The London School of Economics and Political Science

Sexual and Gender Diversity in the Psy Disciplines: Haunting Conflicts in Contemporary Chile

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Declaration:

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the MPhil/PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that it is the work of others (in which case the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it).

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Abstract

This thesis constitutes a novel interrogation into the 'turn to diversity' that critically explores the articulation of a growing field of expertise on sexual and gender diversity within the psy disciplines, bringing feminist, queer and sexual-dissident theories of diversity together with psychosocial studies. Through semi-structured interviews and participant observation, this project analyses the *psychic life of diversity* in Chile and examines psychology's political place in the production of diversity as a means for regulating sexuality and gender. In doing so, this thesis explores how sexual and gender diversity has been taken up by psy professionals working with LGBTI people in three different cities in Chile, and the work that is done by those uses in the spaces of the clinic, activism and social research, asking in what ways these uses are also expressive of broader psychosocial processes. To that end, it firstly explores the affective labour involved in producing the notion of the 'field of sexual and gender diversity', and critically attends to diversity's temporal politics and its investments in progress. Secondly, this study examines the different ways in which 'gender diversity' is produced as a sensitive issue in clinical practice and diversity training courses. It discusses the work that sensitivity does in shaping a particular way of knowing the *diverse other* that reproduces medical gatekeeping practices and forms of gender panic. Lastly, the analysis delves into the interviewees' ambivalent attachments to diversity and critically addresses their references to 'sexual dissidence' as a means for troubling diversity's comforting politics and domesticated aesthetics. Overall, this work provides an empirical contribution to a little-studied area of inquiry within the psy disciplines, one that focuses on diversity's conflictual nature and its multiple lives, suggesting an original research path into the recent history of Chile and its haunting presence in the present.

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I wrote up this thesis during times of great uncertainty. The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and the still-unfolding social uprisings the world over, particularly the one that *exploded* in Chile in October 2019, are just a few examples. In the midst of all this and over the course of this same period, I have experienced moments of genuine hope, care, solidarity and love that have affirmed me and kept me going. Writing, thinking, and coping with uncertainty are collective processes that I would not have been able to pursue without the support and company of so many dear people, whom I am hugely grateful for and indebted to.

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Abbreviations

The following table contains a list of the abbreviations and acronyms that are mentioned in this thesis on more than one occasion.

APA	American Psychiatric Association
CIE	International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems
CUDS	Coordinadora Universitaria por la Disidencia Sexual (Sexual Dissidence University Coordinator)
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans*, Intersex
LGBTIQA+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans*, Intersex, Queer/Questioning, Asexual
MOVILH	Movimiento de Integración y Liberación Homosexual (Homosexual Integration and Liberation Movement)
WHO	World Health Organisation

Figures and Tables

Figures:

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Chapter 1

Introduction

What is a travesti? When did you realise that you were like that? Do you feel discriminated against? How does it feel to be a lesbian? How many cases of intersexuality are there? How do I explain what they are to my child?...

And so, hundreds of questions that name and produce difference, differences. Questions that demand *un saber* (knowledge), a revelation, an explanation, a confession. But also questions that display *un saber*.

val flores (2013, p. 318, emphasis in original)

Diversity has become one of the terms that have allowed people to respond to the *what* and the *how* of what we cannot explain in the terrains of sexuality and gender. As part of a broader historical process that I conceptualise as the 'turn to sexual and gender diversity', diversity has provided a language to represent, imagine and talk about non-normative experiences in ways that had not been possible to achieve by resorting to other terminologies, such as 'sexual and gender minorities', 'sexual dissidence' or the 'LGBTI acronym'.[1] Moreover, it has enabled a path for approaching difference that, for reasons I explore in this thesis, is readily taken up and perceived as something positive that needs to be embraced and celebrated. Crucially, 'sexual and gender diversity' both designates a way of naming differences from the cisgender[2] and heterosexual norm and is a marker that qualifies a state, an institution, a discipline and a field of knowledge as respectful and tolerant in relation to such differences. It has turned into an index of progressive values in contemporary (neo)liberal democracies: being or not being diverse or *pro-diversity* is, therefore, indicative

[1] This project utilises a varied range of sexual and gender terminology to reflect their contemporary usage in Chilean academia, politics, the media and activist circles. I use the LGBTI acronym throughout the thesis to refer to lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans* and intersex people, as it was the term widely used when I did my fieldwork. Additionally, the terms used by interviewees and authors, and in works cited, are referenced while keeping their meaning and original sense.

[2] Broadly speaking, the prefix 'cis' alludes to an analytical category marking those normative positions that present themselves as neutral (cisgender). I reflect on its methodological implications in Chapter 3.

of one's commitment towards those values, and the recognition of those conceived as sexually or gender diverse.

However, implicit within this way of framing what diversity is about is the assumption that we need this term to mitigate what can otherwise be perceived as negative or even threatening, particularly for those who want to be perceived as respectful of differences. In this thesis, I argue that this dimension of diversity is expressive of its conflictual nature: some differences need to be framed as diverse in order to be included and tolerated, while others do not. This conflictual aspect indicates that non-heterosexual sexualities, trans*[3] and non-binary genders pose several challenges to individuals and institutions in their efforts to relate to difference, and that it is through diversity that these differences conceal and sometimes erase their antagonistic potential. By interrogating this conflictual dimension, this thesis argues that diversity is a complex site of socio-political contestation and ambivalence, particularly for those invested in the concept's capacity to challenge the normativities at work in rendering LGBTI issues as tolerable differences, as well as for those who want to get rid of diversity precisely because it does not fulfil its promise. Moreover, I suggest that it is by looking at those investments in diversity—in their contradictions, hopes and discomfort, but also in their intricate histories—that we can access a varied range of engagements that are often neglected in most critical scholarly and activist literature on the subject, and that might also tell us something about the contexts in which those investments and conflicts are expressed, namely that of the psy disciplines[4] in post-dictatorship Chile.

Over the last two decades, various forms of 'diversity work'[5] have become a requirement for professionals, politicians and activists working under the framework of 'diversity and inclusion'. In Chile, the mainstreaming of diversity in academic, activist and corporate spaces, as well as in policy documents within the fields of education, health, LGBTI activism and human rights, has increased significantly (Galaz Valderrama, Sepúlveda

[3] Following Susan Stryker (2017), "the asterisk after 'trans' is an increasingly favored lexical strategy for indicating the variety of suffixed words and concepts to which trans might be prefixed" (p. 419). My use of trans* throughout the thesis draws on these developments within the trans* community to evoke a multiplicity of identity positionings not limited to trans women or men (see also Sevan, 2012).

[4] Hereafter, I use the prefix 'psy', both alone and coupled with the words 'discipline', 'professionals' and 'knowledges', to refer to a set of discursive associations and practices connected to disciplines and fields as heterogeneous as psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis and psychotherapy (see Rose, 1996).

[5] Although I further develop this term in Chapter 3, the notion of 'diversity work' signals a varied range of practices aimed at changing the structures of inequality that discriminate and exclude LGBTI people from institutions and disciplinary fields (see Ahmed, 2012, 2017).

Galeas, Poblete Melis, Troncoso Pérez, & Morrison Jara, 2018; Lorenzini Lorenzini, 2011). Diversity and non-discrimination offices in municipalities across the country, so-called gender and diversity experts within government institutions, together with gender committees and diversity and inclusion divisions in university spaces, have also multiplied in recent years, notably after the approval of the anti-discrimination law in 2012 and the *tomas feministas* (feminist occupations) in 2018 (Gaba, 2020; Zerán, 2018).[6] Diversity seems to be everywhere. Yet, such pervasiveness and *fast arrival* in spaces that have historically not been open to diversity and inclusion discourses have also been viewed with suspicion by some sectors within feminist and sexual-dissident activisms, whose criticism has gained greater visibility in the last few years, particularly their insistence in calling out diversity's complicity with ways of doing politics that neutralise and appease conflict (flores, 2013; Richard, 2017/2019; Rivas San Martín, 2010).

Psychology and the psy disciplines, like many other disciplinary and professional fields, have undergone similar changes, particularly in relation to the research, teaching and therapeutic treatment of non-normative sexualities and genders. Having been introduced as a response to a long history of pathologisation and violence, diversity arrived to fix and repair cisheteronormative[7] ideologies long present in the psy disciplines, enabling ways of intervening that are respectful of the human rights of LGBTI people (see Grzanka & Miles, 2016). However, overt and subtle forms of pathologisation, regulation and exclusion still exist and are implemented in the name of psychology and psychiatry even by those who work within a diversity framework, as evidenced by the professionals I talked to during my fieldwork. This thesis aims to make sense of the progress and setbacks brought about by the turn to diversity in the psy disciplines in a way that not only accounts for its efforts to repair historical wrongs, but also interrogates its political place in producing new forms of sexual and gender regulation. To do so, I ask how the concept of diversity has been taken up by psy professionals working on LGBTI issues in Chile, analysing their stories of arrival to sexual

[6] In April 2018, a group of students occupied the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the Universidad Austral (Austral University) in response to a series of allegations of sexual harassment and the lack of response from the institution. What happened there sparked a series of occupations and student mobilisations against gender violence, sexist education and discrimination, among others. Moreover, it set the basis for what has been called the *Mayo Feminista* (Feminist May), one of the most prominent feminist mobilisations of the last decades (see Hiner & López Dietz, 2021).

[7] Formed from the prefix cis attached to the concept 'heteronormativity', the term cisheteronormativity refers to the privileging of bodies and subjectivities that align with cisgender and heterosexual cultural expectations (see LeMaster, Shultz, McNeill, Bowers, & Rust, 2019).

and gender diversity and the means through which a specialised practice of diversity has been transmitted and taken shape. In that sense, this study also tells a story that accounts for alternative paths for knowledge production that do not follow the official historiography of the fields of 'LGBTI psychology', 'lesbian and gay psychology' or 'LGBTQI+ affirmative psychology', as they are mostly known in their Euro-North American versions (Hegarty & Rutherford, 2019; Horne, Maroney, Nel, Chaparro, & Manalastas, 2019). Drawing on this assertion, I join recent scholarly efforts to de-centralise the locus of inquiry from a Euro-North American context to other research sites, particularly in Latin America, questioning whether the figure of *LGBTI psychology*, as well as that of *LGBTI studies*, is the "only or best way to produce and disseminate knowledge about gender and sexual diversity in all contexts" (Cornejo Salinas, Martínez, & Vidal-Ortiz, 2020, p. 428).

Different forms of diversity work and knowledge production initiatives that I analyse in this thesis reproduce some of the exclusionary logics and regulative practices I mentioned earlier, many of which have been pointed out by feminist, trans* and queer scholars and dissident activists both inside and outside the psy disciplines (see Das, 2016; Fernández & Siqueira Peres, 2013; Preciado, 2020; Roselló-Peñaloza, 2018). Their relative lack of engagement with politics and discussions that happen elsewhere in different fields and activist spaces contributes to the psy disciplines' further inability to address these problematic issues. Furthermore, I argue, an unquestioning and widespread belief that diversity represents a kind of "good politics", and that any form of diversity work within the psy disciplines is better than none, has kept it away from critical examination. Given the still precarious place of diversity work in Chile and of some of those who perform that labour in institutional spaces, attempts to explore critically the political and epistemic effects of diversity work on the life and wellbeing of LGBTI people face a crucial dilemma: How can we undertake that critical endeavour without compromising the work that has been articulated through the years? How can we carry out that critical work without forgetting the histories of struggles that have enabled a path for diversity to arrive at the psy disciplines? This project constitutes an effort to tell a different story about such arrival, one that takes these challenges seriously and suggests a novel path to explore some of the ambivalent effects attached to the uses of diversity in psychology that need critical attention.

1.1 Research Aims: Specifying the Inquiry

Being able to identify some of the problems at stake with diversity work was not a casual choice: my interest and investments in the subject are as theoretically grounded as they are shaped by my own trajectory as a clinical psychologist and the socio-political context in which my fieldwork took place. As a diversity professional myself, I became interested in the links between sexuality, gender and psychology through my own analysis as a patient in my former years as a graduate psychology student, and then as a trained psychotherapist working in schools, health institutions and my private practice. The quote from sexual-dissident activist and writer val flores (2013) with which I started this chapter resonates with many of the questions I dealt with myself while in analysis, which reappeared in my working experience as a diversity professional a few years later. Part of this consisted in delivering training sessions, workshops and talks on sexual and gender diversity to high schools, teaching and health staff in Santiago, sometimes alone and at other times with my team partner. I was invited to explain to others what the LGBTI acronym means, what the difference between sex and gender is, and how to respond if a child asks what travesti means, among other questions.[8] I was there to translate the language of non-normative sexualities and genders into one that was *more digestible* and easier to follow, especially for those not used to speaking in that language. My professional identity as both a psychologist and *expert* in diversity somehow transferred to me the authority to speak about so-called *sensitive issues* in ways more effective than those who would speak openly as activists or as members of the LGBTI community.[9] Because I was a psychologist, they would listen more openly to me, as someone with authoritative knowledge on sexuality and gender who was there because of their studies, not due to their activist credentials and progressive agenda. I learnt the script and performed accordingly. Diversity was the language that enabled those conversations and defined the roles each played in such settings: those entitled to ask the questions, and those expected to respond and explain. I was not able to see at the time my own participation in the

[8] Travesti is a term used in some parts of Latin America to signal an identification different from the English words travesty and transvestite. It "indexes a political position of resistance by trans femme/feminine/women's bodies" (Silva Santana, 2019, p. 219) and it is usually used as a shorthand for those deemed marginal, *puta* (whore), scandalous and *sidosa* (a pejorative term for AIDS-affected individuals). Travesti is also a particularly class and race-based identification (Pierce, 2020b).

[9] References to the digestible, the sensitive and travesti people in relation to diversity work are further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

very structures into which I was trying to intervene; I was not able to see the kind of knowledges and normativities at play in the questions I answered for them. What kind of knowledge is displayed in the act of asking for definitions? In what ways does such knowledge sustain the ideological edifice in which a demand for explanations seems to be justified? In what ways does the language of diversity participate in such dynamics and in keeping these structures of knowing in place?

My immersion in scholarly and activist work on sexual and gender diversity allowed me access to a different set of concerns that did not directly connect with my working experience, but with the overall cultural-political context in which the language of diversity has made its way into the Chilean political scene. Chilean cultural critique and sexual dissident activism have situated this arrival in the context of the post-dictatorship, with diversity being one of the discursive mechanisms, alongside that of pluralism and consensus, used to facilitate the democratic transition in the 1990s and to reconcile conflicts connected with the "past" of the dictatorship and with those of LGBTI activism (Richard, 2019; Rivas San Martín, 2011a). During my fieldwork, I became aware of the different ways in which diversity was invoked in public discussions as a means for neutralising conflicts and equalising differences, particularly those that referred to the civic-military dictatorship. By way of illustration, for some of those located on the right of the political spectrum being a diverse society entails tolerating and recognising the figure of the dictator Augusto Pinochet and his "legacy", as I further discuss in Chapters 4 and 6 (see Catena & Soto, 2018). In this context, being diverse entails celebrating all differences equally, as if there were no differences among them, as if asking for the human rights of diverse subjects to be respected was the same as asking for the legacy of Pinochet to be valued as a matter of diversity.

This and other examples I encountered during and after my fieldwork helped me address the doing of diversity work in dialogue with the ways other actors and debates outside the psy disciplines relate to diversity. For instance, if one of these ways suggests a discursive association between diversity and Pinochet, which, in turn, re-activates the sexual-dissident critique and the contestations around the uses of diversity within some sectors of LGBTI activism, the question for me then was how to connect these two strands of critique. That is, a critique that looks at the disciplinary level and another one that attends to the socio-political circumstances in which diversity work takes place, wherein the relationship between the post-dictatorship and diversity represents only one among other relevant contextual

features. My immersion in these materials and associations, however, occurred before and during my stay in the field between December 2018 and May 2019. Following this, the concept of the 'post-dictatorship' became a critical element during the analysis of the material, especially in the aftermath of the October 2019 social uprising and the COVID-19 pandemic, to which I refer further on in this chapter. It emerged as a research finding that I encountered during the analysis phase, which suggested different interpretive paths that enriched my inquiry and understanding of the socio-political. Therefore, the post-dictatorship works in this thesis as both a context and conceptual category I have not been able to develop fully, but that nevertheless informed my reading of the research material. Despite referencing it at different moments during the thesis, its presence in the empirical work was limited, and the analysis is thus inferred, with the conclusion being the place where I suggest avenues for future research initiatives that might deepen the relationships between the post-dictatorship and diversity work.

Following from the above, my inquiry is motivated by a series of questions. First, what political and psychosocial work does the idea of the turn do in relation to the ways the Chilean psy disciplines have taken up the concept of sexual and gender diversity? In particular, what happens to diversity in its encounters with sexuality and gender in the clinic, the activist and training space, and what discourses and affective attachments are enabled by these encounters? Second, how have both the psy disciplines and diversity professionals responded to those discourses, and what kinds of practices have emerged from them? Third, how has the idea of the turn to diversity contributed to articulating a field of work and research in sexual and gender diversity in Chile, and through what means has this knowledge been transmitted? Finally, in what ways are the narratives and discourses around diversity, alongside the resistances towards some of its uses, expressive of broader socio-political struggles? Attending to these questions, I propose a methodology capable of following diversity around (see Ahmed, 2012) via listening to its discursive and narrative forms in the experiences of twenty-six diversity professionals working on LGBTI issues in the cities of Santiago, Valparaíso, and Concepción. In addition to the interviews, I also participated in twenty-two events that gave me access to the ways sexual and gender diversity circulates and is talked about, reflecting on my own experience of attending such events and the relationships and affective engagements that shape diversity work in practice.[10]

[10] I discuss my methodological framework, interpretive practices and ethics in more detail in Chapter 3.

By tracing the turn to diversity, I interrogate taken-for-granted assumptions that present the notion of sexual and gender diversity as if it had *always been there*. The transition from framing non-normative sexualities and genders as minority issues towards a framing that presents them as a matter of diversity has so far not been critically addressed within the psy disciplines.[11] In contrast, an "agenda effect" or topic/policy-oriented way of doing research that goes in tandem with legislative discussions on LGBTI rights has held sway (Valdés & Guajardo, 2007, p. 15). And this, to some extent, has neglected analytical work on the rationale and political struggles behind these shifting scenarios which require critical consideration. In this regard, this thesis constitutes an effort to trace the histories and contestations of such arrival in the present and takes a critical stance concerning three dominant approaches to research on diversity within the social sciences: 1) those that reify a 'for or against' critique or an 'either/or' approach to diversity and its politics; 2) approaches that celebrate the turn to diversity and that ignore or refuse to engage with the concept's contestations; and 3) perspectives that look exclusively at the turn to diversity within the boundaries of their disciplines, without engaging with knowledges produced outside the academy. In order to account for the idea of the turn and the questions that shape my inquiry, I craft a conceptual framework and a method for analysing what I call the *psychic life of diversity*, which enables a mode of interrogation into the workings of diversity that is attentive to its psychic and social life (see Butler, 1997).[12] Working from a queer and psychosocial perspective, this project analyses diversity's psychic life and interrogates the psy disciplines, but particularly psychology's political place in the production of diversity as a means for regulating sexuality and gender.

Before outlining how my argument unfolds in the following six chapters, I first provide some background information on the disciplinary and socio-political contexts in which this study intervenes, and then reflect on the thesis's scope, overall framing and contribution to knowledge.

[11] An exception to this assertion is the thematic section of the journal *Psicoperspectivas* on the uses of sexual and gender diversity in public policy, education and social movements, among others (see Gonzalez Barrientos, Núñez, Galaz Valderrama, Troncoso, & Morrison, 2018).

[12] The formulation 'psychic life of diversity' draws on and adapts Judith Butler's (1997) concept of the 'psychic life of power', which I complement with contributions from psychosocial studies and Avery Gordon's (2008) notion of 'haunting', to which I refer in depth in Chapter 2.

1.2 Contextualising the Inquiry

As some of my interviewees said to me during my fieldwork, there is no institutionalised field of study on sexual and gender diversity in Chile, apart from research initiatives and graduate courses distributed across different university departments and centres that rely on competitive grants and, in most cases, have been built up thanks to the efforts and interests of individual academics and students. The experiences of the participants echo what research on the subject has shown systematically, particularly for the case of clinical psychology: the majority of training programmes and course handbooks do not address the theme of sexual and gender diversity, with a few exceptions and often under the label of 'new topics' or 'contemporary challenges' (Concha, 2021; see also Kaulino & Jacó-Vilela, 2018). Although I explore these issues at length in Chapter 4, in this section I want to provide a general overview of the presence of sexual and gender diversity in the Chilean psy disciplines and introduce the post-dictatorship in its contextual relevance.

Thanks to the pioneering work of Chilean social scientists and feminist scholars, sexual dissidence critics, and trans*, lesbian and gay activists in the early 1990s, it is now possible to trace some of the main issues that have prevailed in Chilean academia and feminist and LGBTI movements in the past three decades, which have set the theoretical basis for what, I would argue, constitutes a formal body of literature on sexuality and gender studies (Barrientos, 2015; Barrientos, Palma, & Gómez, 2014; Díaz, 2011; Hiller, 2009b; Pezoa, 2009; Sutherland, 2009; Valdés & Guajardo, 2007). Among other issues, this material has made visible the means through which psy knowledges on sexuality and gender have been produced and constituted as a field of inquiry in its own right by scholars, activists and political actors alike, especially as inputs for the design of public policies in matters related to HIV and sexual and reproductive rights, particularly in the 1990s and early 2000s (Hiller, 2009a; Jones, 2010).

Scholarly literature that has looked at the public appearance of sexual diversity in Chile, particularly in sex education policies during the post-dictatorship, has suggested a thematic division that mirrors how diversity has entered different disciplinary fields within the social sciences, particularly psychology. According to Caterine Galaz and Rolando Poblete's (2019) research, the presence of sexual diversity in public discourses and education policies has been marked by an initial formal silence around the topic that coincided with the

first years of the democratic transition in the 1990s, which has progressively given way to a hypervisibilised presence of specific identities, particularly of gay men. These were initially addressed within academia as a minority group, vulnerable to state interventions—mostly associated with the effects of the HIV crisis of the 1980s—in times where homosexuality was criminalised (Guajardo, 2004; Sutherland, 2009). Although non-heterosexual sexualities were formally depathologised in 1973 by the US-based American Psychiatric Association (APA) and in 1990 by the World Health Organisation (WHO), the non-pathologising institutional regulations of both groups were not incorporated into the training and professional practice of psy professionals until relatively recently (Cornejo, 2011; Ojeda, 2019a). The situation did not improve significantly during the democratic transition, even with the abolition of Article 365[13] of the Penal Code in 1999 that criminalised the practice of sodomy between men (Congreso Nacional, 1999), and it has taken decades to eradicate pathologising discourses from the teaching of psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis (see Figueroa, 2020).

According to Juan Rolando Cornejo (2011), the pathologising paradigm remained present in the fields of psychiatry and bioethics during the 1990s and late 2000s, holding great sway in the training of medical practitioners and psy professionals, as well as in the curricular design of psychopathology and developmental psychology courses. These discourses acquired significant influence in university spaces in response to socio-political transformations linked to the gradual loss of discursive hegemony of the medicalising paradigm in legislative debates around the so-called *agenda valórica* (values agenda) (Ojeda, 2019a). The knowledge produced in university spaces thus has established exclusionary norms that, for example, were used by the University of Chile and other institutions to discriminate against students with a physical disability, epilepsy or who showed *homosexual traits* from studying psychology through the application of projective tests, which were part of the admissions process until the late 1990s (Ligüeño Espinoza & Parra Moreno, 2007). As I further explore in Chapter 2, this is one of the reasons why sexual-dissident activism in the late 2000s and the feminist occupations of university spaces in May 2018 have targeted the university as the space that not only reproduces class, race and ethnic privileges, but also sexist and cisheteronormative forms of thinking and acting (see Gaba, 2020; Richard, 2011/2018; Zerán, 2018). As for non-normative genders, in June 2018 the WHO determined

[13] *Law 19.617. Amends the Criminal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure and Other Legal Bodies in Matters Relating to the Crime of Rape*. The modification to the Penal Code was published in the *Diario Oficial* (Official Journal) on 2 July 1999.

that the so-called incongruence between sex and gender in and of itself is not a mental disorder, removing the diagnostic categories of 'transsexualism' and 'gender identity disorder of children' from the *Mental and Behavioural Disorders* chapter of the 11th edition of the *International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems* (ICD-11) (American Psychological Association [APA], 2021; World Health Organization [WHO], n.d.).[14] Unlike homosexuality, trans* and non-binary experiences have been relatively absent from academic publications within local psy disciplines outside a pathologising and criminalising framework (see Barrientos et al., 2019; Casanova Bahamondes & Espinoza-Tapia, 2018; see also Galemiri, Yáñez, & Zamorano, 2015). The introduction of the category of gender identity in the Antidiscrimination Law of 2012[15] together with the recent approval of the Gender Identity Law in 2018[16] have sparked new interests and research initiatives on the subject, which have not necessarily contributed to improving the wellbeing of trans* and non-binary people, as I further explore in Chapter 5 (Congreso Nacional, 2012, 2018).

One of the ways in which diversity has been taken up by the psy disciplines, particularly in the fields of psychotherapy and social research, is through the concept of 'cultural diversity' and the 'cultural competence model' (Beagan, 2018; Grzanka & Miles, 2016). Although I analyse the meanings and critiques of each of these concepts in Chapters 2 and 5, suffice to say for now that the so-called diversity turn in psychotherapy together with early works on the 'minority stress' model have contributed to change the locus of inquiry from the individual to the structural factors that negatively impact the mental health of LGBTI people (see Barrientos, 2015). Concepts such as 'specific health needs', 'social determinants of health', 'cultural sensitivity', and 'health disparities' have also expanded the range of terms and explanations to issues that have historically been understood as individual matters (Martínez, Tomicic, & del Pino, 2019; see also Montero Vega, González Trivelli, González Araya, Vergara Vidal, & Carvajal Canto, 2017; WHO, 2014). As I discuss at length in my concepts and empirical chapters, the notions of sensitivity, specific health needs and

[14] These diagnostic categories were replaced by those of 'gender incongruence of adulthood and adolescence' and 'gender incongruence of childhood'. In doing this, the WHO moved this new diagnosis out of the chapter on *Mental and Behavioural Disorders* of the ICD-11 and added these trans*-related categories to the chapter on *Conditions Related to Sexual Health*. This new classification formally means that trans* and gender diverse people are not mentally ill; however, the work of depathologisation is far from complete (Trans, Gender Diverse and Intersex Advocacy in Action, 2019).

[15] *Law 20.609. Establishes Measures Against Discrimination.* It was published in the Official Journal on 24 July 2012.

[16] *Law 21.120. Recognises and Protect the Right to Gender Identity.* It was published in the Official Journal on 10 December 2018.

the idea of culture that underpin the cultural competence model are not exempt from criticism, especially in their translation into practice, as I explore in Chapter 5.

In addition to considering the ways in which diversity issues have arrived in the psy disciplines, an examination of the broader socio-political background in which my research takes place is in order. Placing the post-dictatorship as one of the contexts for thinking about the workings of the diversity turn not only responds to the need to contextualise my inquiry within specific socio-historic parameters; it also indicates its workings as a conceptual category, as I explore in Chapter 2. Contrary to what the prefix 'post' might suggest, as signalling an end to the horrors of the past, proponents of the concept of the post-dictatorship from the fields of arts, cultural critique and sexual-dissident activism have insisted on using it in the present as it retains the word dictatorship as a traumatic adherence (Richard, 2015; Rivas San Martín, 2011a).

On September 11, 1973, a violent civic-military dictatorship led by dictator Augusto Pinochet began, which ruled Chile for seventeen years until 1990, disappearing, exiling and subjecting hundreds of thousands to torture, terror and persecution. The state violence against dissidents of the dictatorial regime occurred in tandem with a profound socio-economic, cultural and psychic reorganisation of life through the imposition of aggressive neoliberal reforms that helped to project the country as an exceptionally *thriving* and *stable* economy (Fischer, 2016; Han, 2012). The so-called democratic transition and the first governmental administration built itself on a consensus-based model that advocated an idea of democracy inspired by the search for agreements and the need to provide assurances of governability (Richard, 2014). This model, according to cultural theorist and essayist Nelly Richard (2019), marked a shift from an understanding of politics as antagonism to another as consensus, pluralism and diversity, wherein the former expressed the conflicts between the victims of human rights violations and those who wanted to move forward and come to terms with the past, while the latter represented an attempt to reach agreements, suppress confrontation and facilitate a path toward democratic recovery (see also Rivas San Martín, 2011a).

As much as an economic transformation, the dictatorship was also a socio-cultural one that continued in the democratic transition. For example, the principles that had legitimised the action of the state in the fields of sexuality and gender in the sixties, like the right of people to decide on their reproductive choices and the duty of the state to intervene in such matters, were replaced by a notion of the state that reinforced its subsidiary nature and

the importance of the heterosexual family and Christian values as founding principles of the nation (Araujo, 2011). The *recovery* of democracy maintained the criminalisation of homosexuality and non-normative sexual behaviours in the Penal Code Articles 373[17] and 365, which penalised "affronts to decency" and the practice of sodomy between men respectively (Congreso Nacional, 1874, 1999; see also Araya Cornejo, 2001; Contardo, 2011). Despite the colonial legacy of both articles, which have been inherited since their enactment in the nineteenth century, they were strongly enforced during the dictatorship, especially against trans* and travesti people, whose experiences have not been recognised as cases of state terrorism in the official records and truth commissions (Fontey, Parada, & Sepúlveda, 2021; Garrido, 2016). In that sense, as historians Hillary Hiner and Juan Carlos Garrido (2019) discuss in their work on "antitrans state terrorism" (p. 195), the dominant narrative of the recovery of democracy did not include the voices of those who did not fit into the dictatorship's normative sexual and gender script. In this regard, although most literature on memory and the recent history of Chile, particularly that of the democratic transition, shares several features, the majority have not interrogated the exclusion of certain subjects from the dominant narratives that followed the dictatorship, such as the experience of trans* and travesti individuals, Indigenous and Afrodescendant people, among others (Hiner & Garrido, 2019).

The rhetoric of consensus and the politics of agreement also impacted LGBTI activism, although differently depending on their political agendas, forms of organisation and visibility. While some organisations have grounded their activist practice in opposition to the state and held a critical stance against diversity politics, other more traditional activist groups have placed the state as one of their main political interlocutors and mobilised a frame of diversity as part of their advocacy strategy (see Cabello Valenzuela, 2015; Campbell, 2014; Robles, 2008). To a large extent, the minority demand of LGBTI organisations during the 1990s, particularly that of *Movilh Histórico* in Santiago (Historic Movilh)[18], aimed at making sexual diversity visible in Chile by focusing fundamentally on decriminalising homosexuality while in parallel partaking in the fight against HIV. However, and in dialogue with the state,

[17] *Article 373. From Public Indignities to Good Manners*. The article was established in the Penal Code in 1874. It has not been removed or modified despite several efforts to abolish it.

[18] Movilh is the acronym for *Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual* (Homosexual Liberation Movement). Movilh *Histórico* refers to its foundation in 1991, before its internal ruptures. After the split, in 1995, the group added the word 'integration' to its name (Homosexual Integration and Liberation Movement), "signalling the politics of assimilation and government collaboration for which it has been known" (Campbell, 2014, p. 17).

Movilh adopted an institutional and moderated approach to such demands, privileging a sanitised and normalised strategy that distinguished the homosexual demand for recognition and visibility from those actions concerned with HIV prevention (Garrido, 2017). This tactical approach introduced the homosexual demand into the logic of the state and its managerial mentality, subjecting the minority demand to the state's bureaucracy, which, to a certain degree, has continued shaping the politics of mainstream LGBTI activism (Fischer, 2016; Rivas San Martín, 2011a).

More recently, in October 2019, Chile's alleged economic and socio-cultural success, alongside the narratives of progress that have characterised the country since the democratic transition, were radically questioned in an unprecedented wave of mobilisations that took millions of people to the streets in what has been called the 'Chilean social uprising'. From October 18th until the appearance of the first cases of Covid-19 in March 2020, people from different generations, territories and socio-economic backgrounds came together to protest against long-standing inequalities and forms of oppression. They asked for a varied range of political, cultural and economic transformations, most of them connected with policies inherited from the dictatorship, among which the definite eradication of the 1980 Constitution, which is still in force, stands out.[19] The same day of the uprising, billionaire businessman Sebastián Piñera, president of Chile, declared a state of emergency and asked the military to take control of the streets with their tanks and weaponry, "giving rise to a mnemonic movement: mobilizations of Chilean meanings and representations of the past" that triggered "old fears and activat[ed] a shared feeling of going back in time" (Badilla Rajevic, 2021, p. 128). The military presence in public spaces across the country did not only have a symbolic significance. Words and practices that many of us thought extinct and somehow forgotten reappeared. Torture, sexual violence, arbitrary arrests, shooting at civilians and deaths were talked about again.[20] Thirty years later, as Manuela Badilla Rajevic (2021) describes, "the repression and the strength of the resistance testified to the fact that past governments' promises of transformation were far from accomplished" (p. 128). State violence and human rights violations, she adds, were "not only a traumatic dimension of the

[19] The demand to change and rewrite the 1980 Constitution forced the government to open a constitutional process, ratified in October 2020. The new Constitution will be drafted by an elected Constitutional Convention and subjected to a popular vote in 2022.

[20] As of November 30th, 2019, 31 people were killed, of whom four under the hands of state officials, and more than 250 people suffered eye injuries, some of them shot by pellets in both eyes and rendered blind (Amnesty International, 2020).

past, but also very much a problem in the present" (pp. 128-129). Against Chile's obsession with economic rankings and development indicators, the October uprising "demanded that before Chile can look forward, it needs to talk about its past" (p. 127).

