dame</i>	x	x
4	Man	<i>Mann</i>	x	x
5	Guy	<i>Fyr</i>	x	x
6	Son	<i>Sønn</i>	x	
7	Dad	<i>Pappa</i>	x	x
8	Father	<i>Far</i>	x	x
9	Daughter	<i>Datter</i>	x	
10	Sister	<i>Søster</i>	x	
11	Husband	<i>Mann</i>		x
12	Wife	<i>Kone</i>	x	
13	Transgender	<i>Transkjønnet</i>	x	
14	Transsexual	<i>Transseksuell</i>		x
15	Trans person	<i>Transperson</i>		
16	Trans	<i>Transe</i>	x	x
17	Trans woman	<i>Trans-kvinne</i>	x	
18	Trans people	<i>Trans-mennesker</i>	x	
19	Trans wife	<i>Transekone</i>		x
20	Transvestite	<i>Transvestitt</i>		x
21	Transing	<i>Transeri</i>		x
22	The woman part	<i>Kvinnedelen</i>		x
23	Gender expression	<i>Kjønnsuttrykk</i>		x
24	Male body	<i>Mannekropp</i>		x
25	Female body	<i>Kvinnekropp</i>		x
26	The female surface	<i>Kvinneoverflaten</i>		x
27	Women's things	<i>Dameting</i>		x
28	Women's clothes	<i>Kvinneklær</i>	x	x
29	Transiton	<i>Overgang</i>	x	
30	Journey	<i>Reise</i>	x	

Table 17. Membership categories from the empirical data examined in this thesis

Membership categories connected to the male and female gender are used in both documentaries, although CJ is the only informant of whom the categories 'girl', 'son', 'daughter', 'wife' and 'sister' are used. This means that the MCD 'family' and 'gender'

categories used in the American language environment are more flexible than the Norwegian categories. In addition, predicates bound to travel, such as 'journey' and 'transition' are more commonly used by the American language users to signal the change in gender expressions. Both the Norwegian and the American informant, and their social environments, use membership categories and predicates related to transgender, and several different synonyms of this category occur. In total, five different categories related to MCD 'gender' are used (1-5), not counting transgender, of which nine synonyms occur (13-21). There are seven categories and category-bound predicates related to gender that also could pertain to transgender (22-28), such as 'women's clothes' and 'gender expression'. Finally, there are seven categories connected to MCD 'family' (6-12) and two that are connected to travel (29-30).

7.2 The construction of self through names, naming and pronouns

Language is an important part of the transition from one gender to another, and is heavily involved in the process of doing gender. Butler (1990: 196) argues that language is strongly connected to agency through the ability of self-reflection, which is dependent upon language to enable the negotiation of cultural norms and values that constrain identity work. During the process of constructing a new gender identity, pronouns and name become important aspects of this negotiation (Pilcher 2017: 815, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 82). Selecting a new name is an important part of the process of transgender transition, because names are an important part of the embodiment of gender, and taking control of one's name enables the redoing of gender expression (Pilcher 2017: 815). However, a name needs to be recognized as gender-appropriate within the gender binary in order for the interlocutors to authenticate the speaker's desired gender identity (Pilcher 2017: 815, 818). In addition, there is the question of gender hierarchy and power structures that are connected to naming. Traditionally, a masculine name is more empowered than a feminine name, which is reflected in the general favoring of women who pursue masculinity over men who pursue femininity (Pilcher 2017: 814, 816, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 24). Pronouns reflect names, and thereby also reflect some of the same categorization issues. Pronouns are clearly marked for gender, and both English and Norwegian lack appropriate gender-neutral third person pronouns (Hasselgård et. al. 1998: 128, Benestad and Nylund, 2018). This way, speakers are forced to assign genders every time these pronouns are used (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 82).

One notable difference between the Norwegian and the American language user is their tendency to construct themselves through the third person. While there are no instances in which EE uses either of h/er names to construct h/erself, and only two instances of pronoun usage (5.1.1 and 5.1.2), while CJ uses both pronouns and both of her names on several occasions (6.1.1 and 6.1.2). This indicates that there is a larger tendency to construct herself in the third person, or as an object, on part of the American informant. This also creates more distance between the two gender identities, since the 'other' identity depends on constructions through the object position when the informants are talking *about* that part of themselves instead of speaking as themselves.

There are some external reasons as to why the use of the feminine name is prohibited during the two episodes of *Keeping up with the Kardashians* (2015), which results in an imbalance in the distribution of number of times the respective names are used. Still, once the feminine name *Caitlyn* is introduced, it comes up more often than the masculine name *Bruce*. There is a chronological development in the use of names and pronouns for CJ, since the transition from one gender to the other is so clearly marked in the narrative, with the start of *I am Cait* episode 1 as the clear mark as to where *Caitlyn Jenner* starts to exist in the world. The same cannot be said about EE, seeing that s/he contains both gender identities throughout the documentary, and that the expected name and pronoun usage is always in accordance with h/er current gender expression in that particular context (app. (1) ex. 10).

However, when constructing their gender identities, both informants seem to keep their two gender expressions separate. That means that one of the gender expressions becomes distanced from them, which in turn makes it seem that they are constructing a person or identity that is not currently present. This problem is some of the challenge when there are several separate gender identities that all belong to the same larger scale identity work within a person. For instance, when EE argues that the man is not perceptible in the situation in which s/he expresses h/erself as a woman (app. (1) ex. 6:19), s/he is simultaneously constructing and deconstructing this part of her gender identity, while arguing that it is still a part of who s/he is. The same happens quite consistently when CJ constructs her feminine identity when in masculine gender expression, and vice versa (6.1.1 and 6.1.2). For instance, she explains that she has pushed the *her*-side away all her life and need to experience it, using the objective case of the pronoun and predicates bound to the membership category 'the feminine side' (app. (2) ex. 2:e), which creates an impersonal construction of this feminine side. Often, both informants seem to keep their current gender expression as the subject, while

the other gender expression becomes the object. The main difference between the two is that EE's language choices are not bound by /her current gender expression to the same extent as CJ is. For instance, the example above (app. (1) ex. 6:19) is taken from an interaction in which EE appears in masculine gender expression, but still signals distance towards the masculine part of h/er identity.

When they appear in female gender expression, there are some differences between the two informants when it comes resisting third person pronoun constructions. EE needs to resist the pronoun usage at the garment shop, where *he* is wrongfully used according to h/er current gender expression (app. (1) ex. 10:20), and there are also some instances of pronoun usage and naming that are organized on a competitive floor (app. (1) ex. 20:15, 6:19). CJ, on the other hand, also personally only experience one wrongful use of third person pronoun, but it is quickly corrected by the interlocutor herself (app. (4) ex. 6:29, 31). When it comes to the third person construction of self, it is more or less non-existent in the case of EE, while CJ uses this kind of identity construction consistently. This means that the American informant takes linguistic control of her identity construction to a much larger extent, by deliberately projecting her desired identity linguistically. However, this also creates a larger distance between her two gender identities.

7.3 The negotiation of gender identity through co-construction in interactions

Both Prosser (1998: 89) and Pilcher (2017: 818) explains that one of the key issues for MTF transsexuals is to 'pass' as women. This means that the transgender woman will be authenticated as a woman when in female expression, without questions, doubt, or any linguistic evidence that the interlocutor believes that she might have been assigned the masculine gender at birth (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 601). Pilcher (2017: 812) argues that both bodies and names are involved in people's identities, and that gendered bodies are not easily separated from naming. This way, taking a new, gender-appropriate name marks the transition between genders in a way that is very clear to the surroundings. Being authenticated as female is something that must take place in the context of everyday life, in situations involving interlocutors of all kinds, be it colleagues at the workplace, family, friends, or strangers at the store. If the interlocutors of the transgender person does not see them as the gender the name denotes, denaturalization of the desired gender identity may occur (Pilcher 2017: 815, Bucholz & Hall 2005: 602). Such a situation may demand a repair and create tension in the

interaction. The same goes for gender-appropriate pronouns, which have to concur with the social gender of the person that is being referred to (Eckert & MacConnel-Ginet 2013: 83).

A strong resistance towards the transition between gender identities is at times signaled by both families, but in somewhat different ways. In *All about my father* (2002), the resistance is first and foremost linguistically expressed through the selection of names and pronouns when constructing EE when s/he is not present (5.2.1 and 5.2.2). The masculine third person pronoun is consistently selected by both of EE's children, h/er wife Elsa and ex-wife Liv. In addition, the masculine first name *Esben* is also used consistently, while when the feminine name has to be selected for semantic purposes, it is always the feminine last name, *Pirelli*, that is chosen. Addressing someone through their last name signals neutrality, distance and formality, while the use of the first name signals familiarity and a more colloquial style (Swann 2005: 338). Through these choices, the interlocutors' stance towards EE's gender identities become apparent, and it becomes clear that the female identity to some extent is denaturalized, at least in comparison with the male identity (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 602). In the American documentaries, the stance is made evident in more direct ways through the choice of tense and membership categories in connection with the predicates used with the masculine name *Bruce* (6.2.1 and 6.2.2). There are several instances during both of the episodes of *Keeping up with the Kardashians* (2015) in which CJ's masculine identity is constructed either as a person belonging to the past through past tense predicators, or through negators, or through the membership category 'non-existing person'. For instance, this happens in *Keeping up with the Kardashians* (app. (2) ex. 1:48, 58, 62) with utterances like 'Bruce is gonna be gone'. The same happens during the interaction with Kris in which various predicates connected to membership category 'dead person' are used (app. (3) ex. 5:68). While CJ initially confirms that she will stop being Bruce at some point, most of the past tense predicates and membership categories connected to 'dead person' are strongly resisted (6.2.1). In addition, the pronoun usage in *Keeping up with the Kardashians* generally signals distance towards CJ's feminine identity, with few direct constructions of her through the feminine third person pronoun, *Khole* being one of the few exceptions (app. (3) ex. 6:c).

It seems like the performative aspect of this part of the identity work causes challenges regarding what to do with the identity that is more clearly resisted by the family. In the Norwegian family, the female side of EE becomes estranged, distanced and only formally addressed. In the American family, the negative stance towards the transition into a female identity is clearly voiced through membership categories and predicates connected to death

and the feeling of loss and the construction of *her* as a 'stranger'. Even though both informants resist these identity constructions and insist that these feminine parts of their gender identity are only different sides of the person the family already knows, the negative stance seems to be persistent. However, there is less resistance, especially among the children, towards the construction of EE and CJ as a *transgender* persons and members of the transgender community (app. (1) ex. 6:8, 7:1, 3:13, 20:14, app. (2) ex. 3:3, 4, app (3) ex. 1:40, 2:g, 3:7, 4:9, 11). This way, the transgender identity is more often authenticated, while the female identity is more often denaturalized (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 600). The exception is the tendency among the American family to express their resistance towards the transgender identity through the membership category 'thing' and predicates related to being false, which signals distance and causes denaturalization (app. (2) ex. 4:7, app. (3) ex. 1:34, app. (3) ex. 4:5), app. (3) ex. 5:45).

Consequently, the two informants seem to operate with three different gender identities that are more or less a part of the identity work that constitute the performative in their everyday lives. First, the male identity is the identity that belongs to the past, in EE's life seen as the basis of h/er identity by most of the family, expressed through pronoun and name choices. In CJ's life, the male identity is more vocally placed in the past through predicates and membership categories belonging to 'dead person' and the past tense, a figure that during the TV show will take its place in past history. This is accentuated by CJ's own identity work (6.1) which also constructs the male identity in the past. However, the difference is that while CJ is performing a transition, linguistically marked by her construction of self in the third person (6.1), EE is continuously fluctuating between the male and female identity s/he contains. While EE strongly resists to be placed in the mutually exclusive membership category 'man' (app. (1) ex. 6:15), s/he avoids the kind of third person construction CJ makes use of, and relies more heavily on the correct contextual interpretation by h/er interlocutors. As has been shown previously (6.1), this interpretation is sometimes faulty or denaturalizing (app. (1) ex. 10:20).

Second, the female identity is a construction that takes an increasingly larger part of the informants' lives. To CJ, the transition is clearly marked by the launch of her own reality TV series, *I am Cait* (2015), and the transition is confirmed linguistically by the increased occurrence of feminine third person pronouns and the feminine name during these episodes. In the case of EE, the increased expression of the feminine gender seems to be a concern for the children (app (1) ex. 7:1), and EE is constructed through predicates connected to loss and

the membership category 'dead person'. EE's wife Elsa also expresses a similar concern, although the particular membership category is not used by her (app. (1) ex. 11:2, 12:2, 4, 18:2), only indirectly when EE is quoting her (app. (1) ex. 20:24). Through the stances (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 584) the families express, resistance towards the female identity becomes apparent, although many of the personal interviews by the American family also express curiosity and encouragement.

Finally, the transgender identity seems to be the least resisted, although the ex-wives Liv and Kris both express negative stances towards it (app. (1) ex. 3:11, app (3) ex. 5:45). Kris constructs CJ's transgender identity through the category 'thing', thereby denaturalizing it strongly. To the other family members, the transgender identity seems to be a matter of fact rather than an identity construction it is possible to resist. It does not cause as many issues as the male and female gender expressions do. Although 'transgender' also belongs to the MCD 'gender' (Silverman 1998: 79), it seems to exist outside of everyday language because of the lack of linguistic categories connected to it. Neither Norway nor the United States have pronoun options for other human genders than masculine and feminine (Hasselgård et. al 1998: 126, Kulbrandstad 2005: 159). As opposed to Sweden, a gender neutral pronoun such as 'hen' does not exist, and therefore, the gender categories within the language become quite narrow and binary (Hasselgård et. al 1998: 128, Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 82). Similar binary gender distinctions connected to social norms are evident in the organization of the Membership Categorization Devices 'family' and to some extent 'gender' (table 1, table 17, Fitzgerald & Reynolds 2015: 100). Since the category 'transgender' is not connected to either existing linguistic gender category, language choices pertaining to the expression of such a gender need not be made. As has been shown in this research, the problems arise when linguistic choices between the categories 'male' and 'female' have to be taken. Furthermore, some concepts have proven to be more troublesome than others.

7.4 The difficult concept of the membership category 'dad'

'Dad' is more than a word. It is both a concept and a membership category, and it plays a part in several different MCA constellations. It belongs to the Membership Categorization Device 'family', the standardized relational pair 'parent-child', the duplicative organization of the unit of 'family', and is positioned at the top of the group hierarchy of that particular MCD (Stokoe 2012: 281, Silverman 1998: 79). Part of the problem with the category in the context of the

documentary films examined in this thesis arises with the category-activity puzzle 'transitioning father', pertaining to the transition from male to female gender expression (Stokoe 2012: 281). When dad becomes a woman, the language no longer contains a suitable membership category for their 'family' MCD membership. Unlike names and pronouns, there is no easily acceptable alternative membership category for the MTF parent that may be used to avoid gender-inappropriate categories. This means that the category signals distinction from womanhood, when the MTF parent desires to express adequation with it (Bucholz & Hall 2005: 600). In addition, it opens up for other confusions, such as the application of a masculine third person pronoun (app. (4) ex. 8:9,10 in 6.2.2). 'Dad' is a problematic membership category that makes it a little more difficult to let go of all of the 'maleness' that has been left behind through the transition to feminine names and pronouns.

It can be argued that some of the rules connected to membership category analysis are broken with the transition of the MTF 'dad'. That is not to say that there is anything wrong with the transition, but the language, which comes after the changes in social norms, does not contain the necessary categories to express and contain fathers of alternative gender expressions. Take, for instance, the economy rule, which states that "[a] single category may be sufficient to describe a person" (Stokoe 2012: 281). In the case of the female father, this rule must be broken in order to explain the gender and family situation and initiate the correct pronoun usage. For instance, when Kylie wants to caption the image of a photo of CJ's hair extensions using the membership category 'dad', CJ first suggested a different construction not including any MCD 'family' category at all (app. (4) ex. 8:75-79). In addition, the viewer's maxim, which should allow for the interpretation of an observed category-bound activity as being done by a member of the category the activity is bound to, could also prove to be difficult in the case of the transgender father. Again, gender and family relations need to be explained and cannot always be taken for granted when the female dad is doing parenting. When the parent appears in female gender expression, the viewer's maxim would allow for the category 'mother' to be interpreted, because 'dad' and 'mom' and their equivalents are the only MCD 'parent' categories the Norwegian and English language contain.

There are several discussions about the concept of father during the documentaries. In *All about my father* (2002), the children are being very clear about their struggles with the feminine aspect of their father's identity in relation to the membership category 'dad' (5.2.3). Even resists and denaturalizes the female identity on several occasions (app. (1) ex. 6:10, 20:13, 15), and as discussed in (7.3), both families are concerned that the male identity will

die or disappear. The American family also have discussions concerning the category 'dad', and suggests an alternative membership category (6.2.3). The suggested category 'mad' (app. (3) ex. 1:49), although humorous and perhaps intended as a joke, is a symptom of what may seem to be one of the main issues of close family membership categorization, because even though names and pronouns are easily replaced, the concept and category 'dad' may not be replaceable at all.

Both of the informants authenticates the category 'dad' explicitly and do not try to resist it (app. (1) ex. 6:23, app (3) ex. 1:48). Even though the alternative category 'mad' is suggested by the American family, no such category is used during the documentary. In app. (1), ex. (6), the Norwegian family agrees that the membership category 'dad' is an important concept and institution in a child's life, and voice their difficulties with connecting it to a woman, which Even repeats in excerpt (20) using the feminine name *Esther Pirelli*. In addition, the category 'father' is rarely used when the informants appear in feminine gender expression (5.1.3 and 5.2.3). EE only uses it to construct h/erself when in male gender expression, and it is only used by h/er family at once point when in feminine gender expression (app. (1) ex. 10: 25). Likewise, the ratio of occurrences of the category 'dad' when CJ is in feminine and masculine gender expression respectively, is 4: 23 (6.2.3). The only divergence from this finding is when CJ is constructing herself, because she uses the category 'dad' two times when in masculine gender expression and three times when in feminine (6.1.3). Note, however, that two of the three uses are actually excerpts from a different episode in which the children are not present at the interaction. In sum, 'dad' becomes a difficult membership category both on a meta-level of which the participants in the interactions are conscious, and on the level of language where the category is mostly underrepresented when the informants are in female gender expressions. Simultaneously, none of the informants resists the category when it is made use of, even if they are hesitant in constructing themselves through it (5.1.3 and 6.1.3). They are also both explicit about their acknowledgement of its use.

For active identity construction to take place during interaction in a performative sense, there need to be membership categories within the language that allow for the desired identity to be constructed. As has been shown during the discussion of the difficult concept of 'dad', the existing categories may prove to be too narrow and allow for too many difficult linguistic situations or misunderstandings to take place. Even when the participants are trying to collaborate in the identity work to co-construct an identity for their MTF father that

remains a logical part of the MCD 'family', the binary, dichotomous gender categories come in the way. There is almost something desperate over EE's son Even when he tries to argue that "[...] dad is not a woman!" (app. (1) ex. 6:45), and perhaps something shameful over CJ when she suggests that her daughter label the image of her hair as 'good friend' instead of 'dad' (app. (4) ex. 8:75). These stances express the problematic relationship between identity construction, gender performativity and a language that is not there yet when it comes to transgender membership categories of the MCD 'family'.

7.5 The performative and everyday gender construction

Prosser (1998: 33) argues that transsexuals seek only to *be*, and to be non-performative, by rephrasing Beauvoir's epigram; "One is not born a woman, but *nevertheless* may become one". When a person is doing a new gender, there are several membership categories working more or less simultaneously, as shown in table 17. The participants may struggle to use the categories that fit with the viewer's maxim (Stokoe 2012: 281), and these categories need to be available within the language. The MTF language user and their interlocutors also need to be conscious in the selection of pronouns and names (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 82, Pilcher 2017: 813). To transgender persons, an important goal is to 'pass' as women in the context of everyday situations, such as going to the clothes shop or hanging out with family (Pilcher 2017: 818). A recurrent argument and explanation about their gender transition is that they feel that they belong to a different gender on the inside than their biological outside expresses (Moi 2005: 21). This means that the social positioning that performatively takes place during the identity work needs to be collaboratively construed in accordance with the transgender persons' inner life (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 586). There are some interesting takes on this aspect on behalf of the gender theorists that make up the theoretical basis for this research, especially the question of the soul and the inner core of someone's identity.

The linguistic evidence for the experience of such an inner part of one's identity are present in the source material. For instance, the verb 'to be' may be used in connection with membership categories such as 'woman' and predicates bound to it. When 'to be' is used as the verb of the predicate of the subject, the object becomes a subject complement that equals the subject (Hasselgård et. al. 1998: 251). This means that the explicit experience of both of the informants is that they are women in certain contexts. EE addresses this quite explicitly through the constructions 'I am not a man in women's clothing' and 'I am a woman in women's

clothing' (app. (1) ex. 6:16, 17). CJ, on the other hand, often refers to the feminine identity as her 'soul' (app. (2) ex. 5:g, app. (3) ex. 3:39, app. (4) ex. 10:17, app. (5) ex. 1:28), actually putting into use the concept that Butler has such issues with (1990: 184). When looking at the informants' identity construction, there is much linguistic proof that their experience with an inner 'core' is present, but there is no way of telling if the experience is culturally inscribed on them or not. However, their language choices attest quite strongly to the fact that their feminine gender expressions are consistent with how they feel on the inside (Mæhlum et. al 2008: 111).

The problem with the myth about a 'true gender identity' is that it may function as a catalyst for a heteronormative, patriarchal society in which both women and those belonging to the 'abject' become the oppressed (Butler 1990: 168, 181). However, the same myth becomes the model of explanation that serves as proof that the desired gender identity is the legitimate or correct one according to the individual. To reconstruct 'true gender identity' as something that belongs to all genders and not only those who find themselves within the patriarchal, heteronormative axis, two myths needs to be deconstructed. First, gender identity and the biological appearance of the body are not necessarily the same (Prosser 1998: 83, Moi 2005: 21). As EE puts it, it is possible to live in the world as a woman and not having a biologically female body (app. (1) ex. 6:1). Also, the experience of the person doing the identity construction seems to come before society's perception of them, which may demand conscious language choices to be made by the participants in their daily interactions. Second, the membership categories of the language should be susceptible to additions, where other categories that are more relevant and better suited may be put to use, especially when it comes to MCD's of close family relations. That way, transgender people may indeed become the subversive, only not in the parodic sense that Butler suggested (1990: 186).

Performativity theory is also based on the imitations of imitations, where no original gender exists, and each performance is modeled on a former imitation (Butler 1990: 188). Such imitations are not constant, but susceptible to change, which makes it difficult to identify what a woman really is. During the documentaries, there are many interactions in which membership categories and predicates pertaining to the MCD 'gender' are used, such as 'man', 'woman' and 'transgender' (table 17). Transgender, which seems to be the more neutral term, signals that a person at some point has contained more than one gender, and that there is a desire to transcend one of these genders and become the other (Prosser 1998: 11, 89). Implicit in the term is a binary gender model in which there is a desire to rise above or go

beyond the limits of this model. To express such a transcendence, though, the identity work must involve performances based on imitations of either one gender or the other. This becomes evident in the language, which with its narrow categories only allow for one gender or the other to be constructed, always leaving the other identity either in the past or at the hands of an identity construction that makes them seem far away.

There are many instances during the documentaries in which one of the gender identities is expressed as distant, while the other is either expressed or linguistically constructed as present. This may be most evident in the use of pronouns, which in both the Norwegian and the English language are remainders of a case system that used to belong to Old Norse and Old English, and which have not been expanded ever since. To enable the construction of fluid transgender identity through language categories, there is a need for the inclusion of appropriate gender neutral pronouns in the language, modeled after the Swedish pronoun 'hen'. That would make it possible for the construction of fluid gender identities without constantly alternating between the masculine and the feminine third person pronoun. This is a change that is necessary for the language to allow transgender identity to come together as one.

8 Conclusion

Identity is a multifaceted concept that contains several contradictions, several group memberships, and operates on a social as well as an individual psychological level. While it is changeable and may be adapted to different contexts, identity is also connected to the sense of being oneself. Likewise, gender identity is connected to the sense of belonging to a gender and connecting to certain femininities or masculinities. Through time, the way gender identity has been perceived has changed from a fixed and stable identity to a fluid one that is constantly being 'done'. This is where Butler's theory of performativity comes from, and although it has been constructed as a critique of heteronormativity and dominant patriarchal power structures, it also demonstrates how gender is a fluid construct that carries with it an inherent ability for change.

The most important findings in this research project has been that the binary gender system for membership categorization and pronoun usage for human beings seems to be too narrow for people who exist outside of the gender binary. To enable the successful

construction of transgender femininities, some categories in the language should be expanded, for instance by the inclusion of the gender neutral third person pronoun 'hen'. In addition, the membership category 'dad' may prove quite troublesome when dad becomes a woman, both in terms of MCD 'family' membership, confusion concerning pronoun usage, and the need for excessive explanations regarding one's gender identity. 'Dad' is a membership category that creates resistance and denaturalization towards the female identity of the MTF parent, and although both informants authenticate it, the membership category may hinder their complete 'passing' as a woman. In addition, although the families express some resistance towards the female gender identities and the loss of the male counterparts, the 'transgender' membership categories seem to be more acceptable. For the Norwegian family, the feminine forename and pronouns are seldom used, while the American family takes up on them in accordance with the transition from male to female. The American informant takes control of her gender performance through the use of feminine name and pronouns, but creates a distance between her two gender identities in the process, while the Norwegian informant is more dependent on the context. Regarding the performative, the informants make use of the possibilities within language in order to 'do' gender, but there are some other aspects of Butler's theory that falls through. These are related to the notion of the 'soul' or inner 'core', which the informants use as an evidence of the true gender that they possess and need to express. Forms of the verb 'to be' in combination with female membership categories are used in the same sense.