1.3 Scope and Contribution to Knowledge

One of the conversations I hope to intervene in is well depicted in flores's (2013) quote with which I started this chapter. In it, the production of difference, and its articulation as a site of inquiry for diversity professionals, is inaugurated through a mode of interrogation that organises a specific way of knowing the diverse gendered and sexual others, which, I contend, is typical of the psy disciplines. Put simply, this is an approach to the other that seeks to explain and capture it in a definition, a label, a statistic or a set of theories to make its difference intelligible and governable (Britzman, 1995; flores, 2013). Across this thesis, I show the different discursive mechanisms through which this way of knowing is enacted, and the spaces and actors involved in putting it into work.

As suggested earlier, my project is not only a critical examination of these mechanisms but also a way of responding to flores's interpellation on the kinds of knowledges and power dynamics at stake in asking *what* is a travesti, a lesbian or an intersex person, and *how* to explain *that* to others. I learnt from my interviewees and the events I observed that not everybody is called upon to respond to those questions in the same way; that even within those marked as gender and sexually diverse, not all seem to be equally subjected to the same scrutiny. Trans* issues appeared front and centre in most of my interviews, whether as a topic of concern for the participants or as one of their immediate associations to my questions around diversity and the work they do as diversity professionals. Despite addressing the methodological implications of the presence of trans* issues in the empirical chapters and interview materials in Chapter 3, I want to stress here the limitations that this suggests for the kinds of experiences that this thesis accounts for. In this regard, the specificities of diversity work with lesbian, bisexual and intersex people, for example, are not fully addressed in my research, and, as such, this constitutes an absence that speaks about the scope and limits of my thesis, and that is telling of the ways the psy disciplines are addressing the question of diversity today. Rather than engaging with this as an expression of the need to produce more knowledge *about* their experiences, I stay with flores's invitation to interrogate

what this need tells us about the conditions under which a specific identity position becomes an issue of interest for diversity work, the psy disciplines and me as a researcher.

Although I reflect on the temporalities and socio-political circumstances that shape those discussions in Chapters 4 and 5, this thesis examines these circumstances as expressing a series of anxieties that speak more about how disciplinary knowledge is organised and how diversity work contributes to concealing such anxieties and keeping them unchallenged. Thus, instead of working to produce more knowledge *about* trans* issues, I show the ideological underpinnings of various practices of knowledge aimed at solving an alleged "unintelligibility" that those very practices, and the disciplines and professionals that sustain them, produce (flores, 2013, p. 319). In doing this, I expect to contribute to ongoing discussions on knowledge production *about* diversity that are taking place in academia and activism by showing how a focus on the structures of knowledge that organise the need to define and explain the other bring to light some problematic aspects of the psy disciplines, which suggest another way of approaching the discipline's pathologising history, one that looks at its continuities and haunting persistence in the present.

By framing diversity as having a social and psychic life, this thesis makes another valuable contribution by highlighting how a psychosocial approach to the turn to diversity might reveal aspects of Chilean social and political life that escape traditional approaches to the study of diversity and the psy disciplines. In doing so I not only draw out the narratives and discourses that circulate about sexual and gender diversity, but also suggest a way into the psychosocial mechanisms that help to trace the kinds of ambivalences, temporalities and affects that shaped the interviewees' attachments to diversity. Being attentive to these analytical features enabled a path to explore different dimensions of the turn to diversity that are often neglected in critical approaches to the topic, and that preclude access to the concept's political and affective work. In this regard, this thesis distances itself from approaches that focus primarily on evaluating diversity's potential harms or capacities as a concept or a framing strategy, advocating instead a mode of interrogation that concentrates on the work that diversity does rather than on what it is or is not. Moreover, by exploring the concept's conflictual nature, this project contributes to illuminating what would otherwise remain concealed by focusing exclusively on the critiques of diversity. For example, as I further explore in Chapter 2, diversity has a history of arrival that connects with that of 'multiculturalism' and 'cultural diversity'. By situating sexual and gender diversity in that

genealogy, I take seriously queer and feminist postcolonial critiques that show, quite compellingly, how diversity appeared as a replacement concept to deal with racial difference and anti-racist organising in the shaping of the post-dictatorship nation-building enterprise. This thesis thus recognises this tradition and highlights the erasures resulting from shifting from one term to another, and their effects on diversity work within the psy disciplines.

As will become clear throughout this study, one of the immediate effects of such histories is the omission of considerations of race and racism from the ways sexual and gender diversity has been taken up by the psy disciplines. Furthermore, the role that the dictatorship and the so-called 'return to democracy' have had in shaping diversity's arrival is also often omitted from traditional accounts, hence my allusion to these elements as context even though they are more of a haunting than a visible presence for the most part. By following those histories and modes of inquiry, diversity appeared as a discursive alternative to the concepts of 'homosexuality', 'sexual minority' and 'sexual dissidence', reflecting a move to depoliticise and appease the conflicts associated with sexuality and gender, which, I argue, haunts diversity work in the present.[21] As I suggest in Chapter 6, the ambivalence most of my interviewees expressed towards diversity, and their frustrated attempts to overcome their discomfort with it, make apparent the problems of employing a for-or-against approach to the study of diversity. Ambivalence, I contend, signals a research path into the workings of diversity that gives insight into possible ways of resisting cisheteronormativity from within the psy disciplines, and is also a form of resistance against the erasure of the histories of struggles that have given way to diversity.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Overall, this thesis provides an interrogation of the turn to sexual and gender diversity in the psy disciplines. It does so by exploring how the concept of diversity has been taken up by psy professionals working with LGBTI people in post-dictatorship Chile, asking how the

[21] On the histories and struggles around the shift from minority politics to sexual diversity in LGBTI activism in Chile, see the work of Fernando Blanco (2013), Roxana Gómez Tapia (2019), Felipe Rivas (2010), Víctor Hugo Robles, *el Che de los gay*, (2008, 2011), and Juan Pablo Sutherland (2009). In Mexico, Rodrigo Parrini (2011, 2018) has written about similar trajectories, accounting for the histories of the *sujeto minoritario* (minority subject), its formation and changes over time since the emergence of the nation-state.

struggles, ambivalences and contestations around its uses are expressive of broader political and psychosocial processes.

In **Chapter 2**, I elaborate a more comprehensive conceptualisation of the psychic life of diversity by putting contributions from queer and sexual-dissident theorisations in dialogue with psychosocial studies. Drawing on key scholarship from postcolonial, queer and critical race theories of diversity, the chapter situates the so-called diversity turn in relation to, and as a continuation of, the histories of arrival of multiculturalism in postcolonial and post-dictatorship contexts. Against this backdrop, I contend that diversity has made its way as a replacement concept to that of race and anti-racist struggles, and also as a discursive means for concealing conflicts associated with the "past" of the dictatorship and 'the homosexual demand' during the Chilean democratic transition. The chapter then moves on to account for the turn to diversity in the psy disciplines, examining the psy as a dispositive of control and regulation that makes use of diversity to affirm non-normative subjectivities within a system of classification that has not yet been able to get rid of its pathologising history. By conceptualising the turn to diversity as a process marked by a mechanism of erasure, concealment and replacement, the chapter puts forth a conceptual path for thinking about diversity as having a psychic life. I do this by engaging with the concepts of 'haunting' and the 'psychosocial' as an analytic to address the diversity turn in its ghostly presence.

Having laid out my conceptual approach, in **Chapter 3**, I outline the methods and interpretive practices that I use to trace diversity's psychic life and the work it does in the narrative and discursive accounts of my interviewees and the events I partook in. Here, I explain my analytical approaches to narrative, discourse and the notion of the field, which organise how I listened to and interpreted the material that makes up my three main empirical chapters. I start by describing how I constructed my research archive and the methods I used to compile the research materials: the rationale behind deciding who to interview (interview sampling), where to listen (research sites) and which events to observe (participant observation) to follow diversity around. I then introduce my methodological scaffolding, which combines contributions from critical narrative and discourse analysis as the comprehensive framework that better accounts for some key analytical aspects of this thesis: the spatial and temporal politics of diversity, its stylistic and sensitive appeal, its psychic life and ambivalence. Finally, I reflect on my own participation in the narratives and claims I

have produced, identifying some of the issues that haunt my inquiry and the ethical-political challenges involved in the kind of critique this project is invested in.

The next three chapters comprise the main analytical contributions of the thesis. The arguments and themes explored in each of them are organised according to the different modes of appearance that diversity acquired in the research material: in its narrative form through the idea of the field and the interviewees' stories of coming to sexual and gender diversity (Chapter 4), as a practice of knowing in the terrain of the clinic and professional training (Chapter 5), and through its political life and uses in different institutional settings (Chapter 6).

Chapter 4 explores the affective labour involved in producing the idea of the field of sexual and gender diversity, by examining the work that affects of anger and distrust and demands of reparation do in defining the contours of what counts as psychological and what does not in the process of becoming a diversity professional. Complicating mainstream narratives that insist on the absence of diversity knowledges in the university curricula, the chapter engages with a notion of the field that, in its affective and narrative structure, allows access to elements of the recent history of Chile. These historical elements, I argue, haunt diversity work in the present through modalities of silence and *whitewashing*. The chapter further explores the spatial and temporal dimensions of the field and the narratives that associate diversity with progress, which, I argue, do specific political work in the context of post-dictatorship Chile that aligns with the functioning of the turn that I analyse in my conceptual framework. As a discursive strategy of concealment and erasure, I suggest engaging with diversity as a *technique of forgetting*, preventing from looking at the painful experiences that contradict diversity's progress narratives, experiences that end up being passed on in the form of an unresolved debt.

In **Chapter 5,** I examine the different ways in which 'gender diversity' is produced as both a sensitive and a triggering issue in diversity training courses, particularly through sensitisation practices that are characteristic of the cultural competence model. The chapter analyses the enactment of different practices of knowledge through the observation of a series of interactions that took place at two different events on trans* issues I participated in during my fieldwork. I discuss the work that different modalities of the sensitive do in training sessions and how sensitivity sticks to trans* and non-binary people, making them vulnerable to medical gatekeeping practices. By establishing these associations, I argue, sensitisation

ends up producing a particular way of knowing marked by what I call the 'anxiety to know'. This mode of knowing, I contend, reproduces forms of gender panic and ways of knowing the diverse other that constructs non-normative genders as still needing an explanation, distressed and *sensitive to* mental health problems. The chapter concludes by suggesting that most of the pedagogical instances I observed not only bring the marks of pathologisation to the present of the *affirmative momentum* within the psy disciplines but also show how race is disavowed and excluded from diversity work, acquiring a phantasmatic life and a haunting presence.

In the last analytical chapter, **Chapter 6,** I delve into the interviewees' ambivalent attachments to diversity and critically address their references to 'sexual dissidence' as a means for troubling diversity's comforting politics and domesticated style. The chapter explores different answers to my inquiry on the uses of diversity and the ways it has been taken up by the psy professionals in their encounters with different institutional settings. One of these modalities is enacted through affects of ambivalence and (dis)comfort, which, I argue, work as a path to access the histories of struggles that have been erased, replaced or disappeared with the arrival of diversity. The chapter further discusses the relationship between diversity and conflict, exploring the limits of diversity's inclusive promise by questioning its tendency to equalise differences and produce subtle forms of exclusions. Feelings of ambivalence that shape my interviewees' encounters with diversity speak also to diversity's function as a *compromise formation*, which, I argue, offers a (failed) attempted solution to appeasing conflicts, illuminating diversity's complex psychic life.

Finally, in the **conclusion**, I tie together the key findings, contributions and implications of my inquiry, revisiting the research questions and highlighting the thesis's central claims. I do so by exploring what a critical interrogation into the turn to sexual and gender diversity might entail for the struggles against pathologisation, epistemic violence and contemporary forms of exclusion and racial erasure that still haunt the psy disciplines. The chapter suggests that rather than turning towards something new, what the thesis shows is more of a continuation and a form of returning to the histories of departure and concealment typical of the turn, which rebel against their forgetting. Finally, I briefly consider the potential risks that some of these findings might pose to knowledge production initiatives *on* LGBTI issues, advocating for a way of resisting the demand to produce more knowledge by questioning the reading frames that turn the *diverse other* into a topic of learning for disciplinary knowledges.

Chapter 2

The Psychic Life of Diversity: A Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

This thesis analyses the turn to diversity within the psy disciplines, particularly its impact on the terrains of psychotherapy, LGBTI activism and psychological research on sexual and gender diversity. Based on the contextual account previously provided, it becomes clear that one of the difficulties I have encountered in the shaping of my inquiry is the need for an analytical strategy that can address the nuances and ambivalences that the framing of the turn poses to those interested in tracing its psychic, socio-political and affective life.

In order to address some of these issues, in this chapter I develop a conceptual framework for the study of what I call the psychic life of diversity, which accounts for the concept's psychosocial nature in the fields of politics, subjectivity, and epistemology. My objective is not to provide an exhaustive overview of the literature that informs my inquiry. Rather, I aim to map out a conceptual path through the key debates and critiques that have shaped my understanding of the problems with diversity in the context of post-dictatorship Chile. In the development of this framework, my argument follows four interconnected threads. First, I look at the changes brought about by the birth of multiculturalism in the political vocabulary of modern (neo)liberal democracies, which is usually depicted as one of the main historical antecedents of the advent of the language of diversity. Based on this general review, I argue that diversity has appeared as a replacement strategy and as a less conflictive conceptual alternative to the concepts and framing strategies that have marked the history of anti-racist struggles, LGBTI-phobia, state violence and social justice. Second, I analyse some of the main features that arise from the encounters between the notions of diversity, sexuality and gender using a queer and sexual-dissident perspective, which I argue allows for different modes of inquiry into the problems at stake in using diversity as the main discursive formation for representing the struggles of non-normative sexual and gender social

movements. To that end, I mostly engage with scholarship produced in Latin America that has productively dealt with the geopolitics and untranslatability of concepts and fields of study that do not always speak to the contexts with which this thesis is concerned or the problems that arise from them. Third, I trace the so-called 'paradigm shift' in taxonomy within psychiatric practice that led to the depathologisation of homosexuality and discuss the arrival of affirmative approaches to LGBTI issues in the psy disciplines, which have given way to the development of new modes of sexual and gender regulation that act via diversity. Lastly, I return to my theorisation of the turn and ask about the trajectories of the histories of conceptual departing, disappearance and survival that have marked diversity's arrival in the psy disciplines and LGBTI activism. I propose the concept of haunting to account for the ghostly presence of those histories in the present.

2.2 The Turn to Diversity

2.2.1 Multiculturalism and the Question of Difference

Much of the scholarship that has critically discussed the advent of the language of diversity tells a similar story: over the last four decades, the concept of diversity has been introduced to cope with the increasing complexity of modern heterogeneous societies, offering a model for organising a form of living together that recognises the *fact* of difference (Ahmed, 2012, 2013; Bannerji, 2000; Sabsay, 2011, 2016; Zapata Silva, 2019). In this story, multiculturalism is presented as diversity's historical and political background, which gained great predominance after the Second World War, particularly in countries that had a strategic location at the centre of colonial projects, and those that experienced dictatorships during the twentieth century, specifically in Latin America (Lentin & Titley, 2008; Lewis & Neal, 2005; Sabsay, 2011).

Multiculturalism, as Avtar Brah (2020) recalls, "emerged out of struggle; it wasn't something that was just given to us by the state" (p. 49). Those struggles were, to a large extent, connected with the question of racial difference and anti-racist organising, which posed crucial challenges to the newly established liberal democracies following World War II. In that context, the notion of difference produced by multiculturalism acquired meaning within the binaries of homogeneity and heterogeneity, at a moment in history when the

notions of universality and the centrality of the West were subjected to critical scrutiny and dispute, especially by anti-colonial, feminist, anti-racist and anti-imperial critiques and struggles (Brah, 1996; Lewis & Neal, 2005; Mohanty, 2003). These challenges also came from outside academia and grassroot movements. For example, the phenomenon of mass migration, as mainly experienced in Western Europe and North America, brought "the margins to the centre" in an inward move that, in turn, inaugurated "the moment of the West's slow, uncertain, protracted de-centring" (Hall, 2000, p. 217).

A common source of criticism is that discourses and practices of multiculturalism work as "an ideology of governing" (Bannerji, 2000, p. 537) by organising so-called minority communities on the grounds of their differences, which are not accommodated within the official discourse of nationhood (Ahmed, 2013). In that sense, multiculturalism "is one of many historically specific negotiations of 'the nation'" (p. 101), in which the sense of coherence and homogeneity of the *we* that has organised the modern idea of the nation-state began to be challenged. Although celebrated as a kind of democratic, progressive achievement, multiculturalism's meanings and scope have been largely contested, particularly in its tensions with certain universalistic ideals that continued shaping multicultural policies in the 1990s and 2000s (see Brown, 2009; Nahaboo, 2015; Zapata Silva, 2019).

In the Latin American context, as evidenced in countries such as Brazil and Chile, Indigenous and Afrodescendant groups have been critical of the enactment of multicultural reforms that have translated almost exclusively into policies of cultural recognition, leaving their demands for radical redistribution unaddressed, and keeping existing racial hierarchies unchallenged (Nascimento, 2007; Richards, 2013). However, it is important to note that profound reforms have also been introduced in the region, mostly led by Indigenous mobilisations—Bolivia's reformation as a plurinational state is an illustrative case of such struggles (see Augsburger, 2021; Zapata Silva, 2019). The initial enthusiasm for the multicultural nation project entered into crisis in some contexts, as some states gradually began to abandon their commitments to multiculturalism. The 9/11 attack in the US, alongside the surge of Islamophobia in Europe and their transnational impact, marked a shift in the governmental logic, triggering "a wider set of anxieties about the social effects of a policy of multiculturalism and the fragilities of nationhood that it seemingly produces" (Lewis & Neal, 2005, p. 431). These events have been used as a reminder of the potential

dangers of cultural difference: although the state recognises the richness they can bring to society, those very differences threaten the core national values around which a discourse of multiculturalism has been articulated.

However, discourses of multiculturalism and the changes they have made possible are context specific. They emerged out of the histories of resistance, integration and transformation that have had their own ways of articulation. In Latin America, the arrival of multiculturalism took place in the midst of socio-political transformations aimed at widening the process of democratisation at work in countries recovering from the consequences of the civic-military dictatorial regimes of the mid-twentieth century (Richards, 2013; Zapata Silva, 2019). Furthermore, the multicultural turn in the region reflected an effort "to remedy past wrongs", particularly those committed against Indigenous and Afrodescendant communities, who wanted their historical demands such as redistribution of land, autonomy, self-determination and citizenship to be heard (Richards, 2010, p. 65; see also De la Maza & Campos, 2021). Changes and constitutional redefinitions were implemented as a consequence of these processes to account for the multi-ethnic, pluri-national nature of these societies, breaking with universalist assumptions that described them as made up of "*un solo pueblo, una sola lengua y una sola religión*" (Viveros Vigoya & Lesmes Espinel, 2014, p. 16).[22] Multicultural policy discourses, however, materialised in the context of neoliberal reforms, and became "an important means of generating consent for neoliberalism" among Indigenous groups, particularly in Chile (Richards, 2010, p. 66), wherein the valorisation of ethnic difference was conditional and assimilationist in its effects (see also Zapata Silva, 2019).

Despite providing a framework for organising a new way of living together that valued and recognised individual and collective differences, the downside to multiculturalism, according to Avery Gordon and Christopher Newfield (1996), was that it "replaced the emphasis on race and racism with an emphasis on cultural diversity" (p. 3). Although these observations speak to the reality of the US and the backlash against the civil rights movement of the 1970s, they also reflect a broader trend that unfolded in dialogue with transnational discussions on race and racism, assuming different, albeit connected, meanings in various contexts. Broadly speaking, the concept of race was extensively used throughout the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries as a scientific term for explaining differences as biologically based. However, following World War II, the category of biological race lost its

[22] "One people, one language, and one religion".

explanatory power and analytical appeal, with the result that "terms such as ethnicity and ethnocentrism gradually took over from race and racism" (Lentin & Titley, 2008, p. 16; see also Hall, 2000). These developments contributed to laying the foundations for an uncritical acceptance of "an ideology of antiracist pretense", particularly in Latin America (Nascimento, 2007, p. 17).

Against this backdrop, which coincides with the recovery of democracies in most Latin American countries, multiculturalism appeared as a replacement concept for *mestizaje*, which has been the central nation-building discourse in the region for many decades (Richards, 2010). Given its hegemonic character, some scholars have described *mestizaje* as a myth and an ideology of racial and cultural mixing (Brighenti & Gago, 2018; Richards, 2013; Viveros Vigoya, 2020). As such, it secured an ideology of national belonging that inscribed our origins in a temporal narrative that claims that *todxs fuimos y somos mestizxs* (we were and we are all *mestizxs*), which has contributed to producing the belief that we live in a kind of democracy in racial terms (Viveros Vigoya, 2020).[23] The ideology of *mestizaje* has also contributed to the marginalisation, denial and concealment of the racial question as a source of social inequalities (Viveros Vigoya & Lesmes Espinel, 2014). Moreover, as a concept implicated in racism, *mestizaje* also works by erasing the histories of colonial violence—particularly those of sexual violence against Indigenous women—and presenting it as a history of harmonious synthesis between different cultures (Brighenti & Gago, 2018). In that sense, *mestizaje* "is inexorably violent and not an amalgam that accommodates" differences (p. 58; see also Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012).

Unlike race, the concept of ethnicity facilitated a discursive means to explain differences as cultural features. Rather than erasing racism, the suppression of the word race, and its replacement by other *more positive* terminologies with less historical baggage, was aimed at normalising the effects of racism in Latin America, which were invisibilised or explained in reference to other social categories such as class—which is assumed to have no relation to race (Nascimento, 2007; Viveros Vigoya, 2020). Contrary to popular belief, the categories of class and gender are intrinsically bound to race, as they express the modalities

[23] In Brazil, for instance, the idea of mixture has been used to portray the country as a kind of 'racial democracy' in which racial tensions have not been an issue, quite the contrary. Unlike this popular depiction, the notion of racial democracy has been criticised in its ideological function for contributing to the projection of an identity of the country wherein black material heritage is not considered in the imagery of the nation (Cicalo, 2018).

through which race and racism are experienced. As Mara Viveros explains clearly for thinking about class:

> In Latin America, racialisation cuts across class borders, and incorporates socioeconomic differences through a pigmentocratic order. 'Latin American' racism is tied to classism since different social classes have different skin colours, in the sense that, as a general trend, people and families with more capital (social, cultural, education, economic, symbolic, etc.) are 'lighter' skinned and, conversely, those with less capital have 'darker' complexions (p. 24).

Moreover, as Elisa Nascimento (2007) suggests, this order of things "is supposed to be purely aesthetic, divorced from the notions of racial or ethnic origin, and therefore nonracist" (p. 18).[24] The pretence of this ideological order, she adds, "was to erase race and racism from Latin American history and culture" (p. 18). In this regard, the silences around race are a symptomatic expression of "the deep continuities that link Latin American national formations with their colonial past", which mark the persistence of the "coloniality of power" in the shaping of the post-dictatorship nation-building enterprise (Brighenti & Gago, 2018, p. 63; see also Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012).

2.2.2 The Arrival of Diversity

The affirmative account of the advent of multiculturalism tells a story in which the recognition of differences and the making up of plural and heterogeneous societies appear as indicators of progress and success. By contrast, the forms of social organisation in place before the multicultural shift are seen as signs of backwardness that needed to be overcome. The flip side of this version of the story is that the arrival of multiculturalism coincided with, and was enabled by, the erasure of race and racism as conceptual and political categories for explaining the production and consequent integration of difference in the national body. As shown previously, the move from race and racism to other categories played out differently in various contexts and time frames. In Latin America, the pervasiveness of the myth of mestizaje has shaped the region's image of itself as nonracist, acting as a form of disavowal

[24] I return to this idea in Chapter 6 in my analysis of diversity's aesthetic dimension.

of racism via the erasure of the category of race. And this move, in turn, has prioritised an idea of cultural diversity that recognises certain differences although in very problematic terms, for example, through concealing racialised hierarchies.

Building on these histories, I suggest engaging with diversity both politically and epistemologically "as part of a conceptual legacy", that is, as one of the discursive means "of dealing with the problem of difference" (Lentin & Titley, 2008, p. 15). Based on the above, next I explore specific forms of interrogation of the histories of diversity's legacies that underscore—and take issue with—diversity's ideological function. These put together critical perspectives coming from postcolonial theory and feminist of colour critiques, and critically interrogate diversity from a queer and sexual dissidence standpoint.

In the first place, Sara Ahmed's (2012) call to address critically the politics of the turn to diversity in relation to histories of anti-racist struggles has shaped my inquiry significantly. One of the features of these histories that I have found particularly inspiring is the narrative form they have acquired, wherein the notion of the turn is told as a history marked by the replacement and disappearance of specific political vocabularies (Ahmed & Swan, 2006). In that sense, and following Ahmed (2012), the concept of diversity has arrived following the departure of other terms and struggles, such as social justice, equality and anti-racist politics.

As with the case of multiculturalism, the drive towards diversity has also been expressive of a socio-political problem regarding the recognition and integration of difference, which has led some scholars to conceptualise diversity as a coping mechanism (Bannerji, 2000; Lentin & Titley, 2008). As such, it inherited the flaws of multicultural discourses in their attempts to produce the *we* of the nation after World War II and the recovery of democracies in post-dictatorship contexts. Against this backdrop, diversity "can be understood as an attempt to re-brand multiculturalism while refusing to address the foundational problems of culture, race and socio-political power" (Lentin & Titley, 2008, p. 13), appearing in the political vocabulary of the time "as a value-free, power neutral indicator of difference and multiplicity" (Bannerji, 2000, p. 547). It is this *façade* of innocence and detachment from politics that has made diversity so amenable to being embraced by institutions and governments of different denominations, which is why feminists of colour and critical race scholars have insisted on treating diversity as more than just a descriptive category and beyond its celebratory rhetoric (Ahmed, 2012).

Himani Bannerji (2000), for instance, suggests that diversity should be critically addressed and resisted as a "governing concept" and a "discourse of power" (p. 547), as it "creates and mediates practices, both conceptual and actual, of power—of ruling or governing" (p. 548). Despite diversity's claim to neutrality, "its apparent descriptiveness is central to its normative character" (Lentin & Titley, 2008, p. 11). The *fact* of difference, or that which signals our diverse origin, identity or beliefs, thus becomes "an occasion for interpreting, constructing and ascribing differences with connotations of power" (Bannerji, 2000, p. 547). Conceived as a discourse, diversity entails two functions. In the first place, power works through diversity by "reading the notion of difference in a socially abstract manner" (p. 555). Diversity appeals to the register of the descriptive to strip difference of its critical and historical specificity, "thus obscuring colonialism, capital, and slavery" (p. 555). From this perspective, difference is produced as a "benign variation" rather than as "conflict, struggle", emerging as a form of "harmonious, empty pluralism" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 193). Lastly, diversity attaches a concrete content to each of these allegedly neutral differences. The move here is paradoxical, in Bannerji's (2000) terms: while diversity "allows for an emptying out of actual social relations", at the same time it "suggests a concreteness of cultural description" (p. 548) that essentialises difference into fixed categories.

As a governing concept, diversity has found its way into the policy arena via the language of management, which has shaped enormously the ways diversity is deployed and understood today (see Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). The language of 'diversity management' has offered a solution to potential conflicts that might emerge from encountering racial, gender and class difference. It has also gained political and commercial value as human resource, making it measurable and marketable. Critiques of the rise of this managerial discourse, however, have stressed how diversity ends up being used as a strategy to "individuate difference and conceal the continuation of systemic inequalities" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 53).

For example, in the realm of education, Chandra Talpade Mohanty's (2003) *Feminism without Borders* analyses the effects of affirmative action policies in US higher education, particularly the arrival of practices of diversity management through the figures of *prejudice reduction* workshops and *sensitisation talks*. Crucially for this thesis is her critique of how these pedagogical interventions actively produce rather than simply transmit discourses of difference, shifting the locus of conflict from the structures of inequality and violence to the

individual (see also Davis, 1996).[25] However, as André Cicalo (2012) shows in his research on racial quotas in public universities in Brazil, not all affirmative action policies are conservative in their effects. Although criticised for not being transformative enough, racially based affirmative action policies can work as "an important tool to redress historical inequalities, or at least to start talking about them" (p. 7) in contexts where a quota logic might racialise "a country whose national pride is still largely founded on racial mixture" (p. 2). Rather than advocating an either/or approach to analyse the impact of these policies, Cicalo's study shows that discourses of affirmation and transformation can coexist and give rise to a varied range of symbolic and material effects, which can radically change the lives of those affected by racism and other forms of exclusion. These observations pose relevant questions for the ways diversity work is evaluated by those who perform that labour: what works as conservative in one place can work as transformative in other spaces, which also speaks to the strategic work of categories in contexts of racism and LGBTI-phobia, as I discuss further in Chapter 6 through the notions of 'ambivalence' and 'discomfort'.

The critiques I have mentioned are also useful to explore the function of diversity in relation to other axes of difference, such as sexuality and gender. Critical scholarship that has taken issue with this area of inquiry asks what diversity does to sexuality and gender, making visible its workings as an ideology of concealment (Ahmed, 2012), obscuring structural relations of power such as racist heterosexism and LGBTI-phobia, and reproducing, rather than challenging, hetero and cisnormativity (flores, 2013; Sabsay, 2016).

I have been particularly influenced here by Leticia Sabsay's (2011) *Fronteras Sexuales. Espacio Urbano, Cuerpos y Ciudadanía* (*Sexual Borders: Urban Spaces, Bodies and Citizenship*).[26] Of particular value for this thesis is Sabsay's critique of modern liberal understandings of sexuality as a matter of identity, and her psychosocial approach to questions of sexual subjectivity and regulative power, which I put in dialogue with contributions from sexual dissidence activism. Within this critical scholarship, the notion of diversity has been conceptualised as part of a liberal tradition in which the demands for recognition of different ways of being, alongside the articulation of a right to be different and

[25] In Chapter 5, I analyse the affective and political function of sensitisation practices within diversity work, based on my participation in diversity training sessions with medical practitioners and psy professionals.

[26] Much of the critical work around diversity that Sabsay developed in her *Sexual Borders* book has been revisited and expanded in her latest publication, *The Political Imaginary of Sexual Freedom* (2016).

included in the mainstream, have become central aspects of contemporary sexual and gender politics, especially under neoliberal modes of governance (Cabello Valenzuela, 2015; flores, 2013; Richardson, 2005; Sabsay, 2011, 2016). Moreover, as Sabsay (2016) suggests, diversity—along with other terms such as tolerance and acceptance—has "become a crucial marker defining the democratic character of politics *tout court*" (p. 31, emphasis in original), wherein the inclusion of those identified as sexually and gender diverse has also become a signal of "how democratically 'advanced' a state is" (p. 134).

Additionally, the rise and dissemination of a neoliberal sexual politics of normalisation within LGBTI movements, in which an ideal of sameness and normality in relation to the cisheteronorm tend to be prioritised, has also been at the fore of these critiques (Richardson, 2005; see also Pierce, 2020; Robles, 2011; Warner, 1999). Paraphrasing Diane Richardson's (2005) argument, contemporary LGBTI politics "help to reaffirm the regulatory power of the state by reinforcing the authority of the institutions appealed to which confer rights" and recognition (p. 532)—such as marriage, family and the military—and through which sexualities and genders are regulated (see also Rivas San Martín, 2012). References to the language of normalisation and diversity echo the hopes and changes brought about by the histories of struggles for the depathologisation and decriminalisation of homosexuality, especially in some regions of Latin America, where such processes co-occurred with the end of the civic-military dictatorships (Contardo, 2011; Cornejo, 2011; Figari, 2010; Pecheny & de la Dehesa, 2014).

A demand for normalisation has also shaped the kind of relationship individuals and LGBTI movements have had with the state, becoming a legitimate interlocutor for their demands for inclusion and equality with mainstream society (Blanco, 2013; Parrini, 2011; Rivas San Martín, 2011a). This shift towards the state not only shows the increasing judicialisation of sexual and gender struggles, but also changes in the "political grammar"—to borrow from Clare Hemmings (2011, p. 227)—of LGBTI activism, shifting from sexual minorities and sexual dissidence to sexual and gender diversity (see Blanco, 2013). In this process, a "semantic displacement" (Parrini, 2011, p. 232) of the terms that have marked the minority politics in the region has also been at work. The term sexual diversity has broadly replaced that of 'sexual minority' and 'homosexuality', stripping away its histories and the power relations that have historically explained the *posición minoritaria* (minority positioning). As a governing concept, diversity thus "deactivates the political difference of

homosexuality" and makes it easier for the LGBTI agenda to get the attention of the state, joining the logics of government and governmentality (Parrini, 2011, p. 232; see also Rivas San Martín, 2011a).

The concept of diversity has a temporal dimension attached to it. If the inclusion of LGBTI people has become an indicator of progress and democratic values, those who refuse to be included under the sign of diversity remain outside the logics of government and become excluded, left behind (Cabello Valenzuela, 2014; Parrini, 2011). In this vein, and following Rodrigo Parrini's (2011, 2018) work on time, sexuality and the nation in Mexico, by joining the logics of government and governmentality via diversity, LGBTI subjects acquire a temporality that aligns them with the times of the nation, which is also, in his terms, the "temporality of heterosexual normality" (2011, p. 209).[27] The same is true for the histories of struggles prior to the celebratory arrival of diversity: they remained pushed to the past, as something already overcome. One of the effects that follow these transformations, and that is also expressive of the idea of the turn that I have been putting forward in this chapter, is the notion of linear progress ingrained in discourses of diversity advanced by governmental structures, institutions and social movements, particularly the idea that we are a diverse society and, therefore, inclusive of non-normative sexualities and genders. As Sabsay (2016) rightly warns us, the liberalising trend implied in those changes does not necessary mean that "certain norms of sexuality and gender have ceased to regulate the ways in which we understand our relationship with our bodies, sexual pleasures, and desire" (p. 33). Unlike policy documents that engage with diversity from a descriptive angle and look at these socio-political changes with optimism, queer and sexual-dissident critiques have stressed the need for analysing the forms of sexual and gender regulation being (re)produced by these liberal discourses of tolerance, sameness and diversity, issues to which I turn next.

2.3 Queer and Sexual-Dissident Theorisations

Although the terms 'queer' and 'queer theory', and to a lesser degree 'sexual dissidence', are not widely used within traditional scholarship on the psy disciplines in Chile, I build on these

[27] I reflect on the importance of time in my inquiry into the turn to diversity in Chapters 3 and 4, wherein I discuss the relationships between narratives and time and the role of progress narratives and 'the generational' in the shaping of the field of sexual and gender diversity.

concepts and traditions as they broadly inform my inquiry and the critiques of diversity work and the psy with which I engage in my analytical chapters. Despite the fact that queer and sexual dissidence are usually presented as synonyms inasmuch they refer to a critical corpus of theories and practices of resistance to the processes of normalisation of identity categories, they differ in the kinds of concerns and the histories of struggles that have animated their critical projects, especially in Chile (Gómez & Gutiérrez, 2021; Rivas, 2011). Even within queer theory, the question of *what queer means* and *what queer does* in the context of Latin America has been the subject of productive debates and exchanges, most of them marked by the question of how to trace and think about the presence of *lo queer*[28] in the region, where the signifier *cuir* and the formulation 'queer/*cuir*' are two of its modes of expression (Pierce, Vitieri, Falconí Trávez, Vidal-Ortiz, & Martínez-Echázabal, 2021; Richard, 2018a; Rivas, 2011; Sabsay, 2013; Viteri, Serrano, & Vidal-Ortiz, 2011).[29]

In its grammatical indeterminacy, *lo queer* refers to a critical corpus of theories and activist practices that call into question the normalisation of the heterosexual/homosexual divide and the organisation of 'the sexual' into fixed and predictable identity categories (flores, 2013; Rivas, 2011). As a form of critique, the term queer intervenes in the ways LGBTI activism has understood the struggles for liberation and justice, questioning their reduction to a mere demand for the inclusion of those who become legible as 'sexual others' within the parameters of heteronormativity (Sabsay, as cited in Viteri & Castellanos, 2013). However, queer theory does not fall exclusively within the purview of non-heterosexual sexualities; nor is limited to making visible the mechanism of heterosexism as a device for the configuration of the normal (flores, 2013). *Lo queer*, according to val flores (2013), functions "as a matrix of denunciation of the stratifying violence of the norm, as resistance to the classificatory and diagnostic logic that articulate and shape people's identities" (p. 153). In that sense, queer theory "offers methods of critiques to mark the repetitions of normalcy as a structure and as a pedagogy" (Britzman, 1995, p. 214), which I find crucial as a framework for analysing diversity's ideological function as a normalising, regulative discourse. The normalisation of identities via diversity is also a regulative mechanism that occurred in racial,

[28] The phrase *lo queer* combines the Spanish neutral article *lo* with the English-speaking word 'queer', producing the substantivation and indeterminacy of the term queer as a result (see Rivas, 2011). The Anglophone version of *lo queer* would be the term 'queerness'.

[29] The writing of the term 'queer' as *cuir* alludes to the ways the term sounds in Spanish. It also works as a means to interrupt specific reading practices that easily equate *cuir* with queer in a bid to avoid the experience of dislocation that comes with the term's untranslatability (see flores, 2013; Pierce et al., 2021).

classed and cultural terms, so that within queer theory and activism "the fight for sexual justice cannot be dissociated from antiracist and anticolonial struggles" (Sabsay, as cited in Viteri & Castellanos, 2013, p. 116). By disrupting the production of normalcy, queer theory highlights the epistemic value of uncertainty and ignorance in the processes of learning and knowing the other, which go beyond the logic of categorical binary thinking, so typical of some forms of diversity work that seek to explain and fully understand what the other is (see flores, 2013).

Although sexual dissidence activism incorporates queer/*cuir* theory as part of their conceptual apparatus, it brings to the political-activist scene three elements not fully captured by theorisations of *lo queer* from the North: 1) sexual dissidence's different genealogies and context of emergence; 2) the role of the state; and 3) their critique of the liberal sexual politics of diversity. flores (2013) summarises these three propositions by presenting the term sexual dissidence as an *emplazamiento estratégico* (strategic emplacement) within LGBTI politics, as it "marks a distance from the discourses and practices of traditional homosexual movements, whose politics has been hegemonised by the centrality of the state as the sole interlocutor and *gestor* (manager) of demands" (p. 38). Hence, a sexual-dissident critique would target the liberal imprint of diversity-based demands in their normalising and assimilationist effects, and the endorsement of a politics of representation articulated around a logic of closed identity categories that end up sectorising the different struggles and demands (flores, 2013). In that regard, a sexual-dissident critique also advocates for articulating forms of coalitional activism and solidarities between different demands and groups, where the struggles, intellectual and artistic production of trans* and travesti people have had a fundamental place in Chilean sexual dissidence's history, particularly in the shaping of its activist praxis and thinking (see Cabello, 2011; Pierce, 2020b; Richard, 2018a; Rodríguez, 2016).[30]

In keeping with the notion of *emplazamiento* in its spatial (emplacement) and discursive (interpellation) sense, I suggest engaging with the term sexual dissidence as

[30] As with the case of queer and sexual-dissident critiques, the terms trans* and travesti, either as a critical analytic, a field of study or as an "embodied mode of politics" (Rizki, 2019, p. 148), have articulated their own critical approaches in ways that differs from how both terms are understood in the Global North, particularly within US-based trans* studies. Trans* and travesti theorisations in the Americas have taken various forms, of which the "experiences of state violence, including contemporary dictatorship and genocide" (Rizki, 2019, p. 149) are key structuring elements. On the terms' genealogies and specificities, see the work of Cole Rizki (2019) in his proposal for a '*Trans* Studies en las Américas*' (see also Harsin Drager & Platero, 2021).

intervening in two territories or scenes that speak mainly about how sexual dissidence has made its way in Chile, and that gestures towards some of the sites into which this thesis also intervenes: that is, the territories of the university and the academy, and the post-dictatorial Chilean political landscape. In her afterword to the edited volume *Por un Feminismo sin Mujeres* (*For a Feminism without Women*),[31] Richard (2011/2018) defined the university and the academy as a territory of critical-political intervention, often neglected by mainstream feminism and LGBTI activism in their narrowed understanding of what count as a territory of political action. In her depiction of the *Coordinadora Universitaria por la Disidencia Sexual* (CUDS),[32] Richard (2011/2018) highlighted its political decision to choose the university as a site of intervention given its centrality as an index of social mobility and status in Chile, as it is mostly there where knowledge is produced, hierarchised and negotiated. Since its origins, CUDS's members have intervened in the ways knowledge about non-normative sexualities and genders is produced in the academy, questioning how some knowledges have become minoritised and erased. In that sense, their critique points to both academic gatekeeping practices and the power dynamics at work in producing sexual and gender others as diverse or deviant subjectivities, while leaving the cisheteronormative structures of knowing that shape the university and disciplinary knowledges unchallenged (Richard, 2011/2018). That is to say, it leaves intact a structure of knowing that seeks to classify and taxonomise the other for the sake of certainty and mastery, one that relies on the binary categorisations of male/female, homo/heterosexuality, normal/deviant, private/public, etc. (flores, 2013; see also Britzman, 1995).

As for the second *emplazamiento*, the arrival of sexual dissidence in the Chilean activist scene coincided with a particular political-sexual context, that of the post-dictatorship. Although I explore the term's politics further on in this chapter, by post-dictatorship I do not just refer to its indexing of the lack of justice in human rights matters nor the continuation of neoliberal policies inherited from the dictatorship (Rivas San Martín, 2010). As visual artist and sexual dissident activist Felipe Rivas (2010) suggests, the post-dictatorship also refers to "the postponement of sexual demands" (p. 48) during the democratic transition, and the pervasiveness of what Richard (1994, 2004, 2018b) has

[31] The edited volume (see Díaz, 2011) presents a selection of pieces of the Colloquium *Por un Feminismo sin Mujeres*, which formed part of the *Segundo Circuito de Disidencia Sexual CUDS* (Second Circuit of Sexual Dissidence).

[32] *CUDS, Sexual Dissidence University Coordinator.* They have changed their name to *Sexual Dissidence Utopian Collective* (Colectivo Utópico de Disidencia Sexual).

described as a ‘rhetoric of consensus’ in the ways LGBTI activists have articulated their demands since the democratic transition.

Sexual dissidence appears in this context to be intervening in two specific areas that are further developed in Chapters 4 and 6 respectively through my discussion of the workings of reparation as a mobilising force in the shaping of the field, and my analysis of diversity politics within the psy disciplines. On the one hand, as mentioned earlier, the concept of sexual dissidence critically troubles the relationship between LGBTI activism and the state. Notably, the institutionalisation of the ‘homosexual demand’ within a state-centred discourse of integration, tolerance and diversity that tends to prioritise the experience of one specific identity, that of the racially classed privileged gay male (Gómez & Gutiérrez, 2021; Rivas San Martín, 2010). Rivas (2011a) suggests the concept of *homosexualidad de Estado* (‘State homosexuality’) as a framework to analyse the sexual politics of LGBTI activism in its relationship with the state during the post-dictatorship. As such, State homosexuality expresses a way of thinking about politics that conforms to the logics of government promoted by the state—its language, times and limits. These logics, in turn, secure the stability of the social by neutralising any potential conflict that might disrupt the democratic consensus on what is considered respectable and tolerable (Rivas San Martín, 2011a).

On the other hand, sexual dissidence advocates a replacement of the terminologies and strategies of the LGBTI movement, “displacing the fight against ‘homophobia and discrimination’ for an active resistance against a heteronormative power regime” (Rivas San Martín, 2011a, La Concertación y el fracaso de la Homosexualidad de Estado section, para. 19). Against this backdrop, and joining travesti theorisations, a sexual-dissident critique also targets the use of the category of ‘the victim’ as the mobilising force for political action, questioning the articulation of confessional discourses that focuses on guilt narratives and requests for respect (flores, 2013; Rodríguez, 2016). In response to that, sexual-dissident activism intervenes by exploring other “de-dramatised vocabularies” and aesthetic practices, such as performance, parody, literature and art (Rivas San Martín, 2011a, para. 19; see also Linett, 2020)—or, as flores (2013) also emphasises, practices that trouble the “legitimised formats of political action” (p. 112) that often interpellate, disturb and produce discomfort in others (see Hija de Perra, 2015).

Continuing with the above, one of the things that queer and sexual-dissident critiques share is that they interrogate the “dispositives of control that produce our sexual categories,

our identities and the norms that regulate their constitution" (flores, 2013, p. 112). In that sense, such dispositives point to the structures of intelligibility that make us speak about ourselves in their terms, which, according to what I have discussed so far, revolves around the figures of the deviant, the victim, the respectable LGBTI subject and the diverse other. I contend that one of the dispositives that have historically partaken in making up those figures is the psy disciplines, as they have historically functioned as a normalising and governing device by "making visible and intelligible certain features of persons" (Rose, 1996, pp. 10–11). In what follows then, I lay out some of the critical approaches to the psy disciplines that contest their regulative function regarding non-normative sexualities and genders. Particularly those that critically discuss changes that have taken place at the disciplinary level, notably the move away from a pathologising model to another of normalisation and cultural competence.

2.4 The Diversity Turn in the Psy Disciplines: From Pathologisation to Normalisation

Much of the scholarship that has addressed the normative and regulative power of psychology have built on Nikolas Rose's (1996) initial work on the histories of what he termed the 'psy disciplines', which "ha[ve] played a rather fundamental part in 'making up' the kinds of persons that we take ourselves to be" (p. 10). Within this tradition, the psy is conceptualised as "never purely academic" as it also has occupied a fundamental place as expertise, providing "a corps of trained and credentialed persons claiming special competence in the administration of persons and interpersonal relations" (p. 11).

Although Rose's critical work has been used as a framework for analysing the role of the psy disciplines in the construction of nation-states in postcolonial contexts and in the shaping of the modern notion of the self, it has not been specifically used to examine the heteronormative baseline from which the notions of the self and subjectivity have been conceptualised (see Butler, 1990, 1997).[33] It has thus left unchallenged the presumed

[33] Rose's work has inspired a line of research on the histories of the institutionalisation of psy knowledges in Chile and the role that the psy disciplines have played as a means for dealing with the so-called 'social question' in the context of the emergence of the nation-state by the end of the nineteenth century (Mardones Barrera et al., 2016; Ruperthuz Honorato & Lévy Lazcano, 2017). This has given way to a line of inquiry into the reception of Freudian theories of sexuality, and of psychoanalysis more broadly, in Latin America, particularly in Chile, Argentina and Brazil (Plotkin, 2009; Ruperthuz Honorato, 2015). In Chile, some of these ideas have been explored from a historical perspective in the work of Mariano

Western, masculine, cisheterosexual and racially privileged subject of the psy. This partly explains why the intersections of sexuality, gender, class and race are still often neglected as analytical categories within the psy disciplines—especially when it comes to discussing issues concerning gender and sexual subjectivity beyond mainstream critiques of the liberal ethos of modernity and the Foucauldian *Scientia Sexualis* (Corrêa et al., 2014; see also Bartky, 1997; Energici, 2018). A critical approach to the psy disciplines that takes sexuality and gender into account will thus build on such scholarship to challenge the discipline's complicity with the perpetuation of racist cisheteronormative structures of oppression and mechanisms of categorical capture, questioning the sexual and gender epistemologies in which the notion of the subject and the process of subjectification more broadly are rooted (Butler, 1997; Fernández & Siqueira Peres, 2013; Preciado, 2013, 2020; Riggs et al., 2019).

In its connections with subjectivity and subject formation, Judith Butler's (2004) critical reading of Foucault's theorisation of regulatory power is helpful here, as it complicates the workings of regulation as an exterior force always operating *on* gender and sexuality. Against this assumption, Butler (2004) suggests that "the regulatory apparatus that governs gender is one that is itself gender-specific", namely that it brings its own "distinctive regulatory and disciplinary regime" (p. 41). The question then is not just what the regulative effects on gender and sexuality are, but how they both can be thought of as a regulatory norm in themselves, also "in the service of other kinds of regulations" (Butler, 2004, p. 53). To analyse these regulative mechanisms and the role that the psy has played in sustaining them, next I explore the so-called 'paradigm shift' in taxonomy within psychiatric practice that led to depathologisation and discuss the arrival of normalising approaches to LGBTI issues which, as I have suggested earlier, reflects how the turn to diversity has materialised in the field of the clinic and social research.

The pathologisation of difference has been one of the disciplinary responses offered to those whose very existence does not conform with the parameters of what Butler (2004) has defined as 'cultural intelligibility'. That is, the parameters of "that which is produced as a consequence of recognition according to prevailing [sexual and gender] norms", without which the category of the human becomes unthinkable (p. 3). Against this backdrop, those who fail to conform to such norms, in which the ideologies of sexual difference and sexual

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Ruperthuz (2015) on the reception of Freudian theories of sexuality in Chile and their preventive uses with children, "as an element to be worked on within the civilising process" (p. 1191) during the first four decades of the 20th century.

dimorphism are crucial structuring factors, appear as "logical impossibilities from within that domain" (Butler, 1990, p. 24; see also Cabral, 2011; Preciado, 2013, 2020). In other words, and drawing on Foucault's (1976/1990) argument in the *History of Sexuality*, this is "a domain susceptible to pathological processes, and hence one calling for therapeutic or normalizing interventions; a field of meanings to decipher" (p. 68).

Broadly speaking, the medicalisation of sexuality and gender, and its correspondent pathologisation under the gaze of the psy disciplines, has been described as a form of social control which redefines and makes human nonmedical experiences legible within the normal-healthy/abnormal-unhealthy divide (Borba, 2017). It also gives psy professionals and medical practitioners "the power to prescribe which human experiences, subjectivities and bodies are deemed appropriate" (p. 324) and, thus, gives the power "to transform potentially neutral forms of human difference into unjust and oppressive social hierarchies" (Stryker, 2008, p. 36, as cited in Latham, 2017, p. 41). What is at stake, then, in the psycho-medical regulation of sexuality and gender is the ways in which the psy has dealt with the question of sexual and gender normativity, as in by pathologising what escapes from that normative framework. This entails the reinforcement of a given socio-sexual order by means of producing difference in relation to heteronormative sexualities and intelligible genders.

The institutionalised regulation of non-normative sexualities and genders by the psy disciplines can be traced back to the creation of the Committee of Statistics of the APA in 1917 (Corrêa et al., 2014). After World War II, in 1949, the WHO published the ICD system, and the APA launched its Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder (DSM) in 1951. From then on, as Sonia Corrêa, Brian Davis and Richard Parker (2014) recall, "the ICD and the DSM—throughout their various respective revisions—would remain the final arbiter of normality and pathology" for psy professionals, "not just in the United States but also worldwide" (p. 280). The histories of (de)pathologisation by the APA and the WHO is a complex and contested one, which is beyond the scope of this study.[34] However, I map out

[34] On the histories of (de)pathologisation of sexualities and the politics of diagnosis in the APA/US context, see the work of Ronald Bayer (1981), Jack Drescher (2010) and Tom Waidzunas (2015). On the invention of the category of homosexuality and its medicalisation in Latin America, see for instance the work of Óscar Contardo (2011), Annie Wilkinson (2013), Carlos Figari (2012), Jaime Barrientos (2015) and Juan Rolando Cornejo (2011). In relation to the pathologisation of trans*, intersex and gender non-conforming people, there is a handful of scholars and activists such as Amet Suess (2016), Mauro Cabral (2016; 2003), Miguel Roselló (2018), Tobias Wiggins (2020), Paul. B. Preciado (2013, 2020), Gerard Coll-Planas and Miquel Missé (2010), who have written about the histories of the medicalisation of gender and the critiques around the dispositives of the psy, the APA, the DSM and ICD, etc.

some of the main aspects of such histories, which highlight the lingering effects of the pathologising model and the epistemic changes that fuelled the shift from pathologisation to normalisation.

Homosexuality was officially classified as a mental disorder by the APA in 1952 and was re-classified as a form of sexual deviation in 1968. The move towards depathologisation has been framed "as part of a normal and inevitable epistemic unfolding of scientific progress" (Das, 2016, p. 391) in most mainstream historical accounts. According to Geeti Das (2016), the rationale behind the decision to drop homosexuality off the DSM in 1973 did not interrogate its heteronormative foundation as it was just replaced by another category, that of 'sexual orientation disturbance', which narrowed the scope of pathologisation to those distressed about their homosexual *inclinations* and/or who wanted to change them (Ojeda Güemes, 2015; Waidzunas, 2015). While depathologisation "conferr[ed] a form of equality by formally demedicalizing homosexuality", heteronormativity was nonetheless retained "in the embodiment of heterosexuality as the rightful arbiter of the border between suboptimality and disorder" (Das, 2016, p. 393).

Heteronormativity was also reinforced by pathologising atypical gender identification, as what followed the partial removal of homosexuality from the DSM was the invention of a new diagnosis, that of the 'gender identity disorder of childhood', targeting mostly effeminate boys.[35] As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1991) accurately asserts, "while [depathologizing] sexual object-choice, it radically *re*naturalizes gender" (p. 21, emphasis in original) as a biological fact that needed to remain aligned with norms of cultural intelligibility. The move towards normalisation, therefore, moves into conformity and the homogenisation of sexual identity categories under the object choice model (see also Riggs et al., 2019). Although the process of shifting diagnostic categories held liberatory potential in its immediate effects, this move has been criticised for being conservative in its lasting consequences as it has produced the displacement of the subject of regulation from homosexuality to non-normative genders.

Trans* and gender variant individuals have had a long relationship with the ICD and DSM, ranging from its first appearance as 'trans-sexualism' in the chapter on mental disorders of the ICD-9, its classification as 'transvestism' in the DSM-1 "to the current three-

[35] Peter Hegarty (2018), in his *A Recent History of Lesbian and Gay Psychology*, examines the emergence of the figure of 'the child' as an object of concern for modern psychology in its normalising impulse after the depathologisation of homosexuality, which gave way to the invention of the diagnostic category of 'gender identity disorder in childhood' (see also Bryant, 2006, 2008).

pound DSM-5 and its comprehensive diagnosis of gender dysphoria" (Wiggins, 2020, p. 59; Sheherezade, 2017). According to Tobias Wiggins (2020), the diagnostic history of the DSM with regards to trans* people evolved from associating gender variance with sexual perversion to notions of gendered suffering that began using the language of distress to explain individuals' conflicts with their gender.[36] Critical approaches to these changes in taxonomy have suggested that the diagnostic criterion of distress has worked, in practice, to retain trans* people as patients under the gaze of the psy, making them suspected of being the carriers of a psychological sign that both exposes their mental-ill health and confirms the psy professionals as gatekeepers for treatment (Latham, 2017, 2019; Riggs et al., 2019; Roselló-Peñaloza, 2018). As with the case of homosexuality, distress has worked historically as a means of exchange in the ongoing process of depathologising trans* subjectivities (Wiggins, 2020). All in all, each version of the DSM, alongside its corresponding diagnostic shift, has had concrete effects on the life of trans* people, since "a diagnosis remains the sole route to accessing many gender-affirming resources" (p. 61) in most Latin American countries.[37]

2.4.1 Diversity as a Form of Cultural Competence

Queer, feminist and trans* scholars have argued that the epistemic transition from a pathologising paradigm to one of normality and recognition of human diversity has not only kept some of the principles of the pathologising model in place. The shift from one model to another has also opened up the psy disciplines to a new ontology of sexuality and gender, which has led to the development of new modes of sexual and gender regulation that, I argue, act via affirmative, normalising and diversity discourses (Fernández & Siqueira Peres, 2013; Grzanka & Miles, 2016). Similarly to the histories of the arrival of multiculturalism and diversity that I have been recounting in this chapter, the diagnostic shifts that have taken place in the APA alongside the transition from a medicalising paradigm to one of depathologisation have been inspired by the need to compensate for past wrongs. Yet, despite

[36] Although the advent of the language of distress has enabled a shift in the conversation around the causes of an alleged disorder from the individual to the recognition of the social determinants of the experience of dysphoria, in practice the trans* subject is still approached and produced as a specific case of psychological distress in need of psycho-medical support.

[37] Despite having passed the Gender Identity Law in 2018 and having established a network of gender identity polyclinics, the request for gender certificates by psy professionals still operates as one of the barriers for access to gender-affirming health care in Chile. Throughout the three empirical chapters, I analyse different gatekeeping practices, such as the gender certificate and the health needs assessment.

the efforts to end the long-lasting effects of pathologisation, the shift from one model to another was and has always been partial, as the emergence of the language of distress, together with a series of replacement diagnostic criteria, attests.

Following the depathologisation of homosexuality, there has been a growing development of research, training and clinical practice on affirmative approaches to psychotherapy intended to *affirm* a patient's sexual and gender identity (Hegarty, 2018; Waidzunas, 2015). In the early depathologisation era, however, the articulation of affirmative discourses of mental health were mostly shaped by the AIDS epidemic of the 1980s in the US, which fuelled the development of a new discursive frame aimed at counteracting attempts to re-medicalise homosexual behaviours (Waidzunas, 2015). Self-proclaimed affirmative therapists developed new clinical guidelines "embracing the idea of homosexuality as a 'normal [immutable] variant' and encouraging gay identity formation" (p. 83; see also Hegarty, 2018). Following Patrick Grzanka and Joseph Miles (2016), the move towards affirmative approaches within the psy disciplines, specifically clinical psychology and counselling, reflected "a larger multicultural revolution in psychotherapy" that started to embrace "human cultural diversity" (p. 376) in research and the training of future psy professionals (see also APA, 2009).

The so-called multicultural shift in the psy disciplines "has catalyzed diversity-related institutional rubrics and policies" (Grzanka & Miles, 2016, p. 376), including the concept of 'cultural competence' and its derivatives 'cultural responsiveness' or 'cultural sensitivity', and 'transcultural competence', among others. In a way similar to the trajectory of multiculturalism, cultural competence emerged as a framework for addressing the challenges posed by changes in the demographic composition of societies that began to relate to themselves as multicultural, multiracial and pluri-ethnic, emphasising the need for training culturally-sensitive professionals, particularly in relation to race and ethnicity (Beagan, 2018; Kirmayer, 2012; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). The rationale behind this move was that the experiences of health and wellbeing of individuals identified as belonging to minority groups were shaped by the culture of dominant social institutions and of those in positions of power. This power differential between groups has ended up regulating "what sorts of problems are recognized and what kinds of social or cultural differences are viewed as worthy of attention" (Kirmayer, 2012, p. 149).

The concept of cultural competence was formalised by US-based psychological organisations in the 1990s and early 2000s and then popularised in journals, clinical guidelines, position statements, handbooks and teaching (APA, 2003, 2009; Grzanka & Miles, 2016).[38] As a technical principle, it typically encompasses a set of *knowledges* of "diverse groups' experiences", *skills* "for working with diverse clients" and *awareness* "of one's biases" and sensitivity to the distinct values and beliefs of peoples unlike oneself (Grzanka & Miles, 2016, p. 377). Although initially connected in therapeutic practice to racial and ethnic minorities, cultural competence "has become a kind of umbrella term that encompasses multiple areas of social and cultural difference, including LGBT issues and LGBT affirmative therapy" (p. 377), which have been crucial for the training of psy professionals and medical practitioners as a means for preventing LGBTI-phobia, discrimination and the acting out of microaggressions in the therapeutic setting (Martínez et al., 2018). Although a *universal* approach to the concept of culture in the cultural competence model has allowed the inclusion of more descriptive categories to explain differences in health outcomes for a broad range of experiences, it has been criticised for diluting and, sometimes, even erasing the focus on race, ethnicity and racism (Beagan, 2018; Sue et al., 1992). The arrival of cultural competence and diversity in the psy disciplines thus repeats a similar script to that of multiculturalism. That is, a logic of moving forward in time, despite having enabled a form of repair with past wrongs through the normalising management of difference, has paradoxically involved the departure of race and racism from what initially appeared as a more inclusive framework.

Two main epistemic-political effects arise from here, one pertaining to the notion of culture at work in the cultural competence model, and another connected with the ways knowledge about sexuality and gender is understood when approached as a competence or a skill that needs to be trained. On the one hand, culture tends to be defined as a matter of group membership, either self-assigned or ascribed, in most mainstream literature on cultural competence (Kirmayer, 2012). This assumes that members of a given group share certain

[38] In Chile and in most of Latin American countries, culturally sensitive approaches to work with LGBTI people has not yet been institutionalised. Research on these kinds of interventions is still scarce and is inspired by the knowledge and trajectory of research teams from the US, Canada and the UK (Martínez et al., 2018). So far, part of the work has consisted of translating materials, establishing networks of collaboration across the region and internationally, adapting scales, questionnaires and measuring instruments, among others. An example of these efforts has been the newly created Latin American *Red de Investigación en Psicoterapia y Salud Mental en Diversidad Sexual y de Género* in 2019 (Research Network in Psychotherapy and Mental Health in Sexual and Gender Diversity).

cultural traits, values and beliefs and pass them on to others. Culture, in this broad sense, tends to be essentialised and understood "as consisting of more or less fixed sets of characteristics that can be described independently of any individual's social life story or context—hence the plethora of textbooks with chapters on specific ethnocultural groups" (Kirmayer, 2012, p. 155). Despite its broad and encompassing scope, cultural competence has a narrow focus in practice, as not all experiences and social categories are equally treated; not everyone is evenly marked by race, sexuality, class and gender. The experiences of the dominant group are therefore "rendered invisible, devoid of culture, thus both naturalized and normalized" (Beagan, 2018, p. 125), appearing only in the form of biases, beliefs, a lack of sensitivity or awareness that need to be worked on.

On the other hand, the notion of culture present in most mainstream scholarship on the subject falls within a liberal understanding of multiculturalism and diversity aimed at managing difference by establishing a norm that operates as containment of cultural difference (Sharma, 2006). As such, it constructs cultural diversity and, I would argue, sexual and gender diversity as well, "as an 'empirical object of knowledge', compelling it to be encountered as a discrete category to be *discovered, observed, evaluated*" (p. 204, emphasis in original). Paraphrasing Sabsay's (2016) critique, the discourse of diversity re-ontologises dissimilar identity configurations when conceiving them as a variety of discrete and classified identity positions, intended to be included in a model of representation that refuses to turn in on itself (see also flores, 2013). This model sets beforehand the conditions under which an inclusive, affirmative practice will be enacted. The diversity turn in the psy disciplines thus mostly works by incorporating difference into its disciplinary boundaries, rather than critically questioning the ways power circulates within its own framework. As Brenda Beagan (2018) suggests, "in implicitly speaking to members of dominant groups, culture is rendered solely as something in or possessed by ethnic and racialized, [sexually diverse] Others; the health professional is depicted as culture neutral" (p. 126), as are the discipline and therapeutic models themselves.[39]

Finally, while the turn to sexual and gender diversity has brought the recognition of different forms of disciplinary violence against non-normative sexualities and genders into focus, it has also diluted the centrality of race and on the culture of the discipline, consolidating the psy disciplines' power as gatekeepers for treatment. As with the

[39] I return to these critiques in Chapter 5.

replacement of race and racism with the arrival of multiculturalism, various forms of pathologisation and classification have endured despite efforts to overcome the disciplines' pathologising history. Of what psychosocial mechanisms are these histories expressive? What analytical value can we get from the tracing of such mechanisms? These are two of the questions I explore next in the last section of this chapter.

2.5 The Psychic Life of Diversity

So far, my account of the diversity turn has stressed how its arrival and consequent mainstreaming has involved the departure of other terms and struggles. The vocabularies of 'replacement', 'erasure, 'concealment' and 'displacement', used to describe the workings of the turn by scholars and activists alike, also speak to another dimension of the analysis that not only points to *what* has been replaced but also to the refusal to forget: the refusal to keep asking how such terms and struggles continue grounding our social existence. When a term and a struggle disappear, be it race, racism or social justice, "a concern is that such histories might also disappear" (Ahmed & Swan, 2006, p. 96). However, it is the lived experience of racism, LGBTI-phobia, pathologisation and state violence that survives despite efforts to erase those histories (see Gilroy, 1998, as cited in Lentin & Titley, 2008). And this is how the framing of the turn to diversity also works: by rendering those histories invisible or not worthy of attention given their alleged conflictual nature.

The question of disappearance, erasure and conceptual departure structures this last section, in which I account for the psychosocial effects of such histories of survival in the present, putting forward an understanding of diversity as if it had a psychic life. To do so, I first explain my understanding of the psychosocial and the work that the notion of the turn does as expressing both a continuity and a return to something that was previously present, rather than a move towards something new. Lastly, I propose the concept of haunting as an analytic to think about the ghostly presence of the histories of violence and disappearance that shape the troubles with the concept of diversity today.

My understanding of the psychosocial brings together the work of scholars and clinical practitioners that have contributed to its institutionalisation as a field of study, especially in the UK context, with a long tradition of research practice that asks for the

relationship between the subject and society from a psychoanalytic perspective (Aceituno & Radiszcz, 2014; Araujo, 2014; Frosh, 2003; Frosh & Baraitser, 2008). Contrary to its positivist deployment in health sciences, where the psychosocial is usually found hyphenated along with biology,[40] the tradition with which this thesis is concerned "understands psychosocial studies as a critical approach interested in articulating a place of 'suture' between elements whose contribution to the production of the human subject is normally theorized separately" (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008, p. 348).

The latter requires a theorisation of the social and the psychic that troubles mainstream understandings that reproduce a binary division between what is deemed external (the social) and internal (the psychic). To that effect, psychosocial studies have turned to psychoanalysis, alongside queer and feminist theorisations of power and subjectivity, "as the discipline that might offer convincing explanations of how the 'out-there' get[s] 'in-here' and vice versa" (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008, p. 347). Two epistemic considerations arise from here. First, as Roberto Aceituno and Esteban Radiszcz (2014) suggest, using psychoanalysis as a framework to think about these issues does not translate into "a mere 'implementation' of one field of problems (the individual and its symptoms) to another (the forms that sociability take in the modern cultural order)" (p. 118). It rather involves a "dialectic operation" (p. 118) by which the same processes that govern the constitution of psychic life at the individual level can be recognised in the socio-political and cultural life of a given society. Second, as Sabsay (2016) argues, a psychosocial approach does not only question the binary opposition between the individual and the social, but also "the polarity between social determination and autonomous agency" (p. 198). And this also speaks to the ways power and subjectivity are understood within a psychosocial framework, which, in dialogue with Butler's (1997, p. 13) theories of subjection, conceives of power as both acting *on* the subject and *enacting* the subject into being.

Building on the above, the psychic life of power would thus signal the comings and goings from the exterior to the interior and vice versa, which, in keeping with this movement metaphor, reflects the psychosocial intervention of undoing their separation and holding them together. Additionally, I argue, it reflects the ambivalent nature of the psychosocial in its

[40] I discuss the workings of the term 'bio-psycho-social' in some forms of diversity work in Chapter 5. For a critique on the uses of the hyphen symbol in bio-psycho-social approaches to mental health issues, see Miguel Roselló's (2018) discussion around the biologisation of gender by psychiatry in trans-affirmative interventions within gender identity clinics.

efforts to hold together the interrelated yet detachable logics of the psychological and the social, without seeking to resolve the tension that this position might produce. The analysis of the relation between the psychic and social reality, in keeping with Butler (2015), "is one that tracks forms and effects of permeability, impingement, resonance, phantasmatic excess, the covert or implicit operations of psychic investments in the organization of social life" (p. viii). These observations hold crucial analytic value for this thesis as it is through ambivalence that diversity appears as a conflictual object for the psy disciplines and psy professionals, as I analyse in depth in Chapter 6.