To expand the qualitative approach taken in this thesis, a quantitative approach would be suitable in order to generalize the findings. Suggestions for future research include a questionnaire regarding pronouns, names and the use of the membership category 'dad', with some questions aimed at the informants' stance towards some of the membership categories listed in table 17. Interviewing a selection of informants or focus groups would also be a useful expansion of the research material, preferably both MTF transsexuals and their close family members. It would also be interesting to investigate the occurrence of alternative membership categories for the MTF parent in the MCD 'family'. A continuation of the international approach with comparison between countries could help generalize the findings.

The level of sincerity the families are able to communicate within has been impressive, and the documentary film and reality TV series bring attention to the difficulties connected to the narrow binary gender model of patriarchal society. Both families are able to collaborate on constructive and enlightening meta-discussions about what gender is and how it influences the membership categories of the MCD 'family', demonstrating how they are

restrained by a language that only allows for certain concepts to pass as 'natural'. Perhaps the transgender identity work so elaborately and honestly portrayed by these families may indeed prove to open doors for the language users of the future. They may, in Judith Butler's (1990: 203) words, contribute to "displace the very gender norms that enable the repetition itself".

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Appendix

*All About My Father (2002)***Excerpt (1)***Meets filmcrew [omitted]***Excerpt (2)***At the doctor's [omitted]***Excerpt (3)***Ex-wife Liv, wedding in the 70s, and sister Elisabeth*

1. 05:28 Liv: ((Speaks over old footage from her wedding to Esben)) Nei det var jo fordi vi vanka i samme gjeng og så ble vi jo litt forelska sånn som sjer med de fleste unge
2. 05:34 Liv: Og synst jo jeg det var fryktelig spennende for jeg synst han var en veldig flott fyr
3. 05:42 Liv: Men det var en venninde av meg som sa at det (.) ho skulle ønske at jeg ikke ville gifte meg med han for ho synst det var (.) et eller anna som ikkje var – at ho ho reagerte ((pause)) Men det følte jo e au (.) at det var noe som ikkje e fikk tag i ((pause)) Åsså når vi blei gift så: (.) blei e jo veldig fort gravid, da Og det *passa jo ikkje* (.) E følte lissom atte det var sjedd noe som ikkje skulle ha sjedd da på en måte ((old footage of Liv and her first child, Elisabeth, as a baby))
4. 06:28 Esben: ((Seems to be sitting alone, watching the same old footage of Elisabeth)) Elisabeth ((pause)) E husker første gangen e holdt Elisabeth så var e helt sikker på at hun skulle gå i stykker vet du (.) for det atte det lille kryptet
5. 06:42 Esben: E syntes hendene mine var svære og sterke (.) lissom (.) slik at hvis jeg fikk et lite rykk i fingeren så ville jeg jo knuse dette lille barnet (.) jeg va – åsså tenkte jeg lissom, faen også, at ikkje man blir oppdratt med (.) dukker ((pause)) Egentlig så tror jeg hun lurte meg (.) tror det [...]
6. 08:14 Elisabeth: Ja jeg å veldig opp til pappa, han kl- mestra så veldig mye egentlig (.) snekra: og lagde dikt og skrev skuespill og spilte teater åsså fiksa ting hjemme (footage of Esben wearing an overall and sailing in his boat)) og det var jo veldig spennende oppvekst sånn sett (.) synes jeg
7. 08:56 Liv: E visste jo ikkje noe om det før vi gifta oss ((takes a breath)) men e: jeg hadde glemt nøylen te jobben en dag (.) åsså i begynnelsen så gikk e å lånte nøyler (.) men så fant e ut at det var så tungvint og så sa e 'lurer på å likesågot går hjem og henter nøylerne mine' for mi hadde veldig mye låste dører ((breathes)) og da: (.) m løp e hjem åsså (.) kom e ikkje inn (.) åsså eh:m skjønnte e ikkje det åsså ropte han at jeg måtte vente (.) åsså i det han åpna så smatt han inn på badet og låste døra ((pause)) Og da – åsså var alle gardinene trukke for (.) men da *trodde e at han hadde en elskerinne eller noe sånt på besøk* (.) tenkte ikkje på hva det kunne være i det hele tatt ((film with young Esther))
8. 10:04 Esben: Kan godt være hun grein litt, det kan ikkje e huske ((pause)) Men hun syns ikkje det var helt enkelt, hun sa iallfall ikkje at dette er helt o-kei
9. 10:15 Liv: Og e sa bare at det her måtte vi snakke om når han kom fra jobb for e måtte gå på jobb sa e ((pause)) Åsså (.) gikk e og tenkte for e sjønnte ikkje helt hva det der var ((pause)) så husker e kom hjem fra jobba og så skulle vi lissom snakke om dette herre her og så sa jeg (.) ja e sa visst noe sånt som atte 'hvis det e noe kjærlighet så må en jo klare å takle det herre her (.) og det må du jo kunne klare å slutte med' eller noe sånt noe (.) <in-breath>ja</> ja det meinte han jo at det, det *kunne han jo gjør*
10. 10:56 Esben: Så da lovet e jo dyrt og hellig at e ikkje skulle gjøre det mer (Even: Ja hun gråt altså?) Ja hun ville ikkje ha det (.) hun sa at ev dette får du ikkje lov til, på en eller annen måte ((breathes)) så sa jeg 'nei, jeg skulle aldri gjøre det mer' men var jo forferdelig vdmyk og vdmyket ((old footage of a woman in the garden))
11. 11:16 Liv: Åsså var det en lang tid som ikkje e sjønnte at han dreiv med det (.) for da gjorde han det bak ryggen på meg og brukte mine klær da (.) Så det tok ganske lang tid før e sjønnte at det egentlig fortsatte ((Esben explains that he was allowed to continue, but she did not want to see it or have anything to do with it)) E hadde ikke lyst til å se han som dame (.) e synst ikkje det var e

- det asså e: hadde gifta meg med Esben og ikkje med Esther og det så e synst det var vanskelig ((old footage of them at the beach))
12. 12:20 Esben: Så e prøvde jo å få henne med da (.) på sånne møter for å treffe andre transer og treffe andre transekoner og sånn lissom ((breathes)) e e synes jo det ville være åltreit at vi hadde littegrann fellessakp omkring dette (.) og en gang så var hun med til Oslo (.) men da kom hun aldri på det rommet hvor hvor alle var ((footage of Esther and young Elisabeth))
 13. 12:50 Even: Du var jo med han på turer og sånn var du ikke det? (Elisabeth: Hva slags turer tenker du på da?) transeturene (xxx) du hadde
 14. 12:55 Elisabet: Jo jo det var jeg jo faktisk (Even: mm) Det var jeg var me:d på en sånn tur t tror jeg jo <in-breath>jah</> det var veldig hyggelig opplevelse faktisk ((pause)) og da følte jeg veldig sånn eh: ja d e fikk en veldig god kontakt med pappa åsså liksom (.) det var veldig åltreit ((footage of Esther and young Elisabeth))
 15. 13:22 Esben: Verdssettelse av: d denne delen av meg de:t ((breathes)) det tror jeg faktisk ikkje at e kan huske at Liv ga uttrykk for (.) E:h hun ble jo mer (.) imøtekommende på det viset at vi kunne ha folk på besøk og sånn men det ((pause)) Ja det var minst like tregt som å løpe i den røde korridoren der på Titanic som gikk under og jeg følte jo for så vidt også hele tida at jeg går under ((old footage of the children)) ((Liv explains that she did not want to get a divorce and how difficult her marriage became))
 16. 14:22 Esben: Det e'kje no spesielt lystig historie akkurat det der med (.) med (.) min legning eller min (.) altså kvinnedelen av meg i dette her hadde det svært svært lite godt ((pause)) Hvis jeg hadde vært sånn som jeg er nå for å si det sånn så (.) så ville jeg jo sagt at 'Liv (.) vi kas:ter bort tiden vår på hverandre (.) ehm: ((pause)) eller dere hadde sikkert nytte av at vi var sammen (.) men jeg tru'kke hverken hun eller jeg hadde så- hvertfall ikke jeg hadde så forferdelig mye nytte av det (.) veldig veldig lite fellesskap
 17. 15:12 Liv: E føler – dette her blir vanskelig (.) for det har e ((about to cry)) tenkt på (.) e føler mye sorg (.) på en måte mere sorg over ((cries)) livet e har hatt på en måte (.) sånne: feilvalg på en måte: som e tenker (.) eller føler at e har valgt feil heile veien egentlig (.) ønska at det skulle bli så greit også (.) så ble det ikkje det
 18. 15:47 Esben: ((sighs)) På på en måte så har det nok vært sånn at atte e hadde en en en tro inni meg et sted på atte ((pause)) at de kunne være asså at livet kunne være kjempeåltreit for det atte tror e så konturene av det ((pause)) så det trodde e veldig på og trodde og trodde og trodde og trodde ((pause)) åsså ble jeg forelska i en annen (.) åsså ble jeg sjokkert (.) åsså rodde jeg og rodde og rodde med tilbake igjen til det jeg skulle tro og tro og tro på (.) åsså traff æ Elsa åsså sjønste e atte e:h det er mulig
- ((Dancing in the town square, wedding, clothes, dancing in the kitchen))

Excerpt (4)

My step-mother: Elsa Almås

1. 17:29 Elsa: Hvis en ikke lever i følelsene sine (.) hvis en har en smerte som en ikke vil kjenne på så så begynner en å leve et ikke-autentisk liv (.) og på en måte så har jeg nok inntrykk av at Esben gjorde det (.) at at han e:h ikke kunne føle at han var til stede i sitt eget liv og at han kunne være til stede i verden som den han var
2. 17:38 Elsa: Og han følte vel atte: da han traff meg så var det en mulighet for å kunne være mer seg selv
3. 17:57 Elsa: Da vi skjønnte at dette her var noe som kom til å få konsekvenser (.) både du og Elisabeth og Li:v ville bli såra og kanskje fler også ville: e:h bli såra av (.) at han forlot Liv (.) så så det som fikk vite eller fikk som en slags sånn råd (.) eller kanskje et krav var det atte atte vi måtte sørge for at de:t at det skulle være verd all den smerten ((Happy family photos of all four))
4. 18:41 Elisabet: Jeg ble veldig irritasjonsmoment for e:h Elsa spesielt (.) husker hun kunne bli kjempeirritert på at jeg hadde lånt føner hennes for eksempel (.) det var jo ikke noen annen føner der og hadde brukt den lenge og plutselig så va'kke det lov lenger (.) E:h og så ((laughs)) åsså var lissom ingenting godt nok
5. 19:02 Elsa: På en måte så har hun rett i atte at alt hun gjorde ble galt men det var nok også fordi atte asså e tror veldig forskjellige som personer (.) e:h og atte at e klarte ikkje å: på en måte ta inn Elisabeth som: menneske rett og slett (.) og atte jeg opplever også nå i dag at Elisabeth lever i en

- helt annen verden i en helt annen sfære enn det jeg gjør (.) eh og når en er forelder så så så har en jo noe i forhold til barna som en kjenner igjen (.) men jeg kjente ikkje igjen noe i Elisabeth
6. 19:39 Elisabeth: Pappa var bare en passiv sånn medspiller asså (.) sånn som jeg så det (.) han han deltok i veldig liten grad (.) jeg tror han- ja jeg tror han reagerte når det der med den føneren skjedde ((laughs)) ja da tror jeg han reagerte (Even: ja) da tror jeg han sa et eller annet (Even: mm) det syns jeg jeg husker så da fikk jeg litt støtte (Even: mm)
 7. 20:02 Elisabeth: Men det gjorde det nesten enda verre (.) asså sånn ikke det at jeg fikk støtte var bra lissom men da så jeg at dette er helt håpløst (Even: ja)
 8. 20:11 Elisabeth: Og så ble det skreket ut for da skrek hun ut 'Du kommer aldri til å få ødelegge mellom meg og din far'

Excerpt (5)

EE is interviewed by a Swedish journalist. They are sitting outside. [parts of the dialogue has been omitted]

1. 20:45 Esben: Asså første gangen jeg tar på meg en kjo:le sånn på eget initiativ da ska e være en åtte år tenker æ [...]
2. 21:23 Esben: [...] for e visste atte hvis e var alene hjemme så kunne e være dame (.) og og det var æ jo (.) og syns det var veldig fint og prøvde alle min mors klær og [...]
3. 22:31 Esben: For det jeg tror man ikkje merker det for det at det er så utenkelig ((scenes from EEs childhood))

Excerpt (6)

EE is in the kitchen with Elsa, sings 'nok en da:g' (another day), morning routines and chatter [omitted]

1. 23:31 Esben: Ja nå skal jeg skifte kjønnsuttrykk (.) e har fått litt store pupper med åra men sånn går det jo med en del mannekropper (.) det er greit for meg ((clears throat)) det er jo en prosess som består i at (.) atte ingen av oss viser oss nakne ut i verden bortsett fra i veldig spesielle sammenhenger (.) så når vi viser oss som kjønn i verden så viser vi en overflate og den overflaten er viktig (.) for den forhandler vi med verden med (.) og og hvis verden ser en overflate som består av sjinndress med forskjellige farver på så vet verden at den fyren som går der eller den kvinnen som går der de har en *(xxx)sykket parkert rundt hjørnet ikke sant* så så så det blir en overflate som forteller en historie (.) og og overflate som mann og kvinne er høyst forskjellig (.) fordi at eh kvinneoverflaten den gir- bærer bud om en kvinnekropp på innsiden (.) men niognitti komma nininini prosent av de kvinnene du ser ser du ikke den kroppen til (.) så du bare tror den er der (.) og det betyr at man i stor utstrekning kan leve i verden som kvinne uten nødvendigvis å ha en kvinnekropp ((Even enters the room, Esben laughs, chatter, Even gives instructions))
2. 25:03 Crew: Veit du hva han har gjort med (xxx) eller? (Even: hæ?) ((laughs)) Han sa: han sa det nettopp så e:h (Even: Han der, vett) nei e lurer på om du har noen gang spurt eg
3. 25:17 Esben: Ja ja e blir spurt av andre transer hvordan jeg gjør det [...]
4. 25:36 Even: Skulle du ønske at du kunne kle deg om som kvinne og også kunne gå nak naken som kvinne?
5. 25:40 Esben: <With a little laugh>Ja hvis æ</> kunne knipsa med fingrene så ville jo det vært flott.
6. 25:44 Even: Ja
7. 25:44 Esben: Men da eh, da måtte e jo kunne knipsa ((snaps h/er fingers)) med fingrene og kunne gå naken som mann også, ikkje sant, slik at, at, at fordi atte e har begge disse identitetene så blir begge uttrykkene viktige å ta vare på
8. 25:58 Even: Ja så jeg har en far som kler seg som kvinne, sant
9. 25:59 Esben: Ja
10. 26:00 Even: Du kan ikke, e:h, du kan ikke bli kvinne for meg hverken i i kvinnedrakt eller eh eller eller i mannedrakt det kan du aldri BLI DET
11. 26:07 Esben: Men du ((clears throat)) du kan ikkje bare bruke, hvis hvis du skal forholde deg til meg
12. 26:12 Even: mm
13. 26:12 Esben: så kan du IKKE BARE bruke din egen erfaring, da blir du nødt til eh, v, du kan gjøre det men da forteller du din historie, og da vil det bli en litt, kan det på noen områder bli en litt sørgelig historie [for meg]
14. 26:23 Even: <speaks rapidly, agitated> [Hvorfor blir det] en sørgelig historie for [DEG?]
15. 26:26 Esben: <raised voice> [FORDI ATTE] JEG ER IKKJE EN MANN I KVINNEKLÆR!

16. 26:28 Even: Jammen hva er du DA
17. 26:29 Esben: Jeg er en kvinne i kvinneklær
18. 26:31 Even: Og hvor er mannen hen da?
19. 26:33 Esben: Nei da er han ikkje sansbar i den situasjonen
20. 26:38 Even: Hvordan da ikke sansbar
21. 26:39 Esben: [Fordi]
22. 26:39 Even: [Jeg kaller deg] jeg kaller deg pappa like [mye da som]
23. 26:41 Esben: <agitated> [FOR DET ER Æ ALLTID] og det må du
det må du gjerne ((clears throat)) kalle meg bestandig og det må du gjerne kalle meg i butikken [også
nå]
24. 26:47 Even: [Ja]
25. 26:48 Esben: Javisst! - *nå til dags* så må du gjerne gjøre [det]
26. 26:51 Even: [mm]
27. 26:52 Esben: For det atte e ha'kkje no, e ha'kkje no å - å *beskytte* <raised pitch>på det</>, for det atte
e er <raised pitch>faren</> din
28. 26:56 Even: Jo jo
29. 26:57 Esben: Men faren din er *også* kvinne! Asså,
30. 26:59 Even: ((grunts))
31. 27:00 Esben: E bli'kkje no mindre mann selv om e *også* er kvinne
32. 27:04 Even: Jeg er sikker på at du du har sikkert en veldig asså sånn veldig sånn klar bane og logikk på
dette her for det [atte]
33. 27:07 Esben: [Ja]
34. 27:08 Even: du følger deg selv ikke sant din egen [utvikling]
35. 27:09 Esben: [selvfølgelig]
36. 27:10 Even: men <higher pitch>jeg kan ikke [det]</>
37. 27:11 Esben: [ja]
38. 27:12 Esben: Men vil du at jeg skal oppfatte deg sånn som du var når du var femten?
39. 27:14 Even: Jeg vil at du skal oppfatte meg sånn som jeg er nå m når jeg er seksogtyve og eh [og jeg
har på en måte]
40. 27:19 Esben: <interrupts, firm voice> [kan
ikkje, kan ikkje] jeg da også et like rimelig ønske om at du skal oppfatte meg sånn som *jeg* opplever
meg når *jeg* er femtito?</>
41. 27:26 Even: Jo jo men pappa du kan ikke på mange måter du kan ikke forstå meg på samme måte som
jeg ikke kan forstå deg [du]
42. 27:31 Esben: [Nei] kan du [forstå-?]
43. 27:31 Even: [Du har laget en] eh du har laget en du har også laget en en
en mening om meg ikke sant?
44. 27:36 Esben: Det vil være fint for <higher pitch>meg</> - hvis du kunne s ((pause)) klare å - å se at det
å *ha* en far som er mann er ikkje nødvendigvis i motsetning til at han *også* er kvinne
45. 27:52 Even: Men pappa er ikke kvinne
46. 27:55 Esben: [Ehe nei]
47. 27:56 Even: [Sant]
48. 27:56 Esben: ((laughs)) nei, pappa er pappa,
49. 27:58 Even: Ja
50. 27:59 Esben: Det som, det som pappa har, det er sædceller
51. 28:03 Even: Ja eh
52. 28:04 Esben: Og så et avleveringssystem for sædceller
53. 28:04 Even: Ja ja
54. 28:05 Esben: Ja. Det er pappa
55. 28:06 Even: Ja: hvis du skal være veldig
56. 28:08 Esben: Jo!
57. 28:08 Even: Veldig
58. 28:09 Esben: [Ja ja!]
59. 28:09 Even: [Veldig] biologisk
60. 28:10 Esben: Ja, ja, jo, men det er jo det det [er]
61. 28:12 Even: [m ja]

62. 28:12 Esben: e:h, vi er naturens sædsprøyter lissom, som som mm fyker rundt og sprer sæd omkring oss, men - <lighthearted, quick>det er pappa</>
63. 28:20 Esben: Og [og og]
64. 28:20 Elsa: [Nå tuller du, asså pappa er jo en] institusjon i forhold til et barn
65. 28:25 Esben: Jo, jo
66. 28:26 Elsa: Pappa er jo et [begrep]
67. 28:26 Esben: [Jo]
68. 28:27 Elsa: Pappa er jo mye mer enn eggceller og sædceller og hvis dere skal fortsette den diskusjonen så må dere jo på en måte begynne å definere hva er en kvinne og hva er en mann, og det kan dere hvertfall bruke en uke på.
69. 28:37 Male voice: [Ja (xxx)]
70. 28:37 Elsa: [e:h og det] og en annen ting er jo atte= det at den som oppfatter *deg* har har ikkje bare en en en en tankekapasitet og og mulighet til å forstå dette intellektuelt, men det er også en følelsmessig forvaltning, ikke sant, Even snakker også om sitt liv eh, og sitt liv med en pappa
71. 28:54 Esben: <higher pitch>Ja</>
72. 28:55 Elsa: E=h, s-så så jeg skjønner godt at han holder fast i sine opplevelser, e:h, og og og det å forstå deg det blir noe som en mer kan gjøre= mer intellektuelt og så kan en kanskje muligens med tiden fatte det, eh, men det er noe som en trenger tid til, e:h, og mye mer tid, for du går f-før alle andre hele tiden, fordi det e du som er inni kroppen din.
73. 29:19 Esben: E skjønner godt at du har mange bilder av meg utover det at e leverte sædceller, *det* skjønner æ godt
74. 29:28 Even, Elsa: ((laughs quietly))
75. 29:28 Esben: E skjønner *godt* at begrepet 'pappa' er mye mer omfattende enn det (.) E skjønner godt at det må være en utfordring å ha en pappa som da uttrykker seg kvinnelig (.) Men samtidig, så har e lyst til ((pause)) at du, ettersom du også blir eldre, skal kunne romme det du har sett på en mer nyansert måte enn du kunne gjøre når du var ti (.) Då eh (.) mm ((sighs)) (.) når jeg tenker på, på min egen far, for det at han ((pause)) han var jo også pappa, e:h, på godt og på vondt, og i tillegg så var han doktor og *det var jo'kkje akkurat noen legning m var sørkens ikke ((laughs)) så langt unna faktisk i hans tilfelle*, men han var det au, og det var noe annet og, og , åsså, åsså kan du jo også si at, at mitt privilegium <higher pitch>kanskje</> det var at, at e e kom inn i det rommet og det snakka vi (.) eh (.) litt om når vi snakka han, og på en måte fant ut hva <higher pitch>det var</>så e fikk, e fikk faktisk d (.) det e ganske privilegert det å gå inn i sin fars rom å oppleve hva som var der inne (.) Så kan du si at da kunne e forstå min far [bedre]
76. 30:45 Even: [Men men] det var lettere for deg å bli doktor enn det er for meg å bli [transvestitt, sant]
77. 30:48 Esben: [Ja ss] selvfølgelig ja ((laughs))
78. 30:48 Elsa: ((laughs))
79. 30:50 Even: Så det er veldig viktig å [s få med seg her da]
80. 30:51 Esben: [(xxx) men Even når]
81. 30:54 Even: [Ja]
82. 30:54 Elsa: [E tror jo atte] noe av problemet her blir atte: hver og en av oss har en opplevelse av hva det er å være mann og hva det er å være kvinne, og og det har med vår subjektive historie å gjøre (.) Og når du sier at du er kvinne, så så så vet jeg for eksempel at du er ikke sånn kvinne som jeg er kvinne, og dermed så kan jeg protestere med all mulig rett og si at du er ikke kvinne (.) Men jeg kan ikkje protestere på din opplevelse av å være kvinne, men jeg opplever ikke deg som kvinne ut fra min referanseramme, og Even opplever deg ikke som kvinne ut i fra hva (.) hva han har lært om hva en kvinne er, fordi atte: at kvinne er et begrep, og (.) og (.) og begreper kan oppfattes på veldig mange forskjellige [måter]
83. 31:31 Esben: [Ja, men det] er en teoretisk debatt som inneholder ting som, som fører meg ut i ganske stor<raised pitch>ensomhet</>
84. ((EE dances alone in the streets, changes gender expression))

Excerpt (7)

4. 34:56 Elisabeth: Jeg har lurt noen ganger på åssen barn av transseksuelle har det jeg (.) hvis de har vokst opp med pappaen sin lissom hele livet åsså skifter han kjønn i ganske høy alder

5. 35:07 Even: Ja tror ikke pappa vil gjøre det °jag veit ikke° det hadde jo vært en tragedie da på en måte syns [jeg]
6. 35:11 Elisabeth: [ja] ja: det s ja: det hø- men det er jo noe med atte fordi at (.) da dør lissom den mannlige delen (Even: mm) og de:t (.) nei det hadde jeg synes var veldig trist

Excerpt (8)

Skiing trip in the 70s

1. 35:29 EE: For mange mange år siden så så reiste vi på på påskeferie eller et eller annet sånn (.) og så: tenker e at hvis noen skal stå fram og være åpen transvestitt i verden så må det være meg (.) og e tenkte nok det også fordi at e visste at det ville jeg tåle
2. 35:49 EE: Åsså visste jeg det at et hvert menneskelig uttrykk trenger en gallionsfigur (.) det blir som å lissom presentere seg for verden (.) og så får det som enn være verdens oppgave å ta imot det som blir presentert

Excerpt (9)

EE is walking the streets of Grimstad in female gender expression

1. 36:19 EE: ((enters a clothes shop)) Du Odd har du fått homsejakkene ((laughs)) åh [...]