By returning to the vocabularies of replacement, concealment and displacement that have been used to describe the turn to diversity, I suggest engaging with them not as descriptors of a causal or sequential connection between events, paradigms or therapeutic models with a known starting point and direction. Rather, these concepts and ways of referring to the turn need to be thought of as signalling the workings of a mechanism that troubles the temporalities of the turn, and the boundaries between the psychic and the social. In that sense, the mechanisms of replacement, concealment and displacement name different ways of dealing with conflict that are expressive of processes that work at the individual and social level, which, I argue, are telling of the failure of the turn in its attempts to overcome the problems with difference (racial, sexual, gendered). The word turn thus not only speaks about the shift and the move from one direction to another, but also, and most significantly, it points to a continuity, "a *return* to something that was present before, and became hidden but never actually fully went away" (Roseneil & Frosh, 2012, p. 6, emphasis in original).

This notion of the turn as an expression of continuity, gestures towards the sexual-dissident critique of the arrival of the language of diversity in the Chilean LGBTI activist scene. Further, it connects the turn to diversity with the context of the post-dictatorship as one of the discursive legacies of the democratic transition that still shapes current discussions on LGBTI issues as conflictual matters. Diversity, in this genealogy, was one of the discursive formations aimed at appeasing conflicts connected with the past, which *never actually fully went away*. Echoing this assertion, Richard (2017/2019, Chapter 1) has extensively analysed the functioning of what she calls "techniques of forgetting" during the Chilean transition (p. 9). One of those techniques is the rhetoric of consensus, which shaped the passage from the dictatorship to a post-dictatorship era, alongside a shift from an understanding of politics as antagonism to a politics of consensus, in which the logic of pacts, negotiations and the

avoidance of conflict have been some of its main characteristics (Richard, 2004, 2017/2019, Chapter 1; Rivas San Martín, 2011a).

Consensus, in Richard terms (2017/2019, Chapter 1), was therefore "established in order to normalize the heterogenous plurality of the social" through a "politico-institutional pluralism that assumes a noncontradictory diversity", made of a "passive sum of differences" meant for appeasing antagonisms (p. 2). Just like the arrival of multiculturalism, diversity worked too as an ideology of governing (see Bannerji, 2000) by carefully managing the demands of those who did not sit comfortably within the official discourse of the post-dictatorship nation-state, particularly the demands of Indigenous communities, Afro-Chileans and LGBTI people (De la Maza & Campos, 2021; Garrido, 2016; Hiner & Garrido, 2019; Richards, 2013). Against this backdrop, the very term 'transition' emerged from the need for a more professional vocabulary that would downplay the marks of violence attached to the expression post-dictatorship, which discursively brings back the staging of the traumatic avoided by the rhetoric of consensus and the politics of agreements (Richard, 1994, 2015). In that way, and by using the language of the post-dictatorship, Richard, together with sexual dissident activists, intervenes in the temporalities at work in presenting the democratic transition as a breaking point with regards to the dictatorship, pointing to its continuities in the present (see also Han, 2012).

Avery Gordon's (2008, 2011) work on the concept of haunting and the figure of the ghost offers a productive way of bringing together some of the threads I have discussed in relation to the psychosocial and the psychic life of conflicts. Gordon's *Ghostly Matters* (2008) is an exploration into new modes of knowledge production and languages for describing modern forms of dispossession, exploitation and repression that are typical of the experience of transatlantic slavery, racial capitalism and state terror, particularly that of the Southern Cone. The privileging of these three forms of dispossession located her work in a line of inquiry different from that of the early work of trauma studies (Gordon, Hite, & Jara, 2020). Despite trauma and haunting usually being treated as if they were similar, "haunting is not the same as being traumatized" (Gordon, 2018, p. 209). The time of trauma is also different than that of haunting. Even though haunting registers the harm or the losses caused by experiences of violence, unlike trauma, "haunting is an emergent state" that "produces a something to be done" that has a particular orientation to the future (p. 209). As an emergent state, it arises with ghosts that carry with them "the signs and portents of a repression in the

past or the present that's no longer working", which "creates conditions for a re-narrativization" (p. 209) of our place in the histories of violence (racist, disciplinary, pathologising, state led) that others have told for us, thus inviting us to act on what is to come next. And this connects with Richard's analysis on the workings of the rhetoric of consensus, plurality and diversity as techniques of forgetting, governing and concealment of conflicts. As will become apparent in the empirical chapters, what haunts diversity work emerges in those critical moments where the appeasement of conflicts or their *repression* fails, in keeping with Gordon's vocabulary.

Haunting, in Gordon's (2008) terms, "is one way in which abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with" (slavery and dictatorship, for instance), "or when their oppressive nature is denied" (p. xvi). Haunting represents the working of an "animated state" (p. xvi) that serves as a conduit for an unresolved social violence in its efforts to make itself known, raising spectres or ghosts that demand our attention. Haunting and the appearance of ghosts are thus one of the means through which "we are notified that what's been concealed is very much alive and present" (Gordon, 2008, p. xvi). It also questions the linearity of chronological time as the term "alters the experience of being in time" (Gordon, 2008, p. xvi) and the telling of history, which usually relies on a coherent succession of events that move forward from the past, the present and the future, an approach that informs my methodological engagement with the temporalities of narratives and my discussion on *the times of diversity* in Chapter 4.

Building on Gordon's theorisation, Stephen Frosh (2013) also highlights the sociological character of ghosts as social figures, which needs to be thought of as real: "they actually exist, because what haunts us is the denied reality of oppressed lives… lives marginalised and written out of history" (p. 44). In that sense, we can think of the ghost as belonging to the space of the psychosocial, "embedded in the symbolic structures of society that maintain the liveliness of some memories whilst marginalising others" (p. 44). Ghosts also orient our practice as they demand from us a response "to bring them the justice they deserve" (p. 4). Or as Ilana Eloit and Hemmings (2019) suggest for the case of feminism in its troubled relationship with lesbian theory, ghosts "hold particular promise for a creative and political response to feminism's myopias" (p. 351). And this is crucial as it opens up a space for thinking about haunting in relation to my inquiry regarding the histories of

conceptual departing that have shaped the turn to diversity. By using Patricia Williams's concept of 'phantom words' (1991, as cited in Gordon, 2008), Gordon turns her attention to contemporary state myopias with respect to the concepts of race, class and gender, and the kinds of violences these myopias have inflicted upon the lives and bodies of marginalised communities. The phantasmatic nature of words and their haunting effects in contemporary politics is not just an analytic to *see* but also a methodological path to trace their effects today. When denied, replaced or disappeared words can work as phantoms: "they return to haunt" (Gordon, 2008, p. 207).

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have developed a conceptual framework for the study of the psychic life of diversity. In doing so, I have drawn on different theoretical traditions and modes of inquiry into diversity in its institutional and political life, developing a conceptual path to think about the notion of the 'turn to diversity' that is critical of approaches that advocate a 'for or against' critique, and that do not question the narratives of progress and liberalising promises attached to it. Instead of assuming that a shift in the ways the psy disciplines have historically related with LGBTI people has taken place, and that this *per se* is a positive step in the fight for equality and respect for differences, I have complicated straightforward narratives of the turn by exploring its different temporalities, and epistemic and geographic specificities.

In dialogue with postcolonial, queer and sexual-dissident theorisations, I have advocated situating the study of the diversity turn as expressive of a broader conceptual legacy that has tried, through various discursive means, to deal with the problem of difference (Lentin & Titley, 2008). The chapter began by describing the trajectories and conditions of the emergence of multiculturalism—one of diversity's historical antecedents—arguing that diversity would have inherited many of the problems of multicultural discourses, in their efforts to accommodate so-called minority groups within nation-building narratives in postcolonial and post-dictatorship contexts. Against this backdrop, I have suggested that the arrival of diversity, just like the birth of multiculturalism, was enabled by the departure of race and the histories of anti-racist struggles as political categories for explaining difference. In Latin America, and particularly in Chile, a politics of multiculturalism has made its way as

a replacement concept for *mestizaje*, contributing to leaving race out of the democratic project of the post-dictatorship, and prioritising an idea of cultural diversity that has concealed race and racism as organising principles of the social. On the other hand, in the fields of psychotherapy and psychological research, the turn to diversity through affirmative and culturally sensitive approaches has shown a similar trajectory: by way of expanding the notion of culture to include non-normative sexualities and genders, race and racism have been disappearing as a focus of analysis in order to think about the experiences of health, violence and discrimination faced by LGBTI people. Moreover, as queer and sexual-dissident critiques of sexual and gender diversity have sown, a pathologising, taxonomic and victimising logic has prevailed despite efforts to repair past wrongs, consolidating the role of the psy disciplines as gatekeepers for treatment. The chapter thus shows how diversity has worked as a regulative practice to erase, conceal and normalise difference, particularly in relation to race and racism, and the exclusion of those who refuse to be included under a fixed grid of identities.

A project that aims to account for the turn to diversity, I have argued, must account for the stories of arrivals and conceptual departures that have made possible the shift from one concept to another, following the traces of what has been replaced and erased in the process. By using the above as a point of departure for an inquiry into the conditions of emergence of diversity, sexual-dissident critiques have situated the problem with diversity in the post-dictatorship and the pervasiveness of a consensus rhetoric in the ways the transitional democratic project related with the "past" of the dictatorship. By using the notions of departure, concealment and erasure as modes of analysis into the workings of diversity, I have proposed the concept of haunting and the psychosocial as a framework to account for diversity's psychic life, which I have put forward as an analytic to address the turn in its ghostly effects in the present. As such, I have argued that the notion of diversity this thesis is putting forward has acquired a phantasmatic life that makes it intriguing as an object of study, as it allows for an interrogation into the histories of disappearance and erasure brought about by the arrival of diversity, which reject being captured by traditional approaches that do not pay attention to their demands to be heard. In the next chapter I tackle the question as to how we can best listen to the traces of those histories in the narratives and discourses of diversity professionals, and spell out in more detail a methodology capable of following diversity around.

Chapter 3

Methodology:
Producing Psychosocial Knowledges

> Research is a profession in which you constantly have to deal with uncertainty, because it is a craft, a very demanding craft. It involves the willingness to dive into strange and diverse universes for long periods of time. To put up with feeling your way. To overcome the frustration of a trivial conclusion, a poorly executed methodological wager, or a failed consistency test.
>
> Kathya Araujo (2014, p. 72)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I set out my analytical approach and methods to examine empirically the turn to diversity in the psy disciplines from a critical psychosocial perspective. Overall, this project relies on a feminist qualitative approach, combining critical narrative and discourse analysis of semi-structured interviews, participant observation and group conversations with diversity professionals working on LGBTI issues in three cities in Chile. Given the nature of my object of study and the theoretical scaffolding I introduced in my conceptual chapter, a series of interpretive practices and ethical considerations are analysed to address the broad range of aspects at stake in this mode of inquiry into the psychic life of diversity.

For this task, Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln's (2018) articulation of 'methodological bricolage' in their depiction of the qualitative researcher comes in handy, as does Kathya Araujo's (2014) invitation to think about research as a craft—since bricolage seeks to deal with complex social phenomena from a critical, flexible and reflexive standpoint. Unlike standardised notions of methodology based on pre-determined alternatives and procedures, the figure of the researcher-bricoleur is critical of traditional disciplinary boundaries, while upholding the "dialectical and hermeneutical nature of interdisciplinary inquiry" (p. 45). However, the latter does not transpose into an *anything goes* kind of

approach since, for the authors, the bricoleur is aware that "[e]ach method bears the traces of its own disciplinary history" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 46) and that research is always "shaped by one's personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity and those of the people in the setting" (p. 45).

Keeping this in mind, this chapter lays out a bricolage capable of organising different strands of theory and methods, in this case contributions from psychosocial studies, the biographical approach, and feminist and queer theory. It proceeds in three parts. First, I describe how I constructed my research archive and what methods I used for creating it. I then proceed to discuss Peter Emerson and Stephen Frosh's (2004) critical narrative analysis, which I complement with contributions from discourse analysis as an analytical framework to study the narratives and discourses produced about and, sometimes, against sexual and gender diversity. I specify the epistemic assumptions underlying these methods, my understanding of both narrative and discourse, how these dimensions have contributed to defining my object of inquiry, and the interpretive strategies I used to analyse the material. Lastly, I reflect on the epistemological-political considerations involved in using these methods and analytical strategies, as well as those challenges that emerged from my positionality as a researcher.

3.2 The Research Archive

My research studies the narratives and discourses produced about diversity, the work they do and the knowing practices they enable, particularly those articulated by psy professionals working within the framework of sexual and gender diversity. The way I set about exploring the doing of diversity and its psychic life was through interviewing diversity professionals and participating in events at which LGBTI issues were talked about. Between December 2018 and May 2019, I conducted twenty-six semi-structured interviews with psy professionals from three different cities working with LGBTI people in the fields of the clinic, activism, and research; thirteen of them were from the city of Santiago, seven from Valparaíso and six from Concepción. I partook in twenty-two academic and activist events on sexual and gender diversity, and held conversations with three groups of psychologists and

psychoanalysts working with LGBTI people in Santiago.[41] From my participation in those events and group conversations, I produced a compilation of notes on the circulation of diversity in settings and everyday scenarios that gave me access to the ways diversity is used, contested and negotiated in practice. In this section I elaborate on the rationale behind producing my research archive, starting with a description of the reasons I had for determining the research sites and locations, and how the interviews and participant observations were conducted in practice.

3.2.1 Diversity Worlds

Given that there is no institutionalised field of study on sexual and gender diversity in Chile, and my interest in diversity was also an interest in my interviewees' stories of coming to diversity, what and who constituted my fieldwork experience were crucial methodological questions that I needed to address in advance in order to identify potential participants, spaces and conversations with which I wanted to get involved. To that end, I came up with a working definition of the field that imagined it constituted by any psy professional (psychologist, psychiatrist, psychoanalyst), group, organisation, research project and activist initiative that self-identified, contested or appeared to be recognised by others as (made up of) 'diversity professionals' and doing 'diversity work'. I take these terms from Ahmed (2012) but use them in a slightly different way. Instead of using the expression 'diversity worker' as Ahmed does, I use the word professional to signal both the growing professionalisation of diversity work in Chile through the figure of the sexual diversity expert or gender expert, and the identity of those who introduced themselves or were addressed by others by virtue of their professions or university degrees. Invoking the professional aspect of diversity work was also a way for me to bring to the conversation and to the analysis of the material the hierarchies of class, gender and race that shape access to both formal education and work in Chile, as well as whose knowledges and experiences are considered legitimate and representative of the field.

All of the interviewees were engaged in some way or another in developing, formalising and/or contesting the practice of 'diversity work' in various institutional settings. Although not all my interviewees had a similar relationship with the institutions with which

[41] For a complete description of the research materials, see Appendices 1 to 5.

they interact, nor were equally positioned within them, most of the participants shared the goal of transforming those institutional spaces, in this case, the cisheteronormative structure that organises social life and what counts as legitimate knowledge. Diversity work was not only a descriptor for characterising my sampling since it also has analytical value. As Ahmed (2017) suggests, diversity work is also a phenomenological practice, "the work we do when we do not quite inhabit the norms of an institution" (p. 91), the conventions of a discipline or a field of knowledge. The interview encounters were a space for talking about some aspects of that dimension, the ambivalences, and conflictive affective attachments that my interviewees experienced towards those institutional spaces, which in some cases translated into a way of doing diversity that worked against the institution.

The notion of the field I put forward in this chapter builds on the idea of 'diversity world' described by Ahmed (2012) in her methodological notes to the study of the institutional life of diversity, particularly her multi-sited ethnographic approach. My project also has some ethnographic moments that informed my interpretive practices and methods, as it involved participant observation of conferences, workshops, and training sessions across different sites and locations. I spent some time immersing myself in the field, participating as much as I could in the worlds that most of my interviewees inhabit and have helped to build throughout their careers. I have been part of that world too, and this granted me access to some spaces, key actors and conversations I would not have otherwise had access to. By following diversity around, Ahmed's "aim [was] certainly to describe the world that takes shape when diversity becomes used as a description" (p. 12)—that is, the world that comes into being when diversity is invoked as a descriptor to qualify the composition of a certain group of people, to label someone as diverse and to portray the kind of work people do. In that world, meetings, conferences, workshops, research projects, social relationships, activist spaces and my interviewees' consulting rooms were central. The diversity world I came to know during my fieldwork was "a world of mobile subjects and objects, of the networks and connections that are necessary for things to move around" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 11). This world of mobile diversity professionals was also associated with the circulation of knowledges, pedagogical practices, discourses and narratives that pass on to each other and help to build a sense of community and working ethos, which has been a key element for the training on diversity knowledges for the majority of my interviewees (see Holvikivi, 2019). My three empirical chapters describe those worlds and relationships. They are also an effort to re-tell

the story of how those worlds came about, by following my interviewees' memories through their discourses and narratives.

The selection of the locations for the fieldwork was largely opportunistic and mediated through personal and professional connections I had already established before arriving in Chile. These connections facilitated access to events, institutional spaces and research projects, and recommended other colleagues outside the networks of professionals I knew. While I do not claim to provide a complete and representative account of the reality of the whole territory when it comes to the state of diversity work in Chile, I did strive to provide some degree of context variation that allowed me partially to overcome the centralist mentality that shapes knowledge production in Chile, something to which I return in the following chapter.

Based on these considerations, I met with psy professionals doing diversity work in three cities: Santiago, Valparaíso and Concepción. Santiago is the capital of Chile and the place where I have lived and worked my whole life. Chile is a highly centralised country: Santiago concentrates over half of the total population. Inequalities in the country are not just social and economic as they also impact people's access to information, health and educational services, which are critical for LGBTI people: geography, one's residential address, the rural/urban divide and location within the city determine differential access to these services and networks, even within the capital. Hence my decision to include Valparaíso and Concepción. These two cities met three relevant criteria. First, they have established and, to some degree, known trans* polyclinics (or gender-identity health programmes) and sexual and gender diversity units with a network of medical and psy professionals working within or outside these programmes either as allies or support groups.[42] Second, LGBTI activists, psychology departments, and student and feminist organisations have an important presence in both cities, which facilitated access to professionals working on sexual and gender diversity in academic, activist and community-led spaces. Lastly,

[42] Across the country, fifteen different health services for trans* people within the public sector have been institutionalised in recent years, offering psychological support, hormone replacement therapy and surgery, among other services. However not all hospitals or the trans* health programmes provide all these services together. The majority of these programmes, if not all, operate without formal recognition from the state and without a specific budget, and several of them even without defined protocols that guarantee access and care from a human-rights, trans*-centred perspective. In response to the precarity of these situations, different organisations, health professionals, and trans*, non-binary and travesti activists have organised a campaign to create a National Programme for the Health Care of Trans* People, which has become all the more necessary during the ongoing COVID-19 crisis (see Equipo OTD, 2021).

Valparaíso, Concepción and Santiago have witnessed important changes in their ways of approaching LGBTI issues via strategies of gender and diversity mainstreaming in higher education, health and social policy, which have taken shape alongside recent sociocultural changes in matters related to LGBTI rights, which I talk about in different moments throughout my empirical chapters.

3.2.2 Interviews and Participant Observation

The materials analysed in this thesis stemmed from interviews and field notes of my participation in diversity-related events that took place within a period of six months, between December 2018 and May 2019. The interview material was produced as an effect of a particular interview setting and relationship that I approached as conversational, wherein themes and meanings emerged interactionally (Arfuch, 1995). Building on Noreen Giffney's (2017) depiction of the clinical encounter, I understood the interview as an encounter too, as it "encompasses both a conscious and an unconscious engagement; one that is arrived at through, in spite of, and apart from" what is being said and shared in a limited time and space (p. 37). Despite being the one asking the questions and bringing with me a set of issues that provided some structure to the exchange, my disposition as a researcher and interviewer was to facilitate "the emergence of things that cannot be known in advance" (p. 37), and that would allow a certain degree of flexibility and negotiation.

With this in mind, I set up a relatively open and adaptable form of interviewing, which aimed "to target a set of research questions whilst also allowing for flexible and 'rich' talk" within a conversational style (Emerson & Frosh, 2004, p. 24). I conducted twenty-six semi-structured interviews and three Santiago-based group conversations: two with members of two LGBTI support groups, and one with a study group on sexual and gender diversity. The interview and group conversations were guided by a set of pre-planned questions and introductory points.[43] Working from a topic guide provided a structure that helped me to elicit the narrative and discursive material of interest to me and my interviewees (see Appendix 1 for details). In practice, the topic guide grouped a list of questions into thematic sections, ranging from my interest in the participants' historical engagements with sexual and gender diversity, their professional and activist trajectories, the uses of the term diversity in their

[43] I used a shortened, modified version of the interview guide in the group conversations.

work, and Chile's sexual and gender politics. The different themes and questions were conceived in dialogue with my research questions (RQ) and conceptual framework. In this way, I combined questions that oriented my interviewees towards their stories of arrival to the working with LGBTI people (RQ: stories of the field; stories of arrival), with questions that asked participants to theorise and discuss their understanding of specific terms and practices (RQ: the political work of diversity and its doing), with other queries aimed at exploring the role of the psy disciplines in ongoing debates around LGBTI issues (RQ: the socio-political). Some of the questions were:

- *To begin with, tell me something about yourself. What do you do professionally? What is your work/occupation about?*
- *I would like to know more about your professional and personal trajectory... Tell me a little bit about how you became interested in working with LGBTI people. What sparked your interest in sexual and gender diversity?*
- *In recent years, the term 'diversity' has been widely used within psychology and in the fields of social policy, human rights and LGBTI activism… Is 'diversity' a term that you use for the work you do? What other terms do you use and why?*
- *What might be the main challenges psychology/psychiatry/LGBTI-activism is facing today with regards to sexual and gender diversity? How is psychology responding to these challenges in your view?*

I employed an "iterative approach" to each interview encounter that allowed me to attune the topic guide to the salience and relevance of certain themes as I went along with the process and familiarising myself with the guide and my role as interviewer (Spruce, 2017, p. 65). Piloting the topic guide with one of the participants and discussing the outcome with my supervisors was crucial in this endeavour, as it helped me to see if the questions I was asking reflected my research concerns and my overall approach to interviews as encounters. Furthermore, these reflective moments helped me to realise that I was entering the field already invested in some critiques of diversity that anticipated what to expect from the participants, bringing an assumed critical stance *against* diversity in my first interview encounters and events observations that would have impacted significantly on my analysis.

Recognising my positioning at a very early stage of the fieldwork enabled me to avoid sharing my hypothesis and framing strategies before listening to the interviewees' own ways of navigating the questions, particularly those connected with diversity and sexual dissidence.

This reflective work after the pilot, as well as the socio-political circumstances in which my fieldwork took place, encouraged me to add new questions to my topic guide, which reflected the growing politicisation of diversity work, and the ambivalence with which progress in LGBTI rights has been received within some activist circles and diversity professionals. Along these lines, while I was prepared for the participants to talk openly about their understandings of the term sexual and gender diversity, the majority of them focused exclusively on their experience and challenges of working with trans* people. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, despite the fact that references to the LGBTI acronym were made, the particularities of diversity work with bisexual, lesbian or intersex people, for example, were not addressed or mentioned, with a few exceptions. I reflect on these omissions in Chapter 4 through the notion of the 'times of diversity' and 'the socio-legal', and Chapter 6 through my critique of the language of inclusion and the non-performative in relation to the LGBTI acronym.

All interviews were conducted in Chile during the six-month period of my fieldwork. The majority of the interview encounters took place in the participants' working places, such as their consulting rooms or hospital facilities. When not possible, we arranged meetings at cafes close to their jobs, and with three of them, we scheduled video calls owing to accessibility issues. Encountering the participants in their workplaces was important for me given my interest in knowing their worlds in practice. I was particularly drawn to the spatial organisation of their offices and the presence of what I call *diversity objects* in them: rainbow flags and pride pins that some of them wore on their uniforms, inclusive signage (e.g., 'safe space' signs), photographs of diverse bodies, and body tattoos that were shown to me, to name but a few. All these, I suggest, worked as signs or means for transmitting the idea that the space is an affirmative setting and that you as a psy professional are an ally with whom you can talk about your problems without fear of being discriminated against. I reflected on this dimension in my research diary, writing down my ideas and non-verbal cues together with my affective resonances and experience of the space, which I then treated as texts for analytical purposes.

Interview Sampling

I followed a purposive sampling criterion based on the parameters I provided in my working definition of the field, which I then complemented with elements of snowballing once the fieldwork was in progress and the first participants had already been contacted. Of the twenty-six interviewees, only one was a psychiatrist; all the rest were psychologists working either in the public sector and/or at their private practice, as full- or part-time professors and researchers, as activists, etc. (see Appendix 2). Most of them have specialised in clinical psychology and some others have taken different lines of specialisation, such as social psychology, psychoanalysis, sexology, community psychology, organisational and feminist psychology. The ages of my interviewees ranged from twenty-six to sixty-one years old with an average age of thirty-five. Although I did not specifically ask for their sexual orientation or gender identity, all the interviewees explicitly stated it during the conversation whether as something that came up spontaneously as a response to my interest in their personal trajectories, or as a conscious exercise of disclosure or positioning. Eight of the participants identified as men, seventeen as women and one as non-binary. Some identified as gay, others as lesbian, one of them as bisexual, another as pansexual, two as trans* and a few as heterosexual. The interviews lasted between forty-five minutes to two hours, and all were recorded and transcribed.

I recruited participants primarily through the networks of activists, friends, and colleagues I already knew, which helped with facilitating access in an initial stage of my fieldwork. I also looked for key psy professionals and activists who are well known for their authority in structuring and/or speaking for the *field of sexual and gender diversity*, and who are also constantly cited and mentioned in local literature on LGBTI issues. Additionally, I gained access to a different network of professionals outside my closest circle by checking the information available on the website and social media accounts of the majority of LGBTI organisations and city-based Diversity and Anti-discrimination Offices of the three cities that included among their functions providing psychological support to LGBTI people.

Santiago is the location I know the most and for this very reason the place where almost all my potential participants where initially allocated. I limited myself to ten people per city to avoid over-representing the experiences and voices of the capital, asking for help from some friends and colleagues who have been doing research on the subject in both Valparaíso and Concepción. Almost all the participants I met knew about each other's work.

This was particularly the case of most of the psy professionals based in Santiago. The way they referred to and cited each other during the interviews spoke to who gets to be included and excluded in their ways of imagining *the field*. This made me think at that time about the networks of solidarity and the divisions that also exist among them. How they read my own position and political investment in the subject was also as crucial as my interest in how knowledge travelled and informed diversity practices, and this is something I explore in more detail in Chapters 4 and 6.

Participants were approached first by email or phone, where I briefly introduced myself, described my research and expressed my interest in finding out more about their experiences as psy professionals working with LGBTI people, and their uses of the term diversity within their professional practice. I attached a copy of the 'information sheet' about my thesis (see Appendix 4) where I described my research themes and ethics in an *FAQ* format, which included a reference to the role of external transcribers who assisted me with the transcription of the material. While in person we went through the consent form and discussed how they preferred to be identified (see Appendix 5), through video calling I read out the form and asked for their consent on each aspect of the interview. For the case of group conversations, I did not record the encounter, but I did ask each member of them to sign a consent form as I wanted to use their responses without naming their groups. Despite most of my respondents choosing to appear by their names, I decided to use pseudonyms for all of them and removed any personal markers that would make the participants identifiable, a point I reflect further on in the last section of this chapter.

Events

In addition to the interviews, I conducted participant observation at twenty-two public and semi-public events, the majority of which took place in Santiago, except for a two-day course on gender identity and childhood in Valparaíso (see Appendix 3 for details). The participatory dimension of my participant observation varied, from relatively passive observation (e.g., note taking) to moments of active participation and engagement with the theme of the events during the *question-and-answer* sections and coffee breaks. In most event observations, it was not possible to make my presence as a researcher known to all attendees, and for that reason I did not secure consent for the field notes collected.

As with the interviews, a purposive sampling criterion was also carried out in the selection of events. I participated in conferences, seminars, workshops, symposiums, book launches, one summer school and cultural festival that engaged with the themes of sexual and gender diversity, sexual dissidence or LGBTI activism, either within or outside the psy disciplines. Most of the events were held at university spaces, whether organised by academic departments and research projects, or in partnership with civil society organisations, NGOs and activist groups. Although different in scope, the majority of the events were targeted at an academic and/or professional audience, sometimes stating explicitly a profile of potential attendees (e.g., health professionals, teachers and policy makers) or asking for proof of university degree.

Even though many of the events I looked at did not seem to have much to do with my research, I decided to participate in them as much as I could, relating to those spaces and themes as also configuring the field from outside the disciplinary borders of the psy. Conferences, training sessions and informal gatherings are, as Gail Lewis (2013) suggests, temporary "relational sites" and "zone[s] of intense emotional experience" (p. 881) wherein meaning-making processes also take place. Academic and activist events can be thought of as spaces of feminist, queer or sexual dissident infrastructure, "a palimpsest of individual and collective histories, here-and-now agendas…expectations, and a range of individual and collective subjectivities, identities, and experiences that are both created by and collide within the intersubjective encounters that occur during the [events]" (p. 882). These observations helped me to engage with events as knowledge-making practices, always embedded in and responding to specific socio-cultural contexts, which shaped the conversations that took place during my time in the field. For instance, trans* issues were part of almost all the events I attended, which partially explains the attendees' demand to *know*, *treat* and *understand* the trans* subject with a sense of urgency that totally surprised me. It took me some time to realise that trans* issues functioned as a trigger of multiple responses, affects and intellectual initiatives that need to be read in line with the recent approval of the Gender Identity Law in Chile[44] and the removal of trans* identities from the ICD-11's classification of mental disorders, among other context-specific elements.

[44] The Gender Identity Law was adopted after five years of intense debate in 2018. It enables trans* people over fourteen years to change their legal name and sex on the registry without needing surgical intervention. Among other reasons, the law and the whole debate was subject to fierce criticism by LGBTI

Events, as Maria do Mar Pereira's (2017) suggests, also work as ceremonials or rituals "whose role goes beyond that of exchange of knowledge" (p. 11). Almost all the events I attended shared a similar spatial setting. From the perspective of the audience, you can observe a large table on the left or right side of the room usually covered with a tablecloth, bottles of water, glasses and microphones according to the number of speakers. On each side of the table, organisers placed their institutional banners and informative stands; you can also see a podium, a board and technological equipment, such as laptops, a projector and audio. A couple of events facilitated a sign language interpreter and simultaneous translation devices when the presentation was in English. The order and distribution of these facilities changed depending on people's uses of the space and its location, whether it was a university, NGO, hotel, auditorium, classroom or outdoor space. The location of the event was organised in such a way that you easily knew where to sit and how to behave, which was also shaped by who the organisers and the expected audience were. All these elements were carefully thought out and displayed as a way of producing events as a formal, *serious* ritual, where knowledge circulates within the boundaries of a series of acts that people repeat accordingly. I realised, for instance, that events organised by LGBTI groups differ significantly with the ones arranged by academic institutions, and even among them, things happened differently when speakers where medical practitioners, psy professionals, activists or a combination of the three. Academia and activism were terms that also organise exchanges among groups. The seriousness and the formality of each encounter, and the qualification of any intervention as valid knowledge or evidence, also relied on the speaker's credentials or reputation. Some events and organisations were actively looking to be legitimised as contributing to knowledge production by scientific groups, policy makers or academic professors. Others, in contrast, were actively positioning themselves in opposition to mainstream academia, seeking instead validation from LGBTI, feminist and sexual dissident activists.

activist groups because it left non-binary people, children and youth under fourteen years outside the law (see Saavedra & Valdés, 2018).

3.3 Methods: Tracking Psychosocial Knowledges

The second part of this chapter turns to the description of the study as psychosocially oriented and the decision to use critical narrative and discourse analysis as a comprehensive framework to interpret the material. As discussed in Chapter 2, the historical processes that led up to diversity are also the histories of disappearance, survival, erasure and conceptual departing, which have made me turn my attention to diversity's psychic and social life. A series of questions arise from this premise, which have shaped my inquiry and methodological choices: What does it mean for diversity to have a psychic and social life? How can I account for its psychosocial effects? To what extent are the ways diversity is used and spoken about expressive of broader socio-political conflicts that have been concealed and made to disappear? How can I account for these dynamics and *listen* to the traces of those histories in the discourses and practices of my interviewees?

My working experience as a psychotherapist and my former training within Freudian psychoanalysis at an early stage of my career *have stayed* with me and have shaped my approach to my fieldwork experience and analysis of the material. My critical approach to the psy, as well as my commitment to holding psychology accountable for the historical wrongs it has inflicted upon the life of LGBTI people, has also oriented this research in ways not fully transparent to myself as a researcher. What analytical value—if any—can be given to this biographical aspect, and how to use this productively for research purposes? The notion of the psychosocial as both a field of study and a method proves useful here since it gives weight and analytical value to reflexivity, as do feminist engagements with research and knowledge production more broadly (see Pillow, 2003; Wilkinson, 1988).[45] A focus on reflexivity required me to be critical of how my own location, politics and interests as a researcher influenced all the stages of the research process. As feminist epistemologists have shown, who can know, what it is known and how things are known are not disembodied questions immune to the workings of power, as they also speak about the locations from which the knower engages in knowledge production (see Alcoff & Potter, 1993). In this regard, reflexivity "asks us to approach our work with epistemological unease because we are

[45] For more on reflexivity, partiality, positionality and location, see, among others, the work of Donna Haraway (1988), Sue Wilkinson (1988), Linda M. Alcoff (1991), Sandra Harding (1991), Patricia Hill Collins (2000), Wanda Pillow (2003), and Sumi Madhok (2020).

always at risk of reproducing categories that reify power", and that do not challenge the structures of thinking, concepts and epistemic locations with which we feel at ease (Sweet, 2020, p. 924). Using reflexivity as a methodological tool thus contributed to producing better accounts of the problems at stake in my inquiry while situating this knowing, and the forms of knowledge claims resulting from this mode of interrogation, as partial and not universal (Haraway, 1988).

As a research practice, the psychosocial provides a useful approach for critically analysing the psy disciplines in their ways of studying subjectivity and what ultimately counts as psychological knowledge. In the words of Emerson and Frosh (2004), a critical psychosocial perspective would examine the work that the psy disciplines do "for what [they reveal] of relations of power and dominance, assumptions over 'human nature', and the connections between what is taken to be 'psychological' and what (conventionally, 'the social') is not" (Emerson & Frosh, 2004, p. 4; see also Araujo, 2014).

My experience in the field enabled me to *see* and *listen* to the workings of this binary distinction, particularly in relation to the so-called psychological status of what I identified as 'diversity knowledges' in my empirical chapters—in other words, a series of concepts, ideas and experiences that account for the epistemic status of knowledges about sexual and gender diversity, not necessarily produced within the boundaries of the psy disciplines. Most of my interviewees not only felt that they needed to prove their professional credentials as psychologists because of the work they do and the knowledges they bring to their practice. Some of them also felt that their work was negatively qualified as 'too social', 'too political' and 'non psychological' by other psy professionals, especially when their work questioned psychology's individualising and pathologising ideologies. To some extent, and this is one of the claims I put forward in Chapter 4, the ideological nature of the psychological became exposed in its encounters with diversity knowledges. Besides its analytical value, this element of the interview materials had methodological value as well as it oriented my listening and my understanding of the field: what counts as psychological is a disputed terrain, especially when it is used as a professional position (as a psychologist) and an epistemic location from where to authorise your claims to knowledge.

If this thesis is primarily interested in analysing the discursive and narrative forms that diversity acquired in the field, I needed to be aware of how my own understanding of the psychological might have shaped crucial methodological choices I made, such as where to

look for those discourses, who to interview and what questions to ask. Therefore, psychosocial-inspired research would treat the research field as one of the contexts in which the notions of subjectivity, diversity and the psychological are mutually shaped by both the participants, the contexts they inhabit and that inhabit them, and me. Which methods helped me to make sense of the workings of diversity in its entanglement with the psychic and the social is what I turn next, discussing the epistemic and political edifice of my analytical framework.

3.3.1 Following Discourses and Narratives

My inquiry is informed by my interest in the doing of diversity and the political work it does within the psy disciplines. My focus is, therefore, not on what diversity is, but on what the uses of diversity allow or prevent my interviewees from doing in their clinical and pedagogical encounters, research and activist practices. As such, I draw on queer theory's mode of inquiry into the doing of concepts and the worlds and relations they enable, particularly, as Giffney (2009) suggests, queer theory's capacity to expose "the contradictions nestling within concepts, the way in which meanings proliferate and spill out of terms the more we try to contain them" (p. 8), which prevents us from trying to master the concept of diversity and reducing its complexity to only one proper definition. In asking about the work that diversity does, I am thus following diversity around (Ahmed, 2012), tracing the different ways of talking and forms of use that give diversity a discursive and narrative form.

In following diversity around I needed an analytical framework to make sense of the narratives and discourses with which I came into contact during my fieldwork, some of which took the shape of a ghostly presence even after the experience had concluded. I found Emerson and Frosh's (2004) critical narrative analysis a helpful method to deal with both the narrative and non-narrative parts of my research materials. This approach guided both the production and analysis of *instances* of narratives and discourses around sexual and gender diversity present in my interviewees' accounts and the events I observed and partook in, allowing me to study the participants' "sense-making and the social contexts… in which this sense-making [took] place" (Emerson & Frosh, 2004, p. 16). Critical narrative analysis, thus, offers a methodology "capable of entering into narrative as a discursive, context-sensitive process of coproduction" (p. 52) that focuses on the "active constructing process through which individual subjects attempt to account for their lives" (p. 7). In that sense, critical

narrative analysis is an "approach respectful of the agency of persons negotiating 'possible lives', particularly in the context of breaches of canonical discourses" (p. 10) and social ideals, exposing the cultural and political processes of which they are expressive and revealing their contingent and contested nature (Araujo, 2014). Although my study does not work with personal narratives or life stories, for most of my interviewees talking about diversity was also a way to revisit their personal and professional trajectories, including how they became psy professionals and how their own sexuality, gender and class have shaped who they are and what they do. Talking about diversity was also a way for *us* to revisit the recent socio-political history of the country and the ghosts of the dictatorship that, I argue, haunt some aspects of diversity work in the present.

Having introduced the methodological orientation of my inquiry, I turn now to my understanding of narrative and discourse, attending specifically to "the 'critical' utility" (Emerson & Frosh, 2004, p. 8) of narrative and discourse analysis, and its implications for how I understand the politics of research. In doing so, I build on feminist and queer theorisations together with contributions coming from the biographical approach in their uses in social science research.

Narratives

The definition of narrative is in itself disputed (see Riessman, 1993; Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou, 2008). Unlike 'event' and 'experience-centred' narrative research, which tend to reify a binary division between the internal and the external, critical narrative analysis can be located within a tradition of research that views narratives as relationally constructed (Squire et al., 2008; see also Arfuch, 2007). From a critical perspective, narratives are "situated events" in both their dialogical, intersubjective nature, and in relation to the ways meaning is organised and achieved (Riessman, 1993, p. 17). Narratives are thus influenced by both the linguistic rules that organise communication and the social norms that shape the power relations that mediate dialogue between individuals, making different subjective positions available to explore, negotiate and contest meaning (Arfuch, 1995).

As "meaning-making structures" (Riessman, 1993, p. 4), narratives make sense and are easily recognisable in their relationship to time, which has been one of the alleged narrative-defining tropes in narrative research (Squire et al., 2008). Within this framework, narratives have been conceptualised as stories or verbal reports of a sequence of events

usually located in the past. Contrary to this tradition, Emerson and Frosh (2004) call into question the definition of narratives as organising structures with a clear beginning, middle and end, asking what is left outside this analysis, especially the messiness of ordinary life. In their terms, this way of defining narratives "raises the question of whether what is being focused on is a kind of 'defensive' structure in which the actual disorganisation of everyday life (its 'beginning, *muddle* and end') is being denied" (p. 8, emphasis in original).

The idea of defence is of analytic value as it invites us to think about what is being protected when narratives are defined in such a way; this, I suggest, is linked to two analytical features of relevance to my project. First is the idea of the subject and subjectivity underpinning the act of narrativising life in a linear, coherent form. Second are the temporalities at work in assuming that events, life stories and/or biographies become meaningful to others insofar as they follow a sequential structure, wherein progress and chronological time end up shaping meaning-making processes.

As for the first point, by assuming that narratives follow a linear, sequential order and that that order can be easily captured by a suitable technique, the method in question also assumes a notion of the subject as a teller of stories that is transparent to the narrative analyst and to itself. Within this logic, time works to secure the stability of the subject and the illusion that we can fully know the other as researchers but also as tellers of our own story. Telling a story, however, is not only about accounting for specific situations or life events, as it is also about narrativising who we are as protagonists and characters of the narrative we are producing with our contradictions and uncertainties (Arfuch, 1995). As becomes clear in different moments across the empirical chapters, this understanding of narrative shaped my interviewees' relationship with themselves and the work they do in ways crucial for the arguments I discuss in my chapters. Rather than producing a stable and predictable story, for most of the participants, encounters with diversity resulted in feelings of ambivalence, wherein discomfort and comfort, conflict and consensus, transformative and traditional ideals coexisted and shaped their stories. Regarding the second analytic feature, I contend that the defensive structure proposed by Emerson and Frosh (2004) works here by securing a Western heteronormative sense of lifetime and time marching forward. The latter entails that narratives are thus organised and become meaningful within chronological time by following a predictable sequence in which the messiness of everyday life and the existence of those who do not follow the times of heterosexual (re)production are denied (Riessman, 1993;

Spruce, 2017; see also Halberstam, 2005, Chapter 1; Muñoz, 2019). Critical feminist approaches to narrative sequencing have also troubled the linear temporal ordering of past, present and future in narrative accounts, advocating the "co-presence of futurity and past in the present, the reconstruction of the past by new 'presents', and the projection of the present into future imaginings" (Squire et al., 2008, p. 11), which I analyse through the temporal politics of haunting and the figure of the ghost during the analysis of the material.

Discourse

The notion of discourse I adopt in this thesis aligns with a Foucauldian perspective, for which discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects [and subjects] of which they speak" (Foucault, 1969/2010, p. 49). Since social practices involve meaning, according to Stuart Hall (1992/2019), "all practices have a discursive aspect" attached to them (p. 155). Moreover, and I follow Foucault (1980) in this, discursive practices work by producing a "delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories" (p. 199). By asking my interviewees about their experiences as diversity professionals, most of them found themselves dealing with how the dominant discourses of what the psychological is and what diversity work consists of shape their understanding of who they are and what they do. The interviews and the events I attended were the sites wherein discourses about psychology and sexual and gender diversity were disputed and negotiated with attention to specific disciplinary practices, particularly those aimed at demarcating psychology and diversity's proper subjects/objects. As stated earlier, following diversity around and asking for its doing in the field of the psychological was also a question of where diversity goes and where it does not, as well as to whom diversity is attached to and in whom it is not (Ahmed, 2012).

While approaches to discourse analysis vary, they share certain key premises about the role of language as an object of inquiry. Discourse analysts focus on language, text and the extra-discursive "as sites in which social meanings are formed and reproduced, social identities are shaped, and social facts are established" (Tonkiss, 2012, p. 406). Given that meaning is constructed and contingent to specific conditions of emergence (historical, cultural, political, disciplinary), a method for analysing discourses will be equally invested in a search for the "scarcity of meaning", namely what cannot be said, what is deemed impossible, unreasonable and marginal within certain fields and discursive locations (Hook,

2001, p. 527). Discourse is not only about what can be said and thought, but also who can speak and with which authority, how a certain statement is produced as true or false and what the effects are of such articulation. Truth, in this sense, is a function of discourse and power, and as such it is also contingent on historically specific mechanisms, which produce statements that function as truths and that circulate in located times and places (Hall, 1997).

Knowledge is an instrument of power, as in knowing we control and regulate the other. The psy disciplines have been instrumental in providing the vocabulary and regulatory techniques for the government of individuals (Rose, 1996), particularly through discursive practices of classification and pathologisation of sexual and gender others (Riggs et al., 2019). Although diversity arrived to fix and repair the effects of such discourses, it has produced its own regulative practices via normalising discourses aimed at appeasing conflicts, which I analyse extensively in Chapters 5 and 6. Discourse, in this context, needs to be addressed as neither exclusively effect nor instrument of power. However, as Foucault (1990) also suggests, the interconnectedness of knowledge, power and discourse does not preclude nor contravene the possibilities of resistance, as there is no relation of power without resistance. Discourse can thus signal "a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (p. 101).[46]

3.3.2 Interpretive Practices

In keeping with the notion of methodological bricolage and my understanding of research as a craft, I put together different interpretive strategies to explore various routes for answering my research questions. Before describing those strategies, I first discuss some of the epistemic principles that oriented my way of analysing and interpreting the material. First, I subscribe to the premise that advocates for the inseparability of theory and method and that views the analysis as already embedded in the different stages of the study, from the research design, the review of the literature, the fieldwork and the transcription of data (Araujo, 2014; Cornejo, Faúndez, & Besoain, 2017; Emerson & Frosh, 2004). Given that these stages in the research process are theory driven, the tools we use, whether they be linguistics or hermeneutics, "are neither neutral in themselves nor employed neutrally" (Emerson & Frosh,

[46] The relationship between discourse, power and resistance is closely analysed in Chapter 6, wherein different strategies of resistance to diversity's regulative power and depoliticising effects are explored.

2004, p. 52), opening space for thinking about the politics of qualitative research and the researcher's accountability, particularly in relation to the interpretive choices I made.

Second, and in connection with the above, my approach to interpretive work aligns with that of critical narrative analysis in its understanding of the research material—particularly texts—as jointly produced, allowing for critical examination of the power dynamics involved in the production of narratives and discourses (Emerson & Frosh, 2004). This translates into a way of conducting the analysis that is critical of decontextualised interpretive work, "both in the sense of extracting 'bits' of text from the context and process in which their emergence is embedded, and, in particular, the typical elision of the researcher from the joint-construction of interview texts" (p. 154). In this, I join critical narrative analysis's ethical-political commitment to resist 'ascriptivism', understood as the tendency "to impose specific interpretations upon, or ascribe meaning to, texts", avoiding the erasure of my participants' voice and privileging their meaning-making (Emerson & Frosh, 2004, p. 22). In doing so, my attention focuses on how the text and specific words were said and in which contexts.

How did I proceed with the analysis? First, I undertook an immersion strategy with the material that helped me become familiar with it (Araujo, 2014). Listening to the audio recordings alongside the reading of the interview transcripts and my field notes was central for building that intimate relationship with the material at a later stage when my fieldwork ended. I re-read the material several times. In the beginning, I engaged with the transcribed text in an unsystematic way, without following a formal analytical strategy or aiming to classify the text in any way. In the words of Araujo (2014), I followed "a free reading mainly consisting of allowing oneself to be invaded by the narrative voice" (p. 53), the images, expressions and biographic events evoked by the interviewees and by my own memories of the interview encounters. While reading the material, I wrote down the ideas that arose in each text and the associations that began to be articulated between the transcripts, underlining the words that were repeated and recording in writing my own reaction to the text and the interviewees, who began to appear as characters to whom I also experienced different affective and intellectual attachments. As a result of this process of immersion, I produced a summary version of each of the transcripts that I then used as references "to thicken out or root more global thematic work" (Emerson & Frosh, 2004, p. 154).

After finishing this unsystematic reading of the material, I elaborated a series of hypothetical and exploratory analytical paths that I put in dialogue with my research questions, which provided the analytical scope from where to conduct a more systematic analysis of the texts. Even though I approached the field and my fieldwork experience with a series of assumptions around the workings of diversity that were critical of its uses and did not recognise much nuance or conflict, most of my preconceived ideas changed drastically during and after fieldwork. The interview guide I used as a reference for conducting the interviews illustrates well the kinds of adjustments I made to my way of approaching the analysis and the interviewing process.

Surprisingly for me, talking about diversity was not a straightforward exercise for many of my interviewees. I also struggled to frame the question properly and to make them speak about it without pushing for any specific direction. For some participants it was difficult to talk about something so deeply embedded in their understanding of who they are and what they do. At the start of my fieldwork, diversity appeared to me as a term emptied of any valuable meaning. To put it differently, it was emptied of any valuable meaning according to what I was expecting to hear. In response to that, and by enacting my own anxiety as interviewer, I introduced my questions around diversity already framed in political terms, suggesting alternative concepts to think about when nothing meaningful came up. Instead, I used the terms dissidence and diversit*ies*, which I thought would elicit new content without realising, in fact, my active role in both sanctioning meaning-making processes and eliciting these potential *new* associations. The space of supervision and the doctoral research seminar had a crucial role here, as I had the chance to discuss these issues with my colleagues and supervisors, sharing my initial impressions around interviewing with them. I therefore took some advice in this regard by changing the order of the questions in the topic guide, starting from the very beginning with diversity in order to make participants speak about it without having more information on what would come next in the schedule. I also gave them more time to think about it by asking what the key terms they would use to frame, understand or introduce their work to others might be, which gave me access to a new range of conversations on the strategic uses of diversity and the ambivalence most of them felt towards the term. This was particularly significant with participants already invested in sexual dissidence activism, who were more certain about the political distinctions between diversity and dissidence, and the concepts' material and symbolic effects on their work.

In Araujo's (2014) terms, an "inductive requirement prevailed" (p. 69), which allowed me to identify those changes and to conduct a thematic analytic work sensitive to those shifts, identifying key terms, phrases and images, alongside patterns of association and variation between and across the texts. "Looking for associations and reading for variations or contrast", suggests Fran Tonkiss (2012), "represent two tactics for analysing what Foucault called 'the play of internal relationships' within a text" (p. 414). For example, how my interviewees defined the alleged *problem* with diversity and the different strategies and solutions they have put forward to deal with this problematic dimension, were crucial areas of struggle and contestation over meaning that came up in the search for variations across the texts. They pointed to the conflictive nature of the problems at stake with diversity, which also reflected both a theoretical and context-specific feature that echoed the ways Chilean society has dealt with conflicts and the question of difference, which I thought about through the concepts of haunting and post-dictatorship.[47]

Patterns of variation and association are also useful to explore "how social actors are spoken about and positioned within a text" (Tonkiss, 2012, p. 415). On this, I was not only interested in analysing what subject positions were produced by and through specific discourses and narratives, but also in exploring the "shifting discursive selves" performed during the interview (Emerson & Frosh, 2004, p. 71), as observed in the uses of diversity or dissidence by my interviewees, and in their critique of how radical or traditional their politics and those of their colleagues were. The analysis thus contributed to making visible the different and often contradictory positions my interviewees occupied, showing "how the speaker can be both a 'narrative agent' and 'subject to' powerful discursive structures" and ambivalent feelings (p. 71). Building on some analytical contributions from the biographical approach to qualitative research, I employed an *escucha polifónica* (polyphonic listening) that allowed me to recognise the multiple voices and positions that coexist within a text (Cornejo et al., 2017), and the socio-political matrix from which the subject speaks and is spoken to (Arfuch, 1995). This analytical disposition to the material enabled access to other temporalities and socio-historical processes of which those narratives were expressive and that inhabited my interviewees' accounts. For example, reading the interview transcripts against each other together with my field notes, sharing my ideas, salient themes, and

[47] As mentioned in the introductory chapter, although references to the post-dictatorship were not part of my inquiry at the start of my research, I turned to it to make sense of some of the themes that emerged from this inductive stage of the analysis.

interview quotations with my supervisors and other colleagues, gave me access to different ways of engagement with the material that was also changing as time passed and the socio-political conditions of the country moved towards new and uncertain scenarios (e.g., the 2019 October uprising, COVID-19, and the drafting of the new Constitution).

A polyphonic listening is also attentive to the emotional dimension of research (Cornejo et al., 2017) and the different affects at work in both listening to people's narratives and discourses and the experience of observing events. Attention to affect and emotions is of value not only as an interpretive technique, but it is also important intersubjectively as they are not things that people have or possess as inner/outer things that come from within or outside (see Holzberg, 2018). Here I draw on Ahmed's (2014) relational understanding of emotions in which feelings "become a form of social presence rather than self-presence", as it is through emotions, "or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made" (p. 10). This analytic dimension ended up being crucial in my reading of the material once the fieldwork was over. I became particularly sensitive to the workings of affects in the ways my interviewees narrated their stories of coming to sexual and gender diversity, particularly their encounters with feminism, LGBTI activism and the still present pathologising logic that shapes some versions of diversity work, specifically with trans* people. Affects of anger, distrust and frustration appeared as configuring the notion of the field and of the psychological, which I conceptualised as instances of boundary-work (see Chapter 4). Affects were also a crucial element in diversity work, as the concept of diversity mobilised various emotional attachments and dispositions, informing specific practices of knowing, subject positions and modes of resistance, such as the ones I explore in Chapters 5 and 6, namely the *anxiety to know*, the *sensitive* or *vulnerable* subject and *ambivalence*.

3.4 Ethical-Political Challenges

Tracking my own affective engagements with the material and the project as a whole has been analytically valuable, as it has helped me to account for my participation in the narratives and claims I have produced. In the remaining part of this chapter, I reflect on the different ways my positionality as an insider-outsider researcher and the socio-political circumstances in which my doctoral studies have taken place might have shaped the

outcomes of this study. These relate to my experience of the field(work) and its ghosts, my position as a researcher and the relationship I built with my interviewees, and questions over epistemic objectification and consent.

3.4.1 Locating the Field: Moving Across Different Positions

Since I started conceptualising my thesis, I framed my position as an insider-outsider researcher. I decided to study critically the discipline and the research community that trained me and shaped my way of seeing things at an early stage of my professional career. My transition to gender studies, queer and feminist theory has been marked by a sense of disappointment and frustration with the wrongs that psychology has inflicted on the lives, bodies and subjectivities of so many, including myself, which has certainly informed the direction and political stance this thesis has taken. Reparation and accountability were some of the affectively loaded drives and investments that sparked my interest in doing research on these topics, which have followed me since I did my first study on the workings of so-called LGBTI 'reparative therapies' in Chile. I can now see how the term 'reparative' has been inspiring my curiosity as a researcher in a rather different way. This time, reparation has taken a new shape, that of a demand to the psy disciplines that comes from those who were (and still are) the objects of such inhumane practices. I was not able to see that until the people I met in the field started to talk about it and point it out to me, which gave rise to one of the main themes I analyse in my empirical chapters, particularly Chapter 4.

This transition across fields and modes of inquiry was somehow enabled by my work as a diversity professional in various health, policy and education settings. In all these spaces, I tried to do what most of my interviewees have tried to push for in their encounters with institutions, patients and activist communities. My identification with them and the work they do was inevitable and, for that reason, my relationship with them as a researcher posed crucial challenges *vis-à-vis* ethics, power and positionality. I am, to some degree, an insider of the group of professionals I studied. Although I have not been engaged in any form of diversity work since I came to study in London, I am a Chilean queer and feminist scholar who has participated in what I described as the diversity world for a long time. I have worked with some of the participants and have been taught by a few of them; I had also collaborated with some in different academic and activist initiatives, and am still in contact with others. Being an insider, as Pereira (2017) suggests, "offered considerable advantages both in access

to, and in feeling at ease within, my fieldwork sites" and with the people I met (p. 14). However, and I agree with Pereira on this, "my insiderness was not a stable given, but something I was often tested on and called to demonstrate" (p. 14), although most of the times in subtle ways.

While in the field, I realised that my insiderness was not only attached to my professional credentials and career trajectory within the diversity world. My insiderness was tested in relation to my politics as a researcher, and my privileged class, race and gender position, which I analyse in depth in Chapter 4 through the expression *pruebas de blancura* (whiteness test). As scholars we must "name the ground we're coming from" and from which we speak (p. 219), as Adrienne Rich (1984/1987) says. I thought that it was enough to recognise how alike *we* were because of our shared working experiences within the field of sexual and gender diversity. I thought that *that* was the ground. Even saying *we* started to feel uncomfortable at some point, especially when revisiting Rich's invitation to reflect on how "even ordinary pronouns"—particularly the 'I' and the 'we'—"become a political problem" (p. 224). Who was I for my interviewees? What did they think about my politics and ways of approaching the subject? I started to become aware of the place I represented to some of them when I first approached the participants to see if they were interested in talking with me about their work. Those I did not know before, who introduced us and how close I was with specific people or networks of professionals were crucial markers that revealed some information about myself. Some of that was also transferred to me by friends and contacts we had in common, with which we shared a way of thinking and being in the world. The terms I used to describe the problems with diversity and the psy disciplines, and my way of talking and dressing played a part in shaping our conversations as well, and I used the analysis and the writing of my empirical chapters as a means to reflect critically on these issues and their impact on the discourses and narratives produced during the interview encounters.

Returning to Rich's (1984/1987) essay: as scholars we must recognise our location and "name the ground we're coming from, the conditions we have taken for granted" (p. 219). In a way similar to the experience documented by Pereira (2019) about her ethnographic work with feminist academics in Portugal, the majority of my interviewees did not explicitly address the impact of race, ethnicity or (dis)ability in their critique of diversity work or their understanding of the terms diversity, inclusion, LGBTI and sexual dissidence. They did not reflect on their positionality in relation to those markers either, and I did not

explicitly ask about them in our interviews nor did I reflect on that silence in my research diary. These axes of inequality were invisible to me, particularly that of race and racism, even though my theoretical investments and critical position on the uses of diversity came, for the most part, from postcolonial, queer and critical race scholars. I was unable to see that contradiction in my writing and my thinking. And as Pereira (2019) states, those silences and omissions say "more about the invisibility of these inequalities to those—including me—who are privileged vis-à-vis them" (p. 13).

My supervisors, and the space of supervision, were key in showing all this to me. It was not until race and racism became hyper-visible in my analysis, particularly in early drafts of Chapter 5, that I was able to recognise my own race privilege and that of most of my interviewees in the shaping and reproduction of whiteness within the psy disciplines and some versions of diversity work in Chile. In a way, I was also contributing to confirming the narrative that makes Chile a place where class, but not race, is the primary and most determinant axis of difference to think about inequalities (see Barandarián, 2012). It was clear to them, my supervisors, and then to me, that race and racism needed to be thought within the context of my analytical framework as instances of haunting, as phantom words, in Patricia J. Williams terms (1991). As such, race and racism also worked as ghosts, as "the sign, or the empirical evidence if you like, that tells you a haunting is taking place" (Gordon, 2008, p. 8). This realisation allowed me to bring the question of race to the fore of the analysis by acknowledging its absence in the interview material and its workings through modalities of silence and disavowal, which I used as *empirical evidence* of the phantasmatic presence of race and racism in some versions of diversity work within the psy disciplines. Reading this in dialogue with my conceptual framework provided the tools that helped me to see that one of the things that still obscures the workings of race is the very idea of the turn to diversity I have put forward in this thesis. Thus, the modalities of silence I recognised in the field, in the material and in my own position as a researcher were, to a great extent, expressive of the histories of conceptual departing and erasure I examined in Chapter 2.

Resisting ascriptivism was a constant concern during the analysis and the writing of the empirical chapters. On the one hand, I took some measures intended to avoid imposing specific interpretations upon the text without explaining why I read the interview and the participants' positioning in that way (and not others). On the other hand, resisting ascriptivism and the appropriation of the interviewees' knowledges involved being mindful

of my enactment of different forms of epistemic objectification, particularly those that held the potential to reproduce the 'scene of address'[48] towards which I was simultaneously critical. This is the scene that places either the psychologist or the researcher in the role of the one asking the questions and demanding the answers, the scene that puts the diverse subject in the position of the object of knowledge of the other, particularly that of the cisgender psy professional.

Blas Radi (2019a) has analysed the ethical-political effects of some of the modes of objectification at work in qualitative research *with* and *on* trans* matters, which I use here as a means of accounting for the epistemic challenges I dealt with during my fieldwork and in the process of analysing the material, especially due to the centrality that trans* and gender non-conforming issues had in the interviewees' accounts and events I observed. As Radi suggests, the problem is not in objectification itself but with being treated as *mere* objects, with the term 'mere' signalling the denial of trans* people's subjectivity and their function as evidence and objects of analysis. In Radi's (2019) terms, by being treated as mere objects "a relationship of epistemic dependence is established whereby the bodies, sexualities, and genders of trans* people are turned into matters whose credibility requires the opinion of various (cis) intellectual authorities" (p. 49). For one of my interviewees, this was a critical issue. She made that clear to me when we met, questioning my *insiderness* and reflecting back my position as an outsider to the trans* community as a gay, cisgender, class-privileged and *Santiaguino* researcher.[49] In retrospect, the exchange we had in Concepción allowed me to re-examine what I meant by *outsider* when presenting myself as an insider-outsider researcher. As an outsider I performed the role of the doctoral researcher trying to analyse critically the psy disciplines from the distance of someone who was now doing research as a feminist, queer scholar in a British university. Being a 'cis' researcher had not been something I had had to account for before, especially in its intersections with race, class, gender and location. The prefix cis alongside other axes of oppression does not only signal a location within "the map of power relations" (Radi, 2019a, p. 54) but also a way of naming the experiences of marginalisation and violence that come from that epistemic location (e.g.,

[48] I take this expression from Butler (2005) and use it in Chapters 4 and 5 to analyse my interview encounters and the enactments of what I conceptualise as the 'anxiety to know', particularly in relation to trans* knowledges.

[49] *Santiaguino* (of/from Santiago) works as an adjective or noun used to denote the geographical origin of people according to the locality, city, region or district they come from.

cisnormativity, cissexism), of which the mere objectification of trans*, travesti and non-binary lives was one of its expressions.

Being vigilant about these dynamics and reflecting on them while in the field were crucial reflexive strategies that made me aware of the expressions of subtle forms of epistemic objectification that were enacted in so-called LGBTI-friendly spaces, like those in which I partook during my fieldwork. Sometimes, as I learnt from some of the interviewees, you do not need to be overtly LGBTI-phobic to reproduce violent forms of oppression against trans*, travesti, LGB and intersex people. Being an affirmative and inclusive professional does not exempt you from examining the place trans* voices has in the ways diversity professionals talk *about* their lives and struggles, how their experiences appear in academic events, and what place their knowledges have in such spaces. Countering objectification is also about addressing those relationships as reproducing forms of gatekeeping practices that confirm the power of the psy disciplines in explaining non-normative sexualities and genders as still needing an explanation.

3.4.2 Navigating Consent and Anonymity

Throughout this study I followed strict measures on securing consent, carefully explaining the aims and objectives of the project. In all cases, I shared with the interviewees an information sheet with details of my fieldwork and asked them to read it before the meeting, leaving five to ten minutes of the conversation to respond to any questions regarding my project, the interview and expected delivery of the findings. The majority of my interviewees chose to be referred to by name when they signed their consent form. After careful consideration, I decided to anonymise all contributions as I wanted to preserve the anonymity of those who, for understandable reasons, did not want to be identified.[50] There are activists, scholars and practitioners I interviewed and whose work I cite and engage with in my thesis; they appear by name when I reference to their written material but by pseudonym when I use excerpts from our interviews.

[50] Reading other doctoral theses and the methodological sections of books and journal articles has been of tremendous help in navigating these ethical decisions (see for instance Holvikivi, 2019; Lehuedé, 2021; Pereira, 2017, 2019; Richards, 2013; Spruce, 2017). Discussing these issues in supervision and with my PhD colleagues has also been a tremendous learning and knowledge-exchange source.

Although this study does not claim to provide an exhaustive account of the reality of diversity work in Chile, nor do I pretend that my research provides exemplary or generalisable findings, the rationale behind anonymising my participants' contributions partly responds to the ways diversity work within the psy disciplines is distributed across the country. Despite important developments in the field and the growing interest in diversity and dissidence issues among psy professionals, diversity work remains a relatively small and closed community, especially in locations outside Santiago. However, even within the capital, most of those working on LGBTI and diversity issues within the psy disciplines know each other: they referenced each other's work and trajectories during the interviews, and expressed their differences, alliances and common grounds. This was also evident to me while observing the interactions and performance of speakers at the different events I joined, where some of my interviewees participated as speakers, workshop facilitators and lecturers. Their institutional affiliation and position within their workplaces were also different, and in some cases subjected to budget cuts and scrutiny by colleagues from other departments and dependencies within and outside the institution. Some of them held strategic positions within their organisations, and had been instrumental in articulating research projects and community-based support initiatives. Recent attacks against trans*, non-binary, travesti and LGB people, especially during and after the 2019 October's social uprising, alongside budget constraints in the public sector due to COVID-19, made me aware of the potential risks some of my interviewees and the projects they coordinate and participate in might face. Thus, by anonymising their contributions, I aimed to minimise the risks that participants might face.

I also do not want to underestimate the impact of the social uprisings that have taken place globally and the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic in the overall conceptualisation of this thesis, which coincided with the writing up of most of my chapters. As described in the introduction to this thesis, my fieldwork came about in a time in-between two moments of intense social unrest in Chile that occurred before and after my six-month visit in the country: the *Mayo feminista* (feminist May) in 2018 and the *estallido social* (social uprising) in October 2019. The conversations I had in the field were all in some way traversed and affected by the echoes of the *Mayo feminista*, whose traces continued producing effects in the ways my interviewees told their stories of encounters with diversity. And even afterwards, during the analysis of the material, I was able to *listen* and recognise in those traces some of the discontents and *ghostly matters* (Gordon, 2008) that erupted in the October *estallido*, on which I reflect in different moments across the three empirical chapters. It was through the

figure of the ghost that this listening acquired a life, which I tried to analyse and make sense of by following the marks it has left in the recent socio-political history of Chile, particularly that of the post-dictatorship. In what ways can my understanding of the field and the fieldwork experience account for its presence? If "the way of the ghost is haunting", according to Gordon (2008), haunting is then "a very particular way of knowing what has happened or is happening" (p. 8). And, I would add, it is a very precise way of mapping the symbolic and material contours of the field, and the telling of the story of my fieldwork experience and the writing up of this thesis.

These processes have shaped my thinking in ways that are difficult, if not impossible, to account for. Being away from *home* while things were *exploding* in Chile made me look at my thesis and re-read the interview materials and my field notes with different eyes. Just as I cannot account for the impact of these events on my writing, I cannot predict how my fieldwork would have been under these circumstances, how I would have introduced my research to my participants, nor how the conversations on diversity and the negotiations around consent and anonymity would have been either. This is one of the reasons why the chosen interpretive practices and the analysis on the whole have been particularly sensitive to the place that the psychic and the social has had in my ways of approaching the material, in addition to my careful treatment of the voices and knowledges of the participants. This is also why the question of the ghost and haunting acquired such a role in some of my chapters, without me being capable of recognising their presence at an early stage of my research. As Gordon (2008) beautifully puts it: "Being haunted draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feeling of a reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as a transformative recognition" (p. 8).

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have laid out a methodological bricolage capable of organising different strands of theory and methods to study the psychic life of diversity and the work it does within the psy disciplines. In particular, I have proposed a combination of critical narrative and discourse analysis as a comprehensive framework for following diversity around and producing psychosocial knowledges. The chapter described the research archive that informs

the analysis, how it was constructed, and what interpretive practices I used to analyse the material. Inspired by queer and feminist theory, psychosocial studies, and the biographical approach to qualitative research I have discussed how I defined the object of study and identified locations for research; I have referred to the role of interviewing in its dialogical and co-constructive nature, how I built up the sample and how the participant observations were conducted in practice. This chapter also extended the conceptual discussion I initiated in Chapter 2, showing the methodological productivity of some of the theories I introduced earlier, particularly queer and psychosocial theorisations on methods, haunting and the ghost, which provided a language to account for the histories of replacement, erasure and disappearance that have marked the turn to diversity in the psy disciplines. Drawing on that, I have finished the chapter by reflecting on my positionality as an insider-outsider researcher and what haunts my thesis. Having thus set up the context of this project, and some of its main themes and claims, in the following chapter I begin the empirical discussion of the findings, introducing and characterising some of the interviewees, their worlds, the events I attended, and my way of making sense of some of the ghostly elements of the post-dictatorship in the interview material.