Excerpt (10)

Car ride and short conversation in the parking lot [omitted]. At the clothes shop trying on outfits

2. 37:40 Clerk: Jeg tror jeg ville brukt det
3. 37:42 Elsa: Åja prø prø prøv det da
4. 37:45 Clerk: Det kler deg bedre der da så du prøve å ha sånn
5. 37:50 Elsa: Nei ikkje sånn du må ha det rundt skuldrene vettu
6. 37:52 Clerk: Ja jeg tror det
7. 37:52 Elsa: Se det
8. 37:52 Clerk: Ja ((in-breath))
9. 37:53 Elsa: Åsså må du ha alt tjafset ut
10. 37:54 Clerk: Ja ((in-breath))
11. 37:55 Elsa: Alt tjafset må ut - så:nn
12. 37:59 Elsa: Stola!
13. 38:00 Clerk: Ja åsså ska det lissom litt til sida da skjønner du
14. 38:03 Elsa: Ja
15. 38:04 Clerk: For å gjøre det litt mer spennende
16. 38:07 Clerk: ((to Elsa)) Nei du det e syns han var fin e
17. 38:08 Elsa: *Hu:n*
18. 38:09 Esther: Syns du jeg ser ut som en mann eller?
19. 38:10 Clerk: (xxx) ((shakes her head))
20. 38:12 Esther: Må'kkje si han da vettu
21. 38:13 Clerk: Sa jeg det? Unnskyld
22. 38:14 Esther: ((Laughs)) ((touches the clerk's shoulder))
23. 38:14 Elsa: ((Laughs))
24. 38:16 Elsa: Nå er det aftenskjole, ikke sant [...]
25. 38:58 Even: Du er ganske dollete: syns jeg pappa (Esther: At jeg er veldig?) dollete
26. 39:03 Esther: Ja jeg liker å dolle meg (.) liker å jåle meg også e
27. 39:05 Even: Du speiler deg lissom hvert minutt (.) ser du deg i speilet? (Esther: Å ja det kan du tro)

Excerpt (11)

1. 39:10 Elsa: Asså når han har vært mye Pirelli så trives han som Esben når han har vært mye Esben så trives han som Pirelli (.) så det kan gå begge veier
2. 39:321 Elsa: E:h menneh sån rent kvantitativt så er det vel kanskje mere (.) mere kvinne nå ((Esther is swimming in the pool))
3. 39:41 Elsa: Asså det er så mye- det er så mye (.) eh om og men, ikke sant (.) det skal være sminke
4. 39:47 Elsa: Og det skal være kle seg ((dismissive body language))

5. 39:51: Elsa: Det blir så mye: eh dill på et vis
6. 39:58 Elsa: Asså de:t ikke sant sånne dameting man kan bli lei av sånne dameting
7. 40:03 Elsa: Med trømpebukser og skjørt og belter og smykker og (.) hår og sminke og vettu
8. 40:10 Elsa: Noen ganger så er det ålreit å bare: ikkje tenke noe på hvordan en ser ut ((Esben is in the garage working on the car))

Excerpt (12)

Elsa and Even are sitting outside ((chatter))

1. 41:02 Elsa: Det er jo noe av det som Esben drømmer om både det å bli akseptert og få kjærlighet som (.) Pirelli og det er vel noe av det samme som du sier atte:
2. 41:08 Elsa: For deg så blir han en far og for meg så blir han en mann
3. 41:13 Elsa: Og og e:h d- akkurat den der e:h konflikten der er nok veldig (.) sterk ((Esben is working on the boat))
4. 41:25 Elsa: Esben ønsker vel å være den samme personen ikkje sant og ha det samme uttrykket (.) eller nei å ha forskjellig uttrykk men at men atte jeg skal kunne forholde meg til (.) det som er bak
5. 41:38 Elsa: Og og jeg er nok skrudd sammen som en sånn ganske heteroseksuell e:h person (.) som liker det maskuline i menn (.) e:h og som liker Esbens styrke, hans maskulinitet, hans intelligens, hans ehm em: ja hans viljestyrke og bestemthet og je:g jeg liker Esben veldig godt
6. 42:06 Even: Nå kommer han tuslende (Elsa: hallo!) ((Even comments on the work on the boat))
7. 42:17 Esben: *Og mascaraen renner ikkje* ((touches Elsas cheek)) (Elsa: *Nei passer på det*)
8. 42:21 Even: Vi snakker om deg, pappa! ((laughs))
9. 42:38 Esben: Snakker dere om meg? (Even: Er det ikke pussig? Elsa: Synes du det er ålreit at vi snakker om deg eller?) Jo (.) jeg synes det var greit å være vekk ((they ask why))
10. 42:41 Esben: Ja (.) asså jeg det er ganske mange ting og følelser inni meg som blir rørt ved (.) så e:h

Excerpt (13)

Elisabeth's painting of EE's nightmare

1. 43:10 Elsa: Men det der med at Elisabeth opplever ting så annerledes det synes jo jeg i grunn er ganske viktig
2. 43:14 Even: Ja Elisabeth føler seg litt tråkka på
3. 43:16 Elsa: <in-breath>Ja</> Men hun ser ikke- hun ser- hun ser ikke at hun selv også har et ansvar i den historien
4. 43:23 Elsa: At hun på en måte har vært en agent i forhold til sin egen historie (Even: Hvordan da?)
5. 43:29 Elsa: Altså at hun e:h har oppført seg som en e:h ganske ufordragelig fjortis
6. 43:36 Even: Men du har oppført deg som en ganske ufordragelig stemor
7. 43:39 Elsa: E:h ja det har jeg sikkert også gjort men ikke sant det er ikkje bare jeg som har vært ufordragelig (Even: nei) Asså i: at det er jo en tosidig historie (.) e blir ikkje ufordragelig stort sett i forhold til folk (.) men men Elisabeth har klart å få frem det mest ufordragelige i meg sikkert
8. 43:55 Elsa: Det er jo sånne ting vi jobber i terapi med (.) e:h men men eh vi blir jo ikkje terapeuter i: forhold til vårt eget liv (.) for her har vi jo alle de blinde: flekkene sjøl

Excerpt (14)

Elisabeth is coming up the stairs to discuss the painting of EE's dream. [first part omitted]

1. 45:30 EE: [...]alle de døde mennene [...]
2. 45:46 EE: De er innmari sterke (.) har du vist de til Elsa?
3. 45:48 Elisabeth: Ne:i
4. 46:04 EE: [...] spennende at du går inn i min drøm (.) jeg tror det er det som jeg blir mest berørt av
5. 46:07 Elisabeth: Mmmm
6. 46:10 EE: Og at du å å asså ser du noe der inne som som e:h ((pause)) som jeg kan kjenne igjen
7. 46:16 Elisabeth: Mmmm [...]

Excerpt (15)

At sea, Elsa and Esther are sailing

1. 46:23 Esther: <singing>En sjømann elsker havets våg</>
2. 46:04 Esther: har det godt som mannskap hvis du har det godt som skipper

3. 46:49 Esther: Ok Elsa er du klar? Hardt i le! Slippe fokka! Hardt i den! Supert! Halen skal stå i den pinnen.
4. 47:14 Esther: Det har noe med å ta i bruk naturen så innmari aktivt. Gjør du det galt så slår det tilbake, og gjør du det riktig så går det som et lyn.

Excerpt (16)

EE is on her way to visit her children at Elisabeth's home.

1. 48:49 Esther: ((Clears throat))
2. 48:54 Elisabeth: Oi, [(xxx)]
3. 48:54 Even: [Halla her sitter jeg/en og har akkurat] fått kink i ryggen
4. 48:55 Esther: Okei
5. 48:56 Even: Ja måtte til kairopraktor i dag
6. 49:00 Esther: <loudly>Kairo-praktor!</>
7. 49:01 Even: (xxx)
8. 49:02 Elisabeth: <louder>Kan jeg bare få spist littegranne?</>
9. 49:05 Even: [Ja]
10. 49:05 Esther: [Ja]
11. 49:06 Elisabeth: For jeg har akkurat kommet hjem så jeg skal bare lage meg en salat
12. 49:07 Esther: Ja, gjør det du. Skal vi gå inn i s-stova, då?
13. 49:10 Elisabeth: Ja-a kan jo godt gjøre det
14. 49:13 Elisabeth: Fbs s det er jo kanskje bedre å være der
15. 49:15 Esther: Even har jo snakka ganske mye om ehm, den der skilsmisseperioden og perioden etter det, og, å det, det som e ser veldig klart fra den gangen det e jo min egen utilstrekkelighet i forhold til å kla:re å skjære gjennom, for <higher pitch> det</> klarte æ ikkje og det er e jo innmari lei meg <higher pitch>for</>, at e ikkje klarte det. Så så det vil e gjerne si, at sånn er det, e kan ikkje gjøre det om,
16. 49:40 Elisabeth: Nei
17. 49:41 Esther: Men e, men e det det synes jeg er leit (.) Asså e veit at det ((takes a deep breath)) også gikk ganske mye utover deg, spesielt, <higher pitch> tror jeg</>, men e fikk ikkje til noe annet (.) Så det får du bare prøve å tilgi meg, <quietly>hvis du kan</>
18. 49:57 Elisabeth: Mh m jaa: jeg er jo egentlig sånn, det er'kke sånn som vi har snakka om jeg tenker ikke på det (.) daglig, liksom (.) men det er klart at det er en sånn ting som når det kommer opp i en eller annen sammenheng så blir det gjerne litt sånn ((takes a breath)) intenst og da trekker en inn de [tingene]
19. 50:10 Esther: [mm]
20. 50:11 Elisabeth: Vi snakket i går lurte på om det var sånn atte ((sighs)) e:h når det kom opp et eller annet stimuli
21. 50:18 Esther: Et [stimulus!]
22. 50:18 Elisabeth: [j eh]
23. 50:19 Elisabeth: Ja et sånt eh et slags nerveimpuls
24. 50:22 Esther: <in-breath>[Ja]</>
25. 50:22 Elisabeth: [På akkurat] de tingene der
26. 50:24 Esther: Ja:
27. 50:25 Elisabeth: Så blir det veldig eksplosivt, og og da:, da lurte jeg på hva som: man da lissom på en måte kom til bunns i det du snakka ut eller noen asså s men en unnskyldning asså det det har ve:l ikke jeg fått tidligere (.) på det
28. 50:37 Esther: <in-breath>Nei</>
29. 50:37 Elisabeth: Og (.) og atte det da lissom på en måte ville bli bedre og det men mener Even at, han mente det da at det ville ((pause)) ville bli det det det sånn det vet ikke jeg lissom men det kan det godt hende asså at det det er akkurat det det [blir]
30. 50:52 Esther: <quietly> [Ja=]</>
31. 50:53 Esther: Ja nei asså det - det tror jeg ikkje det er noen av oss som <higher pitch>vet</>
32. 50:55 Elisabeth: Nei
33. 50:56 Esther: Jeg tror bare vi e:hm [kan vite atte]
34. 50:56 Elisabeth: [Må jeg tenke først det var som en] m-men så har vel du snakka om atte de tingene som var i fra din barndom atte det egentlig ble dere ferdig med

35. 51:04 Esther: At det ble?-
36. 51:07 Elisabeth: ((Chewing))
37. 51:07 Esther: <teasing>Du ska'kkje snakke med salat i munnen</> [laughs]
38. 51:11 Elisabeth: ((Laughs)) *Nei*
39. 51:13 Elisabeth: Og det ble egentlig dere ferdig med
40. 51:17 Elisabeth: Hmm
41. 51:18 Esther: Hva tenker du?
42. 51:20 Elisabeth: Ahh at jeg hadde en *dott i øret* ((laughs))
43. 51:22 Esther: ((laughs))
44. 51:23 Esther: Det minner meg om en Storm P-historie-
45. 51:25 Elisabeth: ((laughs))
46. 51:25 Esther: ((laughs)) fordi heh (.) det er to så det to to sånne menn tror jeg som sitter på en <higher pitch>be:nk</>
47. 51:29 Elisabeth: (((laughs)))
48. 51:29 Esther: * [åsså sier han ene mannen til den andre mannen: "Hva synes du om verdenssituasjonen?" åsså svarer den andre "jeg vet ikke for det jeg har fått et rusk i øyet"* ((laughs))
49. 51:36 Elisabeth: ((giggles))
50. 51:36 Esther: ((laughs))
51. 51:41 Esther: *Så det ligner jo (.) jae-*
52. 51:44 Elisabeth: Mja:, åh
53. 51:46 Elisabeth: <serious>Det går sikkert vekk</>
54. 51:49 Esther: ((Clears throat)) Og du da Even, hva trenger du?
55. 51:52 Even: ((Calmly)) Hva tenker du på?
56. 51:54 Esther: <Higher pitch>N:=i</>, e tenker på hva du trenger asså du har jo vært ganske pågående i forhold til ((inhales deeply)(de vonde tingene, for å si det sånn
57. 52:01 Even: Nei hva tenker du på da?
58. 52:02 Esther: ((Sighs loud and fast))
59. 52:03 Even: De vonde tingene
60. 52:05 Esther: JEG TENKER for eksempel på dette som Elisabeth og jeg ((laughs quietly)) snakka om nå
61. 52:08 Even: Ja ja
62. 52:09 Esther: Ja
63. 52:10 Even: °Jo jo menneh men - asså det er jo en historie som er der ((pause)) det er jo ikke en historie som er diskutert ikke i det hele tatt synes jeg da menneh°
64. 52:21 Esther: Hva mener du med det?
65. 52:22 Even: <A bit more agitated>Nei asså jeg synes det blir liksom sånn atte du kommer inn også sier du eeh eh sier du på en måte bare unnskyld også jeg følte meg maktesløs også er vi på en måte ferdig med den saken på en måte menneh så går du på en måte ut til din misjon der ute igjen da, fordi atte jeg vet, og Elisabeth vet og du vet atte du og Elisabeth kommer ikke til å ((pause)) prate sammen</>
66. 52:42 Esther: <In a firm voice>Kan ikkje du bare si hva du tror, ikkje si hva jeg vet eller hva Elisabeth vet, kan ikkje vi få lov til [å å e]!</>
67. 52:47 Even: [Jeg tror]
68. 52:48 Esther: <firm voice>[mene det] selv</>
69. 52:49 Even: [Jeg tror] det
70. 52:50 Esther: <Agitated, sharply>Ja du kan tro det</>
71. 52:51 Even: <Calmer>At vi står atte den konflikten den den står og den står helt til</>
72. 52:57 Esther: Til?
73. 52:58 Even: Helt til den er bearbeidet like grundig som du har bearbeidet de tingene der ute

Excerpt (17)

At a book launch event for the book 'Gender in motion'

- 53:30 Esther: Ja nå føler jeg sånn litt sånn e:h (.) ah: e litt sånn hellig stund på en måte (.) veldig opprømt inni magen o:g (.) og syns atte akkurat nå så er det veldig veldig (.) °vakkert for meg°
- 54:00 Speaker: [...] Elsa og Esben Esther! Det har vært en glede og en stor inspirasjon å samarbeide med dere
- 54:10 Esther: For meg er det jo viktig at det uvanlige mennesket kan kjenne seg igjen i det vanlige (.) men like viktig at det vanlige mennesket kan kjenne seg igjen i det i det uvanlige [...]

4. 55:22 Esther: [...] så deles de opp og det blir som om vi lever i hver våres verden (.) og og jeg ser hvor galt det blir og hvor isolerende det blir (.) faktisk også for det vanlige mennesket blir jo isolert fra den impulsen som det uvanlige mennesket kan gi
5. 55:35 Esther: For kropper er også mangfoldige [...]
6. 55:40 Elsa: Det dreier seg om egentlig hvordan vi forvalter e:h på en måte våre liv e:h og og kjønn har vært en måte å organisere mennesket på (.) og vi fortsetter å organisere mennesker via kjønn
7. 55:54 Esther: [...] menn er ålreit og kvinner er ålreit og det skal vi ta vare på men men de to gruppene representerer de to store majoritetene majoritetene [...] i tillegg til det så trenger vi noe som kan romme de som på en måte blir for mye av både mann og kvinne til å kunne være noen av delene allfall sånn som vi vanligvis definerer det (.) og de som har så lite av noen av de delene at de blir hverken eller [...]
8. 55:33 Speaker: [...] Tone Marie Hansen som er leder i landsforeningen for transseksuelle [...]
9. 55:42 Tone Marie: Dette har vært en veldig (.) god bok for meg som transseksuell [...] ikke hverdagskost at man av fagmennesker blir forstått (.) akseptert (.) og elsket for det kjønnnet man er
10. 56:03 Elsa: Jeg må si det at det hadde vært ville e:h hatt vanskeligere med å være gift med en (.) en fotballentusiast tror jeg [...]

Excerpt (18)

Elisabeth and Elsa, personal interviews

1. 56:27 Elisabeth: Før så var det på en måte pappa var pappa (.) på en måte men det er i mindre grad det nå (.) og det blir mye mer sånn eh (.) det har vært en forandring lissom (.) det er en prosess (.) men jeg syns jo: atte det det jeg synes jo på en måte at d (.) det er viktig asså for for han (.) og syns det er bra at han får leve ut det (.) ti til liksom den graden han ønsker å gjør det (.) men ikke lissom tippe helt over (.) å bli bare kvinne
2. 57:02 Elsa: E:h e er jo veldig veldig glad i Esben (.) em og vi har jo et flott liv og har jo hatt et flott liv og jeg tror nok at de:t skal my:e til før e: på en måte vil gi farvel til det (.) men det er klart at det (.) at det er grenser for (.) hvor langt dette kan være givende for meg og (.) (Even: Hvordan da?) det blir jo som ehm som jeg sa at hvis det blir eksistensielt eh umulig for meg å leve med en kvinne og ikke ha en mann (.) så kan det jo være at e: e da må gjøre noe annet

((EE and Elsa eat shrimp, EE in both male and female expression))

Excerpt (19)

Esther in female expression in the kitchen, baking bread

1. 58:24 Esther: ((Recites a poem)) I hele sin hudløse helhet [...]
2. 58:36 Even: Du mener at du føler deg hudløs for alt du sier bli:r eh kan bli brukt mot deg [eller?]
3. 58:40 Esther: [Nei]
det e'kkje sånn
4. 58:42 Esther: Asså å nei, det e'kkje forsvar men det men det er hudløst likevel [...] det er ikke noe beskyttelse ((repeats poem))
5. 59:06 Esther: [...] Det bare er sånn ((.)) sårt (Even: Hva da?) å være tror jeg (.) åsså plutselig så fødte jeg dette diktet her som [...] både sint og trist tror jeg
6. 59:24 Esther: Det er noe med å: ((pause)) ((laughs)) på en merkelig måte å stå til rette for det en er ((.)) og det er hudløst asså
7. 59:38 Even: Har du mye dårlig samvittighet?

((Esben and Esther are dancing))

Excerpt (20)

Esben and Even are talking

2. 60:26 Esben: Det er lenge siden jeg slutta å forsvare mine valg (.) e:h jeg slutta å forsvare valgene og så begynte å gjøre det som (.) som følte riktig for meg og det trenger jeg aldri å forsvare (.) for hvem har rett til å angripe meg for hvem- hvordan jeg forvalter mitt liv? Ikke engang min sønn
3. 60:40 Even: ((Protest sound))
4. 60:41 Esben: Asså du har selvfølgelig rett til å si hva du mener om det
5. 60:42 Even: Ja det har jeg definitivt (Esben: Det er klart du har) og jeg har rett til jeg har rett til å få en reaksjon og og og jeg har jeg har rett – jeg har rett til og det er bare min rett å kunne fortelle det noe og du kan ta det til etterretning også (Esben: Jo selvfølgelig gjør jeg det) ja

6. ((Phone rings))
7. 60:56 Esben: Men du har ikkje altså du er for ung til å styre mitt liv
8. 61:03 Even: °Nei° jeg jeg kan'ke styre ditt liv (.) menneh menneh jeg kan godt fortelle deg noe om hvordan [jeg]
 [((Esben answers the phone))]
9. 61:08 Esben: Nei asså for meg er det sånn Even at at på et tidspunkt i livet så skal du vokse forbi meg (.) og da er det klart at du kan sy- asså du kan mislike (.) det har du full rett til (.) og du kan sy synes at jeg gjør valg som ikkje du ville gjort eller som du ut fra din vurdering ikkje ville gjort
10. 61:27 Even: °Ja° men har jeg ikke rett til å si det da? Har jeg ikke rett til å asså komme med en mening og har jeg ikke rett til å få en respons på det [a]
11. 61:31 Esben: [Selvfølgelig] ((Esben keeps talking over Even))
12. 61:32 Even: Ville vært helt absurd på en måte hvis ikke skulle være lov for meg å å: kritisere deg og si atte pappa: dette kan du ikke gjøre (Esben: selvfølgelig) sant
13. 61:40 Esben: Jeg er helt enig i alt det men nå som fo-forskjellen for meg det er at atte (.) at når vi skal møtes som (.) riktignok som far og sønn men også som to voksne mennesker (.) da: er det en annen type utveksling for meg (.) hvor jeg ikke hvor jeg i ikj ikkje er opptatt av å forsvare meg (.) men jeg er opptatt av å fortelle deg hvem jeg er
14. 62:08 Even: Jo men jo men det er greit (Esben: ja) Alt som har med det med far- alt som har med det med det som har med transeri:greiene det er helt greit sant det har jeg forstått sant (Esben: mm) jeg forstår at du er mye mer enn en mann som kler seg i kvinneklær sant (.) jeg forstår alle de tingene der (Esben: Ja:) jeg forstår at du har en legning jeg forstår at det er deg (.) vi er langt forbi alle disse skilsmissehistoriene og vi ligger langt forbi alt sånt (Esben: ja) det er sånn det er nå (Esben: ja) men likevel så er det min- så må jeg få lo:v til (.) å si (.) og mene og tro at du har en legning og atte du dels er en mann som kler seg i kvinneklær fordi atte du er du er pappa like mye sant
15. 62:43 Esben: Jo
16. 62:44 Even: Asså jeg kan ikke- jeg kan aldri aksep- asså det merker jeg (xxx) jeg kan ikke- jeg klarer ikke asså akseptere Esther Pirelli som min fa:r (.) sant (.) så jeg må hele tiden jeg må jeg må asså du må forstå at jeg må hele tiden prøve å se gjennom (.) og det blir vanskeligere og vanskeligere pappa (.) for det atte det at stemmen forandrer seg og sånt asså du (Esben: Javisst) alt dette her sant (Esben: mm)
17. 63:03 Esben: Og det blir vanskelig for deg det er klart jeg ser det ((pause))
18. 63:13 Esben: Og og og hvis du tror at de:t er likegyldig for meg (.) så tar du også feil (.) for det e'kkje det
19. 63:25 Even: Men kunne du ikke venta litt? [sant asså]
20. 63:2/ Esben: [Til når] da? Vil du syns?
21. 63:29 Even: (sighs) Til e:h til eh på en måte til folk klarte å følge deg på en måte (.) til at vi kunne skjønne atte atte at nå er han her sant (.) det er bare å gå saktere også ikke smelle så hardt med dørene egentlig det er veldig det er så (.) det er så det er så nai:vt sant
22. 63:50 Esben: °Jeg synes at det du sier (.) du har så god tid du, Even° (Even: Ja jeg har det) det har ikkje jeg (Even: Jeg har kjempegodt tid) ja men det har ikkje jeg (.) jeg har gjort unna to tredjedeler av livet mitt jeg (.) det har ikkje du (.) jeg har kjempedårlig tid (.) men ha asså eh e har kommet til en alder hvor hvor folk dør litt rundt omkring meg (.) og jeg er er ikkje klar til det enda (.) jeg har en god del jeg skal gjøre først (.) jeg har kjempedårlig tid
23. 64:19 Even: Og hva er det du skal gjøre? Hva er det du må gjøre som gjør at du har så dårlig tid?
24. 64:26 Esben: Jeg skal gjennomføre mitt livsprosjekt (.) og de:t dreier seg veldig veldig mye om og det er som jeg sier det er ganske lidenskapelig opptatt av å å (.) t tale det uvanlige menneskets sak (.) overfor ikkje det borgerlige byråkrati men overfor (.) flertallets tyranni (.) jeg skal bruke mitt liv på å få vekk diagnoser som man henger på små barn bare fordi at de uttrykker kjønn på en uvanlig måte skal jeg bruke mitt liv på (.) det er viktig (.) jeg skal bruke mitt liv på å å gjøre det slik at at fler mennesker kan bli stolt av å være det de er selv om de av omgivelsene stemples som syke syndige eller kriminelle skal jeg bruke mitt liv på (.) og da har e jævlig dårlig tid (.) og det er klart at at vi gjør alle ting (.) som er vondt for andre (.) og hvis vi gjør det for å gjøre vondt for andre så synes jeg vi er onde (.) det syns æ (.) men hvis vi gjør noe som ikke er mot andre ikke for å gjøre vondt mot andre men som har en en annen målsetting (.) som man gjør som man gjør for noe annet (.) så kan det bli sånn at noen opplever at det er °mot dem° (.) og det vet æ (.) og det tenker æ på (.) og noen ganger gjør det ganske vondt også (.) og og jeg syns jeg hører det som jeg også hører Elsa sier nemlig at hun er redd for å miste

mannen sin (Even: mm) og og jeg hører at du er redd for å miste faren din (.) og og jeg m jeg kan ikkje gi hverken henne eller deg noen garanti for det

25. 66:23 Voice: Vil du at e:h Even ska: rive seg løs fra deg som farsfigur er det det du mener egentlig?

26. 66:27 Esben: Ja noe av det er nok det tror jeg (.) eh og det betyr ikkje at han skal e:h håper jo at han har (.) jeg håper jo at ((emotional)) jeg håper jo at <in tears>noe av meg bor i han</> (.) på en måte ((clears throat)) er blitt lagt inn der akkurat som jeg kan føle at atte ((clears throat)) mye av min far bor i meg (.) det ønsker jeg (.) men jeg ønsker samtidig at han skal være (.) uavhengig av meg (.) for det at e blir jo borte en gang i allefall (.) og og uff ((sobs)) og forhåpentlig så blir jeg borte lenge før han blir borte ah- ah: ((sighs deeply))

((Old footage of Esben with Even as a child))

About Bruce part 1

Keeping Up with the Kardashians season 10, episode 10 (2015)

Excerpt 1: Bruce's House.