Chapter 4

Times of Diversity: Stories from the Field

4.1 Introduction

Right after arriving in Chile for my fieldwork, I read the news that a government spokesperson had recently defended a few right-wing politicians who publicly supported the dictatorship's infamous legacy. One of them declared that she is a "proud *Pinochetista*".[51] Backing the congresswoman's expression, the spokesperson said: "When you believe in *diversity*, when you believe in respect for difference, as our government and coalition believe, there can be no discomfort" with such expressions (Catena & Soto, 2018, para. 1, emphasis added). I was not expecting to start my immersion in the field attending to these events. Although the news was outside the scope of my fieldwork plan, the articulation Pinochet=diversity troubled, from the very beginning, my initial understanding of the field, both in relation to my research and to what I was trying to map.

Is there such a thing as a 'field of sexual and gender diversity' within the psy disciplines and, if so, how could I explore its borders? How would I access the stories, knowledges and experiences that have built a path for my interviewees to navigate the psy disciplines' silences and exclusions around LGBTI issues, a path for them to become who they are and what they do in the present? How would I do that in dialogue with the socio-political circumstances in which they work and live? How could I include the equation Pinochet=diversity in these particular trajectories and what can we learn from the very idea of the field—and the recent political history of Chile—when we think of it as something not yet institutionalised and, therefore, open to new and creative paths? Placing Pinochet in the equation, as part of diversity's definition for a particular political group, made me realise that talking about diversity with my interviewees was not just about engaging with its meanings and current uses within the boundaries of psychology and LGBTI activism. It would also

[51] A follower of Pinochet's legacy, usually deniers or active supporters of the systematic violations of human rights during the dictatorship.

involve engaging with that part of the recent past that sneaks into the present as a haunting presence, raising spectres that alter "the experience of being in time" (Gordon, 2008, p. xvi).

In this chapter, I want to critically interrogate the notion of the field of sexual and gender diversity and the temporalities at work in both producing its epistemic demarcations and contesting its spatial imaginaries. In this context, I engage with the idea of the field as a research path to access the recent history of Chile, which, I argue, haunts diversity work in the present. Building on my analytical framework, I use the concept of haunting as a way of tracing the marks of an "unresolved social violence [that] is making itself known" (Gordon, 2008, p. xvi) through the stories my interviewees told about their encounters with diversity knowledges,[52] particularly those that refer to the lingering effects of pathologisation and state violence in the present. To explore these issues, I first look at the participants' stories of coming to sexual and gender diversity, with a special attention to the workings of affects of distrust and anger in shaping what the field is and does, and the kinds of relationships to knowledge they enable. Building on Ahmed's (2012) notion of diversity as a form of repair, I then look at how diversity has been used to remedy psychology's history of exclusions and debts towards sexual and gender others, producing a particular demand to the discipline that shapes diversity professionals' relationship to time and space.

In the second part of the chapter, I discuss the importance of looking at both the spatial and temporal dimensions of the field, by tracking the notions of progress and setbacks that are discursively associated to both the cities I visited during my fieldwork and to particular generations of psy professionals. In doing so, I analyse the effects of 'centralism' in shaping the spatial and temporal imaginaries of diversity knowledges, questioning their location in the university and their alignment with the times of the 'socio-legal' and cultural progress in LGBTI rights. As a final step, I engage with the question of the transmission of diversity knowledges across generations and the work that emotions do in the act of transmitting "painful experiences", looking specifically at a few references to the dictatorship that shed light on some of the hauntings of diversity work in the present.

[52] Turning to the working definition I offered in the previous chapter, diversity knowledges signal both the knowledges *about* sexual and gender diversity produced by the psy disciplines, as well as the experiences, knowledges and practices produced by diversity professionals, LGBTI subjects and activist collectives.

4.2 Stories of Arrival: Distrust, Anger and Reparation

4.2.1 Distrust

I met Gladys at her workplace in Concepción in January 2019. She was busy helping a couple of young trans* professionals to prepare their job applications, while finishing some pending tasks before talking to me. Prior to starting our conversation, Gladys asked me if the person who put us is contact had told me that she was trans*—as if by asking she also wanted to warn me about something, or simply verify whether her identity was relevant to me at the time of scheduling our meeting. Once clarifying our expectations and what we knew about each other, Gladys wanted to go deeper into my research interests and the particularities of my thesis, beyond the information sheet I had sent her in advance. She wanted to check who I really was, my intentions, and my views regarding psychology and sexual and gender diversity. Similar questions I directed to my research subjects were now redirected towards myself. I shared with her some of my research concerns. I was open about my own thinking and shared also part of my trajectory and scepticism towards psychology. Gladys seemed relaxed after listening to my disclosure, less defensive perhaps, according to my notes from that day. We were somehow aligned in our critical views, and I realised that this was important for her as she replied that she was very angry and upset at psychology. I proposed using the interview as a means of talking about it.

Gladys's approach to my presence and the interview setting not only expressed her initial reservations towards an unfamiliar situation, but also reflected a shared feeling of scepticism and open criticism against psychology and its embodied representatives. The interview was a repetition of a familiar scene, a demand for collaboration and of knowledge about her experience as a trans* activist-psychologist that connected with the experience trans* communities have of being constantly treated as objects of knowledge for others. As she would make it clear later, trans* knowledges that come from and are produced by trans* communities are not granted the same epistemic status as those produced on their behalf and through the voice and scholarship of cisgender academics. The questions for Gladys were thus: Who would benefit from their experiences and how would academics and researchers make themselves accountable for the knowledge produced at the expense of their lives? The interview somehow triggered these memories and brought them back to the present in a new scene for me.

Pruebas de Blancura

A conversation I had a couple of weeks before meeting Gladys helped me to re-read my notes and understand what was at stake in her interpellation and my own reaction to her curiosity in the form of a disclosure. Felipe, a clinical psychologist trained in psychoanalysis, told me about his experience working as a therapist in an LGBTI organisation in Santiago at an early stage of his career, sharing with me the difficulties involved in offering psychological support within activist spaces. For him, pretending to work purely as a clinical psychologist without engaging with the logic of the institution in which he was based at the time, and the kinds of expectations projected onto him, was a "useless" endeavour. "There is also an important issue of distrust and suspicion" from the organisation's side, he added, where psy professionals are required to prove their ethics through what Felipe described as *pruebas de blancura*. This involved a kind of subtle measure that put diversity professionals to the test "in relation to the discourses in which one could be inscribed as a psychologist, like… I don't know, like those of pathologisation or those that locate you in the place of knowing". The chosen expression *pruebas de blancura* is important here in its association with what happened in my encounter with Gladys. It translates literally as 'whiteness tests', although in this context the English term 'transparency test' fits better with what *pruebas de blancura* tries to convey, since it emerges from the suspicion regarding the intentions of the other. However, I would like to stress what the translated term whiteness does to the idea of testing at work in Felipe's encounter with LGBTI activism. In its literal translation, the term whiteness test resembles the procedure of stain removal applied to the washing of white clothes. Far from advocating for a kind of pure, stainless politics, *pruebas de blancura* describes a kind of testing mechanism that shapes the ways LGBTI activism engages with the psy disciplines and academia more broadly. As a psychologist, you need to prove that you are qualified to work with this *particular population* and that your professional ethics align with the principles of non-pathologisation and respect for the human rights of LGBTI people, which are two of the most common features of diversity work referred to by my interviewees. In the absence of any certifiable expertise, the reasons behind people's interest in working with the organisation, their professional credentials and/or identification with the LGBTI community work as part of the test, which according to Felipe "rather occurred in practice" via "establishing a relationship of confidence and trust over time".

In line with Felipe's assertion, psy professionals are, quite rightly, always under suspicion, even if they identify as sexually or gender diverse or as an ally to the community, which does not make you immune or preclude you from reproducing pathologising interventions. Moreover, we—and I include myself here—are under suspicion among ourselves too, as most of us have been socialised and shaped by psychology's investments in cisheteronormative and individualising ideologies. *Pruebas de blancura* not only functions as a kind of informal ethics test but also can be thought of as an instance of boundary-work (Pereira, 2019). Building on Pereira's (2017) research on feminist boundary-work, I use Felipe's figure of the *pruebas de blancura* as a means of pointing to different instances, sites and articulations in which clear demarcations between what counts as diversity knowledges and what can be claimed as properly psychological are enacted. In that sense, claims to knowledge and epistemic authority do not just come from the psy disciplines, but from diversity professionals as well, because their positionality is also implicated in the shaping of the field. Within this context, affects of suspicion and distrust play an important role. They organise LGBTI people's relationships with the psy disciplines and the kinds of exchanges, rivalries and networks of collaboration that have been established among diversity professionals over the years. People distrust when they fear that other people and the institutions they represent may act in ways that are harmful to them. This, in turn, negatively predisposes them to experience such harms, albeit unevenly, as not every-body and every experience are equally affected by those harming effects (Govier, 1992). Suspicion and distrust also shape our relationships to knowledge and the communities and social institutions in which claims to knowledge gain legitimacy (Code, 1987, as cited in Govier, 1992). Therefore, they inform whose knowledges get to be included and recognised in those communities and institutions, which for me was also a question of access to the individuals, spaces and initiatives that contribute to knowledge production on sexual and gender diversity in the present.

Against this background, I suggest reading Gladys's initial scepticism towards my presence as a *prueba de blancura*. In doing so, I bring to the fore the affective labour involved in the field's boundary-work, which appeared to be mainly organised around experiences of distrust that triggered a series of related affective responses, such as anger and disappointment. These were also feelings that inserted my interviewees in a history of shared experiences that most of them were unaware of, but that repeated a similar script: being silenced, excluded and pathologised by the psychological gaze. Affects of distrust and anger,

together with a demand for reparation, were also repeatedly invoked in the narratives of my interviewees, who belong to different generations and came to sexual and gender diversity through the networks and resources available to them in their different locations. Taken together, they seem to be mediating both LGBTI people's relationship with psy professionals, and the encounters between LGBTI activism and academia, of which I was also part.

Gladys had, somehow, been waiting for this interview to happen. "I started studying psychology without knowing that I was trans*, and I think this is important", she said.[53] "I came out of the closet in the fourth year [of my degree] and started a reflexive process… from the moment I knew all we have to go through, and how trans* people self-educate ourselves in communitarian spaces", adding that all this "obviously made me realise that psychology and psychiatry tend to humiliate and hurt trans* people, like through diagnosis and the very spaces of counselling". Gladys's emphasis on the importance of coming out as trans* during her psychology studies, together with the need to "self-educate", is a twofold move from her ambivalent attachments to a university degree—and what it would enable her to do professionally—to a further detachment from what psychology does and has done to trans* and non-binary people. And, to a certain degree, what the university, and higher education more broadly, has also been doing to non-normatively gendered people. The moment Gladys became aware she was trans*, and that psychology had made her "feel psychically ill", made her take some distance from the university to look for different sources of knowledge such as human rights, which she found in activist spaces. This also went along with instances of self-realisation about psychology's harming practices that triggered the need to learn from other trans* people. "I am the person my *gremio* (profession) is talking about", she said, and "as a trans* psychologist I can reclaim" that way of talking and challenge the profession's authority by "creating other languages" with a focus on "the territorial, the sociocultural, the institutional and state violence". Community-based interventions within a human rights framework were part of the learning outcomes she took from both psychology and activism, even against the will of their tutors and clinical supervisors who viewed Gladys's way of doing psychotherapy with suspicion. It was "too social" for them, in her words, as if clinical practice were in itself irreconcilable with

[53] Building on Footnote N° 2 of the introductory chapter, I use trans* with an asterisk in my interviewees' quotes as I want to keep references to 'trans' (people, issues, etc.) open and not ascribe or assume any particular meaning or identity position to it unless explicitly stated by the participants, in which case I keep the reference as it was said.

contributions from community psychology and human rights. This, for Gladys, was also part of the problem.

Policing the Boundaries of the Discipline

Suspicion and distrust appeared again, but this time from the side of the psy professionals in charge of supervising the clinical skills of trainee psychologists such as Gladys. For them, the boundaries of the discipline needed to be protected and regulated. Using a communitarian-, feminist- or human-rights-informed practice was perceived by some as a transgression of the boundaries that define what the clinic is and does, not only to those who consult but also to the discipline itself in relation to its proximity with activism. Clinical supervision is one of the mechanisms in place for trainee psychotherapists to develop the experience needed to work with other people, and as such it can be thought of as another instance of boundary-work, aimed at securing psychology's epistemic status and ideological tenets, which for many of my interviewees were connected to its tendency towards individualising suffering and pathologising differences.

For example, Caterine shared with me her experience doing her dissertation on trans* children at a university in Valparaíso a few years ago, and the barriers she faced with her advisers. "It was tough for us to make them change their language a bit, especially the one who was a trained psychoanalyst, [who held] this vision that associates gender identity with psychosis". Caterine added that she and her fellow student felt that their advisers "tried to make us look for the trauma, what has caused" a trans* identification in childhood. They even questioned Caterine's motivation for doing research on this subject, asking repeatedly "what is the clinical element here", in which *here* signalled what I would suggest as the non-traditional, a non-normative way of approaching trans* childhood, and gender identity more broadly. This was a project that failed the discipline's *pruebas de blancura.* Once hearing back that "the clinical" had for them to do with the "suffering" of trans* children, which is not explained by being trans* but rather by "being rejected by their families" and other sociocultural factors, her advisers challenged their views by asking "if this was more a political than a psychological issue". This example presents a different version of Gladys's judgement of her clinical approach to suffering as "too social".

Similarly, Cristina shared her experience as a guest lecturer at another university in Valparaíso, in a course on gender violence she really enjoyed: "Teaching is one of the spaces

of greatest self-fulfilment both personally and professionally… because for me this is pure activism, pure politics". Her students were "*agentes multiplicadores*" (multipliers)[54], and the lecture was a chance for her to challenge psychology's inclination to "pathologise women's discontent" and push for interventions that aimed to "de-individualise social discontent" and "de-psicologise violence". I was amazed at how she managed to introduce those ideas into a psychology department and asked her in return what the reception of the course had been so far. "Look, if [the university] had known what my lectures were about, they would never have allowed me to do them". In other words, Cristina and her course proposal would not have passed the *pruebas de blancura* and would have probably been judged as not strictly psychological. A final example comes from Diego, a psychiatrist working at a health centre and volunteering in different LGBTI support groups in Santiago. Being a non-binary professional in a very traditional environment has pushed them to "take a position" with regard to a widespread tendency within the psy disciplines to think of themselves as non-political actors.[55] They have participated in many academic discussions where phrases like "we are academics, we have to do science, we have to support evidence-based actions" are often repeated, especially within medicine and in relation to trans* issues. Although it took them a while, "when I'm now in the discussion I've lost my fear of referencing, for example, a human rights convention and not necessarily citing a journal article". This is because for Diego these are not "purely psychological-medical discussions".

What these examples show is the workings of distrust in the making of what the field of sexual and gender diversity is and does, in a back-and-forth movement that involves both diversity professionals' interactions with the psy disciplines and psychologists' engagement with LGBTI issues. Affects of suspicion and distrust are enacted through *pruebas de blancura*, though differently depending on where the demand for the test comes from—whether from the discipline or LGBTI people themselves. For instance, the interpellation I received from Gladys produced a similar effect to the one Felipe received from the LGBTI organisation. For both of us, I would suggest, it was our investments in psychology that provoked their distrust towards us—which in my case was enhanced even further due to my proximity to class and race privilege—, mostly due to the discipline's long tradition of

[54] There is no direct translation for it, but in this context, the expression *agentes multiplicadores* points to individuals who become multipliers by passing knowledge on to others, hoping for a multiplier effect.

[55] I come back to this notion of the political and non-political in my discussion on the differences between diversity and dissidence politics in Chapter 6.

pathologisation and complicity with dominant social norms. However, the last three examples performed a different interpellation: rather than being shaped by psychology, diversity professionals appear to challenge the discipline's identity. The clinical, the psychological and the scientific suddenly became contested spheres, where clinical supervision, academic forums and thesis committees were set up as sites of boundary-work, in which psychologists' proximity to activism and politics started to be viewed with suspicion.

4.2.2 Anger

Gladys was angry at psychology. She declared this to me at the beginning of the interview and I replied by offering a space for her to express her feelings, acknowledging her anger. I was there to listen and to receive her criticism, with which I very much agreed. She talked to me in a very straightforward way, with no reservations and with quite strong statements. The people in the room were also listening carefully, as if she was talking about shared emotional experiences, as if her anger was also the anger of many others. It was as if it were a shared wound that echoed Audre Lorde's (1981/2017) words on the uses of anger: that of "exclusion, of unquestioned privilege, of racial distortions, of silence, of ill-use, stereotyping, defensiveness, misnaming, betrayal and co-option" (p. 107). Gladys went back to the moment she realised she was trans* and what she went through during her university years. When I asked her about diversity professionals' response to trans* issues, she referred in stark terms to the discipline's attempt to attend to trans* people's needs and the assumption behind the question of health needs in the clinic. "We don't need psychology's accompaniment", she said, "and we don't need anything from the union of psychologists other than their connection to human rights". What they need to do, in her view, is "to issue an institutional *mea culpa* and say: 'Hey, we've banned people from getting dressed however they want, from doing whatever they want with their bodies'. You see what I mean?" (emphasis added). She concluded by saying that "although we have our ethics code, and we know we can't hurt anyone, we've never asked trans* people what our profession has done to hurt [us] so much".

I was nodding at her all the time, feeling somehow connected with her rage as she was also speaking, to some degree, about my own anger and that of people very dear to me. Gladys was calling out psychology's harmful practices; she was demanding an institutional *mea culpa* to hold the psy disciplines accountable, demanding an explanation, an acknowledgement of the wrongs they have done to so many people. Surprisingly to me, she

included herself in her grievances by talking from the perspective of a "we", even having every right to distance herself from those causing harm and distress, which spoke to me about her own ambivalences towards psychology and her self-reinvention as a trans* activist-psychologist.[56] Further on in our conversation, Gladys criticised the prevalence of what she called practices of *asistencialismo* (social assistance or feel-good practices) among professionals who like to pride themselves on working with trans* people. What troubled her was the fact that for many of the professionals she knew, working with trans* people was seen as a kind of "Christian act", as if they were waiting to be thanked and praised for such a "humanistic" gesture.[57] "I find this very aggressive", she said:

> Honestly, it is really hard for me to detach myself from the anger I feel when talking to you, because it makes me want to say "Hey you stupid, shut up! Please, shut up and stop fucking things up". I mean, you know we left the ICD-10, I don't know if you knew that we were taken out, and still people come up with these ideas (…) Because when you work with a trans* person, it may be that you have to work with a victim, but it should be from a reparatory perspective.

This was a powerful moment, I remember it clearly. It was also a very emotional one for Gladys as she reconnected with quite stressful experiences and memories that were re-enacted in my presence in response to my questions. I felt directly interpellated in two different moments: "When talking to *you*", the researcher, the stranger who had travelled to meet her, to listen to her experience; and in her "Hey *you* stupid" phrase, where the pronoun "you" was also the place I represented to her, the institutions I brought with me and from where I was talking to her. To some extent, I carried with me the haunting presence of those who came before me with their questions and concerns: the repetition of a scene that she and their friends know very well and have experienced personally.

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[56] See my analysis on ambivalence and the politics of (dis)comfort in Chapter 6.

[57] There is a long tradition within Catholic elites in Chile that see the work with marginalised communities and individuals as acts of charity or humanitarian work (see Han, 2012). This Christian ethos is deeply embedded in the ways healthcare provisions are designed and distributed across the country. I discuss some of the most salient interventions of this model in my analysis of paternalistic and assistance-based practices in Chapter 6.

Anger and distrust are connected here in as far as they both emerged in response to systematic transgressions of trust that have challenged the principles of care and no harm that inform therapeutic interventions and research initiatives. The latter is marked by a particular kind of relationship to knowledge and the academy that most LGBTI communities have perceived as exploitative, instrumental and sometimes coercive (see Barrientos, 2018; Radi, 2019b). Gladys's "shut up" interpellation was also a petition to turn down the volume of expert voices who feel entitled to talk on behalf of trans* people and who often disregard their experiences as less able to produce proper knowledge. Instead, it is the *experts* who are "stupid" and need to "stop fucking things up". In the absence of an institutional *mea culpa*, Gladys urged us to consider that "perhaps" our encounters with trans* people are traversed by the marks of disciplinary violence, which haunts the psy disciplines and predisposes trans* people to expect nothing more than being lectured at about their needs and ways of relating to their genders. From here it is possible to interpret what she meant by "victims" and "reparatory", which are two crucial references. The question, though, is not for LGBTI people but for the psy professionals whose starting point should not be one of authority—"the place of knowing", in Felipe's words—but one in which they are there for them to repair, to listen and restore people's trust in what accompaniment, support and wellbeing can mean and do for them, in their own terms. Within this context, anger "can become a powerful source of energy serving progress and change", as Lorde remarks (1981/2017, p. 110), but it will only make that possible if the "assumptions underlying our lives" (p. 111), which affect LGBTI people's very existence, although unevenly, are the ones radically dismantled.

"There is no Use in Getting Mad"

Anger was also part of the conversation I had with Mercedes, a feminist psychologist and academic working at a university in Santiago. I was curious about her experiences of departure and transition from psychology to feminism and critical theory. It was a rather unusual trajectory, at least as I myself had experienced it, and I felt somehow reflected in many of the stories she shared with me. The tone of the interview was different from the one I had with Gladys, but they were both critical of psychology and some versions of diversity work that were crucial for my fieldwork experience and the interview encounters that follow. Mercedes did her undergraduate studies outside Santiago. Psychology at that time was part of the faculty of medicine and, because of that, she said, "it was like full of frustrated

psychiatrists, people who couldn't enter psychiatry directly". Due to its proximity with medicine, psychology "had a very scientistic orientation", very traditional and "conservative on issues connected to sexuality", in a time where homosexuality was both criminalised and banned from psychology schools—a point I will return to later.

Mercedes found joy in an optional course on gender and sexuality that, in her words, "changed my life". She then made her way as an "autodidact" in feminist theory, incorporating insights from community psychology and later on, in one of her postgraduate courses, from crucial learning experiences from critical social psychology. Mercedes had the chance to teach in an elective course on feminist theory at a psychology department in Santiago for a period of six years. "The course was in high demand among the students, but it received little attention from the department", she recalled. The institution told her on three occasions that the course "would not be taught again" but the students insisted, and the course remained part of the curricular offer. "It was a problem for them"—she said. "The department did not consider it relevant, that the topic was too political, not very psychological", which is "funny because now they invite me to do a lot of stuff, as if they suddenly became interested". Mercedes was also referring to gender mainstreaming strategies put in place in university institutions as part of the agreements after the *tomas feministas* (feminist occupations) that took place for a large part of 2018 (see Gaba, 2020).

Psychology's boundary-work strategies appeared again in the repetition of a well-known expression that most of my interviewees have heard in one way or another: what feminist and diversity professionals do, teach and know is "too political, not very psychological". Therefore, their work and their thinking have no place in psychology departments, no formal presence. It can only be part of the curricular offer in the form of an elective course, a rather temporary and precarious figure, always under evaluation, budget constraints and subject to contingencies, which from time to time justify the inclusion of political, "not very psychological" contents, even against the department's authorities. "At one point I was very disappointed with psychology and was like, I am going to study sociology instead because I really don't like this", Mercedes explained to me. And she continued: "Within the area of critical social psychology I found people who were just as disappointed as I was, and who were working on the basis of that anger, that discontent, in rethinking psychology". That meant incorporating critical views from feminism, which have started to claim their place in the teaching and training of future professionals in very few

psychology departments to date, at least in Santiago. Disappointment and anger align together around a hidden, implicit expectation towards psychology that has proved to be wrong, far from what the discipline could actually offer. Instead of leaving their studies, Mercedes and many others have developed their own paths and managed to make psychology compatible with what the psy disciplines were refusing to accept into their domains. Instead of hindering possibilities for thinking otherwise, affects of anger and disappointment have triggered the desire to know differently via collective spaces of learning and care, where some of my interviewees have also changed their ways of engaging with the suffering of others, and have been made aware of the ways psy knowledges impact on people's existences. A sense of political awareness has also emerged from their encounters with activist organisations and in response to what angered them, which has also shaped their professional identities and their ambivalent relationships with psychology.

Turning to Gladys again, she recalled that anger had also been one of the difficulties she had been taught to deal with at her workplace. She giggled after saying that. "I mean, it is hard not to identify with what a person, who has suffered the same as you, says; but I also feel you can transform that into healing". And she added:

> For example, when we encourage our service users to recognise their emotions, we tend to override those that are not productive. I don't know if you've realised that: rage and anger are quickly invalidated. It is like saying to people: "Yes, you have the right to feel it, but there is no use in getting mad", which is what we usually say, right? But, that's a call from whom? Where are you saying this from? The audacity of telling someone not to be angry! Do something with that anger. You see what I mean? To me, my anger, my rage and indignation, my sorrow, all it has meant to me to be trans* is turned into creativity in my professional interventions.

Anger and rage are also shared emotional experiences among people who have gone through similar situations—a survival strategy, in Lorde's (1981/2017) experience. They have enabled the workings of the mechanism of identification, which in Gladys's description is not reduced to a mere displacement of affects from one side to the other, nor to a statement of likeness in relation to a single identity trait you happen to share with other people due to

contingent elements. She also did not use the term empathy as she does not have to imagine "what it would be like to be" in another person's situation (Cambridge University Press, n.d.-b), since she can recognise that there is something *there* in people's experiences of suffering that is also *hers*. Something is passed on between people, whose content is not always available to conscious experience. Instead of neutralising her affective response and her identification with the suffering of others, Gladys used that creatively for healing purposes. There is a long tradition of distrust and suspicion towards the role of emotions and the body more broadly within the psy disciplines, especially when they appear on the therapist's or the researcher's side (see Cabruja Ubach, 2008). They seem to distract you from being neutral, objective; they distract people from being productive as anger and rage tend to blind *us* from moving on, from healing. And this is why Gladys's remarks were important: she challenged that tradition and reclaimed the uses of anger, rage and sorrow as enabling creative responses to the question of healing, wellbeing and knowledge production.

4.2.3 Reparation

Reparation is a type of demand attached to the ways diversity professionals imagined the field. I broadly understand these demands as acts of fixing aimed at recognising and making amends for the material and symbolic harm done to specific people, communities and populations. In that sense, although the concept of reparation has been the subject of inquiry from different theoretical traditions—ranging from psychoanalysis to queer and feminist theory, human rights, and post- and decolonial theory (see, for instance, Figueroa, 2015; Han, 2012; Klein, 1937/1975; Wiegman, 2014)—my uses of the concept are close to the ways it is deployed within a human-rights framework, which reflects the sense that reparation acquired in most of the participants' accounts, especially that of Gladys.

As I have already suggested, reparation goes alongside affects of distrust and anger, since the three of them speak to shared experiences of violence, disappointment and transgression of disciplinary boundaries that negatively impact LGBTI people's lives. Just as with distrust and anger, reparation is also experienced and demanded from some of the participants. This was true of Gladys, for whom it was almost impossible to talk about her anger without linking it to a general quest for reparation, either in the form of an institutional *mea culpa* or through the enactment of "reparatory practices" aimed at transforming psy disciplines' relationship with mainstream notions of wellbeing and suffering. What does

reparation mean for the interviewees? To what extent does a demand for reparation inform how diversity professionals relate to the psy disciplines? In what ways does reparation give form to what I am calling in this chapter the field of sexual and gender diversity?

I start by sharing my first meeting with Leonor in 2015, before our re-encounter in December 2018 in the context of my fieldwork. We met at the newly-established Gender and Sexual Diversity Division within the Chilean College of Psychologists, and we took part in the drafting of an official statement that, for the first time, widely condemned the practices of so-called reparative therapies intended to *cure* non-heterosexual identities (Comisión de Género y Diversidad Sexual, 2015). One of the things we discussed during our meetings was the meanings attached to the term 'reparative'. By that time, I was personally interested in tracking the genealogies of the term and reclaiming its uses within psychoanalysis and the clinic of trauma and sex abuse (Ojeda Güemes, 2015; Ojeda, 2019a). One of the goals of the Division was to contest the ideological assumption that makes non-heterosexual and non-normative genders mere reactive formations, symptoms of a hidden, unconscious conflict in the so-called normal psychosexual development, an assumption present in the use of reparative as a psychological term. When I then heard reparative again in the voice of Gladys and Leonor, I could not conceal my surprise, since it was the first time I listened to the term being used in a somewhat different context than the anti-gay therapies. I did not mention this to Leonor at the time we met as I became aware of the associations with our work at the sexual diversity division at a later stage in the analysis.

We met again in December 2018 during the coffee break of a symposium on trans* health in Santiago. Leonor is a psychologist, working mainly with trans* and non-binary people in the Valparaíso Region. Weeks after our meeting at the event, we talked again in Valparaíso. I was curious about her impressions of the symposium as I sensed some criticism towards one intervention in particular, which was about the experience of two medical practitioners working with trans* people in the public system. During the interview, Leonor expressed to me the difficulties that diversity professionals experience in the face of criticism every time LGBTI people voice their discontent with the ways psy professionals talk about their lives and decisions regarding their health, which is especially true for those with a background in medicine. Against this backdrop, she shared with me her experience in one of the meetings that gathered together the emergent national network of professionals working

in trans polyclinics.[58] For that occasion, they invited "the community, civil society and professionals", and Leonor said to herself: "*¡Va a arder Troya!*" (Troy is going to burn!)". Indeed, "trans* people had a lot of criticism towards us and that speaks from their wounds, which is totally understandable", she said to her colleagues. However, some of them "felt attacked" and she then addressed the group by saying, "Look, I am going to give you some advice: don't take criticism personally. Trans* people talk from a wound that our discipline has caused". Leonor added, "They are not talking to you, personally, as a psychiatrist, psychologist, doctor; you have to acknowledge that we have messed things up and, therefore, we have to repair". Most importantly, she stated, "they will keep telling us that we do everything wrong, that we are a disaster, that we are *patologizadores* (pathologisers), even if we try not to be".

In Leonor's depiction of the meeting with her colleagues, a demand for reparation was put into action through the language of harm and criticism. Echoing Gladys's image of the victim, trans* people in Leonor's account speak from an already established position as wounded subjects. As a cisgender professional, she used her expertise and authority to voice trans* people's barriers to the health system, to amplify their concerns and give credibility to their criticism and distrust. Although it may sound problematic in other contexts, Leonor used her proximity to trans* people in the clinic and her closeness to a couple of well-known trans* activists strategically, appearing in front of her colleagues as a valid interlocutor: diversity professionals should listen to and receive LGBTI people's criticism without interpreting them as attacks or lack of gratitude. What they present as coming from a well-intended position is not necessarily perceived as such by trans* and non-binary people. All in all, what needs to be repaired is a relationship with both diversity professionals and the health system as a whole, which seems to be marked by a sense of distrust and violence. Some diversity professionals like Leonor appear to be doing that kind of reparative work: acknowledging the wound and holding psy disciplines accountable for their violence. Trans* people are not intrinsically wounded, though: they become wounded subjects in their multiple encounters with the system (Latham, 2017; Roselló-Peñaloza, 2018). Moreover, it is not just the health system, but also the violence that comes from the discipline itself, something that

[58] In October 2018 the first meeting of Chilean Trans Polyclinics was held, which brought a group of seven civil society organisations together with the health team of 12 public hospitals from across the country that provide care and medical treatment to trans* people. After the meeting, they decided to name themselves the Network of Public Health Professionals for Trans People.

needs to be acknowledged and radically transformed, not neutralised or silenced. As Gladys and Leonor also suggest, anger will not necessarily go away, and that should not be the goal of the psychological intervention.

Changing the Axis of Rotation

Before starting my fieldwork, I knew about the existence of a couple of research initiatives on LGBTI issues taking place in different universities in Santiago. Carmen was one of the researchers involved in one of those projects. We met in person during the coffee break of an event on mental health aimed at bridging the gap between academia and public policies on health issues. When we met for the interview, I asked her about her trajectory and interest in the subject. She described to me what she was working on at the moment, and then she added that her encounter with the reality of sexual diversity "has changed my identity beyond my professional activity". It has pushed her and her colleagues to adopt "certain positionings… for example, political-academic and methodological" ones, which are rarely taken in the context in which psychological research takes place.

Her shift from one positioning to another occurred alongside her professional trajectory doing research on suicide and suicidal experiences, which was marked by a way of approaching to the phenomenon that she characterised as "standardised".[59] That perspective was also a way of "seeing" things that has greatly informed the lens through which academic research on suicide has been done within the social sciences and psychiatry. When the research team was interviewing the participants of her initial project on suicide, Carmen recalled, "We didn't question the identitarian conditions that could be connected" to what they understood as the "social determinants" of suicidal processes. "Our eyes were set on the individual, less anchored in the social context; much more psychologising, if you like… we have also had to make a move there", especially after learning about the suicide rates among LGBTI people, which were "two times, triple" than those of hetero-cisgender people. "I look at that project now, which I really liked", said Carmen. "But our blindness frightens me terribly, you know? It was transparent for us, we didn't ask, there was no question about the participants' gender identity and sexual orientation". This *new* insight changed completely their way of approaching the phenomenon of suicide. It "changed the axis of rotation" in her words. Carmen and her team were about to apply for a research grant in 2013. They did not

[59] I return to this term and the work it does in the context of the clinic in the following chapter.

expect their study to be selected, but it was eventually, to their amazement. They initially thought that their project's topic was going to be perceived as too controversial, but then they realised that, on the contrary, the state would explicitly favour research initiatives with a focus on sexual diversity. Looking back, Carmen remembered, the application process "concurred with a time when sexual diversity was a trending topic".

Although research on suicide was one of the priority areas of the grant they applied for, the fact that sexual diversity was a "trending topic" seemed to have played a decisive role in the allocation of public funds and the overall result. Implicit here is the assumption that a research initiative with a focus on sexual diversity in the field of health would not have been possible without the concurrence of other socio-political factors that have their own temporal logics. Carmen's desire to reframe her inquiry into suicidal processes away from a standardised way of doing research occurred synchronously with her personal times as well: there were specific conditions that facilitated making that turn and changed the "axis of rotation". Therefore, it is not just the times of "trending topics", but also the temporalities of the personal which are not strictly chronological nor logically caused.

The terms and expressions "positioning", "make a move", and "axis of rotation" illustrate beautifully how Carmen's own way of looking at and thinking about a particular research object changed in the encounter with a new reality, a new kind of knowledge that was always there although somehow overshadowed. Carmen used her experience as a researcher and the application process as a way to interrogate her own assumptions and those dominant in research initiatives on suicide and mental health within medicine, the social sciences and public policy. Instead of establishing rigid disciplinary boundaries, she kept them flexible enough to start a new relationship with knowledge that demanded an explicit political positioning to redress what she and her research team were not able to see at the time, which, interestingly, *frightened them terribly*. I read this as a form of redress of that which has been erased and silenced in both mainstream research on mental health and her own research trajectory, which from a historical perspective has had terrible consequences for the development of preventive strategies targeting specifically LGBTI population.

To conclude this section, and building on Ahmed's (2012) notion of diversity "as a form of repair" (p. 164), I interpret the psy disciplines' stories of arrival to sexual and gender diversity as "a way of mending or fixing histories of being broken" (p. 164). Although most of the narratives I have shared so far make the case for the circulation of a demand for

reparation from the perspective of my interviewees, a form of repair can also be found in the ways psychology has tried to remedy the discipline's history of violence and indebtedness towards non-normative sexualities and genders. And this, as I have shown in Chapter 2, speaks also to the ways diversity has made its way into the psy disciplines, particularly via affirmative and culturally sensitive approaches to the work with LGBTI people. Paraphrasing Hemmings' (2011) work on the narrative structure of Western feminist theory, my argument here is that this "corrective approach" to the field (p. 13) also produces a demand to the discipline that shapes diversity professionals' relationship to time and space. The historical debt towards LGBTI people exposed by Gladys and Leonor throughout this section, speaks about how disciplinary violence still informs the discipline's approach to sexual and gender diversity. Or as Clara Han (2012) accurately suggests in her work on the psychic life of social debt in post-dictatorship Chile, disciplinary violence and its ghostly presence in the narratives of my interviewees, can also be thought of as a past continuous that inhabits the field in the present. Therefore, as I hope to show in the following section, it is through the marks of such violence and its transmission across generations of psy professionals that I aim to contest diversity's temporal politics, arguing for the need to resist diversity's investments in progress.

4.3 The Times of Diversity: Traveling in Time and Across Space

Time and space are also closely connected in my inquiry into the field and the travelling of diversity knowledges across the cities. Chile is a remarkably centralised territory. Generally speaking, almost half of the total population is concentrated in Santiago and the country as a whole follows a centralist politico-economic administrative model that shapes the ways knowledge is produced and distributed. This impacts access to research funds and the formation of research communities, which tend to concentrate in one specific geographic area and in one particular location, the university (see Krause et al., 2019). Being attentive to the spatial dimension of knowledge allowed me to look at the territorial specificities that inform how knowledge on sexual and gender diversity circulates across generations of psy professionals and their networks of reference.

In what follows, I look at the ways the cities of Santiago, Concepción and Valparaíso appeared in my interviewees' narratives, tracking their associations with notions of progress,

setbacks and regression as a way to re-read how diversity knowledges are linked to time and the territory. Overall, I want to critically interrogate commonsensical understandings of scientific knowledge as centralised in the capital and as predominantly localised in the university and education institutions, showing how claims to knowledge and learning experiences and initiatives are also happening outside those spaces.

4.3.1 The Location of Knowledge

One of the things I had to deal with while doing my fieldwork and analysing the interview materials was to keep together the dimensions of time and space in my interrogations about knowledge production on gender and sexual diversity. During my interview encounters I was curious about how discussions on LGBTI issues have unfolded in the different regions of Chile, and the means through which diversity professionals have acquired a certain degree of expertise on the subject and recognition among their peers. I was also curious to know how resources for research initiatives were allocated and distributed across the country, in addition to the imaginaries at work in the way diversity knowledges are both localised and temporalised.

When I asked Carlos about his experience working as a psychotherapist in both Valparaíso and Santiago, he replied saying that the ways in which LGBTI issues are experienced in "the region has a little to do with this dynamic that has always existed in Chile between what happens in the *metropolis* versus the periphery" (emphasis added). I was quite surprised about the chosen term 'metropolis', perhaps due to my life experience living in Santiago, the Chilean metropolis in Carlos's spatial imaginary. From my location as a *Santiaguino*, my home city has always been referred to by my close networks as the 'capital of Chile', which might explain my surprise and ignorance towards other ways of naming the city that come from a non-Santiago standpoint.[60] In Carlos's words, the metropolis stands in an oppositional and hierarchical relationship with the periphery, which, in this context, refers to the rest of the country. Indeed, there is a "cleavage between the urban centre and the province", as for him one of the differences stems from the fact that "what happens in the

[60] Chile is spatially organised for political and administrative purposes in regions, provinces and *comunas* (municipalities). This territorial organisation reflects the continuity of a colonial rationality, which has made its way in Chile's different constitutional arrangements (see Núñez, 2012). Santiago is both the capital of the Metropolitan Region (*Región Metropolitana*) and the capital of Chile. The latter might contribute to identifying the capital as the metropolis.

province is a tendency towards equating what is constantly happening in Santiago". In his words:

> Perhaps, in some ways, moving to the regions is sometimes like *moving through time*. One sees that in the regions there tends to be like greater resistance; it is like moving, going to the province is sometimes like moving to the capital, to the ways the capital was, I don't know, 15 years ago (…) in other provinces the difference is greater, as I believe the further you get away from the metropolis, you will probably find phenomena that were more characteristic of the metropolis in the 1940s, for example (emphasis added).

Carlos reproduced a recurrent narrative in Chile, that of centralism and of territorial inequalities. What is interesting here though is how he mobilised those arguments, the chosen words and the temporal-spatial imaginaries to which notions of progress and resistance, centre (metropolis, capital) and peripheries (provinces, regions) are attached. In his account, different provinces and regions, which usually work as a shorthand terminology for any non-Santiago city, have a different temporality with respect to the metropolis, in relation to which they are always behind, at a disadvantage, competing for and mimicking Santiago's allegedly progressive stand on sexual and gender diversity. Carlos's common experience of time is shaped by the ways the cities where he works relate to LGBTI issues. Non-Santiago cities are imagined as located in the past and, in his experience, it speaks to how he imagined the capital to be concerning those issues some time ago.[61] Carlos's assertion echoes another dimension of centralism, which is often invisibilised within research on LGBTI issues and in some versions of diversity work: the urban/rural divide. One of the interviewees shared similar references concerning his work at a rural school. In his experience, "there is not much that can be talked about" with respect to sexual diversity. From his viewpoint, access to information on this topic is scarce because of difficulties in access to the Internet, networks of

[61] To some extent, Carlos's words resonate with the colonial narrative that gave shape to the emerging nation-state by the end of the XIX century, which organised the country under a homogeneous territorial logic. The capital, at that time, was represented as a "living model of progress for the other cities of the Republic" (Núñez, 2012, p. 8). If Santiago stagnates, according to Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna (known as the *transformador de Santiago*) "then all populations stop and begin to rot… towns, by virtue of our iron-bound centralisation, are used to looking at each other as if in a mirror with respect to the capital" (as cited in Núñez, 2012, p. 8).

support and closeness to LGBTI organisations, among other issues. “Is there sexual diversity [in the rural area where I work]? Yes”, he mentioned. “Is the subject discussed? No, because since they do not see it, it is not there”.

What does it mean to “travel through time” and through the borders of regions and provinces in relation to sexual and gender diversity? What does it mean for a city to have a different time than that of the metropolis? And again, what does it mean to think about diversity as having a time?

4.3.2 Troubling the Centre

Carlos’s chosen term metropolis has its own history and temporal dimension too. The term brings the colonial legacy that has informed Chile’s centralist model, which still shapes people’s relationship with the capital. Imagining Santiago as a metropolis reinforces the idea of the capital as the privileged place of learning, culture and progress (Núñez, 2012) while securing the narrative of centralism that has explained territorial inequalities in access to knowledge. If the province is somehow stuck in time and, therefore, LGBTI people living outside Santiago are to some extent detained in their development and possibilities, they are also on hold, waiting for progress to come or moving to the capital where they imagine progress resides.[62] This last point is also replicated within university spaces, the curricula and graduate programmes, where diversity knowledges seem to be behind, stuck and on hold.

In a similar way, Leonor explained to me that although Santiago and Valparaíso behave alike in terms of what you can see in the clinic (reasons for consultation and counselling), “we always see ourselves overshadowed by the capital; we are centralist and we see ourselves like the little cousin… no, the little cousin of what happens in Santiago”. By way of example, she said that despite existing for three years, the trans* polyclinic of Valparaíso started to gain importance “because a year ago the one in Santiago was set”, adding that “nobody pays attention to us; when the polyclinic was set up in the capital, then

[62] The notions of detainment and progress in their connections with time and sexuality have been widely explored by queer and feminist theory in their efforts to trouble Western constructions of time that neglect analysis on its gendered, heteronormative and racial ideological underpinnings (see for instance Freeman, 2007; Halberstam, 2005, Chapter 1). Queer and feminist scholars have also called into question the uses of sexual progress narratives as a means of control and regulation with nationalist or developmentalist aims (see Butler, 2008; Massad, 2007; Puar, 2007; Spruce, 2017). In Chile, some of these ideas have been explored from a sexual-dissident perspective in the writing of Cristeva Cabello (2012; 2014; 2015), who has explored the links between LGBTI rights, progress and sexual citizenship.

everybody was like ‘Oh, we have to fix this, do this’. But if not, they wouldn’t see us”. The image of the “little cousin” reinstates the hierarchical relationship between the capital and the rest of the cities as if they were family members. Within this family scheme, the little ones look at their older cousin from behind, following the path already explored by them, trying unsuccessfully to be seen. Much of the resources for support programmes like those at the polyclinic are scarce and compete with other projects and health priorities. Trans* mental health thus appears as a non-essential, dispensable service for health policies, echoing recent reports that account for the uneven allocation of resources for mental health provisions, which, although not exclusive to the health needs of the LGBTI population, are also unevenly distributed across regions (Martínez, Tomicic, & del Pino, 2019; see also Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo [PNUD], 2018).

Along the same lines, and echoing Carlos’s “moving through time” expression, Gladys said that “the south is always further back”, adding that “information travels down from Santiago to Concepción in about two years”. Social inequalities are also territorially distributed, as for her “the experiences of the most marginalised trans* people are very much marked by the characteristics of the territory in which they take place”. The latter is a crucial distinction. Being on time with Santiago’s rhythm is not just about bringing the capital to the south, its notion of progress and development, its research centres and funding bodies. It is, above all, about including the “territorial considerations”, as Gladys pointed out, in the allocation of resources and the implementation of health policies. Instead of using the term ‘culture’ that is central to the cultural competence model, she linked people’s health issues with the territory to signal that diversity knowledges, and trans* knowledges in particular, do not work in the abstract: they speak and refer to specific bodily experiences, which are also spatially situated in the day-to-day life of communities and individuals, and their interactions with the spaces they inhabit (on the relationships between space, territory and health see Molina Jaramillo, 2018).

The territory informs ‘the social’ of the social determinants of health that Carmen mentioned earlier in relation to LGBTI people’s suicidal processes. The reality of HIV, sex work, travesticide, racism, class-based discrimination and LGBTI phobia referred to by Gladys during our conversation, are shaped and experienced differently depending on where you live. For example, racism is experienced and distributed differently across the territory. The North, Centre and South of the country produce their own racist expressions, which are

connected with Chilean colonial history, the traces of slavery and the presence of Afro-Chilean communities in the North, the occupation of Indigenous land and the allocation (arrival) of European *colonos*, especially in the South (Contardo, 2014; Richards, 2013; Ruiz, 2015). "In Conce", Gladys said, "we die more from HIV than in the North because here it is colder. Because we work in the cold while living with HIV". She added that, "When you ask for your anti-retroviral drugs at the doctor's office, they are not there; the supply is different than in Santiago". The reasons why people go to psychotherapy or to any other support service are shaped by territorial considerations as well. In Gladys words, "perhaps we could say that the same [therapeutic] offer does not exist as in Santiago because funding is centralised, and that has resulted in the lack of respectful [health treatment] for trans* people [here]". Unlike with Carlos, the response to territorial inequalities in health and social provisions is, therefore, not about "equating" or trying to be like the capital.

Despite Chile's centralism, my experience visiting Valparaíso and Concepción told me a different story about the effects of a centralist mentality on the ways communities, activists and diversity professionals have organised themselves to develop their own sources of knowledge and networks of support and solidarity. My fieldwork experience allowed me to challenge centralist narratives and question Santiago's alleged power to determine how knowledge travels up and down the country. Despite structural constraints that have certainly impacted on access to health services, research grants and therapeutic offers, my interviewees' work in their regions and territories, in all their differences, opened up a path for me to interrogate what knowledge means within a centralist logic and what other *centres* exist apart from the capital or the metropolis. In this respect, as well as questioning the pervasiveness of Santiago-centric narratives, I also challenge the university as another of the privileged centres where knowledge resides.

As I have shown, my interviewees' stories of coming to sexual and gender diversity and the affects attached to them trouble the idea of the university as the main location of knowledge, as most of their learning experience has occurred outside the academic institution and in dialogue with other activists and communities. My encounters with different NGOs, LGBTI support groups and activist spaces confirm a similar intuition: despite feminist and diversity knowledges' precarious status in the academy, diversity professionals have built their alliances and intellectual exchanges on the sidelines, although some of them have managed to create their own safe spaces and resist from within the institution, not without

difficulties. On the one hand, some of my interviewees have mobilised a critique of the violences (epistemic, LGBTI-phobic) that the university, and the academy more broadly, have inflicted on gender and sexual others, exposing its pervasive effects both from within and outside academic spaces. On the other hand, I read some of their accounts as holding, simultaneously, a desire to remain attached to the university and be included in its institutional ethos, a demand for institutional visibility and epistemic legitimacy. Although the workings of this ambivalent attachment to the university and other institutional spaces are the subject of my last analytical chapter, I want to address this issue here, to stress the role reparation has had in the ways my interviewees have inhabited those spaces. For them it is not only about asking to be included in the course syllabus or in psychology departments, which is why a demand for an institutional *mea culpa* is so important for Gladys and Leonor. It is mostly about changing the assumptions behind the inclusive gesture,[63] to correct and radically transform the existing mechanisms of exclusion, injustice and intersectional inequalities that have explained feminist and diversity knowledges' historically precarious status in the academy (see Cabruja Ubach, 2008; Sutherland, 2009).

4.4 The Temporalities of the Social

Exploring further my claim that diversity has a particular time attached to it, and that progress would be its temporal orientation, in what follows I turn to the centralist model referred to previously to grasp how the times of diversity articulate with the narrative of socio-political progress for LGBTI rights in Chile. By analysing this articulation with the times of what I call 'the generational', I ask about the work these temporal registers do and some of their modes of expression in the present.

I discussed some of these issues with Eduardo, a psychologist working near Concepción, in the Bío Bío region. In response to my question regarding the current political moment in Chile, Eduardo said that he "feels that the vision people from the Metropolitan region have on sexual diversity is more open" than outside Santiago. Although "there is still discrimination [in the capital] and we see horrible cases in the streets, it is a topic that people openly talk about; it is something people see". However, where he lives, sexual diversity "is

[63] I return to this idea in Chapter 6.

still something that is not talked much". For him the main reason why not that much is discussed is "centralism" and the power it deploys in setting the agenda for the discussion on LGBTI rights across the country. In his own terms: "The problems that are not issues there in Santiago are still issues here". Drawing on Eduardo's views, I argue that a centralist mentality is not just about using the capital as the reference and benchmark of how things should be. It is also about the centre's ability to establish a time for things to be discussed and become a debatable, "trending topic" in Carmen's expression. Paraphrasing Parrini (2011, 2018), the narrative of centralism works here by synchronising the psy disciplines' historical debt towards LGBTI people with the socio-legal temporality of progress of LGBTI rights, their achievements and increasing normalisation. And this progress, according to most of my interviewees, has gone hand in hand with the development of the field. Using Parrini's (2011) argument, I argue that non-heterosexual, trans* and non-binary identities do not just have a specific social time, but also a "minority residence" (p. 222) in the academy, the psy disciplines and mainstream politics more broadly. Moreover, the times of psy disciplines can be thought of through José Esteban Muñoz's (2019) concept of 'straight times', by which I suggest a way to relate to time that constructs non-heterosexual sexualities and trans* identities as trapped in a state of "presentness" (p. 25) already marked by the negativity of violence and poor mental-health indicators, which are two of psychology's most recurrent ways of engaging with LGBTI issues, something I return to in Chapter 5.

The time of the socio-political appeared spontaneously in my interviewees' stories of coming to sexual and gender diversity. They made explicit reference to events that have occurred in specific time periods, most of them concentrated in the first half of the 2010s and in clear connection to developments in the political and legal spheres, particularly the foundation of new LGBTI organisations and the approval of the anti-discrimination law in 2012. The student-led '*revolución pingüina*'[64] (penguin revolution) in 2006 and 2011, the emergence of 'trans* childhood' as a matter of public concern in 2013, the appearance of diversity and non-discrimination offices in universities and municipalities, the feminist May in 2018 and the Academy award-winning film *A Fantastic Woman* in 2018, to name but a few, were repeatedly mentioned to signal specific turning points in the development of the

[64] It became known as the 'penguin revolution' in reference to the school uniform worn by secondary school students in Chile: white or light blue shirt and dark grey pants in men's case; dark grey / dark blue jumper or pants and white shirt for women. The uniform and the general student aesthetic make them look like a penguin.

field and the psy disciplines' interest in LGBTI issues. To some extent, these references, their recurrence and repetitiveness produce a common narrative that secures both the country and the field's forward momentum with regards to LGBTI rights (see Hemmings, 2011, p. 45), which generally departs and is extrapolated from the capital to the rest of the regions. Although Valparaíso and Concepción have had their own turning points and have responded to those triggers in solidarity with the capital's LGBTI activist struggles, interviewees from the three cities agreed on the events' ability to shape public discourses on sexual and gender diversity, as well as academic responses to the place of LGBTI issues in disciplinary knowledges. I have referred to the specifics of some of the events in different sections of my thesis, however I will highlight here the work they do by synchronising the present time of diversity knowledges with the times of the social, their progress narratives, linearity and "forward looking" orientation (Hemmings, 2011, p. 73)—but also their mismatch.

Looking at these ideas from the perspective of someone who has not lived most of her life in Chile produced some critical insights during the analysis. Such distance was enabled by the views of Alyson, a clinical psychologist who arrived in the country in the beginning of the 2010s. One of the things that caught her attention when attending her first diversity march in 2011 was "how people march in Chile, how they militate" in comparison with how things were in her home country where "people march very little". She "came to find something very strange, that Chile was a much more conservative country than [mine], much more *machista*,[65] with many more difficulties in dealing with diversity in general". What she found curious, though, was the gap between what she felt about Chile (a conservative, "supposedly more closed" society) and the freedom she saw at the pride's march and the subsequent political debates in the congress. "I saw this very conservative country moving forward so fast on public policy issues" she recalled, without necessarily changing its *machista*, hetero-patriarchal ethos. This observation fits quite well with another made by Miguel, a social psychologist and academic, with regards to the progress of the psy disciplines in diversity issues, which for him is closely tied with the progress of the country on these matters. However, that progress is already organised around a "prejudice", he said, which is "that our discourses are usually more conservative than our practices", in a logic he characterised as "discursive conservatism" that has also informed the discipline's development on diversity

[65] Broadly speaking, the Spanish term *machismo* refers to an ideological social formation typical of Latin America that translates into a way of being (*macho*) and doing gender that culturally sanctions men's domination over women.

issues. In a clear gesture to the workings of the mechanism of 'double discourse' introduced by feminist researcher Bonnie Shepard (2006, Chapter 1; see also Araujo, 2011), Miguel's notion of "discursive conservatism" also pointed to the distance between what can be said and supported in public by individuals and collectives, and what can be endorsed by disciplinary bodies and university authorities in practice, which accurately reflects my interviewees' experiences of distrust, anger and disappointment towards the academy.

Turning to Parrini (2011), diversity knowledges thus have a "minority residence" in the academy (p. 222); their development within is still very precarious and restricted, sensitive to changes in the government and, in most of the cases, dependent on the individual willingness of faculty members. As I have shown, pathologising logics are pervasive in teaching and clinical practice, and diversity knowledges are still considered too political by some psychology departments. Carmen, for instance, is well aware that albeit being involved in research initiatives that "add to social changes that are taking place right now" in the country, she further suggested that that scenario, "in this moment, can make resistance. Because we are witnessing a kind of regressive movement at the political and institutional level". Despite diversity being a "trending topic" and that today's political conditions seem to encourage the kind of research she is doing, "I think you have to take advantage of the wave too" said Carmen, "because my impression is that [conservative resistance] is coming back". This is especially true with the current right-wing government and the already widespread forces of anti-gender campaigns.[66] The expression "coming back" in relation to resistance from conservative groups caught my attention, and made me think about how those forces are felt and experienced differently by people according to the place they occupy in the struggle: as if that resistance, those efforts to render diversity knowledges invisible in the academy, had not been there before. Perhaps Carmen's positioning on diversity issues has made her feel and see those attacks from a different angle, as her work and personal views are now somehow exposed and vulnerable to this *new* kind of critique.

The image of the "wave" is a powerful one; it has been used to characterise the *Mayo feminista* in Chile, which, like a wave, peaks at certain times and brings with it the struggles and hopes for radical change of those who were fighting before. It also points to a "happy

[66] On the histories and debates regarding the uses of 'gender ideology' and 'anti-gender campaigns' in Chile, see Jaime Barrientos's (2020) report on the subject. In relation to specific triggers, such as abortion, the gender identity law, sex education and conversion therapies, see the work of Lieta Vivaldi (2019), Valentina Stutzin and Lelya Troncoso (2019) and José Manuel Morán (2012), as well as my own (2019b).

scenario", in Miguel's words, which makes people unaware of the threats and attacks that are still there. Based on his vast research experience on violence against LGBTI people, the "fear of holding hands in public", of "being attacked and harassed" and "beaten to death" are situations that remain of concern to LGBTI people, especially after the massive manifestations of the feminist May, and the time prior to the 50th anniversary of Stonewall riots in June 2019. Contrary to this sense of precariousness and vulnerability to violence, Chile's alleged progressive legal stand on LGBTI issues prevents it from taking these everyday experiences seriously. During a public event on anti-gender mobilisations in Chile, which Miguel also attended, one of the speakers shared with the audience the perceptions some Latin American feminists have on Chile's so-called progressive agenda on sexual and reproductive rights: "You are doing relatively well in comparison with other countries", I remember her saying. This is comparable to Alyson's first impressions after arriving in Chile, in which legislative advances in LGBTI issues seemed to go faster than what she felt was changing socio-culturally at the time. Echoing Mercedes's critical reading on what she identified as a "successful narrative" around the *Mayo feminista* within some feminist spaces, Miguel said that "we are still on the top of the wave because we are yet close to the successes" of what recent social mobilisations across the country have achieved legally and socially. Even within the context of a right-wing government, where "progress and setbacks have taken place; in that sense it misleads us", Miguel argued, it makes us feel that progress is happening and that the violence that still exists is just an isolated incident. For him, we are witnessing a type of violence "that is qualitatively different" in its forms of expression, and that appears in reaction to these happy times of "greater visibility" and legitimacy. "I have the impression", Miguel declared, "that we may face a near future of exacerbated violence while living in a context of greater rights in parallel".[67]

"It misleads us" and confuses us, similarly to what happened to me after listening to the government spokesperson's invocation of diversity as a defence of those on the right who are proud of the dictatorship's legacy. The discursive articulation Pinochet=Diversity, which I mentioned briefly at the beginning, not only exposes diversity's malleability and co-optation by conservative forces, but also troubles diversity's forward-looking orientation to

[67] Re-reading this quote at a later stage of the analysis in line with what happened five months later during the Chilean uprising of October 18 is shocking. Miguel's research trajectory and sensitivity to changes in the workings of violence against LGBTI people over time, somehow pre-empted the attacks and human rights violations of dissident genders and sexualities during the uprisings (see Alveal R. et al., 2019).

time.[68] It does so by bringing the haunting memories attached to the figure of Pinochet to the present through what Badilla (2021, p. 128) describes as a "mnemonic movement" in her analysis of the 2019 October social uprising, which triggered a similar "feeling of going back in time". Although not connected explicitly with LGBTI issues, the idea that diversity as a concept can accommodate both diversity professionals and *Pinochetistas* alike challenged my way of interrogating the temporalities of diversity and the problems at stake in using it as a term for political action. In what follows, I explore another aspect of the relationship between diversity and time through the notion of the generational, discussing what work invocations to the generational and the dictatorship do in the transmission of diversity knowledges.

4.4.1 Knowledge as Generational

The question of time also appears as a generational issue in my reading of the interview material. Generations of psy professionals completed their degrees in different moments and were also influenced by the kinds of questions and disciplinary concerns enabled by those periods of time. A small group of my interviewees studied during the dictatorship or at the beginning of the 1990s, and the majority of them graduated and started working professionally between the years 2005 and 2015, when gender mainstreaming strategies and diversity discourses began to acquire greater prominence in the policy arena (see Galaz Valderrama, Sepúlveda Galeas, Poblete Melis, Troncoso Pérez, & Morrison Jara, 2018; PNUD, 2010). The stories they shared with me about their encounters with sexual and gender diversity were also shaped by the times in which they finished their studies and the possibilities that those times made available to them, both professionally and politically.

Following the above, I am not using the generational, and invocations to the term generation, as a descriptive category that can be reduced to the chronology of age of my interviewees, or to the lines of inheritance that travel through and from the ages (see Lewis, 2020). A generation of psy professionals is not just shaped by their age, but also by the events that marked their learning experiences, their shared struggles and hopes, their access to knowledge and a professional degree, which are unevenly distributed across the territory and along the lines of class, gender, sexuality and race. References to the term generation were also attached to affects of hope that were projected onto specific cohorts and decades, as if

[68] I return to this associations in Chapter 6.

belonging to a specific generation (the idea of a "generational renewal") or studying within a particular time period (e.g., after the dictatorship and the mid-2000s) would bring about change at the disciplinary level.

In response to my question on the uses of the term diversity in her clinical practice, Rosa, a clinical psychologist from Concepción, said that she does not use the term: "*Me ha costado* (It's difficult for me)… I believe it is because of my age, my generation". It is hard for her "to talk about diversity as a concept. I also find it hard to talk about *los* and *las*… *le*. No, no. It puzzles me" (emphasis added).[69] It is interesting to analyse the chain of associations attached to the chosen expression "*me ha costado*". In Spanish, *costar* means 'to cost' (literally as well as figuratively). Something costs you (*te cuesta*) because it is of high value; it also involves a loss, losing something valuable in the expectation of getting something better in return, which, paradoxically, has not been the case for Rosa in her transition to working on LGBTI mental health, as she did not see any value in using the term. I would have expected diversity to be a useful term as she worked within that framework. But it was not; instead, it puzzled her. Against this backdrop, the term generation functions as a reason to justify her troubles with the language of diversity: "I always say to my patients", Rosa said, "that whenever I use the term *los*, in general, I am including man and woman, because I am not establishing any difference, you are a person for me, always" (emphasis added). And she added that she prefers "being honest and telling them: 'look, I'm old already, and since I'm old this is difficult for me', I've learnt this [diversity thing] over time, and for me the person is a person, I'm not making a value judgement".

Being old or belonging to an older generation work more like a resistance to change, with Rosa positioning herself differently with regards to her diversity colleagues and the politics attached to their work. Contrary to my own expectations, the age argument was not invoked as an excuse to exempt her for committing an unintentional grammatical error or a temporary mistake while she is adapting to a new vocabulary, for instance, that of gender neutral language. Digging into this issue with her, I asked about the use of the term diversity on her website, which I explored before our meeting. There, on her web domain, Rosa framed many of the activities she offered (e.g., talks, training sessions and workshops) under the

[69] *Los, las* and *le* are the masculine, feminine and gender neutral pronouns in Spanish. What is usually known as inclusive or neutral language has been fiercely resisted in some academic spaces, especially in the fields of medicine and natural sciences, mainstream psychology and the law, to name but a few. I discuss some of the resistances to the implementation of inclusive language in the training of psy professionals in Chapter 5.

umbrella term diversity. She replied to my question by saying that "you have to use the term; we have to educate… and you have to try to use a common language so that someone else understands". For Rosa, using the term diversity gives meaning to two different images of herself: with her patients, she presents herself as part of a generation of old people for whom using certain terminology has a cost. And for others, Rosa appears as an informed professional using the correct terms, well aware of the debates around LGBTI issues and projecting an image of herself in which being old does not seem to be a problem.

If using a specific terminology and embracing the language of diversity is not necessarily linked to a specific generation—even though it can puzzle you if you are older, according to Rosa's experience—then why are references to an alleged generational shift, flexibility and openness to new knowledges still attached to young generations in some of my interviewees' narratives? Contrary to these common assumptions, I argue that the idea of the generational and generation-based claims needs to be thought of as a narrative technique, to borrow from Hemmings (2011, p. 81). That is, we need to attend to the means through which a particular story of the field has been told and transmitted as a generational matter, which tends to highlight—and, sometimes, idealise—the role that a particular generation and specific time periods have played in knowledge-production enterprises across time. A common trope in my interviewees' accounts has been, for instance, the assumption and expectation that younger generations of psy professionals would bring some sense of newness to psychology departments and research environments. Although this is not always the case, as one interviewee warned me, a generally optimistic feeling prevailed among the people I interviewed. There is a gap between the kinds of learning opportunities, course contents and discussions on LGBTI issues to which most of my interviewees were exposed when doing their degrees and those available in the present. Some of my interviewees working at LGBTI organisations or university spaces shared with me that they have witnessed a "generational renewal" in some university departments, which have replaced a generation of teaching staff "that come from a very strict tradition of learning". One interviewee acknowledged that his cohort did not receive a single specific training course on LGBTI issues and that "it is rather that generations of people who are now doing their undergrad studies are looking to include those subjects in the curricula".

It is interesting to note how a generational shift is also felt in the clinic, where changes in the way people relate to their sexuality and gender have shaped their

understandings of suffering and what triggers the clinical consultation, which in most cases echo the time of the legislative agenda on LGBTI issues and its impact on everyday interactions.[70] "The fact that there is a generation that calls itself non-binary", Alyson said, has challenged the therapeutic relationship and ways of talking about gender in the clinic.[71] This did not come necessarily from academic spaces but from the experiences of people and from socio-legal changes more broadly. The latter echoes the words of Eduardo, who believed that these "new generations are adapting better to this new model of gender" and, because of that, "don't have as much trouble as other generations, like mine". Similarly, Felipe shared with me the differences he has witnessed in the clinic with young people, suggesting a distinction between "those who were born in the 90s or later, when democracy was already established" versus those who were born and raised in the dictatorship. In a view also shared by some of the others, in the case of young people today, "parents keep coming out of the closet" when they find out they have an LGBTI child, although the kids themselves do not. "I don't think there is such a moment of identification and of having to face your parents", stated Felipe. "No, that's gone for them, the need to have to explain themselves in that way" by recurring to the narrative of the closet.

The idea of the generational suggests a means of listening and being attentive to the ways people make sense of their sexuality and the scripts they follow in negotiating their needs and questionings, which, according to the previous examples, are shaped by the challenges of each time period. A divide between the dictatorship and a post-dictatorship era (from the 1990s onwards) also works here to link the social with the individual as mutually informing changes in the coming out narratives and the locus of concern in Alyson's, Eduardo's and Felipe's clinical experience, from the closeted gay individual to non-binary genders. How this divide shapes the field, what we know (and do not know) about sexual and gender diversity and the stories the psy disciplines have told about this is what I explore next, following the traces left by these events in some of my interviewees' narratives.

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[70] During my fieldwork, the rise of femicides and LGBTI-phobic attacks in the time prior to the commemorations of the International Women's Day on March 8, 2019, and the 50th anniversary of Stonewall riots were at their peak, triggering an increased rate of psychological consultations in LGBTI population according to some of my interviewees.

[71] This observation, which is expressive of Alyson's experience in the clinic, is sometimes used in a rather dismissive way by anti-trans* activists, implying that being trans* or non-binary is a contemporary *trend*, especially among young generations (for a critique on this subject, see Gill-Peterson, 2021).

4.4.2 Knowledge Transmission

The previous examples show the different meanings that references to specific generations acquire in relation to diversity knowledges. As a narrative technique, invocations of the generational signal either progress or setbacks with regards to the development of the field, changes in subjectivity and in the teaching of sexuality and gender. In line with what I discussed in reference to diversity as a form of repair, some versions of the generational also work to secure what Hemmings (2011) has described, in the case of Black feminism, as feminist theory's "forward momentum" (p. 45). Using this as a lens to analyse what is at stake in my interviewees' references to the idea of a "generational renewal", I argue that the dictatorship/democracy and old/young divides, together with changes in the patterns of suffering and consultation in the clinic, work by ensuring psy disciplines' forward momentum from a position broadly characterised as conservative and regressive to one of openness, newness and progress. Further, the inclusion of sexual diversity and the increasing normalisation of allegedly non-traditional issues in psychology seem to be facilitating progress at the disciplinary level. However, as Hemmings (2011) also suggests, reading this momentum as linearly oriented obscures the complexities of the present and its competing temporalities.