1. [03:12] Khloe: Bruce-ah?
2. Bruce: Yo!
3. Khloe: Whoo! That was a hike!
4. Bruce: Look at you
5. Khloe: Hi!
6. Bruce: In torn-up jeans oh my Go:od! ((kisses))
7. Khloe: Moah!
8. Bruce: I love you- [what is this?] ((looks at the gifts she is carrying))
9. Khloe: [Your gravel] is not good for my heels
10. B: No it's not [good]
11. Kh: [It's not]
12. B: I'm sorry. What is this?
13. Kh: I got you some prezgies! ((they sit down))
14. B: Are those from you?
15. Kh: Yeeeah!
16. Kh: Now I don't know her taste yet so I'm trying to figure that [out]
17. B: [Well], to be honest with you, I don't know her taste either, so
18. Kh: Oh you don't?
19. B: Yeah, but, you know how nice this is?
20. Kh: <upnote>yaay</>
21. B: No, without even (.) opening b do you know how nice this is?
22. Kh: Aaaw Brucey (xxx)
23. B: I really appreciate it
24. Kh: Aw you deserve it
 - a. B: ((on chair in garden)) Since I can remember, when I was a little kid, am, my gender identity was always an issue (.) People don't see that on the outside, they don't know the struggle on the inside ((old photos of Bruce)) And so I just literally ran away from it ((Bruce as Olympic athlete, musical overlay)) I could be this real macho guy, you know, prove to the world my manhood, go out there and kick the world's but (.) The last person in the world you would think, you know, had problems like this, bang, here I am (.) Mr. Macho dealing with gender identity issues, my little secret that I wouldn't tell anybody (.) I've held her off all my life, push her away, push her away, push her away
25. B: ((Unwraps gift)) This is so much fun!
26. Kh: So much fun!
27. B: Ooh!
28. Kh: Look!
29. B: They are the same! ((high heel shoes in the giftbox))
30. Kh: We're twins!
31. B: These are really cute
32. Kh: Try yours on!
33. B: You want me to try'em on
34. Kh: Yeah! I wanna see if it fits! Or else we have to get new ones
35. B: Ok ok ((tries the shoe on)) one second – ah - there we go – they fit! ((shows his feet with high-heeled shoe on))
36. Kh: Yay - who wore it better?! ((shows her own shoe, similar to Bruce's))
37. B: ((laughs)) *who (.) wore (.) it (.) better*
38. Kh: You stole my look! ((laughs))

39. B: ((laughs)) you are so sweet
40. Kh: Aaw, yay, I'm so happy you like them(.)- aaw
41. B: Give me a hug baby
42. Kendall: Hi dad
43. B: Baby! ((they hug)) How's my baby?
44. Ke: Good
45. B: Good
46. Kh: Are you feeling better now that more people know?
47. B: When you keep a secret all your life, and never have an opportunity to talk about it, to deal with it, you have no idea how tough it is on you.
- b. Kendall: ((film of her as a little girl on her father's shoulders on 4th of July, chatter in the video)) What day [...] c.)) I remember being a kid, just remember being little and not knowing what was going on, and um (sobs) we would find things like make-up, or like lipstick, and we thought he was having an affair at one point and we didn't know what to do, we didn't want our family to be broken up so we wouldn't tell anybody
- d. Khloe: ((on chair in garden)) When Kourtney and Kim found out it was because Kimberley walked in on Bruce—
- e. Kim: ((on chair in garden)) I just came home and I walked in the garage to go to my bedroom and Bruce was dressed up like a woman. I ran to Kourtney's and I was hysterical, crying. We had/have no idea what this is or what this means. So I kept his secret for maybe twelve years—
- f. Khloe: I found out when he did his appearances that he would (.) get dressed and walk the lobby of his hotel, cause he felt so good that he could do that and no-one knew it was him (.) And I remember I would just be so scared, like, what if someone catches him
- g. Kendall: I ran into him at his house, actually, a year ago, I remember, he doesn't even know, haha, he has no idea! I was going to get water downstairs at 4 am I woke up to go get water (.) and I walked down the stairs, came to the kitchen, got my water, he was coming down and I saw him, I was coming from the kitchen, thank God he turned right and went through the middle of the stairs instead of turning left cause we would have bumped right into each other! I just backed up and he walked through the middle and then I just ran up the stairs quietly and went to bed (.) I just feel bad, like, if that's really what makes you happy, then, you had to sneak around like 4 am because you didn't wanna like scare me and Kylie ((sobs all the time))
- h. Khloe: And Kim and I we never said anything not even to my mom cause we never wanted to make my mother feel uncomfortable
- i. Kris: I imagine Bruce is so-relieved to have told us this, that, he might not understand the full effect
- j. Kendall: He told me about four months ago (.) he told all the kids separately, and alone
- k. Bruce: I don't think I've ever been this (.) scared, ah, in my life, as I was to be (.) extraordinary honest with my kids
- l. Kylie: He asked me to come over to his house one day, and then he sat me down and he, he, told me everything (.) I just felt like he felt like comfortable telling me or something and like, that made me feel ((curses)) I can't even get anything out, eeh- ((fights tears))
- m. Kourtney: He was very emotional when talking to me about it, am, I remember he was crying and I think his biggest concern is he doesn't wanna hurt us (.) I still feel like he hasn't really decided what he is going to do he just doesn't really have an answer and maybe he doesn't know the answer which is fine (.) I think he is kind of taking it as he goes
48. B: At this point in my life this is kinda my thing, this is what I wanna do
49. Kh: Look I don't know if this is like too deep for you but are you planning on not being Bruce anytime soon?
50. B: Yeah, that's quite possible, yeah
51. Ke: Well it's something that we all need to know
52. Kh: I don't think you can say 'that's quite' (.) you know you have children (.) you don't need our permission but you [need to tell us]
53. B: [You know I already] talked to all my kids and told you what I was going through and thought it was pretty much understood
54. Kh: ((to Kendall)) Did you understand that?
55. Ke: M-mm ((shakes her head)) I didn't know that (.) you didn't make [that part clear]

56. Kh: [You definitely] withheld information
57. Ke: Yeah!
 n. Khloe: My sisters and I knew from whatever we found out years ago that Bruce was a cross-dresser, but, we were never told that he was gonna fully transition and become a woman
58. Kh: So (.) when is Bruce gonna be gone? Do you have a time-frame?
59. B: Probably in the spring
60. Kh: This spring?
61. B: M-hm
62. Kh: So Bruce is gonna be gone in the next four to five months?
63. B: Yeah ((Khloe wipes tears))
64. Kh: I don't care that you wanna do it
65. Kh: I support you I've always supported you but I don't think it's fair that you don't tell us how close this is in the near future ((agitated) WE'RE STILL YOUR KIDS! ((Bruce bites his nails, the girls look sad))
66. ((some overlay, replay of last line))
67. Kh: I DON'T CARE HOW OLD I AM!
 o. Bruce: Everybody you talk to about this subject, especially when they're that close, you get a different reaction, there's so many different things they're dealing with, you know (.) sometimes it's really tougher for them than it is for you!
68. Kh: And don't you think we're scared we all have emotions and I'm not gonna feel like I'm not allowed to be honest with you about my feelings 'cos that's not fair of you to do to us
69. B: I agree.
 p. Khloe: This entire process I think no matter how honest Bruce is with us I just think for me, it's just something that will take time and digesting and getting used to
70. Ke: I'mma get a tissue ((goes to another room))
 q. Kendall: He's the most amazing person I know (.) I couldn't ask for a better dad, like, he taught me how to ride a bike and be the tomboy that I am and, ke-he ((sobs))
 r. Khloe: Everyday we went to school 45 minutes away from home he would drive us to school, he'd be the first one in the line to pick us up ((old footage/video, chatter))
 s. Kris: Bruce was the greatest step-dad, because he treated my kids like they were his own ((old footage)) there's been so many memories shared and so many different amazing times with our kids and our family ((old footage, chatter))
 t. Kim: We were so excited to have Bruce in our lives, he was just so much fun and I just remember he would sit up and tell us stories at night and he really promised my dad that he would be there for us unconditionally and he has you know held up his end of the bargain
 u. Khloe: Bruce has been my dad since I was four years old, I've lived with him every single day since I've been four ((old footage, chatter, next speaker is talking over it))
 v. Kylie: He's the person that knows everything so he always has the answers to everything ((old footage, chatter))
71. Ke: I just don't like when people say Bruce is gonna be gone ((sobs))
72. Kh: I know it's not fair ((sobs)) like were you not to tell your kids this ((curses)) it's not o:kay ((Bruce enters, hugs them))
73. Bruce: One of the most difficult things in talking to your child and try to keep the relationship with your child very strong, for me, is, honesty about the severity of what's happening right now. Sometimes it's easier to talk to people you don't know about this issue, that it is to your kids
74. B: I love you
75. Kh: We love you!
76. B: I'm not going anywhere – you know, it's like, all of a sudden you're getting this feeling like I'm abandoning you I'm not abandoning anybody! I apologize if I didn't communicate good enough
77. Ke: I think it's just scary when someone says a person is gonna be gone
78. B: I never said Bruce is [gonna be gone]
79. Ke: [I know] but you just make it feel that way
80. B: [I'm not going anywhere you know that I'm going to be there for everybody]
81. Ke: [I know I know]
82. Kh: [it's not the same] I know you are w w

83. B: I'll probably be closer to you–
84. Kh: We want you to do what makes you happy, we all do, we're gonna support you and be there for you but you have to be honest with us, even if it hurts you, because it's going to hurt all of us, like this hurts us more
85. B: Her and Kylie are the only ones I'm really concerned about
 w. Khloe: When I think about this whole thing I consider my emotions just as important as Kendall or Kylie's (.) I've known Bruce like longer ((laughs)) than Kendall and Kylie have if you wanna, like, put it out there (.) yes, we're not blood but it's I don't know it's still my da:d
86. Kh: I think we're all passionate and emotional and I think I'm pretty damn close with you
87. B: I agree, it's very difficult
88. Kh: If you're so concerned, shouldn't her and Kylie have the opportunity to say goodbye?
89. B: But I'm not going anywhere
90. Kh: It's not the same person. You even said yourself 'I'm way more fun when I'm her'
 x. Bruce: Dealing with something like this and I [...] is like dealing with death in the family. You don't look like'em anymore, you somewhat act like them but not really, it's a tough transition for the people around you. Once they get through that, break through that whole thing it's you know what, the world's not collapsing, let's move on with life
91. Kh: I think we all need to have a sit-down and you need to be willing to answer these questions no matter how draining it might be
92. B: So let's set up a time (.) next couple of days
93. Kh: We should
 ((Silent moment))
94. B: ((looks at Kendall)) °Love you°
95. Ke: °Love you°–
 y. Bruce: You know, as a young, young bo:y, you know, 7-8-9-10, I knew something wasn't right but I never really had a chance to express it and so the few times I had where I had the opportunity, you know, to steal some of my mom's clothes, my sister's clothes, this and that ah, you know, I just went for it ((pictures of Bruce as a young man)) I liked that side of me, but it also scared me to death, scared me to death, oh my God, what do I do here? You know, everybody thinks I gotta be this boy, when you don't know if you feel that way, so I'm just gonna show'em all (.) As a young person you're just totally confused with no help (.) these are my issues I have to deal with on my own (.) and you're thinking, someday you're gonna get over it, so, my whole life I've used distractions, so the Games were the biggest ((laugh)) distraction from who I am ((picures of Bruce with Olympic medal))
 z. Kris: I met him on a blind date and it was kinda love at first sight ((old footage)) Within the next five months we were walking down the isle ((wedding video)) We had so much in common! It was kind of a match made in heaven ((old footage)) We went to races, we played golf, we went snow-skiing and there wasn't anything we didn't do (.) A:nd we could not keep our hands off each other ((old footage, chatter))
 æ. Bruce: I love those times! You know, Kris is a really good woman and I love her to death and the love and acceptance I've gotten from Kris is absolutely overwhelming

Excerpt (2): Next evening, Bruce's house, Kim is arriving:

1. [19:40] Kim: You look good, Bruce
2. B: Thank you, thank you, so do you (.) you [always look good]
3. Ki: [Thank you] Your house looks nice with the flowers and –
4. B: I got the flowers going and we got the whole thing working we gotta [take care of the old]
5. Ki: [looks very nice!] I'm impressed
6. B: Yeah you know I've [...] on the other place so hopefully next three weeks or so I be outta here
7. Ki: Yeah
8. B: That's about it. Well I hope tonight goes better than last night
9. Ki: Why, what happened last night
10. B: B-b-you pr I'm sure you've heard, Khloe must have talked [to you or Kendall talked to you]
11. Ki: [No, no what]
12. B: They ganged up on me

13. Ki: Why, what did they say?
14. B: I felt like last night if I just didn't communicate well enough with them
15. Ki: M:hm
16. B: Khloe was just you know, 'what are you doing, how can you do this, you have to tell us everything, how can other people know when I don't know - this family' (.) got Kendall all riled up
 - a. Kim: You know I think Bruce is afraid to let us down. He raised us, you know, he's been in our life for 25 years, we wanna understand his struggle, we want to learn about it, we want to relate to it in some way
17. Ki: I think we know you well enough to know you don't wanna hurt us you know that's not even a concern of ours. I think what hurts us is when we hear things are changing and happening, and we don't know about it (.) We just wanna be in the loop.
18. B: Yeah. Well that's, I, I--
19. Ki: Well we just [feel like oh]
20. B: [I just had] secrets all my life, it's tough not to have secrets, you see, I always do my, see ((shows toes with nail polish))
21. Ki: Your feet are actually way more feminine than I ever would have imagined
22. B: Thank you
23. Ki: I am impressed
24. B: Thank you, actually they come out pretty good, I do them all myself
25. Ki: You do that yourself?
26. B: Yes I do all my nails myself
27. Ki: Really?
28. B: Yeah, actually I do very good in the make-up department, I could do your make-up
29. Ki: ((laughs)) I'm really shocked at your toes, actually I'm like shocked
30. B: I did Khloe's toes one time, she goes 'I-I-I gotta do my toes' I s' 'I'll do your toes for you', She s' 'No way' I s' 'I'll do your toes for you', so I did her toes, and she was 'How the hell do you know this?' ((laughs)) but honestly I--
31. Ki: That literally looks like a professional did that
32. B: Thank you! I would always, even when I was at the house, I would just wear socks, there's just little things you can do that makes you feel a little bit better about yourself. I'm so tired about lying, about my life, about who I am, about everything (.) it's just like, after a while, it just wears your ass out, you know
33. Ki: Yeah
34. B: I just wanna be honest
35. Ki: Yeah
36. B: No matter what happens in the future, you know
37. Ki: So do you, are you gonna fully become a woman
38. B: Uuum
39. Ki: 'Cos you never told me that, but I've heard it, it's been like the rumor
40. B: Mmmmm
41. Ki: So you're hesitating (xxx)
42. B: I see myself in the future that way
43. Ki: Ok
44. B: Ok
45. Ki: So, if, when you're talking to mo:om, and the girls, you have to say that (.) And you can't hesitate. Hesitating four seconds makes us feel like you're lying
46. B: Huh ((makes face))
47. Ki: When you already know the answer (.) You've probably already made the appointment. So--
48. B: Well, yah
49. Ki: You have? ((smiles))
50. B: ((laughs))
51. Ki: You said in the future! Like it was in a like in five years!
52. B: Yeah, no
53. Ki: This is like happening like this year?
54. B: Ah, yeah, probably, yeah [...] there's a few more things that need to be done, mostly with your face ehm, a few more little tweaks, and then I'm kinda done with that

55. Ki: Uh-huh
56. B: Eh, and you know we got the Diane Sawyer thing coming, that's gonna happen in a couple of weeks
57. Ki: Oh really? I didn't know that
58. E: Oh no
59. Ki: What Diane Sawyer thing?
60. E: Diane Sawyer, she want to do the interview
61. Ki: And say what? Just like everything?
62. E: Yeah
63. Ki: That's amazing
- b. Kim: It's been kinda my job to keep this secret for over a decade that I was, you know, it's gonna take me a minute to still get out of secret mode, but once he actually comes out, I think people will be accepting and, you know, give him a platform to be able to tell his story and help other people that are struggling with the same thing
64. Ki: When is it gonna air?
65. B: We're shooting it in two weeks
66. Ki: Ok
67. B: I can't let the stupid tabloid out there control it you know the message
68. Ki: Yeah
69. B: And to be able to do it sensitively and understanding and with tremendous respect for my family
- c. Bruce: I'm not doing it for ratings or (.) anything like that (.) Ah, I'm trying to do it because I think it's the right thing to do in my life
70. B: Ahh, I think you know everything. Thank you for coming out (.) Having your love and support is by far the most important thing
71. Ki: I got you
72. B: Love you ((they hug))
- d. Kim: It's confusing for us (.) We wanna be respectful to (.) Bruce (.) When does it start that Bruce is now not Bruce and 'he' is a 'she'?
- e. Bruce: At this point in my life I'm, yes, I'm planning on going forward (.) I've pushed the 'her-side' off all my life (.) I can't die and not experience (.) her
- f. Kim: Is she like Bruce? Do they act the same but she's just a woman? I really don't know how this works I don't know what to expect
- g. Kris: It's hard for me to just (.) really believe it's happening

Excerpt (3): Kris' house

1. [25:19] Kim: Mo:m
2. Kris: Yeah? How'd it go?
3. Ki: Ahm, it went good. He basically said like a lot of things that he haven't said before. I didn't know he was like, really having a transformation ((inhales)) like [...]
4. Kr: I asked him point blank I said 'What are you doing, are you transitioning?' 'I don't know, I haven't really decided'
5. Ki: Trust me, I get it
6. Kr: [It's so crazy]
7. Ki: [and I want to support him and I think that]
8. Kr: Well yeah, you wanna support him and I want him to be happy, but (.) my (.) biggest (.) just ((sobs)) my biggest concern is that you guys are ok
9. Ki: We are fine
10. Kr: Like, I am, I'm not OK, I don't know how to handle this, you know, like, this is my life, I committed to this life and I think that it feels like he just checked out
11. Kr: It's just, it's hard to wrap my head around it, because, why now?
12. Ki: I know this is the dumbest comparison, but it's like, a slight sliver of how he must feel; When I was pregnant I so not felt that I was in my body like I was literally like 'who is this roly-polly'? I couldn't get outta bed, I couldn't (xxx) myself and it was just for less than a year (.) He has to deal with this for his entire life waking up and feeling like 'wow, this isn't my body, this doesn't feel comfortable' (.) That's the only way I can kind of imagine it, a:nd, you really have to like, let go
13. Kr: He's said he had tendencies like that, but that, you know, that wasn't any – that wasn't even a discussion that he would in his life end up like this. I never expected that. Not in a million years.

- a. Kris: I think everybody, in life, has issues with something a-and I'm pretty open to people and their differences, that's what I bring to the table when I'm in a relationship, bu:t, the other thing I expect out of a relationship is honesty
14. Kr: I have these memories of this life and I feel sometimes like it didn't exist

Excerpt (4): Kylie is in a couch holding her phone

1. [27:46]: ((Kris on the phone)) hey
2. Kim: Hey
3. Kendall: This dog is like cra:zy, you need to chill ((talks to a dog she is holding))
4. Kr: Did you know about Diane Sawyer?
5. Ki: I didn't know until he blurted it out yesterday, but they have a meeting on Tuesday, that, he called me and was like 'Hey, I would like you to be in it, you could be like the family representative, I feel like I can communicate with you the best'
 - a. Kim: As supportive as I am for Bruce I do get really protective of my mom (.) Sometimes I'm totally strong and I'm fine and I can talk to Bruce and really be happy for him, but there's times when I get angry, there's times when I get, you know, resentful, and I feel, you know, just really sad for my Mom
6. Ki: And at first I was like 'Wait what? Diane Sawyer? Let me talk to Kendall and Kylie, ok? I love you I'll call you from the car (.) Ok bye.
7. Ki: Um, dad has this publicist that he had that was his publicist in the 80s (.) This story almost came out, I don't know if you know this, but someone caught him traveling and he had wi;gs and stuff in his suitcase a:nd, Bruce hired a publicist. In the eighties
8. Ke: [Years ago this happened?]
9. Ki: [In the eighties, yeah] and they went to his house, this reporter, and said 'Please don't do this story' and the reporter said 'Fine' (.) Media back then was like totally different, no-one ever found out (.) So this is the same publicist that's known everything he said 'you have to be taken seriously' (.) If he does it with a serious person it really gives him some legitimacy (.) So Diane Sawyer she's coming to do this special and they start filming it in two weeks
10. Ke: Why wouldn't he tell us that the night before when we were there with him? That, we just, we had a full argument, me, him and Khloe, about the whole thing
11. Ki: What was the argument?
12. Ke: About him not telling us things!
 - b. Kylie: I mean I do have concerns about my dad wanting to tell the world. People attacking him (.) and stuff, but, I want him to tell everybody, people just wonder (.) It's the same thing with me, you know, now that I've been told the truth I can move on, I can get past it (.) People know, so now they can accept it, or not, and they can move on
13. Ki: He is gonna tell his full story, and at first I was like, 'I'm totally gonna cry I'm totally gona cry' like my [my throat was like]
14. Ke: [Yeah I know]
15. Ki: I could feel it burning
16. Kylie: About the interview?
17. Ki: No just talking to him you know because mom, this is really hard for her like ((sobs)) it's so sad, like she cries all the time and like it makes me really sad but we should really appreciate all the things that she does for us 'cos she does a lot ((sobs))
18. ((replay))
19. Ki: I wanted to say this to him yesterday but I just didn't wanna cry because I felt like (sobs) he (.) he had this like respect for me you know and I was like being really strong and like, he wants me in this meeting and I'll be the family representative and like go there so he doesn't feel like he can't not tell us things, you know (.) Imagine, this is so emotional for him and he has to [call]
20. Ke: [everyone]
21. Ki: Kendall, Kylie [...] and he has to call all of us separately 'cos we're all so busy doing our own thing
22. Ke: M:hm
23. Ki: You know, so I totally I can be calm and like I don't wanna cry in front of him I wanna be like you know, let him know that it's fine

- c. Kim: As uncomfortable, and you know, I really truly can't understand what is in Bruce's mind, you will have to, you know, respect it and support it, just, support his decision on wanting to go through this journey
24. Ki: You know I was like so afraid of how I was gonna tell Kanye, but he was like 'You know what, he needs to be who he is and be happy and everyone around you just support him' (.). So I think people definitely accept it a lot more
25. Ke: Yeah and I honestly think it can be a good thing in the long run, like
26. Ki: Totally
27. Ke: He can do so much with it, his motivational speeches (.) that will be so different and amazing
28. Ki: Totally. But there will – I want everyone to be prepared that there might be a weird period that makes everyone uncomfortable, you know, 'cos other people can't even begin to understand it
- d. Kendall: Whatever people're gonna think that's not even that's not even part of it at all (.) I'm more worried about how people are gonna like, treat him, I don't ever want anyone to treat him bad 'cos he is, honestly ((sobs)) one of the greatest people I know ((sobs)). He wouldn't hurt a fly (.) So to think of someone (.) giving him hate, or, like, not being OK with who he wants to be, who makes him happy (.) that scares me and that's more of a worry to me than anything else

Excerpt (5): Bruce's house

1. [33:03] Kylie: Where are the other snacks?
2. Bruce: ((holding noodles)) Just for you
3. Ky: Whaa:t?
4. B: Yeah! Top ramens baby
5. Ky: ((Makes a sing-songy noise))
6. B: This may never happen again. Let me get a picture of you (.) in the kitchen
7. Khloe: ((To Kendall)) You should take pictures with your dad, FYI (.) Better take a lot with him
8. Kendall: M:hm
 - a. Khloe: I want Bruce to do what's best for him (.) I just with, like, you couldn't have given us a little more time to, like, hang out with you some more, or, get any time like during the transition time
9. B: Here comes Kourt!
10. Kourtney: Hi guys (xxx) my sister who doesn't text back
11. B: She's not texting you back?
12. Ko: Never
13. B: Well, Khloe
14. Kh: Yeah?
15. B: The last time we talked, you said 'We have to get everybody together'
16. Kh: M-hm
17. B: So (.) where do you wanna start?
18. Kh: Well I think we should start with Kendall and I came here to see Bruce and Kendall and I found out lot's happening, Bruce is under the impression that he's told all of us everything (.) We had to find out that Bruce is probably transitioning in spring (.) He claims that he told us all of this and that's what I'm pissed about
19. Ko: I've never heard that, for sure. I just think that if you are doing a huge thing like that, you know, we should know and be prepared ourselves [...]
20. Ke: I think the whole thing is we don't want you to feel ganged up on, especially not from us, and it can sometimes come off as like, aggressive or like, we're yelling [at you or arguing]
21. Kh: [I don't think it is aggressive] s I think they were legit questions
22. Ke: I think they were, too, completely but I'm saying if it does come off like that it's because this is not something that we're used to
23. Ki: I think we just, I mean, first and foremost we all support your decision (.) Khloe's method of dealing with things is just a little bit more harsh than [you know]
24. Kh: [You know I just want honesty] Keep it honest
25. Ki: [(xxx)] [Totally]

26. Kh: You know I've always been team Bruce (xxx) Thanks for calling me after I left your house – I haven't spoke to you since I left in tears, so [you obviously]
27. B: [You didn't call me either]
28. Kh: Why should I?! You're the one who was fucking lying to me
29. B: <Agitated>I'm not lying, Khloe!</>
30. Kh: YOU WERE!
31. B: [I just didn't tell you]
32. Kh: [Until we got it out of you!]
33. B: I didn't tell you!
34. B: I didn't lie I didn't say I wasn't doing this I wasn't doing that I just never told you anything
35. Ke: You made it seem like maybe it was a [far in the future thing]
36. B: [It's not an easy subject] to talk to you about
37. Ke: I completely understand that and I get that [but, like]
38. Ki: [I think] we all wanna be on the same page with you, we all wanna support you and we all wann he-
39. B: That's why we're here talking
- b. Khloe: I don't wanna offend anybody, especially Bruce (.) That's the last thing I wanna do ((old footage of Khloe as a child)) Bruce has car-pooled us, soccer-dad, every single day since I've been four ((old footage, chatter)) He walked me down the isle at my wedding (.) He's been an incredible father to all of us (.) So ye:ah, I totally respect that it's difficult, but, I don't know, I really only have gotten mad when I've f-f-found out things that weren't what he told me
40. Ki: We have to like let it out, becau:se, even if we didn't understand it, and even if some of us are confused and some of us have questions, we just wanna feel comfortable that we can ask you those questions and talk to you and be a part of this journey with you because (.) we feel a disconnect
- c. Bruce: When you carry around a secret your whole life, what you have a tendency to do, is you isolate yourself from the world. I've done a lot of that. That's (.) not a good thing
41. Ko: So do you have like a date? Is it like a whole, major (.) thi:ng? Like I don't know
42. B: It's a lot of work
43. Ko: K
44. B: Yeah. We do it in stages (.) You probably didn't even notice
45. Ko: You got a nose job
46. B: Yeah!
47. Ky: I noticed
48. Ke: I noticed
49. B: Yeah it's still pretty swollen, it'll get better, it's still a little swollen right there (.) But anyway, I did my nose and a little what they call an upper lip lift (.) Then they do the forehead
50. Ko: Do what?
51. B: Guys have like a little ridge right here
52. Ko: I had no idea
53. Ky: Mmmm
54. B: And they then go in and take it down and lower your hair line a little bit
55. ((Khloe texting: He's been planning this for probably a-))
- d. Khloe: These are very premeditated operations, they're not anything that you decide on the whim (.) From what I read online, you have to be on hormones and estrogen and whatever (.) You have to go see a therapist to fully transition, and the therapist and the doctor have to like agree together (.) If that's true, you've been doing these therapy sessions for how long
56. ((Khloe texting: He's been planning this for probably a year and hasn't deemed it necessary to tell any of us))
57. B: And then they also do the jaw line
58. Ky: What are you gonna do with the jaw?
59. B: Ah, they just trim it down here so it's not quite as harsh
60. Ko: Do you do that all at one time? This [and this] ((shows with her hand))
61. B: [Those things] will be done at the same time, yeah
62. Ky: Oh my God are you not scared (.) for that?
63. B: No

- e. Bruce: Everybody you talk to about this subject you get a different reaction, you know, am I doing the right thing? Honestly I just don't wanna hurt them, don't wanna hurt anybody
64. B: Ok, in dealing with this and coming out with this issue, what is your biggest concern?
65. Kh: You wanna make a change and I'm all for you doing that (.) But I'm afraid, what if you do all of this, not just even privately, you do it so publically so there's no turning back
66. B: Yeah
67. Ke: I do feel like he's gone through this his whole life, I feel like you have to be somewhat, pretty certain at 65 [(xxx)]
68. B: [Oh yeah] I'm very certain [that's (xxx)]
69. Kh: [No he wants] to do it
70. B: But doing it publically
71. Kh: Yeah
72. B: Is extraordinarily difficult – in the position that I'm in I have a (.) a big stage that I'm on, ok, and maybe with that stage, I can do something--
- f. Bruce: After all the things I have done in my life, the Games, the families, the business, the this, the that (.) maybe this is my greatest calling in life, you know, be honest to myself, be honest to my family, be honest to my friends (.) And then maybe in that honesty I can help other people
73. B: I mean, I go out, I got friends, I do a very good job, and
74. Ky: You go out?
75. B: I have been out, yes
76. Ky: Whe:re?
77. B: Gone to the movies, done that (.) Nobody knows.
78. Ko: What's your casual style like? Is it like a denim on denim? Or is it like--
79. B: Uhm, not denim on denim [no, no]
80. Ko: [Or is it like] a skirt, uh
81. Ki: Whose style out of all of us are you [most like]?
82. B: [Ye:ah] I have quite a bit of clothes, and, ah I've got everything
83. Ki: What's your everyday kind of style?
84. B: I love good old jeans and, uh, you know a great sweater and stuff like that
85. Ki: Do you wear a wig or is this just the hair that you go for?
86. B: Aaa:h, I have had wigs, I mean, the worst days of my life were the days I've had to get my hair cut
- g. Bruce: The haircuts for me has been the most traumatic things in life. ((Footage former episode, chatter)) I can't take that, ok, I want my hair to be longer (.) But society say, I've got to cut my hair 'cos you're a guy ((Old footage, chatter)) Getting my hair cut (.) Does it look better on Bruce? Yes (.) But it doesn't look better on my soul, you know
87. B: It's just little things like that, about not being able to be yourself (.) That's why I think it's so nice out here (.) You can do what you do
88. Ki: Just that we: - can we get back to what Khloe was saying 'cos I think she just has a feeling of just being unresolved (.) I wanna move past this so that we don't come back to this and there's no resentment between, you know, really you and Khloe (.) But I think you really need to know that underneath Khlose's anger she just don't she doesn't care
89. Kh: Kendall and Kylie found out I was the one who talked to them and told them 'This isn't changing anything about what a great dad you are (.) I've always been defending you and protecting you
90. B: I've tried to do the best with it, and, the greatest thing of my life I've ever done is raise my children, you know (.) Look at every one of you, successful, smart, intelligent, you know, I am just ((voice trembling)) so proud of all of you (.) It's my greatest accomplishment (.) I got everybody out of the nest, everybody's doing great, I gotta deal with myself ((Sobs)) The last thing in the world I wanna do is hurt any of you. That is not my intention. Maybe if I'm not honest it's because I'm afraid to talk to you about the subject 'cos I know it hurts (.) I understand that (.) Am I doing it right, Khloe? You can never do this right, ok? There's just, there's no right way to do this ((cries))

About Bruce part 2

Keeping Up with the Kardashians season 10, episode 11 (2015)

Excerpt (1)

The episode starts with some highlights from the previous episode, and some clips that are to come in this episode.
Bruce's house.

1. [02:11]: Bruce: Thank you ((receives tissue)) Out of everything I've done in my life, raised children, worked hard, been successful, um, out of all these things in my life maybe in God's eyes this is my calling
 - a. Khloe: We don't want anyone to live their life and feel like they're in the wrong body or they're completely just they're unhappy in their soul (.) I am ok with what's happening and I just need a moment to like – I have to transition as well
2. Kourtney: So when you talk about transitioning and you said you were going to do the few things to your face
3. B: Yeah
4. Ko: Then from that point on do you start just every day you are
5. B: I think it would be hard when you do enough stuff I think it gets harder and harder to play the other side
6. Ko: Do you just have to just pick a day, like 'this is the day I'm gonna [just]
7. B: [U:hm]
8. Ko: Wear this stuff, I'm not gonna wear boxers anymore
9. B: I am gonna just play it by ear
10. Ko: Ok
11. Ki: [So like you don't have a surgery to remove that and then that means you're the woman]
12. Ko: [I just don't know if you have a plan]
13. B: I eh remove?--
14. Ki: Remove your--
15. B: Oh the little thing down there?
16. Ki: Yeah like you [don't]
17. B: [That's kinda] the last thing you can do, you can do an awful lot before that
18. Ki: So like are do you have an [appointment to do that]
19. B: [Because it's not like] - no (.) As of right now, no
20. Ki: Ok
21. B: I only have one more appointment
22. Ki: So after that last appointment with the face here ((points))
23. B: yeah
24. Ki: You consider yourself a woman
25. B: Yeah, if I'm [comfortable]
26. Ki: [But if it gets] in the way, you'll--
27. B: I'm not planning on like dating or doing any of that I that's nothing I--
28. Ki: But do you date women
29. B: I don't know what I would do
30. Ko: ((laughs))
31. B: I haven't been there yet
32. Ki: My mom literally has not asked this at all but I'm just curious
33. B: Go
34. Ki: So if your life was living a lie as Bruce and you would have sex with my mom were you like into it or do you were you like grossed out ou:t, like were you (.) you know, like
35. B: No, I'm totally heterosexual
36. Ki: But if you're a "woman" ((makes quotation marks with her hand)) were you a lesbian?
37. B: Ee:h
38. Kh: You're not attracted to men, you're attracted to women?

39. B: Ah, yeah, as a guy I was always attracted to women, yeah
40. ,
41. B: Yeah, yeah, I think it'd be very different
42. Someone: Ok
43. B: I'm not doing this (P: yeah) for that reason (.) Not at all! But, who knows?
 b. Kim: I think we're just gonna follow Bruce's lead through all of this a:nd, whatever he wants, we will support him
44. B: Allright, do we have any more questions?
45. Ki: When do we start referring to you as 'her'?
46. B: You will see me and you will know!
47. Ki: Ok so as of now when we see Bruce you're just 'dad', 'Bruce'
48. B: Yeah, 'dad', 'Bruce'. Ha! I'm always gonna be your dad (.) No matter what I go through
49. Ko: We should call you 'ma:d' (.) mom and dad and you're a little bit crazy
50. ((the others laugh))
51. B: A little crazy, yeah
52. Someone: Mad! ((laughter))
 c. Kim: We haven't met her yet, so we don't know who Bruce is when he is a woman (.) I think now I'm ok and comfortable enough to meet her (.) I think he would be ok if we met

Excerpt (2): Scott arrives in his car. Bruce is doing some spray painting in his drive-way.

1. [05:38] Scott: Hjello
2. Bruce: Need your wheels done?
3. S: Yeah I'll take a little armor all if you got it
4. B: Uh actually that's what I got
 a. Scott: I realize Bruce is not my biological father or even my step-father, but I know him a long time and I care for him and (.) it was difficult to hear that he was going through something and I just want him to be happy
5. B: ((they sit down at a table outside)) all right what do you need to know?
6. S: Ah--
7. B: I mean give me your list of questions
8. S: I got a lot! You know, nobody in the past ten years of knowing you has ever, ever told me anything
 b. Khloe: I just assumed Scott knew. I kept telling Kourtney 'there's no way he doesn't know, there's no way'
 c. Kourtney: Khloe kept telling me, 'Scott knows, he's gotta know, come on, he definitely knows what's going on' and I was like 'no, he does not!'
 d. Scott: Kim, Khloe, Kourtney, Kendall, Kylie, Rob, I mean, everyone knew but me
 e. Kourtney: I kept trying to explain to him that I never told anybody
 f. Scott: I'm not mad at him because I know it must be hard for him to tell anybody what he's going through, but I just wish I would've known sooner and could've been there for him
9. B: My whole life I haven't been honest with myself, I haven't been honest with my kids, it's been the big secret that nobody can talk about
10. S: I felt like for so many years you know you and me had a big disconnect and, if I would have had any idea some of the things you were struggling with I wouldn't have been so insecure about why we couldn't get along properly sometimes, you know what I mean?
11. B: Yeah, you're right, I don't think the two of us have been that close
12. S: Yeah
13. B: Where do you wanna start?
14. S: I mean I guess it's just like, ah, I mean just like the little things – are you gonna be like the butchiest girl ever like like still want to, like, you're into so many guy! sports, like--
15. B: A:ah, I-I will still have a good time. Why would I wanna give up all (P: right) the fun stuff?
16. S: Like, do you see yourself going to the gold course
17. B: I'm going through an awful lot just to get into the ladies' tee
18. S: (()) that's w right – was it frustrating to be around all there women when you couldn't be:
19. B: Yeah
20. S: A woman?
21. B: That was tough

22. S: I mean everyone's over here--
23. B: They're always over there having girls' nights
24. S: Yeah like
25. B: They're always having, yeah, and I can't do all of that
26. S: Right, that's
27. B: A:nd, can you imagine the pressure of having to get dressed for all these girls
28. S: Spff yeah
29. B: Yeah that'll be a tough deal!
30. S: It's pretty wild that you're gonna live two lives in one lifetime, I mean not many people can say they did it, which is pretty extraordinary in some ways
31. B: Yeah it is, yeah kinda groundbreaking in some ways [uhm]
32. S: [Do you]
33. B: There is a lot of momentum in the transgender community, they've come a long way recently
34. S: Will you help out in that community?
35. B: I would love to yeah, of course I would
36. S: I mean obviously you're an amazing speaker, so
37. B: Yeah [I think I can do a lot for them]
38. S: [I think you can do a lot of good]
39. B: Yeah
40. S: And help a lot of people who want to come out and say this that can't
41. B: Yeah
 g. Scott: Bruce is gonna open the door for so many people that are finally gonna be able to live their life the way they want to (.) I mean, you're talking about the biggest male athlete maybe of our time, who was known as the man's man, turning into a lady (.) For anybody who's going through this and thinks that it's impossible, well here it is right in front of your face, it's not
42. S: What are some of your, like, worries, I mean I know living in L.A. is one of the worst places in like ever with media, so that's scary, that every time you leave your house for s [a year]
43. B: [They're probably out there] right now
44. S: But in a few months it's [gonna be]
45. B: [Yeah] it's gonna be tougher
46. S: Gonna be tough for you
47. B: I was honestly thinking about getting out of Malibu and you know moving up in the hills of Santa Barbara or
48. S: But then that's like running again, right
49. B: Yeah and then I'm running again, number one, number two, this is my home
50. S: Right, you shouldn't have to leave
51. B: No
52. S: To be yourself
53. B: A:nd, I'm hoping th:at we've kind of turned the corner there
54. S: Yeah I think you know already there's gonna be so much negativity
55. B: Ah!
56. S: And then, positivity will come
57. B: Yeah
58. S: I mean, are you getting anxious and exited?
59. B: Oh, of course
60. S: It must be like
61. B: Pretty great year
62. S: Yeah, it must be like, your coming out-party, right
63. B: Yeah
 h. Scott: You know, for me, I'm just excited to see him be nice and be happy, I mean, it was very obvious for a long time that he was living with some kind of secret, sometimes I thought it was something about me, and, you know, I've realized that I'm probably just perfect and it's everybody else around me that's got issues

64. S: It's so overwhelmingly nice for me to be able to see you just feel comfortable and be happy, I mean, I just didn't know what the hell was wrong with you all the time
65. B: ((Laughs))
66. S: You were just so pissed
67. B: ((Laughs))

Excerpt (3):

1. [10:48] Kendall: ((Sneezes and falls over in the couch))
2. Khloe: Oooh. You sound like (.) Minnie Mouse was getting attacked
3. Ke: Aah. Dad is coming over
4. Kh: Mhm
5. Ke: 'Cos he wants to apologize to you and I want you to be nice to him
6. Kh: I've never not been nice to dad
7. Ke: But you need to understand that this is like a, a moment for him [(xxx) not an easy one so]
8. Kh: [A hundred percent] it's, I'm upset that
9. Ke: No need to be so harsh
10. Kh: He's transitioning and wasn't telling us
11. Ke: You don't need to be so hard on him, he's coming here to, like, fix that and apologize and [I don't think you need to be like that]
12. Kh: [I agree that] I was upset, like there's no way to prepare for what we were talking about and what we were doing
13. Ke: Yeah
14. Kh: And I mean I've never been through something like that before – Yeah, my reaction was aggressive but I was more mad that he was preceding with something but telling us something completely different, until we cornered him
15. Ke: Yeah
 - a. Kendall: I'm sure going your whole life keeping this big secret from your kids and like, practically everyone you know is a lot, and till like all of a sudden one day they're gonna be like 'ok I'm gonna tell everyone of my kids, I think it's hard to, like, tell'em every little bit (.) So I'm sure it's not easy to just spill everything like all at once, so maybe withholding information is just a natural thing.
16. Bruce: Hola! ((Hugs everyone))
17. Ke: Hi dad!
18. B: I know, you're up!
19. B: Are you ok?
20. Kh: Yeah, I'm ok (.) I'm not mad at your process of you wanting to live your life, I'm not (.) What I was mad about was feeling like you were robbing me of like having the opportunity to like let go of like on my own (.) When you're doing like, your big, serious surgery, you can't just do that and then I come over one day and
21. B: True
22. Kh: Bruce is gone (.) You can't just take that away from us (.) And that's what I was mad about (.) It's not that you're doing it (.) I'm mad that you weren't telling us
23. B: I know you're very emotional about this (.) You've had a lot of losses in your life, you know, uhm, and in a way this is kinda like somewhat of a you know, like a death in the family, or, things really drastically change
24. Kh: Mhm
25. B: I get that
26. Kh: I know it's not malicious, I know [you're trying to be you]
27. B: [No it's not.] It's tough (xxx) because you are ah probably taking this the hardest of anybody (.) The last thing in the world I wanna do is hurt anybody
28. Kh: Mhm
29. B: Especially you, Kendall
30. Kh: I know that
31. B: Anybody in the family, I don't wanna hurt anybody, I just, ahm, I have to also live my life

32. Kh: Yeah
33. B: And, a:h, sometimes, because of my love for you and my feelings for you I don't wanna hurt you
34. Kh: Mhm
35. B: And so I apologize for not being as honest as I should be
36. Kh: Thank you
 b. Bruce: You know, for the last (.) 50 years I've always lived my life for everybody else ((old footage)) playing the role that they want me to play (.) At a point in life, you get to who, who should we make happy here? Who should I live my life for? Should I live my life for all these wonderful people? Or should I live my life for myself?
37. Kh: We also wanna be a part of your life! We want to be there, and this is a journey for you, and we want to support you (.) And I'm sure this is very emotional for you, but, you should be able to share that with your family, you know.
38. B: ((sighs))
 c. Khloe: I want Bruce to be happy (.) We're not gonna treat you differently, we're, we're gonna love you, you're still our dad (.) We're obsessed with you, you've been an a ((curses)) incredible father to all of us
39. B: You know, your support, and Kendall and everybody in the family has been extraordinarily important (.) There's nothing like freeing your soul, ah, and, surrounding yourself with people who make you feel good about yourself (.) A:nd, ah, I love you guys d dearly
40. Kh: And like I was saying to Kendall before you got here I've never been through this before so I don't know, like, how you're supposed to react
41. B: No I get that
42. Kh: Don't think I'm not supporting you, I just think
43. B: I'm just trying to figure out how to handle everybody in the family and sometimes it's [a lot]
44. Kh: [Yeah]
45. B: of personalities
46. Kh: For sure
47. B: Right now, I'm a:h – I'm very optimistic about the future
48. Kh: Good!
49. B: And I haven't felt that way in a long long time
50. Kh: That's good
51. B: Because I think going through all of this I will come out the other side much better person, much more understanding person, and I feel like, I can help people (.) I can do some good
52. Kh: Mhm
53. B: You know
 d. Bruce: The transgender issue right now, is kinda where the gay issue was 30-40 years ago (.) A lot of people don't understand it, a:nd, what we need is tolerance towards that community (.) Because of the situation I'm in, a:h, I think we can do a lot of good
54. B: You know what I did this morning?
55. Kh: Hmm?
56. B: I talked to my mother
57. Kh: You told her? For the first time?
58. B: Yup
59. Kh: Does she understand you?
60. B: Yup and she's been online, researching, and learning everything [(xxx)]
61. Kh: [Aw that's good]
62. B: She was, u:h (.) extremely supportive
63. Kh: Good
64. B: Yeah I was a little scared to talk to her but she's 88 years old, a:nd, uhm, we haven't been that close my whole life, so I started off by saying, 'You know, I'm gonna talk to you about some things that I we- that I'm going through that will probably bring us a lot closer together, you know, so you can understand me better (.) And she loved that, you know (.) And she says 'Oh my God thank you for sharing this with me and-' (.) And she was just, she was just great, I [(xxx)]
65. Kh: [Oh but that's] good you told your mom, love you [too]
66. B: [Love you] love you love you love you

67. Ke: Love you

e. Khloe: I wanna be supportive of Bruce (.) I never wanna hurt his feelings (.) I've always been 'Team Bruce'

((They hug))

Excerpt (4): At Kourtney and Scott's.

1. [17:42] Kourtney: ((To child, Mason)) What are you up to, Sir? You know you are so freakin' cute I can't handle it
2. Scott: How old are you anyway
3. Mason: ((laughs)) Fi:ve
4. Scott: Let me show you what you were like as a little baby ((cuddle sounds))
5. Kourtney: I just said to Melissa that we went to this therapist uhm, to talk about like the Bruce-thing, and--
6. Khloe: What? You just [(xxx) sprung it on her]
7. Ko: [and Jesse goes] 'Oh so that's true?' And then I said, 'ye:ah' and I was like
8. Kh: Kourtney, you're the worst person to tell anybody anything. That's how you told [someone?]
9. S: [She didn't tell] me the whole time I knew her. You didn't tell me. Even when he shaved his adam's apple down I still [was so naïve]
10. Kh: [Who knew that was an option] that you could shave it [down]
11. S: [I still] didn't know, I just though he wanted a slimmer neck! I literally never even dreamt of thinking that he was gonna transition
12. Ko: Don't talk in front about it in front of Mason
13. Kh: What?
14. Ko: Ah, I just don't wanna talk about it in front of Mason yet
15. S: No me neither, but he's gonna come to an age and he's gonna start asking questions and he's gonna say 'Whatever happened to that grandpa I had?' ((old footage))
 - a. Scott: Kourtney and I have definitely talked about how we're gonna explain this to Mason and (.) it's only a positive for my daughter and my son and my daughter to know a:ll these different things that go on in this world (.) You do whatever you want, I mean as long as you become happy with yourself that's all that really matters and like I said, I mean, you only really get one chance at this life, so, whatever you gotta do to be happy you gotta do it
16. Kh: Did you guys hear what happened to Kendall last night?
17. S: No what happened do [Kendall?]
18. Kh: [You guys] so Kendall um Kendall was at a comedy show she goes every Wednesday so they were like hey Kendal da-da-da uhm, whatever, he was talking to her for a minute like on the stage like, so, everyone's here (.) There was like 2-300 people in here (.) And this girl from the audience goes 'ask her about her dad!'
19. S: Oh man
20. Kh: They screamed
21. Ko: Go:d
22. Kh: And was like 'what about your dad?' And she just shook her head and she was like and her friends was like, no
23. S: The bad news and good news is, that's gonna happen a lot
24. Kh: Yeah, but it's what I'm saying
25. S: Right he's [gonna hear it]
26. Kh: [Someone's gonna] say something
 - b. Kourtney: I think we: are waiting to see what Bruce does before we tell Mason, I definitely don't want him to find out you know through someone at school or, something like that (.) I want him to find out through us (.) And I think, just, it's such a great lesson to: you know teach him not to judge people (.) It's a great life lesson that, you know, I think I have to make make it the most positive that I can
27. Kh: What did the therapist say? She told you that he's way more aware than what you think?
28. Ko: Oh I know that (.) This guy's a genius right here ((cuddle sounds))

Excerpt (5): Kris' kitchen.

1. [20:40] Bruce: Here I am
2. 20:41 Kris: There you are (.) What are you doing?
3. 20:43 Bruce: I don't know (.) I just wanna talk to you about this-s whole thing that's going on
4. 20:48 Kris: °Ye:ah°
5. 20:50 Bruce: 'Cos I f-feel like ((pause)) I'm trying to be honest with everybody (pause) a:nd it seems I have talked more to the kids and you've been kinda on the outside (.) A:nd I hear all these rumors from the kids 'oh mom's upset' and this and that and I don't want that to happen so I thought <higher pitch>I would come over</> sit down to talk so let's sit down
6. 20:?? Kris: All right
 - a) Silence for a few seconds while they find their seats in the kitchen. Musical overlay
7. 21:21 Bruce: I was thinking about this all day, so I wrote down notes to make sure I hit all the points (.) 'Cos I didn't wanna walk away and then on the drive home thinking 'okay you forgot to say this' or 'you forgot to say that'
 - b) [28:28] Bruce folds out his notes. The camera cuts to a panoramic shot of the bay, then the conversation continues where it left off. Musical overlay.
8. 21:45 Bruce: ((Takes a breath)) First of all - you're an amazing woman (.) <Slowly, articulates every word deliberately>We have had so many great moments together</>
9. 21:56 Kris: Mhm
10. 21:57 Bruce: Twenty-three going on twenty-five years of great moments together. They <upnote>still live inside me</>, they're still part of me (.) I don't wanna let that go, but I've had a <firm voice>struggle in my life</>, <slowly> and I'm just trying to deal with myself</> and what's best for myself (.) In so many ways, I've lived my entire life running away from me ((pause)) and who I am (.) We've raised amazing children and those memories will live inside me forever - I mean, and I will continue to have <raised pitch>more of those</> wonderful wonderful memories, you know, it's just, it's tough. And I just wanna get through this °and° do the best damn job of not hurting anybody (.) And that includes you (.) And I would °hope° that you would ((pause)) you know, kinda be on board
11. 23:06 Kris: <raw voice>And, I think I'm just so confused right now</>
12. 23:09 Bruce: Where's your confusion?
13. 23:11 Kris: I think you shut me out a long time <tearing up>ago</> <Firm, almost angry voice>You were angry
14. 23:17 Bruce: (xxx)
15. 23:17 Kris: [Which made me angry] (xxx)
16. 23:19 Bruce: <Firm, almost angry voice> [You know you treated me] badly those last four or five years of our marriage</> °I wasn't happy°
17. 23:24 Kris: No, you were just very very angry, to the point where we just had to separate, and and get divorced. You never [said]
18. 23:31 Bruce: <in-breath> [Yeah]</>
19. 23:32 Kris: that this was gonna be the end result, ever
20. 23:33 Bruce: <Firm voice>I was angry</> fo:r -
21. 23:35 Kris: So now it makes <upnote>sense to me</>, you know, and I just think that being honest is something that we all would have appreciated, and I think that the truth in your head is different than the truth that came out of your <upnote>mouth</> ((takes a breath)) and the [truth in your head]
22. 23:49 Bruce: [(xxx)]
23. 23:50 Kris: was different than your <upnote> [actions]</>.
24. 23:51 Bruce: <firm voice> [You know] why?</>
25. 23:54 Kris: There's a <raised pitch>million [reasons]</>
26. 23:55 Bruce: ['Cos] I didn't wanna <firm voice, upnote>hurt you</> ((pause, sighs)) God, this isn't easy ((sniffs a tear))
27. 24:07 Kris: I always knew that you struggled with wanting to dress differently, and dress as a female, a:nd it was something you did whenever you got that <upnote>urge</>
28. 24:21 Bruce: ((Sobs, hides his head in his hands))
29. 24:23 Kris: That's just what the only thing I experienced with you, Bruce, and I don't know when you went from ((pause)) 'this isn't working for me anymore and I'm gonna go all the way and I'm start start taking hormones
30. 24:37 Bruce: ((makes short sounds))

31. 24:37 Kris: You never even told me as a married couple that you were taking <upnote>hormones</>
32. 24:40 Bruce: ((makes short sounds))
33. 24:41 Kris: If that [is like]
34. 24:42 Bruce: [I didn't take'em] till after I we left, went our separate ways, I wasn't taking it while we were together ((pause)) that was all done after we separated (.) I went to a therapist, started figure myself out, first thing <raised pitch>I did</> when I moved out to Malibu was I said 'okay I have a house all to myself, I have to deal with these issues', that's when I got a therapist, I started working on things, <weary>trying to figure out my life</>, okay, I did none of that beforehand, okay, am, I took hormones back in the eighties, way before I met you, [I told you, okay]
35. 25:18 Kris: [Okay:, no, you] said you had taken them at one time, I didn't know if it was [for a week]
36. 25:25 Bruce: [(xxx)]
37. 25:26 Kris: or a month, or a year, or a deca:de
38. 25:29 Bruce: Okay I didn't say how many years, [I'm sorry] ((leans forwards into his own folded arms))
39. 25:31 Kris: [And that is] part of the problem, Bruce, is you never explained
40. 25:37 Bruce: ((sighs))
41. 25:38 Kris: And every time I said to you, 'why are you such an angry person', you said I just wouldn't understand, and you couldn't [talk]
42. 25:43 Bruce: [Okay]
43. 25:44 Kris: to me about it. That was your [answer]
44. 25:45 Bruce: [Okay]
45. 25:46 Kris: every time. Just so, just so you're aware, ten years prior you did the exact same thing and I sat down with you and I said 'what's going on' ((pause)) and you said 'you're right, I am irritable and I'm crazy and I don't know what's wrong with me' - <upvoice>you knew</> what was wrong with you (.) Same thing happened all over again five years ago, four years ago (.) I talked to you about it, and I said 'I don't know what's wrong with you, if you're going through male menopause or something, but, this isn't - I can't handle this' and you said 'you're right, I'm sorry' and we were able to get past it (.) You never said one time that it was because of ((pause)) any issues that you have (.) And I just thought maybe you were going through something, and that thing inside of you that, that you can't suppress and that's part of you, came back five years ago. And [!:]
46. 26:43 Bruce:)(Has been pinching his nose between his eyes for the last few moments)) [Okay]
47. 26:44 Kris: turned into the [wicked witch of the West]
48. 26:46 Bruce: [Okay, I] apologize for [that]
49. 26:47 Kris: [becau:se] ((pause)) of the way you were <upnote>behaving</> I couldn't take it anymore (.) I couldn't work eighteen hours a day and then have no love at home ((takes a breath)) and have nobody
50. 26:57 Bruce: I (.) I
51. 26:58 Kris: that cared about me like that, because you were so far gone at that point that you just needed to go do your thing.
52. 27:04 Bruce: That's why ((pause, speaks slowly, articulates each word)) that's the exact same problem I've had since I've been ten years old (.) I've always had these issues, honey, and I've never ((pause)) I've never dealt with them, okay, but as far as our relationship - I wouldn't go as far as you're going
53. 27:25 Kris: <Firm voice>You need to own what the truth is and what you think people knew or didn't [know]
54. 27:33 Bruce: [Okay]
55. 27:33 Kris: and how serious, you know what I mean - I never saw this coming in a gazillion years. Your truth isn't always the truth (.) You have a story to tell, but you tell it to people that can't contradict and and <tearing up>say what the truth [is]</>
56. 27:50 Bruce: [Sometimes] it's much easier to talk to somebody that you're not gonna hurt, than, you know - it's not easy!
57. 28:00 Kris: ((Crying)) No it's not (.) But you [have]
58. 28:01 Bruce: [(xxx)]
59. 28:01 Kris: to tell the truth [(xxx)]

60. 28:03 Bruce: <Agitated> [That's what I'm trying to do for the first time in my life] I'm trying to tell the truth
61. 28:08 Kris: [Okay]
62. 28:08 Bruce: [I've been to] every one of the kids, one at a time, bringing'em out to Malibu, sitting'em down, saying 'this is the truth' (.) You are the toughest one to talk to out of anybody, okay,
63. 28:20 Kris: Well maybe it's because I'm the one you lied to the longest
64. 28:25 Bruce: ((Sighs deeply))
c) [28:28] The camera cuts to another panoramic shot of the bay. Musical overlay. The dialogue from 28:15 is then repeated.
65. 28:46 Bruce: I apologize to you if I wasn't ((pause)) honest enough with myself over the past twenty-something years
66. 28:58 Kris: I appreciate that
67. 28:59 Bruce: Which you knew, I mean you knew the issues, I apologize for not maybe being more open with you on these issues. I apologize for <upvoice>hurting you</>
68. 29:12 Kris: <Quietly>I just miss Bruce</> ((pause)) and that's gonna take a minute for me to mourn that relationship (()) and I'm trying so hard to just process my pain and get through my days and it's a struggle (.) I wake up in the morning, like, and then I realize 'oh my God this is really happening' (.) I have to mourn this person I was married to for all these years, you know, you think you're gonna grow old with somebody and then they drastically change over the course of a few years (.) It's like, I have to mourn Bruce Jenner ((breathes)) it's like I'm confused what happens to Bruce 8.9 'Cos I miss Bruce (.) I'll never be able to really ((sobs)) have Bruce and all I have really is my memories even when I look at pictures with you and the kids ((sobs)) it's I get really sad because I feel like ((pause)) you d-die:d, you know, Bruce died, and it's really hard for me to wrap my head around that
69. 30:20 Bruce: Honestly, I'm not going anywhere (.) Things may *change* but I still wanna be part of your life ((pause)) and I want you, you know, I want you to be part of my life - look at the twenty-five years together you know, wonderful *times*, wonderful memories, all these great things
d) [30:36] The camera cuts to old footage from their marriage, while Bruce keeps talking. Musical overlay. Then the conversation continues.
70. 30:41 Bruce: ((has been talking continuously)) I won't just throw that out ((pause)) you know, I still love you, baby
71. 30:50 Kris: ((Sobs quietly, mascara running down her face))
72. 30:51 Bruce: You know, the bottom line here - and I tried to relay this to all the kids, and it wasn't easy
73. 30:59 Kris: ((Coughs))
74. 30:59 Bruce: But, hopefully, I'll be a better <upvoice>person</>, you know, happier ((pause)) I wanna be happy in life, I wanna have a smile on my face ((breathes)) I want you to be happy (.) I keep thinking, I'm sixty-five, I'm not gonna be around that much longer (.) what if I get cancer and I got three months to live? ((Pause)) I will be so pissed off at my life 'cos I've never dealt with myself. Is there anything I can do now ((pause)) to make it better [for you?]
75. 31:38 Kris [Just] live the happy a life you can live ((takes a breath)) that's all I care about is that you go through all of this for an amazing re - outcome, and that you can find the peace that you've been searching for for so long. And I ((sobs/breathes)) I just I just want you to know that you were a great dad, you were a great friend and you were a great partner and at the end of the day I mean, it's not about me and my feelings, it's about you, and I just want you to be happy:
76. 32:12 Bruce: This makes me happy
77. 32:14 Kris: ((Nods)) I understand ((pause))
78. 32:22 Bruce: ((The sound of a door opening)) Okay, I'm going back to Malibu (.) I love you
79. 32:26 Kris: I love you too
80. 32:29 Kris: ((Bruce gets up and walks towards her)) Drive careful ((sighs))
81. 32:32 Bruce: ((They hug)) Wipe your mascara
82. 32:33 Kris: Yeah
83. 32:34 Bruce: On my black - that's why I wore black
84. 32:37 Kris: ((Laughs shortly))
85. 32:38 Bruce: Yeah
86. 32:42 Bruce: ((Holding up his hand, cheerfully)) Give me five
87. 32:43 Kris: Yeah

88. 32:43 Bruce: Love you
89. 32:44 Kris: (xxx)
90. 32:45 Bruce: <high pitch>Yeah I know. Keep a smile!</> ((points at her))
91. 32:46 Kris: Okay
92. 32:47 Bruce: Okay ((pause)) <light voice>Everything's going to be goo:d</> all right?
93. 32:50 Kris: Okay
94. 32:51 Bruce: <firm voice>I promise you - I'll make sure it is</> ((pause)) love you!
95. 32:55 Kris: ((Sad)) See you later ((When he leaves, the camera zooms in on her as she starts sobbing, head resting in her arms))

Excerpt (6):

1. [33:24] Kim: BRU:CE!
2. Bruce: HE:Y! ((Kim arrives)) There she is!
3. Ki: Hey. This room looks familiar (.) This was my dad's bed
4. B: 'Member that one?
5. Ki: Yeah
6. B: Sit down I wanna show you (.) Have a seat (.) My darling little daughter out defending me: 'Kim Kardashian says, "he's the happiest I've ever seen him!"' I thank you for [defending me]
7. Ki: [Yeah that was, I got, I got] caught off guard (.) Out of the blue it's like 'So, is Bruce transitioning into a woman?'
8. B: ((laughs))
9. Ki: And then I was like well this is the moment that I'm either gonna lie:
10. B: yeah
11. Ki: I can't lie because [it's just I know] it's gonna come out
12. B: [I know I don't want you to]
13. Ki: 'He's the happiest I've ever seen him'
14. B: I am happy
15. Ki: 'A:nd (xxx) if he ever wants to address the rumors that's his story to tell'
16. B: Yeah
17. Ki: Not mine
18. B: Perfect
 - a. Kim: Bruce deserves to be happy and he deserves to be (.) who he wants to be, even though I haven't really seen her, but he talks about her he's happy, and that makes me happy
 - b. Scott: Everyone should maybe meet her in their own time (.) I don't know that it should be like when he got his face lift and everyone, like, a chair turns and he's like, 'I'm here, Abrakadabra!'
 - c. Khloe: My biggest fear about meeting her for the first time is just, I think, my reaction (.) I'm very facially expressive, like, you could read everything on my face, and I don't wanna do anything that would be offensive or hurt her feelings (.) So I think I'm just very aware of that
 - d. Kendall: It might be a little weird, I think, once I'm ready, I mean it's gonna have to happen some day
 - e. Kylie: I do wanna meet her (.) But like when he is ready, when we're both ready
19. Ki: I came over because I told you once that I was going to help you look through your clothes
20. B: Male or female?
21. Ki: Female ((laughs))
22. B: Oh! ((laughs))
23. Ki: And I think I'm ready
24. B: You think you can handle it?
25. Ki: Yeah, we can do a piece at a time
26. B: A piece at a time, I will love your input
27. Ki: We can start by getting rid of anything neon
28. B: Actually, she doesn't have any neon (.) Let me get a (xxx)
29. Ki: Thank God
30. B: Hold on. Fu:n stu:ff!
 - f. Bruce: They're all kind of nervous to meet her (.) It's obviously pretty funny, 'cos I've been doing this a long time (.) She is always more fun, more at ease, a:h, feeling good about herself

(.) It's just all part of me, you know, it's like having Bruce with a little icing on the cake, ok? It only gets better.

31. B: This is actually stuff I got just recently (.)Actually, the other night, I had a business thing here, and I'll show you what I wore (.) I wore this black blazer
32. Ki: (laughs) Yes--
33. B: Very classic
34. Ki: Size 14
35. B: And then, with this
36. Ki: It's nice, I like that
37. B: Actually
38. Ki: Low in the front
39. B: Actually, that one came out very good (.) The:en, my pants, ah-hah m-hem ((hums)) I wore these tight pants
40. Ki: Nice
41. B: They really fit well. With these boots!
42. Ki: Nice
43. B: Did I do good?
44. Ki: Yeah, good, I don't mind this, this is nice
45. B: Yeah, yeah
46. Ki: I'm making a to go-pile (.) This doesn't bug me, this has got to go
47. B: Actually, the one that works well
48. Ki: Hold on, let me just go through and tell you what I like (.) Red can be ok
49. B: These are just a little stuff for jeans, casual [(xxx)]
50. Ki: [I don't] like this color
51. B: Yeah
52. Ki: I think you have to be chicer than this (.) What about a turtle neck? I love turtle necks
53. B: Uhm, can I (.) confess?
54. Ki: What? You copy my outfits?
55. B: No
56. Ki: Oh
57. B: I stole your outfit! ((laughs))
58. Ki: What? You stole my outfit?
59. B: A long long time ago, yeah I gotta find it
60. Ki: Oh my God (.) oh my, I'll literally kill you if I, if it was something that I was missing and I probably accused Kendall and Kylie of--
61. B: Do you remember that ((shows her a plain sweater)) you probably don't,
62. Ki: I don't
63. B: Your clothes go in and out of your closets so fast
64. Ki: this you can have
65. B: Yeah
66. Ki: So let me put it together for an outfit for you
67. B: Oh ok
68. Ki: I think this and this, this is a good outfit together
69. B: That does work
70. Ki: I can't believe you're so sneaky (.) Let me ask you something, were you ever like envious of my mom, like, of her closet
71. B: Wa, well I we-went through everything she had in her closet, of course I was envious
72. Ki: Yeah
73. B: Yeah. How about a hot little outfit
74. Ki: Oh my God!
75. B: What?
76. Ki: I don't like the leopard
77. B: Well this one's kind of blue, so it looks cool and it really fits great, yeah
78. Ki: I'm not so much into that, but if you, if you're into it--

79. B: Yeah, no, I'm not really I uh uhm I got such an open mind. I like classy kind of stuff, that's a little woo you know kinda with the boobs are showing and you know but this and that (.) But it fits really well
80. Ki: Yeah--
81. B: You know, yeah, u:h – hold it! Other things I like! ((pulls out a white dress))
82. Ki: That I like
83. B: That actually it's kinda great
84. Ki: It has a pale blush
85. B: Yeah
86. Ki: So what is gonna happen after Diane Sawyer comes out, like what's the plan?
87. B: Whats the plan – take my pony tail down ((loosens his hair, laughs)) – yeah, I can take my pony tail down, like, I don't have to do that anymore (.) Uhm, what's my plan? I'm just moving forward in my life
88. Ki: Yeah
89. B: Looking forward to that (.) Ah, there's no more secrets, uh, I don't have to hide anything, kind of, I am who I am, and move forward in life with a smile on my face, sense of humor (.) A:nd, I want to experience her, I wannu enjoy her, 'cos she's such a part of my life, you know
90. Ki: Totally – ok
91. B: All right
92. Ki: All right, I need to see what's in this closet
93. B: All right, ok
94. Ki: I just wanna see
95. B: There's stuff, I got (xxx)
96. Ki: Her make-up
97. B: At the next house
98. Ki: This foundation does, did you steal this from me?
99. B: I don't think so
100. Ki: What, you didn't--
101. B: Actually I did steal this one
102. Ki: You did
103. B: No wait a second, those are mine. I got so much make-up I can't take it (.) I gotta organize shoes (.)
A lot of work to do, this could girl thing, this girl thing [is a lot of work]
104. Ki: [Oh my God!] yeah you really gotta [organize those]
105. B: It's very challenging to get 13 wides [I'm gonna]
106. Ki: This turtleneck is my favorite
107. B: Which one?
108. Ki: This is what you should be wearing
109. B: Actually, actually mom, I got that from mom, I stole that from her she it it's too long for her
110. Ki: This is so horrendous
111. B: I bought it online!
112. Ki: Can you get rid of that please?
113. B: Oh God! I can't get rid of it.
114. Ki: Why?
115. B: 'Cos it's like good for the morning
116. Ki: Good for the morning.
117. B: Yeah
118. Ki: Bruce you should look [good at all times]
119. B: [Yeah] Anyway I appreciate all your help (.) I could never have a better stylist than you, that's for damn sure, girl
120. Ki: ((laughs)) Well if you're if you're keeping some of these pieces then I don't wanna be known as your stylist
121. B: Oh ok
122. Ki: I have to wait until
123. B: Ok see how the look goes?
124. Ki: You really listen to me, yeah, I feel like [I have to like, see her]

125.B: [When d I get in] the new house

126.Ki: Her fully dressed before I can claim [(xxx)]

127.B: [Claim that you actually did it]

128.Ki: Yeah

129.B: ok ok that is a deal

130.Ki: All right, I'm gonna go

131.B: Ok ((they hug))

132.Ki: Love you

133.B: Thanks for coming over

134.Ki: You're so welcome

135.B: Love you ((higher pitch)) Love you! That was so much fun!

136.Ki: That was so much fun!

137.B: I never thought I would do that with you

g. Bruce: The only thing I want outta this is just – to help people (.) Not just the transgender community, it's really bigger than that, there's so much more (.) A:h, there's so many things about tolerance towards people, about understanding of people (.) We need more tolerance in the world toward our fellow man, we're all human beings put on this earth, you know (.) We need to learn to live together

h. Kendall: I hope for this to turn into something amazing ((old footage)) He's gone 65 years hiding something, why not be just like, be who you wanna be, and if that's her, then that's her ((footage from earlier in the episode))

i. Kylie: I'm excited for him, I'm just like feel so horrible if like he always (.) had this ((old footage)) inside and like never like got to fully be himself

j. Khloe: It breaks my heart that he's been miserable all his life (.) All these kids, great father, great family, but was never happy (.) After 65 years of his life ((footage of the undoing of the pony tail)) he has never been happy (.) I wouldn't want anyone to live life that way, that breaks my heart, that makes me sad ((footage from earlier in the episode))

k. Kourtney: As a family we all I know are the same way and we just want each other to be happy ((footage from earlier, Kim: We all have the best hair and make-up team, you cannot steal our hair and make-up team, you cannot steal our nail lady))

l. Kim: Now that Bruce can finally be who he is meant to be and who he wants to be, and that this secret has been lifted and that this weight has been lifted, he can live his life and hopefully live a happy life

m. Scott: I respect Bruce for doing what he needs to do to make himself grounded and happy

n. Kim: No matter what happens, our love for Bruce is never gonna change no matter who he becomes ((footage from earlier in the episode))

o. Kris: I think that the one thing that I ultimately care about is that we're just here for each other ((old footage)) Family is everything (.) I would do anything for my kids, I would do anything for Bruce, and I would do anything for anybody that I loved (.) At the end of the day, that's what family's all about

p. Bruce: I'm looking forward to the future, and I hope I can bring a lot of my family and my friends along for the journey, 'cos it's going to be (.) quite a ride!

Meeting Cait

I am Cait season 1, episode 1 (2015)

Excerpt (1): Caitlyn is alone in her bedroom.

1. 00:07 CJ: Ehh: Ok, it's like 4:32 in the morning – ehh: and I can't sleep ((pause)) God I look in the monitor I look like crap. I (xxx)
2. CJ: I, I feel ba:d that these, especially young people, are going through such a difficult time in their life (.) We got people dying over this, let alone people murdered over this stuff (.) What a responsibility I have towards this community (.) Am I going to do everything right, am I gonna say the right things, Th– my mind is just spinning with thoughts (.) I just hope I get it right (.) I hope I get it right. Yeah:

Excerpt (2): Caitlyn getting ready with her hair and make-up team:

1. [01:04] CJ: Vanity Fair is out!
2. ((Cheers, woohoo, yaay, chatter))
3. CJ: Look at that cover, baby!
4. TV: And we begin with the world's introduction to Caitlyn Jenner
5. Friends: Yaaay, woo
6. TV: Bruce Jenner confirmed her transition to a woman on the cover of Vanity Fair. Jenner first talked about her transition in an interview with Diane Sawyer, saying we could meet her soon.
 - a. CJ: I don't think I have ever been more excited about life than I am right now, living my true identity, u:m, and hopefully going to make a difference in the world (.) That's my mission
7. TV: Khloe Kardashian tweeted this morning: 'We were given this life because we were strong enough to live it (.) I couldn't be prouder (.) Caitlyn, you are beautiful'
8. Rob: ((on the phone)) Your cover looks amazing
9. CJ: Isn't that rockin'?
10. R: I just wanted to say it lo – looks amazing and it--
11. CJ: It's so good to hear from you
12. CJ: Kim?
13. Kim: ((on the phone)) (xxx) twitter?
14. CJ: I've been on twitter for an hour
15. Ki: Wow, the head of twitter just said: 'We think Caitlyn will break president Obama's (xxx) follower record within the first five hours
16. CJ: Let's go! Ok! (shouts) LET'S GO FOR THE RECORD! I LOVE RECORDS! ((friends laugh)) At this point what's the total amount?
17. Ki: 720 (xxx)
18. CJ: Whoa:! ((Laughs, cheers))
19. Friend1: In two hours!
20. CJ: In two hours! We're going for the record!
21. Kris: ((on the phone)) Just wanted you to know, I'm on the bandwagon
22. CJ: Ye:eah! Thank you for all the support.
23. Kr: Of course! Of course.
24. CJ: All right
25. Kr: All eyes on you now
26. CJ: What
27. Kr: You cannot disappoint
28. CJ: I know, nah it's gotta be good
 - b. CJ: The tremendous amount of support that I've gotten has been overwhelming (.) But you also have to realize that h- it's not this way for everybody (.) There are so many people that have struggled with family (.) Who struggle with friends (.) Who struggle with ridicule (.) Or not having financial resources (.) The suicide rate – five times higher ((images of transsexuals who have committed suicide)) in the trans community than the general public (.) Murder rate's higher (.) This is a really important issue, people are dying over this issue (.) I feel a

tremendous responsibility here (.) Because I have a voice – there are so many trans people out there who do not have a voice (.) I can't speak for them because everybody has their own experience, but I am an expert on my story ((footage of CJ and friends toasting 'cheers to Caitlyn!' and CJ responding 'Two weeks, yeah!')) There's so much to look (xxx), so many people to meet ((More shots from future episodes)) I've lived a great life and I realize in this transition that I have that privileged status (.) But I hope that I'm in a position to turn around and help this community (.) I wanna spotlight those issues (xxx) that are out there doing some really good things (.) But also, I have to figure out my own journey (.) There's a lot of firsts out there for me, my entire family have not met Caitlyn (.) I wanna be able to make friends in this trans community, and, I have to figure out how I'm going to live the rest of my life (.) ((Future shot, CJ saying 'I want them to be proud of their daddy' then images of Bruce the Olympic athlete: 'Bruce Jenner has the world record [...]' then CJ in a pink dress. Ends with quote 'The world changes in direct proportion to the number of people willing to be honest about their lives. – Armistead Maypin / Writer'))

29. CJ: My mother's coming today. Aa:hm – I don't know what it is, I was able to tell everybody in my family first, before I ever got to my mo.
 - c. CJ: It's so important, during this transition, that you surround yourself with positive people
30. CJ: How you doing in there, Ronda?
31. Ronda: ((screen text says friend/personal assistant)) I'm good (.) I got three outfits for you that you can pick from
32. CJ: Years ago I confided in Ronda, and she really has been a friend that has supported me (.) Combined with Courtney ((text says Caitlyn's hair stylist)) I got a great support group. I-i-ts from that standpoint I'm blessed
33. Ronda: They just landed so do you want me to just see in the closet for things that you can wear?
34. CJ: Aa:h I don't know (.) I don't think I can be too: you know le femme mode it's [gotta be fa--]
35. Ronda: [like no] dressy dress
36. CJ: No I I already told them (.) you're coming down to meet Caitlyn
37. Ronda: I've never seen you actually nervous
38. CJ: Well, it's my mother ((bites her lip)) Go:d!

Excerpt (3): In a car on the road:

1. [06:48] Pam: ((Caitlyn's sister)) Mom hasn't had her children together since her birthday party four years ago
2. Esther: ((Caitlyn's mother)) That's right
3. Pam: So this is this is very special
4. Esther: And I thi--
5. Pam: In many ways ((smiles, laughs))

3.2 Caitlyn in her closet:

6. [07:02] CJ: Sleeves up or down?
7. Ronda: Slightly up
8. CJ: (xxx) what about a necklace?
9. (Someone): Yeah, I mean
10. (Someone): We were looking
11. Ronda: Should you button it one more up (.) [it's mo:m]
12. (Someone): [Yeah it's mom]
13. Lisa: ((Caitlyn's sister)) When everything first broke it was difficult because I had known my brother as, you know, Bruce, this amazing athlete, for, you know, all of my life and I guess the whole family has to change along with her

3.3 In the car:

14. [07:31] Esther. When you're in a grocery store and you see these tabloid magazines and all the things that they come out with, you know
15. Producer: So what was your reaction when you found out?
16. Esther: I think I was silent

17. Pam: He confided in me over 30 years ago
18. Esther: But maybe you thought he was: getting over it
19. Pam: Because the subject never came up again. I thought that it was something that maybe counselling would help him with (.). Then about two years ago he started talking to me about wanting to live an authentic life

3.4 Caitlyn in her kitchen, writing a card:

20. [08:11] CJ: Now here's the question – I'm signing ((friends go ahhh:)) the birthday card for mother
21. Courtney and Ronda: (xxx) ((laughs))
22. CJ: How do I sign the card
23. Courtney and Ronda: (xxx) Your Cait. This is the life you're living

3.5 In the car:

24. [08:30] Pam: He felt like he needed to follow through on his desires and to go:, actually public, um, and discuss the issue (.). I initially discouraged him. I (.). I didn't understand how that could work
25. Esther: ((Sighs))
 - a. CJ: It's kinda tough to tell your mother all these secrets (.). You always have doubts in your mind of how that first impression is going to work out (.). You want it to be so good (.). She's never met Caitlyn, and I'm just hoping for the best

Excerpt (4): In Caitlyn's living room. The car has pulled up outside and the passengers are arriving.

1. [09:19] CJ: Oh God, here we go
2. (Someone): So come on i:n. Welcome
3. Esther: There you are! ((smiles))
4. CJ: Ee:verybody! It's O:k: ((everyone enters, laughs a little)) hello mo:m! ((They hug))
5. Esther: I knew it wouldn't be
6. CJ: It's ok, it's ok. Sister Lisa, hold on
7. Lisa: Hello: ((They hug))
8. CJ: I know I'm taller than you ((laughs, chatter)) but it's just a – Pa:m, he:y! ((Hugs her)) He:y!
9. Pam: ((laughs)) You're gorgeous!
10. CJ: Well thank you ((everyone chime in and laugh))
 - a. Pam: I was quite apprehensive, I knew she would be different looking (.). Ah, and I was hoping that she would have the same personality a:h as Bruce (.). And she does and she's so relaxed and so happy (.). That makes me very happy
11. Pam: I thought you were gonna look more like me! ((laughs))
12. CJ: Well sister (.). After, what's it been, 35 years we've talked about this?
13. Pam: Yeah about that long
14. CJ: I know
15. Pam: About that long
16. CJ: Back then – that long
17. Pam: I know
18. Esther: And you never talked to me!
19. CJ: I know, I know, well we could sit down and talk about that
20. Esther: I never knew, I never guessed you were having a problem
21. CJ: I know
22. Esther: You hid it very well
23. CJ: I did! I'm so professional at hiding it ((others laugh))
24. Esther: You were
25. (Someone): (xxx) so
 - b. Esther: It is overwhelming. I guess I must have been preparing myself (.). Ah, I knew he was going to be (.). dressed as a woman (.). Ah, but he is a very good-looking woman ((laughs)) Ah, he's still Bruce
26. Esther: Oh I don't wanna do that ((walks away))
27. Ronda: ((Hugs her)) oh it's (xxx)
28. ((chatter, the sisters are in the living room while the mother is in the kitchen with Ronda))
29. Esther: And it's it's it's a lot of getting used to

30. Ronda: M-hm of course and (xxx)
31. Esther: I will (.) Yes I will!

Excerpt (5): Later, they are eating at the table:

1. [11:53] Pam: I was asking Bruce, how did he come up with the name
2. CJ: I kinda narrowed it down to a few of m- Caitlyn being one of them and I w- actually it was with Ronda (.) When I was talking to her about this whole thing about two years ago (.) This goes, you know I al- I always liked the name Caitlyn, and at some point you just have to kinda bite the bullet and way ok, boom! It's done (.) But you know, talking to other trans people, they say that a good way to get your female name is to ask your mother (.) I am sure, when you didn't know it it's a boy or a girl, you had a boy's name and you had a girl's name (.) I don't know if you remember?
3. Pam: Do you remember?
4. Esther: I don't remember (.) And I'm sure I did have two different names, though.
5. Pam: Did you have a boy's name picked out for me?
6. ((Phone rings))
7. CJ: ((Picks up the phone)) Hi baby
8. Kylie: ((on the phone)) Hey daddy
9. CJ: Am I on facetime with you?
 - a. CJ: Kylie has not med Caitlyn yet and she facetimes me and there I am! I didn't know it was coming on.
10. CJ: Am, I don't wanna scare you, you just woke up (.) Where are you?
11. Kylie: The dentist
12. CJ: Oh, you just woke up at the dentist! Are you feeling ok?
13. Kylie: Kind of loopy
14. ((everyone laughs))
15. CJ: A little loopy?
 - b. CJ: I've never had my first experience with somebody on facetime, to be honest I didn't know what to do, like turn it away, or, you know, I I I was kinda shocked then I thought 'Oh well'
16. CJ: Ta-daa ((everyone laughs)) I don't wanna scare you
17. Kylie: You're not scaring me, you look pretty
18. CJ: I love you
19. Kylie: Ok, bye daddy

Excerpt (6):

1. [13:44] CJ: There's an expert in town named Susan Landon (.) She's coming up, a:h to answer any questions that you might have (.) She's great.
2. Esther: I need to learn more
3. CJ: Yeah ok we'll have a great conversation
4. Esther: Good
5. CJ: ((opens the front door)) Sissy darling how are you
6. Susan: Hi darling how are you
7. CJ: I am great so far
8. Susan: Good
9. CJ: Good to see you (.) Thanks for coming out
10. Susan: Thank you for asking me
11. CJ: I know
12. CJ: Susan Landon works with families ((screen says MA, LMFT, Los Angeles Gender Center)) ah, mom have said on numerous occasions, 'I need to know more!'
13. Susan: Well you can ask me whatever you want
14. CJ: Let's (xxx) go in here an sit down and rela:x so we can
15. Susan: There's nothing more important that acceptance, support (.) This takes time in some families (.) The other thing to remember is that it's a process over time
16. Esther: I hate to brag but I have some beautiful children (laughs). Where's Pam? There she is!
17. CJ: Some getting prettier! ((everyone laughs))

18. Esther: I know!
19. CJ: I know, I know, some getting little prettier
20. Esther: Aw:
21. CJ: Right, to stay on point, since we have Susan here, the big question is, have you ever seen anybody, like, get over it and get cured of this?
22. Susan: Me, personally, no I have not
23. CJ: Yeah, I know, it's kinda the way you're born
24. Esther: You know how little boys outgrow their clothes
25. Susan: Yeah
26. Esther: I took you ((points at CJ)) to a store, and you did not want those clothes on you
27. CJ: Ah-hah!
28. Esther: You were trying to pull'em off of you and I was trying to get them on you, and you didn't want'em (.) And I am 'He just doesn't want new clothes' (.) Would that have been in his person then that he would rather have had a dress?
29. Susan: Well absolutel (.) Let's say for a minute that that's what he would have preferred to wear, sorry, she
30. CJ: Quite alright
31. Susan: I meant he then
32. CJ: Yeah
33. Susan: She would have preferred to wear (.) 'Cos that pronouns are really important everyone (.) So if that at that point is what she had wanted to ha:ve, she probably wasn't able to pick it, ok, and then when children get older they notice reactions of other people
34. Esther: [Th th]
35. Susan: [They] start taking in other information like, 'This probably isn't gonna be ok, so I better fit in' (.) And, if anybody tried to fit in more than you, I don't know who it was
36. CJ: (xxx) ((everybody laughs))
37. Esther: But a child has no idea why their reaction is that way, for instance, the clothes
38. Susan: But at the time they're about five they start figuring it out
39. Esther: Yeah I'm sure you've read the passage in the Bible that if you dress, if you're a man and you dress like a woman, you know
40. Susan: Yeah
41. Esther: Do you have any, ah, interpretation of that?
42. Susan: A:m:, I'm not a biblical scholar so I don't know exactly what that verse represented to people at that time, obviously, but for me:, personally, Caitlyn is a woman and really always has been

Excerpt (7): At the tennis court:

1. [17:01] Pam: Be gentle, please
2. CJ: What?
3. Pam: I said, be gentle
4. CJ: Oh my God I'm gonna be gentle you know I've always been gentle with you
5. Pam: ((laughs))
6. CJ: This one's a little (.) higher strength ((clinks her racket against Pam's)) you don't want it, here ((takes the racket))
7. Pam: ((laughs))
8. CJ: Let's do it
9. Pam: Ok
10. CJ: What do you do with the balls? Guys we got po:ckets!
11. Pam: ((laughs))
12. CJ: Ready?
13. CJ: Oh bad start
14. Pam: One point
15. CJ: Take it easy on me, sis! Here it comes
16. Pam: ((makes noise))
17. CJ: Ha, come on
 - a. CJ: It's great – to be able to base a relationship with your family on honesty. I mean, I am so: happy a:h, the way this whole process has begun

18. Pam: I know we talked about you and your straight guy friends you haven't really met yet
19. CJ: Honestly, I've come out to all the girls in my life
20. Pam: And everybody thinks--
21. CJ: I think it's just (.) harder, for my guy friends, I don't know what do you think?
22. Pam: I think they're gonna be much more supportive than you think (.) They're gonna meet Caitlyn and they're gonna say – 'same personality!'
23. CJ: But I don't know if they get it, I don't know if guys get that
24. Pam: Hold up I'm getting warm
25. CJ: Girls, you see, tend to be easier
26. Pam: ((laughs))
27. CJ: You know?
28. Pam: Yes
29. CJ: Yeah
30. Pam: We are
31. CJ: Oh, 'we are', don't start bragging on me ((Pam laughs)) let's play I'll show ya
32. Pam: See how I hit'em right to you to be nice – wops
33. CJ: I GOT IT
34. Pam: It's like well uh oh ((screams, laughs)) I love it
35. CJ: Now I know why girls need a sports brah
36. Pam: ((laughs))
37. CJ: When you start running gets a little tougher don't it
38. Pam: Yeah – In – ah
39. CJ: My hair got in my eyes again ((Pam laughs))
40. CJ: Bruce was a lot better tennis-player than Cait, honestly
41. Pam: Yeah ((laughs))
42. CJ: ((laughs)) ok
43. Pam: It was fun
44. CJ: That was fun. It was fun

Excerpt (8): Back in the house. Pictures of Bruce and the kids. Chatter in the background.

1. [19:06] Kylie: Hello:o!
2. Pam: Oh my goodness ((they hug)) I haven't seen you for so long
3. Kylie: Hey gu:ys!
4. Lisa: How are you?
5. Kylie: Go:od
6. Lisa: You look so pretty!
7. Kylie: Oh thank you – a:a:a:h
8. Maddie: ((screen says Ronda's daughter, they hug)) I've missed you
9. Kylie: Missed you too. Where's my dad?
10. (Someone): He's in there
 - a. Kylie: I do wanna meet her [I'll be] a little uncomfortable in the beginning but I thi:nk we're both ready
11. Esther: You look/would--
12. CJ: Yeah I know I know. He:y baby! ((Hugs Kylie)) I didn't know you were here you're so sneaky
13. Kylie: He:y grandma ((hugs Esther, they chatter, laugh))
14. CJ: Little Kylie made it, mom's in the chair
15. Kylie: Are you getting pretty?
16. Esther: I'm having fun
17. Kylie: Oh ya:y
18. Esther: I have a little present for you
19. Kylie: I'm excited
20. CJ: Oh yeah, yeah! Ok, you wanna do it?
21. Esther: Ok
22. CJ: Ok, come on, mhm
23. Esther: I got, I got, I thought you should have this ((a framed picture of Esther as a young woman)) It's me when I was seventeen

24. Kylie: Oh my Go:d!
25. CJ: When she were your age!
26. Esther: (xxx)
27. Kylie: A look-alike!
28. Esther: We look alike, don't we?
29. Kylie: I definitely take to the Jenner side
30. CJ: (xxx) she was seventeen years old in this picture
31. Esther: Married, too
32. CJ: And she was married
33. Esther: And--
34. Kylie: Kinda like me!
35. CJ: Bah I better not hear that from you, yes you, yes yes
 - b. CJ: My biggest concern obviously, from the beginning, besides all the rest of the kids, is Kendall and Kylie
36. CJ: Isn't that cool? ((Kylie hugs Esther))
37. Kylie: I love it (.) So pretty
 - c. CJ: Once it was out there, they saw the support that I was getting, especially in the celebrity world, from the Lady Gagas of the world to Miley Cyrus to Elton John (.) Their support I really think it made my kids feel, especially Kylie, that it's gonna be ok
38. Spence: ((screen says Ronda's daughter)) How's Kendall?
39. Kylie: She's good
40. CJ: [I don't know I think she's got a lot] going on right now
41. Kylie: [She's so good]
42. Spence: [(xxx)]
43. Kylie: ((to Spence)) [Let me] see you hair.
44. CJ: Mhm
45. Kylie: You should get extensions
46. CJ: Oh we would never use extensions would we?
47. Kylie: Na:h
48. CJ: I mean not in a million years, would we?
49. Kylie: Where are the ones I gave you?
50. CJ: Ah in the other room
51. Kylie: I wanna put them in
52. CJ: Ok
 - d. CJ: I got no problem with Kylie (.) After the first five minutes it's like, all right, it's Caitlyn, big deal
53. Kylie: I was like looking at google pictures of you when I was trying to pick the hair color and you dyled it on me ((laughter in the background))
54. (Someone): Naturalized
55. (All): Don't look! ((laughter))
56. CJ: Sorry! I almost I peaked! I'm sorry
57. ((chatter, laughter))
58. CJ: This is a lot more fun than sitting around talking about sports
59. Kylie: M-hm
60. CJ: Yeah that's right ((laughter))
61. (Someone): Or watching golf!
62. CJ: Yeah or watching golf ((Kylie gives a high five)) Yeah thank you, thank you
63. Kylie: Or playing golf
64. CJ: Hey! I don't know if I go quite that far ((laughter))
65. (Someone): Really?
66. (Someone): Look at yourself
67. CJ: Ok wait wait wait. Kylie!
68. (Someone): I know, right?
69. (Someone): Look how wild you (xxx)
70. CJ: I know
71. Kylie: Back ((takes a picture with her phone)) hm-hm ((laughter, chatter))

72. CJ: This will be Caitlyn's first post! They would never know who it is
73. (Someone): They'll be like, aww
74. Kylie: What do you wanna say?
75. CJ: A good friend modeling my new extensions or something like that
76. Kylie: I don't wanna say 'a good friend'
77. CJ: Ok, a:h
78. (Someone): My dad?
79. CJ: My dad (laughter)
 - e. CJ: Having that opportunity to just be honest with your family is like somebody taking a thousand pounds off my shoulders (.) Besides, most people, once they meet Caitlyn, they go 'Oh my God! She's more fun than Bruce ever was!'
80. Kylie: I love you ((hugs Caitlyn))
81. CJ: Ok, I love you too, and, I really thought it'd be good
82. Kylie: See you tomorrow
83. CJ: Thank you for coming out and be understanding
84. Kylie: OF course!
85. CJ: Bye buddy!
86. ((Chatter, people shouting bye))

Excerpt (9): Caitlyn and Pam in the bedroom/closet:

1. [22:45] CJ: All these pants I'll never use again
2. Pam: Yeah where to put the other hangers? Underneath?
3. CJ: I don't know. Here's the question: Hate to say it, but, what the *hell* was Bruce thinking ((holds up a shirt))
4. Pam: ((laughs))
5. CJ: Dear God
6. Pam: He was probably just a present
7. CJ: That is one ugly shirt
8. Pam ((laughs))
9. CJ: Considering I had all these clothes down here for six months, I really don't need anything that's here, right
10. Pam: Right
11. CJ: Yeah, anyway, how's mo:m doing?
12. Pam: She hasn't said a word to me privately
13. CJ: Really?
14. Pam: Yeah I thinks she's, she's
15. CJ: I just, you know, sit here and
16. Pam: Wonder
17. CJ: Yeah I wonder (.) Everybody is very positive and everybody feels real good about all this stuff, but, you know, I'm kinda waitin'
18. Pam: And you're waiting for?
19. CJ: Well I I'm waiting for, you know, mom to go at a quiet time, 'oh my God, what's happening': Even Kylie coming over today, you know, you never know when they get away from here and they go home they go 'oh my God, that was so strange' I mean she has not (.) met (.) Caitlyn
20. Pam: Kylie hadn't?
21. CJ: No (.) No (.) She would never come over
22. Pam: I didn't [know that]
23. CJ: [I would invite her over] and this and that, she would never come (.) Khloe hasn't been here, Kourtney hasn't been here, never met Caitlyn, um, Rob--
24. Pam: No
25. CJ: You know, maybe them not being around i:s, you know, their way of saying, 'I don't know if I really agree with this or wha:t or you know they (xxx) say it to me [openly]
26. Pam: [Say it, just say what they gotta say to you]

27. CJ: It's great it's great won't you live your life (.) And then they never show up (.) So you know something else is going on in their head (.) You know for most people it it was something like this (.) There's a lot of families that just are--
28. Pam: Torn apart
29. CJ: Sh torn apart by it
30. Pam: Yeah
31. CJ: You know (.) Um, I don't wanna tear my family apart

Excerpt (10): In the living-room with Caitlyn and her mother:

1. [24:48] CJ: You know now that Pam and Lisa have gone we can actually talk
2. Esther: I know
3. CJ: You know, that's kinda nice
4. Esther: I really didn't wanna go to the beach
5. CJ: This beach down here it's a I tough walk to get down to the beach 'cos you have to get down that, yeah
6. Esther: As you are right now as I look at you
7. CJ: Right
8. Esther: You look so much like someone in my family and I was trying to figure it out
9. CJ: Um: I think I look like myself, mom, because the most important thing in life is that you're true to yourself, you know, so I live better now than I've ever done before in my life
10. Esther: It's going to be so difficult for me to co- to co- think of you as she, and to say Caitlyn when I wanna speak with you or: call your attention, you know, 'Hey Caitlyn' instead of 'Hey Bruce' ((CJ nods)) I don't think it's not easy. It's not easy ((sobs))
11. CJ: No it's not easy ((Esther sighs)) In what aspect is it not easy? Loosing a son?
12. Esther: The problem before with you and I (.) I'm guessing this (.) you felt uncomfortable with me (.) we'd see each other (.) it was like you wanted to get away
13. CJ: At that point in my life I was very much an isolationist (.) I would isolate myself from the world (.) many many many many occasions 'cos I never felt like I fit in anywhere (.) I didn't fit in with the male side I didn't fit in with the female side you're kind of stuck in the middle ((Esther nods)) I feel like Caitlyn fits in a lot better into society ah than Bruce ever did 'cos Bruce ah had to lie about all that stuff and Caitlyn's kinda got a place
14. Esther: But Bruce will always be in there (.) your values are always gonna be the same
15. CJ: Oh the same (.) I'm still the same person
16. Esther: Changing (.) that's your soul
17. CJ: Yeah that's your soul (.) it's you're right
18. Esther: You you have the same soul you were born with
19. CJ: Yeah
 - a. Esther: I love Bruce (.) It'll never change, it'll never change (.) It's going to take some getting used to, and I want it I want to do what he wants
20. CJ: And the response has been very good so that even makes it better, you know, if the response was 'oh my God what a weirdo', a:h, it would be a lot more difficult (.) But people have really been behind my honesty, and, I really appreciate that (.) I'm really optimistic about the future, and I'm dragging you along with me
21. Esther: ((laughs)) ok
22. CJ: Ok good, good
23. Esther: Ok ((laughs))
 - b. CJ: Here's my attitude: When you go through what I'm going through, it affects a lot of people (.) My entire family has to go through this s-called ((makes quotation marks)) transition, and all those things will be worked out in time
24. CJ: All right. ((They get up)) Maybe I should get this wild color hair out.
 - c. CJ: Right now, what I wanna do is just be able to create understanding, so the next person doesn't have to be like me (.) We have to be able to reach out, one at a time, and figure this problem out.

Excerpt (11):

25. [28:53] TV: Kyler Prescott, a (xxx) transgender teen, has taken his own life

26. CJ: Another suicide
27. TV: (xxx) suicide of a transgender youth this year (.) His mother spoke out in an emotional interview
28. TV, mother: I think the world was a hard place for such a gentle soul, he didn't understand cruelty, he didn't understand people who didn't understand him ((mother is on screen)) ah it's tough (.) He would fill the house with his [...] music and the house has just been silent, um, since he left, [...] so much
29. Lisa: Well--
30. CJ: That's the problem, that's, that's the problem that we have here i:s, it happens all the time (.) Suicide is a permanent solution for a very temporary problem, and most of the ones that are at risk are these young kids
31. (Someone): Yeah
32. CJ: Ok [they've got their whole life ahead]
33. Esther: [They're still children]
34. CJ: That just doesn't need to happen, it kinda hit home
- a. CJ: I know how these kids can feel (.) I've had some very dark moment in my life (.) I have (.) been in my house (.) with a gun, and, said, 'let's just end it right here (.) No more pain, no more suffering' (.) That struggle. It's real! And I've been there!
35. Kim: Hello:
36. CJ: He:ey! Hey look who's here!
37. Kim: You look beautiful!
38. CJ: Well thank you baby ((they hug))
39. CJ: It's good to see you (hugs Kanye, Kim's husband ((screen says 'Kanye West')) good to see you, thanks, come in
40. Pam: Hi sweetie
41. Kim: Hi! Long time [no see]
42. CJ: [Sister sister] Pa:m!
43. Pam: We know each other!
44. CJ: My older sister
45. Pam: We haven't met. Nice to meet you ((hugs Kanye))
- b. CJ: Kanye and I have never been very close, but am I love his open mindedness, a:nd, I love how he's helped Kim come to grips with what's going on
46. Kim: You look beautifu:!! You know the one thing I'm really shocked about is how skinny you are. You really look like Kendall
47. CJ: (xxx)
48. Kim: Like Kendall's mo:m ((others laugh))
49. Kanye: Yeah I think this is one of the strongest things that have happened in our you know existence as human beings, we're so controlled by perception (.) 'Cos you couldn't been up against more you know your daughter the super model, celebrity, every type of thing and it was still, like, everybody, this is who I am
50. CJ: This is all good! [All good]
51. Kim: This is [just the beginning] just the beginning
52. CJ: I ah
53. (Someone): You're gonna take your coat off and show us what you're wearing?
54. Kim: Well nothing hardly fits anymore, so, it's like a half zipped up skirt (xxx)
55. Esther: I heard there's a you're expecting!
56. Pam: That's right
57. Kim: Yes, yes
58. Pam: Congratulations
59. Kim: Thank you s we've wanted this for a long time
60. Pam: That's wonderful (.) So tell me about the untied shoelaces
61. Kanye: No they these are sock shoes so they like fit around the
62. Pam: Oh how wide they are ((they inspect his shoe))
63. Kanye: Yeah but the laces are sort of after the fact
64. Pam: Yeah, not necessary to keep'em on your feet
65. Pam: Yeah ok. I always wanted to be cool ((everyone laughs))
66. Kim: All right can I see these new things in your closet?
67. CJ: Ok

68. CJ: ((the two walk into the closet)) They gave me a ton of stuff
69. Kim: Yeah
70. CJ: Diane von Fuhrstenberg sent me this [(xxx)]
71. Kim: [Ooo:h] I love that
72. CJ: This
73. Kim: That's so nice I love the plain black
74. CJ: Yeah. This is all kind of a little bit more casual stuff here, this is all (xxx)
75. Kim: These color tones are so: much better than what you had before, like, I was secretly dying
76. CJ: Yeah you secretly died
77. Kim: (xxx) this closet
78. CJ: This is all just kinda very casual, good stuff
79. Kim: This got to go
80. CJ: Yeah w I agree
81. Kim: Like this-
82. CJ: That's the one they caught me in! I said let's go (xxx)
83. Kim: (xxx) black and white. Now this has got to go (.) I said that last time I saw it.
84. CJ: I love this Tom Ford dress
85. Kim: Mom has that
86. CJ: What't that?
87. Kim: Mom has that ((laughs)) so it'll be like a who wore [it better]
88. CJ: [(xxx)] who wore it best!
89. Kim: She has it in chocolate brown
90. CJ: Oh my God I'll do that isn't that wouldn't that be the funniest thing ever!
91. Kim: Yes, no you should just come over, like at a time where I know she's there
92. CJ: Right
93. Kim: And I'll just pick out an outfit for her to wear, and I'll say 'oh my God I shall take you to dinner and you will wear this'
94. CJ: Yes [with the same outfit]
95. Kim: [And you should stop by:]
96. CJ: That is
97. Kim: ((laughs))
98. CJ: That is funny! I better wear it before she does!
99. Kim: Very cool
100. CJ: Yeah
101. (Someone): Oh there they are
102. CJ: You're leaving! And so are you guys ((chatter))
103. Kim: Great seeing you
104. Esther: Great to meet again (hugs)
105. Kim: Of course ((chatter)) Bye everyone!
106. CJ: Bye babe!
107. (Someone): Brilliant
108. CJ: All right good bye mom! Bye and have a good trip
109. Esther: I love you
110. CJ: Love you too
111. Esther: I always did and I always will
112. CJ: Aa:h come on now! It's 'cos I got this adorable personality, it's what it is, it's the adorable personality
113. Esther: I like it better
114. CJ: Oh good good ok good
c. Esther: I was so proud of Bruce when he stood on that podium ((old footage from the Olympics()) receiving that gold medal in Montreal (.) I had tears and the American flag was going up from in the middle, and I thought I could never be more proud of him (.) And you know, I was wrong (.) Because I am more proud of him for the courage that he has shown (.) I loved him with all my heart and I certainly love her with all my heart

Excerpt (12): New scene. Caitlyn is alone in her kitchen, getting ready to leave.

a. [34:52] CJ: For me, the most important thing is to learn about other people. So far, down in San Diego, there has been three suicides of trans teens (.) It's devastating. Kyler Prescott (.) Fourteen years old, had his whole life ahead of him (.) Fourteen years old. I reached out to Katheryn, his mother, and I wanna spend a little bit of time with her, find out what we can do to make a difference here ((They enter the car)) So, leaving for San Diego!

1. CJ: I'd say we go up the hill (.) They'll never see us
2. Voice: Nah, they're waitin' up there too.
3. CJ: The key to this trip is a clean break from the paparazzi
4. Voice: You know actually
5. CJ: We got one guy following us
6. Voice: Yeah they (xxx) all through the hill, so
7. CJ: Yeah
8. CJ: We just, ah, changed cars and now I'm in this luxury van
9. Voice: Silver Lexus to be (xxx)
10. CJ: There (xxx)
 - b. CJ: I heard the price tag just for a picture of me was 250 000 dollars (.) They are extraordinarily aggressive (.) I don't wanna bring that kind of tabloid attention to Kyler's family
11. CJ: °Damn°
12. ((they get out of the car))
13. CJ: Now we are going to get a third car
14. ((cars drive on the highway))
15. CJ: Seems like we've lost the paparazzi
 - c. CJ: Every journey is different, and, to learn those stories it just kind of educates me (.) I can't even imagine what Kyler's family is going through (.) Ah, I don't know what I can do at this point, but, just be a friend.
16. ((They pull up at the house and CJ enters))
17. CJ: Hello, how are you
18. Prescott mother: Hi I'm Katheryn ((screen says 'Prescott family'))
19. CJ: Thank you for inviting me down
20. Katheryn: Thank you
21. CJ: (xxx) do we ((they hug))
22. CJ: Ah how are you doing? Hello
23. Katheryn: This is Chloe
24. CJ: ((shakes hands with the daughter)) Nice to meet you
25. CJ: ((shakes hands with the father)) Hi
26. Father: Carl
27. CJ: Nice to meet you, Carl
28. Carl: Nice to meet you
29. CJ: Thanks for inviting me down
30. CJ: ((Looks at picture of Kyler)) What a cute kid!
31. Katheryn: I know, he is ah
32. CJ: Love the hair
33. Katheryn: Yeah, he was a beautiful kid with a beautiful soul (.) Kyler was truly an, an amazing kid (.) I was proud of him for working so hard to be his authentic self
34. CJ: From a parent's perspective, when, you know this probably came at you kinda left-field
35. Katheryn: Absolutely, um, I knew nothing about it when we started and it just luckily I had an open mind and an open heart from the beginning (.) From the very first day I said, 'sweetheart I love you no matter what. I love you. (.) And unfortunately not all transgender teens get that (.) Um--
36. CJ: That's for sure
37. Katheryn: Yeah I guess that's an understatement (.) And something else I want people to understand is, even with this full support of your family, it's still a hard journey (.) People always assume
38. CJ: Right
39. Katheryn: People always assume when they talk to me that Kyler was ((makes quotation marks)) bullied by other kids or something like that and, that's actually not really the case (.) Really, where he

- had the most problems was with adults not understanding (.) People in society that really didn't understand that he needed them to use a male pronoun and, he had a legal name and gender change
40. CJ: Oh he did?
41. Katheryn: He did, and, the new birth certificate arrived unfortunately just a few days after he passed away
42. CJ: °No way°
43. Katheryn: Yeah and that was heartbreaking
44. CJ: Yeah
45. Katheryn: Because he would have loved to have seen
46. CJ: ((in-breath)) yeah
47. Katheryn: The new birth certificate
48. CJ: Loved it!
49. Katheryn: I don't think any suicide is simp has a simple cause (.) It's always a complex set of things that are challenging that kid ((images of Kyler))
- d. CJ: We need more tolerance and empathy towards other people (.) It's so hard for young people because they just don't, th th th they can't see the future and because of that they become extraordinarily desperate (.) A:nd suicide becomes an option (.) We have to do something about that
50. Katheryn: He was gonna get there [and he was gonna do amazing things]
51. CJ: [He just needed to turn that] corner
52. Katheryn: Yea:h
53. CJ: Yeah
54. Katheryn: He was young, you know
55. CJ: Yeah
56. Katheryn: Still just fourteen, and at that age they just don't realize they're gonna get through it and they can get through it and they can get to wonderful things on the other side
57. CJ: Yeah
58. Katheryn: Toda:y, some students are going to do a balloon release in Kyler's honor, which is so sweet so I would love it if you would wanna come and see
59. CJ: I would love it
60. Katheryn: Its gonna be a beautiful moment. Well this is a song that was written by a friend of ours. It's a beautiful song and it was written for Kyler, but it will speak to kids everywhere ((listens to the song))
- e. CJ: Young people, they have to realize there is so much help out there
61. CJ: Thank you for telling your story ((shakes Katheryn's hand))
62. Katheryn: Yeah
- f. CJ: And sometimes it's not always the parents, it's the outside world, it's a friend, it's a therapist, organizations that are willing to help (.) Somebody in your life that you can open up with and tell'em your feelings and what's happening in your head
63. ((at the balloon release, CJ is meeting and greeting everyone, chatter))
64. Girl: I'm going to cry, like, he was like the first friend that I made this year and, I don't know I've been, I've attempted suicide before and it got better for me and I just ((sighs)) it's not fair that he didn't get to see that it gets better
65. ((Music))
- g. CJ: Seek help (.) You just have to get through that day
- ((They release the balloons, cheering, clapping, music, group hug))
- ((Clips from future episodes))

A New Beginning

I am Cait season 1, episode 8 (2015)

Excerpt (1)

Kris arrives at Caitlyn's house.

1. 01:06 Caitlyn: So: how are you doing?
2. 01:10 Kris: <light voice>I'm good - I'm really good</> Just working.
3. 01:13 Caitlyn: Well I haven't heard from you: in forever
4. 01:16 Kris: Yea:h
5. 01:18 Caitlyn: It's been (.) at least (.) six months?
6. 01:22 Kris: I just felt thrown under the bridge <Slowly>You= were so excited</> to be going through this exciting time in your life, but I feel like ((pause)) I really was blindsided in a lot of ways and that really got to me so bad that I couldn't ((pause)) I didn't wanna communicate with you and be angry ((pause)) and be (.) and [be]
7. 01:47 Caitlyn: [What] would you be angry for?
8. 01:50 Kris: <creaky voice>I:t doesn't even matter anymore</>
9. 01:53 Caitlyn: Yes it does
10. 01:53 Kris: <light voice>No:</>
11. 01:54 Caitlyn: 'Cos it affects the kids
12. 01:56 Kris: One of the reasons I <upvoice> wanted to talk to you</> was I don't want your feelings to be hurt like the other da:y when I heard that you were not happy about not being included in Kylie's graduation
13. 02:07 Caitlyn: It wasn't me making that decision it was you making that decision ((pause)) I was so disappointed in everybody (.) For fifteen years of my life I carpoled the kids every day, some days I spent three or four hours a da:y in the car (.) a slap in the face when you don't even get invited to their graduation
14. 02:30 Kris: That's exactly how I felt with the Vanity Fair article (.) 'Cos I--
15. 02:33 Caitlyn: Okay [(xxx) tit for tat]
16. 02:33 Kris: [(xxx) years of my life]
17. 02:36 Kris: ((Caitlyn is waving her hand for Kris to stop talking)) hours a day and bla bla bla
18. 02:37 Caitlyn: Vanity Fair was months ago ((waves her hand dismissively)) (.) we're talking about what happened just a few days ago
19. 20:40 Kris: Listen, usually people that get a divo:rce don't do everything together (.) It wasn't malicious, I didn't intend to hurt anybody's feelings, but, my feelings still weren't healed, a:nd, I thought, 'well, this is the gu:y ((pause=) tha:t ((pause)) when I, you know ((sniffs a tear)) I I told myself I <tears in her voice>don't even wanna cry</> and I just it just hurt my feelings ((shakes her head while waving her hand)) I didn't understand <slowly>why you felt the need to: ((pause)) criticize or make me look bad (.) Like, where you did you live in the same house that I lived in? 'Cos it was fucking amazing! A:nd I worked really hard, and I, like I: took care of you---
20. 03:30 Caitlyn: I never--
21. 03:31 Kris: for--
22. 03:31 Caitlyn: Said--
23. 03:32 Kris: <firmly>decades</> and so to have what did you say? I mistreated you (.) it was like <upvoice>'mistreated you?'</> yeah, we [fought like cats and dogs]
24. 03:41 Caitlyn: [The last (xxx)]
25. 03:42 Kris: the last couple of years, but that's not what you say in a Vanity Fair article ((crying)) and it just it killed me, because it wasn't true, and that it just you know it was like what ha:p:pened to just the life we had together it's like you just you just threw that away (.) How much fun we had and the kids we raised and Christmas Eves and just ((takes a breath)) every single thing we did (.) So it's very difficult to hear when you feel like you've been, you gave your ((pause)) whole life to somebody, that the sum of it all was you were a distraction and so that's, [that-]
26. 04:20 Caitlyn: [Can we]

27. 04:21 Kris: killed me
28. 04:21 Caitlyn: I don't want anybody to feel bad (.) I I never thought <upvoice>our relationship</> was a distraction, our relationship was a great relationship for many many years (.) Loved you, adored you, we had a lot of great years together (.) <higher pitch>I have no regrets for that</> (.) it was a distraction from the sense of who I was ((hand gestures)) I didn't have to deal with myself ° and who my soul was ° so that's the distraction. <Slowly, articulates every word deliberately>It's all in the way that you look at these things</> As far as the Vanity Fair article I I: tried everything to have your ba:ck, I thought I was very kind and nice to you, I didn't say anything that was ((pause)) ba:d
29. 04:57 Kris: Yeah
30. 04:57 Caitlyn: Ah - I would say the reason for our break-up was about eighty percent about the way you were treating me (hand gestures) and twenty percent on gender issues
31. 05:07 Kris: But you can't sa:y that you have known about these (.) that you knew you wanted to be a woman since you [were four years old? And you turn around and]
32. 05:14 Caitlyn: [I I I I have known for sixty-five years]
33. 05:18 Kris: But then you can't say [(xxx)]
34. 05:19 Caitlyn: [(xxx)] <firm voice>I did not leave you thinking I was going to transition, okay? (pause) °no° I didn't know what I was going to do (.)I never thought I'd be here
35. 05:32 Kris: ((Sobs)) And I'm really happy for you I really am, because I want you to be happy ((sobs))
36. 05:37 Caitlyn: Never text me, never sent [anything]
37. 05:39 Kris: [I almost did] and then the Vanity Fair article, like, literally killed [me]
38. 05:44 Caitlyn: [ABOUT] WHAT? THERE'S NOTHING IN IT!
39. 05:46 Kris: ARE YOU KIDDING?
40. 05:48 Caitlyn: I just think everybody is so [over-reacting (xxx) what did I say?]
41. 05:50 Kris: [But everybody felt the same wa.] Okay, all right, well you [(xxx)]
42. 05:55 Caitlyn: [That was just so] terrible
➤ a) Pause, dramatic musical overlay
43. 06:04 Kris: You're sensitive and amazing to all these <upvoice>new people in your life</> you're just not so sensitive and amazing to yo- this side of the family that you left behind
44. 06:16 Caitlyn: Oh pop! a phone call would have been great ((pause)) unbelievable ((shakes her head, slaps her thigh))
➤ b) 06:24 Cuts to shot of the pool outside, Kris starts talking before the shot switches back to the living room scene
45. 06:25 Kris: I was struggling and having a really hard time
46. 06:28 Caitlyn: WITH WHAT? ((pause))
47. 06:31 Kris: Your transition? and this, like, leaving us in the dust
48. 06:35 Caitlyn: Nobody's leaving [you guys in the dust]
49. 06:37 Kris: [You left us] you left us in the dust
50. 06:39 Caitlyn: Where, who?
51. 06:39 Kris: Basically I'm just saying / went [through a hard time]
52. 06:41 Caitlyn: [Nobody's leaving anybody] I'm not going anywhere!
Nobody's leaving anybody in the dust
53. 06:46 Kris: Okay but 'cos everybody handles it differently
54. 06:49 Caitlyn: Totally [agree]
55. 06:50 Kris: [You know] and I wasn't doing well(.)I mean my feelings don't matter anymore, it's not [a part]
56. 06:55 Caitlyn: [Oh don't] play the martyr
57. 06:56 Kris: <higher pitch>No I'm not!</> [I I just]
58. 06:57 Caitlyn: [Don't] play the martyr - you're going to feel 'oh poor Kris my feelings [don't matter anymore]
59. 07:01 Kris: [I'm not all poor Kris!]
60. 07:02 Caitlyn: That's BS - obviously they do ((pause))
61. 07:05 Kris: Like I'm trying to-
62. 07:08 Caitlyn: Yeah

63. 07:08 Kris: be understanding <slowly>of the way that you=</> feel and the way <slowly>that you:</> made this huge change in your life and I try to understand *you* and be accepting (.) But you just are more stubborn and won't try to see my <upvoice>point of view</> in that you know that's why [that was-]
64. 07:28 Caitlyn: [Yeah]
65. 07:29 Kris: hurtful
66. 07:30 Caitlyn: I totally disagree with that, and I thought honestly I thought that because our relationship was not- I mean our divorce was was not based o:n, you know, horrible horrible things, we just- it wasn't working any longer, we both decided to go our <upvoice>separate directions</> tha:t we would be able to- it would be ea:sier to have a relationship ((pause)) later on down [the line]
67. 07:49 Kris: [I thought so] too!
68. 07:50 Caitlyn: A and [(xxx) that went whoosh] ((makes a diving motion))
69. 07:50 Kris: [(Inaudible) and and] you were so happy and excited with your new life, that, which is amazing ((pause)) but some day:s, you know ((tearing up)) some days are just hard, and I know you say that you haven't gone anywhere, you're still the same <upvoice>person</> but <higher pitch>sometimes they just miss</> having Bru:ce around ((pause)) we all do ((pause, musical overlay))
- c) 08:22 Cuts to Caitlyn discussing how difficult it is to deal with the sense of grief that her family seems to be feeling about the transition. Her monologue is overlaid by images from the ongoing conversation with Kris, who is crying and drying her tears with a tissue.
70. 08:50 Caitlyn: Look it, we had great times, let's not throw all that stuff out the door ((clears her throat)) how do we move forward from this point?
71. 08:59 Kris: I think tha:t (.) you know, obviously it's really important for the kids to have you as a big part of their life (.) I think that we just have to get used to our new normal, a:nd--
72. 09:14 Caitlyn: So we're gonna start ((waves her hands)) hanging out together?
73. 09:17 Kris: Sure ((smiles)) you can come over for a drink
74. 09:21 Caitlyn: Go shopping
75. 09:22 Kris: Let's not get carried away
76. 09:24 Caitlyn: No
77. 09:25 Kris: I just wanna get to a place where it's comfortable for us to to share celebrations together
78. 09:34 Caitlyn: That's great - let's move on
- d) 09:39 Cuts to Caitlyn discussing her feelings about the conversation. Kris appears to have left at this point.
79. 09:54 Kris: So wait (.) are you dating this girl called Candice?
80. 09:57 Caitlyn: ((Laughs, looks at her phone))
81. 10:01 Kris: ((Looks down to the side)) Mm okay ((laughs)) oh my gosh you wanna take a selfie?
82. 10:05 Caitlyn: ((Gets up))
83. 10:06 Kris: Come one ((gets up)) where's the best light?
84. 10:09 Caitlyn: Right here ((they both stand next to each other while Kris takes the selfie with her phone)) hey there we go - now what are you gonna do with this selfie? ((kisses her cheek))
85. 10:14 Kris: ((Laughs, seems a bit surprised, giggles)) okay (xxx)
86. 10:20 Caitlyn: You got lipstick all over your cheek ((tries to rub it off, gently))
87. 10:21 Kris: It's all right
88. 10:22 Caitlyn: ((laughs))
- e) Kris: One of the things I always used to notice was that Bruce wasn't as sensitive as I wished he was (.) I think I just used to chalk it up to the fact that you know (.) he was a gu:y but I'm kinda realizing now that maybe that's just Bruce slash Caitlyn's personality (.) both of them if you will you know it's the it's just (.) it's just the way she is (.) think that we just have to continue to communicate with each other so we can keep our family together (.) 'cos that's the most important thing I think to both of us
89. 10:57 Kris: All right (.) Well see you later - don't get make-up on my jacket
90. 10:59 Caitlyn: Okay
91. 11:00 Kris: Okay (.) it's a little trick, okay
92. 11:02 Caitlyn: I know how to do that
93. 10:03 Kris: Okay - <cheerfully>see you later</>

94. 11:05 Caitlyn: <Firmly>Bye!</>

Excerpt (2)

1. [11:18] CJ: Ah, looks good (C: Yummy!)
2. CJ: Guess what happened yesterday?
3. Candis: What?
4. CJ: Kris was over
5. Candis: Was it a tense talk? Did it get heated?
6. CJ: A hard talk – I wouldn't call it tense (C: OK) (.) we just opened up communication (.) We were not communicating at all--
7. Candis: You had other things on your mind, hehe (CJ: Yeah) well it sounds like it was good then ((CJ confirms)) so--
8. CJ: Name-change. Did you celebrate when you finally got your name changed? (C: no)
 - a) Cuts to CJ alone who explains that she decided to have a renaming ceremony and that it signal a rebirth and a whole new you.
9. Candis: Wish I had made more out of it ((discusses being excited & celebration of all the girls who didn't have the opportunity to do that))
 - b) Cuts to CJ alone: Surprised that no one celebrated name change
10. CJ: I'd like for you to sing (.) you're good
11. Candis: I'm a nerve wreck, but I will do it

Excerpt (3)

1. [13:20] CJ: Were he:re! Guess I'm at the head of the table? ((chatter)) Tell me a little bit about out other dinner guest
 - a) Cuts to CJ alone: Talking about the importance of what is happening and that Jenny has been asked to help find a minister for the religious part of the naming ceremony – a trans minister.
2. Jenny: Miss Allison Robinson (.) she: has done a lot of interesting things (.) Went to West Point, headed for a career in the military, and then felt a calling (.) became a minister in the Baptist Church
3. CJ: She was not transitioned at that point ((Jenny confirms))
4. Jenny: Believe she was m-married (.) I like the fact that she's a person of faith (.) a sense that transgender people--
5. Drian: Religion and trans don't go together ((chatter))
6. Jenny: Well if you're trans then somehow you're Godless (CJ: I have, I have) most of the trans people I know are very spiritual (.) Here comes Reverend Robinson--
 - b) Reverend Allyson Dylan Robinson arrives and takes a seat at the bottom left corner of the table. She is credited 'pastor' on screen.
7. Allyson: Hello everyone
8. CJ: Well there we are! ((everyone introduces themselves, hugs))
9. Jenny: I was just singing your praises
10. Allyson: Oh were you ((chatter, laughter, Jenny tells the reverend that she know all about her))
11. Deedie: Just because it didn't happen doesn't mean Jenny can't remember it
12. CJ: How is this going to work, am I going to survive, am I gonna be ok?
13. Allyson: I think so (.) we're gonna mark a moment (.) this is what our rites are about anyway (.) we're going to acknowledge the journey (.) ask you; what shall your name be
14. Jenny: It's Caitlyn, right, you're not gonna change it (CJ: no)
 - c) Cuts to Drian alone stating that she wishes she'd done the same, it was a very lonely process for her, never celebrated, never got to share that with family and friends
15. Drian: I was brought up Catholic, go to Sunday School, and the kids were so mean, to this day I'm still not past healing from that (Allyson: right)
16. CJ: I believe in the Bible, in God, but the last couple of months I have gotten quite a few letters from people of faith, who say you can't do this, God says 'you were born this way, you gotta stay this way'
 - d) Cuts to footage from former episode where CJ's mother says: I'm sure you've read the passage in the Bible, 'If you're a man and you dress like a woman', you know (.) do you have any interpretation of that?
17. CJ: How in your mind do you justify: transitioning?

18. Allyson: It's a great question, yeah, well, the first thing I would say is, welcome to the club (.). (Group: yeah, nods) You know you join a long line of people like us who have been on the receiving end of that kind of hostility and condemnation ((repeated as a cut-scene, musical overlay)) Ah, I wear it as a badge of honor (.). I, I really believe that my faith is deeper today because it's been challenged (.). I'm a Baptist, we take Biblical texts very seriously, and I had to ask hard questions of the text (.). What about that [verse] that talks about men not wearing women's clothes, right
19. CJ: My mother said something – how'd, how do you answer that
20. Allyson: One of the things I was taught was to interpret the text in the broader context of historical picture (.). You'll find verses that forbid the weaving together of clothes from two different kinds of cloth, or, or even touching (.). a pig, so if you touch a football, like you and I both have, we're, we're condemned in the exact same way. I would view that text as just one of hundreds of intricate rules that God brought to a close with the coming of God's Son into the world.
21. (Someone): It's really well said
22. Allyson: The old and new testament are full of characters who have nothing to do with their societies' gender rules, they, they thumb their nose at society's rules about gender, just as the, the coat of many colors – you know, the Hebrew word for that coat of many colors is a princess dress – Joseph's father gave Joseph a princess dress (.). Am, knowing that our stories have always been there, has, has helped me to keep those two worlds intact (.). But, I, I think that the most radical idea is that God doesn't love us in spite of who we are, God loves us because of who we are (others chime in)
23. Jenny: Well it was his idea: (Group: Yeah, right, laughter, exactly, yeah)
 - e) Cuts to Drian alone: God, I wish as a kid I could have connected with a positive church, I would have probably still be connected to God, my faith, you know, and for kids who are hearing these messages that there are deities out there that will embrace you because you are perfect as who you are – God makes no mistakes

Excerpt (4)

1. CJ: Hello friend, how are you ((good, hugs)) I love it when you wear the heels and I got flats ((laughs))
 - a) Cuts to CJ alone: It's kinda fun to discover who you are – a simple thing like decorating – I think I will kind of acquire my taste
2. CJ: All right, lets check it out (C: here we go)
3. Candis: This is too exciting (CJ: I know)
 - b) Interrupted by a coming up sequence.
4. [20:46] Decorator: Hello ladies ((hello, hugs))
5. CJ: Hey babe
6. Decorator: Welcome to your new home
7. CJ: Let's check it out! Go slow
8. Decorator: You might not recognize it
9. CJ: So good (wow) love the pillows, love the couch
10. Decorator: it's from [brand]
11. (Someone): Don't you love the Lindsey Adelman chandelier?
12. CJ: I know! Rock it! I love it!
 - c) Voice overlay from CJ: I think with this whole transition, for me, for the first time in my life, I'm able to express myself
13. Candis: It's lighter, and--
14. CJ: Yeah, feminine (C: yeah) I like that
 - d) Voice overlay from CJ: So many people are coming over to the house for the ceremony and I am so excited to show them (.). the results
15. CJ: Thank you for all your hard work ((hugs the designer))

Excerpt (5)

1. [21:39] CJ: Jenny Boylan on the pole! Yeah, baby! ((applause when she does it))
 - a) Voice overlay CJ: I have been asked to introduce Boy George at [event] so I invited all the girls to join me! Now that's gonna be fun ((toasting and cheering in the bus))
2. (Someone): I love it more than anything because it's a trans woman that people are going crazy over ((they are all entering a building and going up some stairs inside, then into a room where they meet Boy George [chatter] Boy George hugs everyone))

3. CJ: I remember you back in the eighties, with all my issues and everything, obviously I followed you, and I'm glad to see you back, and to be here and everything
4. Boy George: You know what it is I think when you, you get a little bit older, you tend to operate on a different level of consciousness (Group: oh, absolutely, yeah) you know, you have this wonderful opportunity to do so much good – when I was 19 I was so full of my self-importance, I can't say that I was leading a political thing I was just making myself, which is in itself is quite powerful (CJ: yes) but in my opinion bli:nd kind of self-importance, but it had a massive effect (CJ: yeah) and I'm only really enjoying that now (xxx) more sensible (CJ: absolutely, right)
5. Jenny: I remember when you first, when you came out we were all – it was a huge thing for us
6. Woman to Jenny's left: Yeah you were the first person I ever knew of
7. CJ: Thanks for having us – come over here in the middle, George, come over here ((picture time))
8. Boy George: It's a co:smic moment (Group: yeah) ((chatter, laughter))
 - b) Footage from Candis' phone cam – Boy George and CJ backstage at the show. ((Friends: Go get'em, go get'em, are you ready))
9. CJ: Let's do this ((walks on stage, audience cheers, Boy George is introduced and later they are all dancing and enjoying the concert))

Excerpt (6)

The excerpt starts at [28:19] in CJ's closet, scenes from the party prep. and Candis preparing to sing [omitted]

- a) 29:19 Candis: I feel better after rehearsing with thei choir (.) but now that it's time to perform I a:m still nervous as I just wanna go a good job I wanna uhm I want to make this a special moment for Cait
1. Candis: ((Candis enters the porch where all the friends are, wooing)) My wife will be out soon ((jokes, laughter))
2. Allyson: Well good afternoon and welcome to the celebration (.) we gather here beloved friends and family together (.) ah to celebrate a moment (.) with our dear friend (.) with our sister (.) ((CJ enters, the audience cheers))
3. CJ: Ye:ah all my sisters ((hugs people, they cheer)) hello everybody
4. Allyson: Welcome (.) today this hour and our sister comes before you seeking a new name by which to be known (.) bless her as she steps across this boundary in you name which above all other names is love (.) amen
 - b) Chandi: Since meeting Cait at the dinner party ((footage from former episode)) this has been the most amazing time of my life
5. Chandi: Good afternoon everyone (.) ok I don't know if this is a party yet ((cheering)) I mean come one now (.) we're here to celebrate with Caitlyn (.)
 - c) Chandi: I cant think o:f a ti:me ever that I've felt celebrated being trans ((footage from former episode))
6. Chandi: I wanted to share some facts about the name Caitlyn (.) the definition of Caitlyn is pure and chaste (.) would that be you? ((laughter)) you can be spontaneous and expressive and a talkative person (.) that's definitely you ((laughter)) you are truly truly truly an amazing person (.) we're so proud of you and we're so glad most of all that today you sit in your authentic self! Let's give it up for Caitlyn ((cheering))
7. Jenny: Hello (.) I am Jennifer Finney Boylan
 - d) Jenny: Caitlyn and I we couldn't come from more different worlds (.) you know I am this New England academic ((footage from former episode))
8. Jenny: Here's a poem by ee cummings ((recites poem))
 - e) Jenny: I am so proud to call Cait my friend (.) I'm so proud of her for for all the good she's doing I'm proud of her for the progress she's made ((footage from former episode)) a young person coming out as trans now is gonna have had Caitlyn Jenner as a role model ((footage from former episode)) she's just a tremendously wonderful soul (.) that's the person that I love
9. Jenny: ((finishes the poem))
 - f) Candis: In that moment I am nervous and I am looking at Cait and Cait looking at me and it's just such and amazing day (.) this is all of our name change ceremony (.) I know I have to do this

((Candis sings Amazing Grace))

g) Candis: I feel blessed to be part of Caitlyn's journey ((footage from former episode)) this experienxe has meant a lot to me ((footage from former episode)) going to all these amazing places and doing the work that we've do:ne seeing the change in myself and in Cait (.) <tears> has changed my life forever</>

((Candis finishes the song))

10. Alllyson: So what's in a name? Names are symbols (.) they're symbols of a parent's hopes and dreams they're symbols that can honor the past or that can point toward the future and so we gather (.) with out dear friend (.) with our sister (.) we've known her most of her life by: another name (.) but today at this moment she chooses to set that name aside (.) will you join me to receive for us your new name? (.) and so here we are daughter of God (.) what shall your name be called?
11. CJ: Caitlyn Marie Jenner
12. Allyson: If you affirm it with Caitlyn say it with me ((cheering)) Caitlyn Marie Jenner (CJ: Thanks a lot) we do indeed affirm that you are Caitlyn Marie Jenner (.) from this day forward ((Boy George sings, CJ states that she feels blessed))
[Ending is omitted]