References to the dictatorship illustrate well this temporal disjuncture. Building on Han's (2012) ethnographic work on time and violence in Chile, I trouble the dictatorship/democracy divide by engaging with the uses of the word dictatorship in its indexing of actual life conditions that do not belong to the past, but that continue in the present.[72] The dictatorship appeared in a few interviews as a "legacy" that can be traced in the now of the discipline and felt in the social events that have shaped psychology's response to LGBTI people's actual life conditions. I had the chance to talk explicitly about these issues with Miguel, Mercedes and Débora, the latter a psychologist and feminist academic with a long trajectory of feminist activism. Similar discussions took place with the members of a study group on gender, diversity and psychology in Santiago. The most salient reference in these conversations was to the political and medical persecution of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans* and travesti people during the 1980s and its continuity during the democratic transition. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, these people's experiences have been

[72] A similar mechanism can be observed in the workings of 'coloniality' as a condition that continues to exist long after the formal end of colonial administrations. On this, see the work of Aníbal Quijano (2007) and his theorisation of the concept of the 'coloniality of power' (see also Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012).

made ghostly by the exclusion of their voices in the official records of victims of the dictatorship (Garrido, 2016; Hiner & Garrido, 2019). Moreover, their persecution continued through both their pathologisation and characterisation of their gender/sexuality as a criminal offence in the Penal Code Articles 373 and 365, which criminalised "affronts to decency" and the practice of sodomy respectively (Congreso Nacional, 1874, 1999). The inclusion of homosexuality as a contraindication in the admission tests[73] to psychology departments until the late 90s and early 2000s, the still prevalent anti-gay therapies and the formal requirements of gender certificates in trans* health provisions were also mentioned as forms of disciplinary violence which, despite local efforts to tackle their pathologising effects, continue to shape LGBTI people's relationship with the psy disciplines and the health system.

Although these pathologising logics will appear again and in more depth in the following chapter, I want to stress here how the continuities identified between different practices and time periods are connected with the question of knowledge transmission across generational lines. This is not just a historical question, as it is also an inquiry into the psychosocial mechanisms that structure both the field of sexual and gender diversity and the psy disciplines. Diversity knowledges have passed from one generation to another in a dialogical relationship in which facts, affects and memories are not considered finished processes that belong to a particular generation, "but rather something that is produced in the very act of transmission" (Jeanneret Brith et al., 2020, p. 4). In other words, rather than being a direct transfer of knowledge between people from different generations, knowledge transmission is a mediated process that occurs in a relational context: it is produced *in the act* of sharing experiences of violence and survival, and of recognising oneself in the stories of others. Affects and work with emotions play a key role in the psychic work of transmission, either through what passes between people or from one time period to another. Although not framed in such a way, Gladys's community-based work with emotions challenges standardised interventions that tend to "override those that are not productive" and vindicates the political work that emotions do by facilitating a means for connecting people with their stories of oppression. "We live in a country where painful experiences are censored, as in the dictatorship", she said. "They have *blanqueado* (whitewashed) our emotions, imposing on us

[73] After the military coup, psychological tests for prospective students were suspended. However, the admission criteria were taken up again in the democratic transition and finally eliminated by the end of the 1990s. At the time, and within the context of the University of Chile, students with a physical disability, epilepsy or who showed homosexual traits through projective tests were considered a contraindication for both studying and exercising professionally as a psychologist (Ligüeño Espinoza & Parra Moreno, 2007).

the emotions we must have and feel, even through psychological interventions". What gets transmitted is, I would argue, what has endured and resisted the operations of *blanqueo* (whitewashing) of the dictatorship during the democratic transition, or what Richard (2017/2019, Chapter 1) terms the techniques of forgetting.[74] Put differently, what has survived and been passed on is the sense of impunity with which "painful experiences" have continued in the present, assuming a ghostly presence that is reactivated in the face of new violations such as those experienced in the encounters with psychology. As Frosh (2013) suggests: "What haunts us psychically is, in this rendering, some injustice, something that has not been dealt with rightly" (pp. 44–45). And it is the relationship between haunting, injustice and the *what needs to be done* (paraphrasing Gordon [2008]) that Gladys enacts in her insistence on demanding an institutional *mea culpa* from the psy disciplines.

The continuities of state violence and harmful psy practices in the present are there, in the narratives of some of my interviewees. However, the role that the dictatorship and the democratic transition have played in that continuity is not explicitly *there*, especially regarding their impact on knowledge production and the training of future psy professionals. I did not ask the interviewees about these issues and only became aware of their haunting presence after my fieldwork, at a later stage of the analysis, as I reflected on in Chapter 3. However, drawing on Badilla's analysis of October's social uprising and Gordon's haunting theorisation, I want to point to the *not thereness* of those historical events which, I argue, are rather seeming absences. With regard to the continuities of violence, it is worth mentioning that the processes of depathologisation and decriminalisation of homosexuality were gradually assimilated only as normative events with no regulatory effects, as mere anecdotes devoid of historical-political context and with no real impact on how psy knowledges are transmitted in teaching and learning. Some of my interviewees relate to those events as if they had the power of law, that is, as an unquestioned truth, sometimes ignoring the fact that professional colleges were intervened with during the dictatorship to reduce their regulatory powers over the ethical protection of professional practice (see Lira, 2008). The latter might explain why the *gremio* (profession) had not spoken out against the practice of anti-gay

[74] The associations between Gladys's reference to whitening and the dictatorship have been developed by sociologist Tomás Moulian (1997) in his description of the workings of a 'whitewashing operation' (*operación de blanqueo*) during the democratic transition aimed at imposing the conviction that we need to give up the past for the future, "unless one wishes to fall into the anguished logic of repetition" (p. 36). Along with consensus, it worked as a technique of forgetting: "Whitewashing is a refashioning of the past, an operation in which the blood is hidden under a coat of white paint and the crimes of the dictatorship are spoken of in hushed tones, never openly or out loud" (Moulian, 2007, para. 9).

therapies until relatively recently, without this necessarily having had an impact on the regulation of said practices. Turning to Miguel's "discursive conservatism", there is a difference between the sanctioning of the norm and its implementation across different sectors and institutions. For instance, as discussed in both my introductory and concepts chapter, the depathologisation of non-normative sexualities by both the APA and the WHO occurred in 1973 and 1990 respectively, precisely the years marking the beginning and the end of the dictatorship, a period during which those discussions failed to permeate the Chilean psy disciplines or influence public debates on the criminalisation of homosexuality (see Cornejo, 2011). The presence of social imaginaries associated with the fear of a reversal of ongoing democratic processes during the 1990s and the articulation of a politics of consensus aimed at avoiding the emergence of conflict, especially with the Catholic Church and the state, partly explain why LGBTI issues were not objects of public debate during that period (Araujo, 2005; Richard, 1994).[75] Where did those debates take place? What could have happened to them?

During Pinochet's military regime, knowledge production initiatives linked to sexuality, feminism and critical thinking were "suspended" and "detained" according to Miguel, Débora, Mercedes and the members of the gender, diversity and psychology study group. The closure of the School of Social Work at the University of Chile in Santiago and the persecution and exile of some academics due to their political views, are cited as examples of those dynamics. Even with the democratic transition, "these were not topics of discussion from a cultural, scientific and political perspective" within psychology departments, as recalled by Débora. The history and politics of psychopathologisation and the criminalisation of difference, for instance, have never been there. Public discussions on the subject do not "correlate internally with debates on the sources of authority in psychology and psychiatry", Débora added. "Discussions around the DSM-V, for example, are not there… they don't move through psychology in Chile". Those debates have been located elsewhere, in Débora's experience: "They were outside, in culture, on the streets and in

[75] According to Araujo (2005, 2011), the continuation (and naturalisation) of the Catholic Church's influence in public affairs during the democratic transition was associated with the Church's hold on moral authority over the Chilean population, which the state delegated. This has changed dramatically in recent years. As Miguel pointed out, the institutional crisis that the Chilean Catholic Church is going through due to recent cases of clerical sexual abuse, "has facilitated, among other reasons, the brutal uprising of [anti-gender and fascists] groups" against women and LGBTI people. "The ruins of the Church—he added—bring with them the greatest visibility of these moments", which for him act out "the [regulatory] function that the Church does not fulfil anymore". Regarding the politics of consensus and its links with diversity work, see my analysis in Chapter 6.

politics, with Pedro Lemebel" and LGBTI activism.[76] These discussions have been expelled and displaced to somewhere else and, as a consequence, their political force has been deactivated, at least in the psy disciplines. In contrast, the conflicts and the histories of struggles that triggered those debates survive on the outer edges of the psy disciplines and are transmitted through community-based interventions, wherein the work with emotions, as in Gladys's, has proved to be a means for resisting the mechanisms of whitewashing and forgetting.

4.5 Conclusion

Returning to the conversation I had with Gladys, I remember asking how she built her political trajectory as a feminist and activist psychologist. She replied with a question: "I was thinking about this while listening to you... Not a single person in psychology has ever wondered why trans* people have not theorised about ourselves. You see what I mean?". What health professionals know about trans* and non-binary people "has been written by people who are not trans*", which is telling of the state of the field and what circulates as knowledge regarding trans* people's experiences of health and wellbeing in Chile. The answer to her question is that the absence of trans* voices in the theory and practice is due to "inequalities, nothing more. It's not depression, it's not anxiety" due to being trans*; "it's not hallucinations, it's not delusional ideas. The whole time we have been in a disadvantageous position against the hegemony when it comes to generating our own knowledge". The "hegemony", in Gladys's quote, is not just represented by the standpoint from which the psy disciplines have theorised about trans* lives, as it is also the "hegemony" of the temporality of progress that leaves those who challenge it behind. Gladys's response to the silencing of trans* voices by the psy disciplines interrogates diversity's temporal politics by questioning its linear, forward-looking orientation to time. Their voices have been made ghostly through the *blanqueamiento* of their emotions, like in the dictatorship. It has not been because of their

[76] Chilean *loca* writer and performance artist whose work chronicles the impact of AIDS on the trans*, travesti and *loca* community, and the political persecution and torture many of them faced at the hands of state agents during and after the coup d'état. References to Lemebel will appear again in Chapter 6 in relation to Pedro's legacy within the histories of the Chilean LGBTI movement alongside his influence on the aesthetic and political identity of the sexual dissidence movement.

alleged *condition* as mentally ill. It has been due to "inequalities", which have not yet been overcome.

This chapter has examined these connections via the notion of the field and the transmission of diversity knowledges through time and space, using these references as sites of inquiry into the socio-political history of Chile. Rather than asking what those knowledges are and what the field would look like in its disciplinary demarcations, I have suggested exploring its contours by listening to the participants' stories of coming to sexual and gender diversity, focusing on the work that narratives do in producing the very notion of the field. By using the concept of boundary-work and the expression *pruebas de blancura*, I have looked at the different instances, sites and articulations in which both the limits of what counts as diversity knowledges and the properly psychological are produced and carefully policed, exploring the affective labour involved in the construction of those limits. In particular, the chapter examined the workings of reparation as both a process and a demand that shapes my interviewees' engagements with the field and the psy disciplines' relationship with LGBTI people, which, I have argued, is marked by a sense of debt that haunts diversity work in the present. The chapter moved on to question diversity's temporal politics and investments in progress, by exploring the spatial dimension of knowledge and the pervasiveness of a centralist mentality in the ways the field is imagined, which, I have suggested, equates diversity with the centre (the *metropolis* and the university) in its forward-looking orientation to time. Progress, in this context, works as a boundary-making strategy for the constitution of the field of sexual and gender diversity. Furthermore, progress is also linked to diversity through the invocation to specific generations of psy professionals, onto whom expectations of change and disciplinary renewal are projected. As a narrative technique, I have argued, references to the generational work to secure the psy disciplines' forward momentum from an alleged conservative position to another of openness that has followed Chile's alleged progress in LGBTI rights.

By troubling the relationship between diversity and progress, the chapter showed how diversity also works by preventing the consideration of narratives that question the linearity of progress and insist on bringing to the centre the experiences of violence that still impact LGBTI people, specifically trans* subjects or communities. In that sense, I have argued with Gladys that it is in the form of an institutional *mea culpa* that diversity's progress narratives are challenged. Unlike scholarly work that affirms straightforward aligned connections

between diversity and progress, this chapter suggested that those connections do particular political work in Chile. Namely, one that, while discursively linking the times of diversity with the times of the post-dictatorship, positions progress together with a sense of threat regarding what has been historically achieved. It is in that sense, according to Miguel, that progress has a misleading effect.

Although spontaneous allusions to the dictatorship were minimal, fragmented and anecdotal in comparison with other more salient themes in my interview materials, its effects and traces in the present can be found in the repetition and insistence on related themes whose chain of associations has not been interrupted. The recurrence and presentness of the themes of pathologisation, state and disciplinary violence across generations of diversity professionals may be speaking to something else, which is not to be found in the discipline's ethics code or in policy documents. Instead, and this is my claim, they are to be found in the kinds of relationships and ways of doing diversity work that trouble the temporalities of such issues, in particular, the lingering effects of pathologisation and diversity's progress narrative.

Chapter 5

The Sensitivities of Diversity Work

5.1 Introduction

In October 2020, while working on this chapter, I had the chance to join an online conference on the theme of depathologisation called *Depathologising Differences: On Identities, Genders and Sexuality*. In one of the discussions, I listened to the experiences of Argentinian trans* activists Alan Otto Prieto and Santiago Merlo, who were interviewed by two cisgender psychologists. Both Alan and Santiago talked about the different *lugares de expulsión* (sites of expulsion) they have encountered in their activist trajectories, such as their families, school, the health system and the academy. This last space has historically treated them as objects of study, especially during the coronavirus pandemic. Researchers and students alike approach them wanting to theorise about their lives. "Usually, they call on you to tell your story, when, in fact, what we do by telling our stories is to criticise the patriarchal, cisnormative system", Alan said (2020). What really happens in those encounters, he recalled, is that "a lot of theses end up been written about our lives", which are then "taken away by cis people". "Not all of us have the possibility of putting what we think into words", Santiago added (2020), "because when you present your ideas, you are also putting your body out there as pedagogical territory".

What happened in that conversation was completely different from what I had witnessed in most of the events I attended on 'gender diversity' during my fieldwork. Unlike 'sexual diversity' events, the ones on gender diversity focused primarily on trans*, non-binary and gender non-conforming issues, making them the subject of specific anxieties.[77] At those events, trans* experiences were used as 'pedagogical territory' for the education and

[77] Although commonly used as tantamount to gender parity or equal representation of people of different genders in policy documents, the term gender diversity has increasingly been used by activist groups to refer to the specific reality of non-cisgender people, including non-normative gender expressions. It has also been used as a strategy to incorporate the gendered aspect of diversity politics and the limits of incorporating trans* and non-binary identities under the sign 'sexual diversity'.

benefit of cisgender people, most of the time in the name of the so-called sensitivities of the audience, which demanded careful treatment on the part of the speakers as not all attendees were familiar with the subject. This cautious attitude was repeated in almost all of the events I attended, as if it was impossible to talk about trans* issues without a previous warning note. Why is such a cautious attitude needed, and what does this tell us about what is at stake in those pedagogical territories such as the conference, the training workshop or the teaching room? In what ways can these pedagogical moments be thought of as 'sites of expulsion', where trans* voices and critique do not have a place except as an object to theorise?

The sensitivities of the audience were not just a subject to be cautious about. The appeal to the register of 'the sensitive' (*lo sensible*) in diversity work signals a rather broad range of pedagogical practices, professional skills and personal dispositions that prescribe a particular way of working with LGBTI people. These are part of what is commonly described as 'sensitisation work' (*trabajo de sensibilización*) in the fields of psychotherapy, education and activism (Fundación Todo Mejora, 2017; Martínez et al., 2018; Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, 2015). In this chapter, I analyse the stakes of these uses of the pedagogical, looking specifically at the affective and political work that sensitivity does in producing a particular way of knowing the trans* experience that I call the 'anxiety to know'. In doing so, I ask what might be the effects of linking sensitisation to knowledge in diversity work? In what ways can anxiety help us to make sense of the mechanisms at work in the experience of knowing those produced as 'diverse' and 'sensitive' through sensitisation strategies in the clinic, activism and research? In what ways do these modalities of the sensitive bring with them the marks of pathologisation and epistemic violence?

While part of the previous chapter centred on the question of the place of pathologisation in the making up of the field of sexual and gender diversity and in the history of the psy disciplines, this chapter looks at the enactment of pathologising practices in gender diversity training sessions and through the workings of 'sensitivity' in LGBTI mental- health discourses. In order to explore these associations, the chapter focuses on the interactions that unfolded at a symposium on trans* health I participated in, which I analyse together with excerpts from my interviews that engage with issues pertaining to the teaching and learning of diversity and LGBTI mental health. In particular, I first analyse how gender diversity is produced as both a sensitive and a triggering topic in diversity training courses, looking specifically at the workings of anxiety through the use of content warnings during the

symposium. In doing so, I discuss my interviewees' discursive positioning in relation to what val flores (2013) describes as the *órdenes de la explicación* (orders of explanation) within traditional pedagogy, which I use to show the ways in which gender diverse people are constructed as still inexplicable and, therefore, subjected to multiple forms of exclusion.

Second, and delving into some of the aspects I worked on in Chapter 2, I explore the connections between sensitisation strategies, anxiety and pathologisation by looking at how affirmative and culturally sensitive approaches to diversity work in the clinic understand the terms 'culture' and 'social', which, I argue, reinforce rather than challenge the orders of explanation framework. That is, a demand to know that acts fetishistically by rendering non-normative genders as objects of curiosity and in need of specialised care. Although the promotion of sensitisation practices within the clinic contributes to making LGBTI issues 'digestible' for broader audiences, at the same time these very practices fix non-normative subjectivities to what Tobias Wiggins (2020) has called 'taxonomies of suffering'. By means of a discursive operation, I argue that the articulation of diversity as a sensitive issue brings the marks of the pathologisation of non-normative sexualities and genders to the present of the 'affirmative momentum' in the clinic, activism and research. What this discursive operation shows, and this is my claim, is the workings of a version of pathologising power that enacts its taxonomical movement towards producing the trans* subject as distressed and sensitive to mental health problems. To conclude, I show the ways trans* knowledges intervene in the kinds of stories of health and distress that the psy disciplines tell about gender diversity, opening up space for creative responses from the trans* community.

5.2 Diversity as Sensitive Work

Within educational, activist and clinical settings, sensitivity and sensitisation work are often invoked as if they were self-evident concepts. Even within specialised literature, the terms sensitivity, sensitive and sensitisation are not properly defined (see O'Donohue & Benuto, 2010). In most of the interviews and events I attended, diversity professionals referred to these terms as if it was not necessary to explain or provide any definition whatsoever. In an effort to interrogate this widely shared assumption, instead of asking what those terms mean, in this chapter I ask what is the work that those terms do in the spaces of the clinic, activism

and research that would not be possible to achieve with other terminologies. How did those terms appear and circulate in the interviews and the events I attended? To which other concepts, images and subjectivities were they attached? And, more specifically, "what exactly needs to be known and enacted in order to be [a] 'sensitive' [professional]"? (O'Donohue & Benuto, 2010, p. 35). Before moving forward, I would like to propose a few points about the question of definitions with a special attention to the terms' usages in my research materials, their shared histories and discursive associations with '(homo)sexuality' and 'gender non-conforming' in both English and Spanish.

The terms sensitivity and sensitive function as both noun and verb in relation to diversity knowledges and the subjects those knowledges refer to. They appeared in my data as either a learning condition ("being sensitive") or an outcome ("culturally sensitive" practices), and sometimes as a requirement for been trained in the topic ("you have to go through a sensitisation phase"). It can also be a personal attitude ("sensitive professional"); a quality attached to certain spaces ("sensitised institution") and issues ("sensitive topic"). Unlike other related terms and initiatives such as 'conscientisation'[78] and 'raising awareness', both sensitivity and sensitisation highlight the affective dimension of knowing, which goes beyond a merely conceptual endeavour (Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Cultura y la Ciencia, 2015; see also Holvikivi, 2019). Two of the Spanish definitions of the term *sensible* (sensitive) worth mentioning here point to: a) the ability to react emotionally to something that can be perceived through the senses; and b) the delicate nature of an object or a topic that needs to be carefully managed to prevent upsetting people (Real Academia Española, n.d.).[79] Sensitivity in turn refers to a person's ability to understand and respond to people's feelings and needs. When translated into a psychotherapeutic or research skill, being sensitive might entail developing interventions sensitive to the particularities of a given population, in this case the LGBTI community (Grzanka & Miles, 2016; Martínez et al., 2018; see also Boyce, Engebretsen, & Posocco, 2018).

[78] Conscientisation is a term coined by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (2001) in the context of his work on critical pedagogy. It can be roughly defined as the collective process of developing a critical awareness of one's social reality through reflection and action. It enacts a political commitment to liberatory praxis that understands education as a mutual labour (see also hooks, 1994).

[79] Both descriptions fit with definitions of the same term in English (Cambridge University Press, n.d.-a).

If being sensitive to sexual and gender diversity is something you can acquire as a pedagogical outcome, sensitivity thus emerges as a feature that requires a particular labour, that of sensitisation, which needs to be carefully watched, if not intentionally produced in specific contexts such as training courses. In addition, the ability to respond emotionally to the needs of non-normative sexualities and genders seems to be unevenly distributed among cisgender and heterosexual people. In that sense I argue that the need to develop a particular sensitivity to LGBTI people, thus confirms that their needs are not taken into account by those from whom we would expect a sensitive response towards their needs, challenging which sensitivities are worthy of attention. Following this thread, and paraphrasing Ahmed (2014), I suggest engaging with sensitivity as signalling an orientation towards and away from specific objects and subjects, in this case trans* and non-binary people, which thereby become sticky as "an effect of the histories of contact between bodies, objects, and signs" (p. 90). This is reflected in the fact that not every-body and not any-topic are therefore labelled as sensitive, which begs the question as to what might be the conditions required for an identity or a theme to become a sensitive issue, and whose sensitivities configure the baseline through which such judgement is articulated.

In Ahmed's sense, sensitivity sticks to sexual and gender diversity not only through discursive associations in policy documents and handbooks, but also through the histories and struggles attached to the term sensitive, which has been used as a code word for referencing queerness, specifically male homosexuality, both in anti-gay therapy and in queer theory, literature and gay and lesbian studies (see Halperin, 2012; Sedgwick, 1990/2008; see also Hale & Ojeda, 2018). In relation to the latter, being sensitive, especially if you are male, might make you likely to be read as gay in the eyes of others, which applies to its uses in Spanish and English alike. For some of these authors, one of the most common forms of queerness revolves around "being in some way or other 'like' a woman, fey, effeminate, sensitive, camp" (Dyer, 2002, p. 5). In its proximity to the place of 'woman', being sensitive or having a particular sensitivity to allegedly feminine tastes or attitudes would mark queer and gay subjects as deviant (Sedgwick, 1991). This is the rationale that informs most of the forms of anti-gay therapies that engage with sensitivity as a diagnostic indicator of a non-normative identity. The presence of a so-called sensitive temperament in boys, according to reparative or conversive therapy, would also translate into a non-conforming gender expression that needs to be fixed and carefully policed (Ojeda Güemes, 2015). Within this logic, the sensitive (gay) boy and the gender non-conforming child trouble the ideological

tenet of the model, which views sexuality and gender as continuous and collapsible categories. On the contrary and building on what I discussed previously in Chapter 2, the move to depathologise homosexuality was inspired partly by theoretical efforts aimed at distinguishing those categories. Following Sedgwick (1991), while this move resulted in the depathologisation of a "an atypical sexual object-choice" (p. 21), it renaturalised gender and, consequently, pathologised non-normative gender identifications, a point I will return to later.

Taken together, what these associations show is how the histories around the (de)pathologisation of male homosexuality and gender non-conformity stick to some of the uses of the terms sensitive and sensitivity. Rather than belonging to the past, I argue, these histories haunt sensitisation work in the present. To that end, in what follows I analyse the workings of sensitisation and the production of trans* health as a sensitive topic in pedagogical instances aimed at knowing the culture and health needs of LGBTI people. Specifically, the interactions and knowledge exchanges that occurred at an event on trans* health that took place at the beginning of my fieldwork in Santiago.

5.3 Sensitive Content, Anxious Responses

5.3.1 Introducing the Symposium

In December 2018, I attended a symposium called *Manejo Integral de Personas Transgénero* (*Comprehensive Management of Transgender People*) organised by the School of Medicine of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. It was a full day paid event targeted at medical practitioners—especially paediatricians, endocrinologists and psychiatrists—and other health professionals such as psychologists, social workers, nurses and midwives. Unlike similar events on the theme, the organisers asked for proof of professional degree as condition of admission for the symposium, promising that a certificate of attendance would be provided. Given the conservative gender politics of the host university, I thought that by checking our professional identity the event would retain control on the audience composition, and, consequently, make sure that a specific way of talking about trans* health would be observed.

Being physically there was important. One of the guest speakers was a US medical practitioner who has played an important role in the writing of one of the 'Standards of Care' guidelines of the World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH). The

event also gathered some of the local clinical initiatives, groups and diversity professionals I wanted to get in contact with for fieldwork purposes. We were around 50-70 people in the room. Based on how people approached each other, their looks and social manners, I could easily identify who were the doctors and who were not: medical practitioners acknowledged their peers by their title, going by 'doctor' first, which was also replicated by some of the non-medical professionals I recognised. Hierarchies among participants were also established based on their professional degrees, status in the academy and health institutions. The list of topics and speakers were further hierarchised in the symposium's programme, with the more biomedical ones first, front and centre, and the psychosocial and human rights-based ones in a less relevant place in the schedule, which was also the case with the only trans* speaker, whose intervention was allocated at the end of the event.

While we were waiting for the event to start, there were colourful pictures circulating as screen background, a classic set of visuals, I would suggest, within the wide image database available for diversity trainers and professionals alike to promote their activities, as can be seen in image 1. This display of happy images created a learning environment that mobilised a particular positive affect (Ahmed & Swan, 2006) that aligned with the goal of sensitisation work, often in contrast with statistical data, images of the human body, hormones and screenshots from prestigious journals and research articles on the topic that were used in the majority of the medical speakers' slides.

Figure 1

Promotional Poster

Note. Image used as part of the promotional brochure for the symposium, which I cropped from the original for analytical purposes // *Image description.* Seven human body silhouettes in different degrees of pink and light blue, suggesting a visualisation of how a spectrum of gender identities and expressions might look like. The first silhouette from left to right has a female sign in its head (a circle with a cross pointing down), and the last one has a male one (a circle with an arrow pointing to the right)—the figures in between show different combinations of male, female and trans* symbols.

As I suggested in my methods chapter, events like the symposium ritualise a series of symbolic and material arrangements that determine whose voices and experiences are considered legitimate. They can also be thought of as sites of boundary-work (Pereira, 2017), as conceptualised in Chapter 4, where the epistemic status of knowledge *about* gender non-conforming people and trans* health is negotiated, and where medical gatekeeping power over trans* and non-binary genders is confirmed. Knowing how to behave, where to sit and how to interact with others allows people to navigate spaces that, most of the time, have not been designed or imagined for hosting the voices and experiences of those who might trouble the setting up of such spaces, and challenge the epistemic authority of the professionals who speak on their behalf.

The symposium was a privileged and relatively homogeneous space in terms of class, race, sexuality and gender, which mirrored existing social inequalities regarding access to knowledge and a professional degree in Chile, among other issues. The use of the term

'management' in the title of the event is also revealing.[80] The term in Spanish is *manejo*, which can be translated in English as 'management', 'handling' or 'treatment'. By choosing the first one, I am signalling a more regulatory intention that brings with it a medical tradition of rendering non-normative bodily experiences intelligible and controllable for expert scrutiny and disciplinary purposes (Riggs et al., 2019). Furthermore, the term 'comprehensive' does something different to the term management beyond its exclusive managerial sense, as it points to any other non-medical factor that might play a determinant role in the clinic for trans* and non-binary people. The non-medical here speaks to the generous, encompassing and flexible place of the psycho-social, which often appears only discursively and subordinated to biology and medicine, together with its concomitant diagnostic classifications, to which I will return further on (Roselló-Peñaloza, 2018).

5.3.2 Whose Sensitivities? Content Warnings in the Teaching Room

Sensitisation work is usually depicted as a learning experience: you need to "understand sexual [and gender] diversity, working on existing prejudices, acquiring the knowledge and skills to perform health care effectively and empathetically" (Montero Vega et al., 2017, p. 31). Most of the interviewees who have facilitated *sesiones de sensibilización* (sensitisation sessions) would agree on this framework. One of them, for instance, said that every time she is invited to facilitate a workshop or a talk on sexual and gender diversity, she "always starts with the basic concepts, which is super important to handle in order to understand everything that comes next". For her the basic concepts are the distinctions between sex, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and the LGBTI acronym, among others. As another psychologist said to me, "if you don't understand the basic concepts and distinctions, you can't move forward". Depending on the type of activity, what "comes next" generally consists of explaining and describing the reality of LGBTI people, their main characteristics, mental health indicators, etc. The symposium was no exception.

The event started with a module on "gender non-conformity" and "mental health morbidity", followed by a presentation of the experience of a diversity support group working within the host university. Their talks were preceded by the welcoming words of the organisers and a representative from the university, a male doctor, who set not only the scope

[80] *Comprehensive Management of Transgender People.*

of the symposium, but also the emotional tone of how things were going to be discussed and framed. Interestingly, the organisers warned us in advance about the sensitivities at play in convening an event around transgender health, placing sensitivity and gender diversity in the terrain of ethics, as for them these issues "might involve some ethical challenges". Within this context, some aspects of the theme were framed as controversial, as open debates within the scientific community, especially in relation to transgender childhood and adolescence, where gender diversity was presented as a particularly sensitive matter. The doctor repeated the trope about the lack of curricular offer on sexuality and gender subjects in Chilean medicine faculties that I discussed in Chapter 4, adding that the symposium would help to "produce knowledge in order to know them better" and to improve their treatment within a comprehensive framework. He reinforced the idea that trans* people are a "very vulnerable population", sensitive to "high rates of mental health pathologies, mostly because *no los acogemos bien* (we don't accept them well)". The question animating the symposium, he added, was: "How can we welcome them medically and treat them better?".

Trans* health became a sensitive topic in its proximity to the words "vulnerability", "ethics" and "controversy". It was through the medical representatives' welcoming words that trans* and gender non-conforming people were produced, in turn, as particularly sensitive to "mental health pathologies", statistical evidence for which we would be introduced later. These introductory remarks were not confronted or put into dialogue with the recent approval of the gender identity law in Chile and the latest changes in the classification of trans*-related issues in the ICD-11, which would have introduced a more nuanced approach to the subject of trans* health from a depathologising standpoint. The reason behind the high rates of mental health indicators seemed to correlate with trans* people's experiences of feeling out of place and not welcomed in their encounters with health professionals. For the doctor, this appears to be *un problema de acogida* (an issue of acceptance), the solution to which would be producing more knowledge about trans* and gender non-conforming people, but without their voices, expecting that an increase in knowledge would reduce both mental ill-health and the experience of out-of-placeness. We were not informed about the factors explaining such an "issue of acceptance", however, leaving out any attempts to connect that with factors other than those coming from the individual, in this case, the figure of the non-welcoming professional.

One of the reasons why trans* health and gender non-conformity were presented as sensitive issues might be, and this is my reading, that they confront the audience of medical practitioners, psychologists and educators with a range of procedures, terminologies and knowledges they did not know about, and that they have not fully mastered. This last point, in turn, speaks about the attendees' anxieties towards gender non-conformity, which were acted out during the symposium through the staging of a series of content warnings.

After the welcoming words, speakers in the first thematic block started their presentations with a series of disclaimers. The following is the initial statement of a

REDACTION: Specialisation removed. Personal data removed for confidentiality reasons.

psy professional with some working experience on gender-diverse children and their families. Before starting her talk, she said:

> I am going to speak about *sensitive and contentious issues*, where no consensus has been reached. We have been learning with our patients due to the lack of knowledge around the topic. I will use a kind of language with which most of you would not concur. My presentation is part of an ongoing clinical experience I'm building together with other colleagues and that [I would define as] sensitive (emphasis added).

In a similar vein, and within the same block of presentations, a psy professional

REDACTION: The gender and specialisation of the speaker have been removed. Personal data removed for confidentiality reasons. started the talk with a caveat:

> What I am going to present is formulated in inclusive language, but *my brain is older*, and I may make some mistakes along the way. *My heart, however, is a hundred percent inclusive*, so please do believe in what is written there on the slides (emphasis added).

Following a similar logic, in the Q&A moment, a few people introduced their questions by apologising for their lack of knowledge on the subject. One of them apologised in particular

for the incorrect use of pronouns when it comes to knowing what happens to the sexual orientation of trans* people when transitioning. The attendee, who identified as a paediatrician, finished the sentence by saying: "I don't even know how to ask now", implicitly gesturing to her fear of being called out for misgendering trans* people or confusing the *basic concepts*.

The first statement echoed the welcoming words of the university authorities by reinforcing the idea of the sensitive associated with gender diversity. Controversies around the subject are connected through an alleged lack of consensus on the clinic of trans* people—particularly trans* childhood—which was not discussed during the presentation. The starting point seemed to be that gender diversity and trans* issues in particular are controversial and sensitive topics *per se*. Trans* and non-binary people were presented as a sensitive group too; as if through the "I don't know how to ask now" question from the audience, the paediatrician was suggesting that *they*, gender diverse people, might get upset if *they*, the health professionals, get their pronouns wrong. Consequently, practitioners have to be sensitive because trans* people, and the imagined LGBTI community and its allies, are over-sensitive, which, in turn, might also be expressive of a defence mechanism against critique from those groups. Nonetheless, the speaker's words seemed to be doing something different—at least in their manifest purpose—as they tried instead to prevent potential disagreements with and among her colleagues. Therefore, it is not just gender diversity but also the sensitivities of the participants, and the institutions they represented, which were at stake in these kinds of statements.

Something similar happened with the second account, where the caveat worked to anticipate the use of the inclusive language in the slides. What is interesting here is that it included references to the "heart" and the "brain" as containers of the anxiety produced by using a supposed non-traditional way of talking about diversity within a medical space. In the psychologist's point of reference, the brain is the location of error and the heart is the place where no mistakes are to be found: the place of empathy, respect and sensitivity. It is an "older" brain though, which I read as gesturing to those in the room who, due to their age or traditional mindset, could experience a similar conflict between what they think and what they feel, just like what happened during the Q&A and echoing my previous analysis on the workings of the generational as a narrative technique in diversity work.

The image of the heart and the brain, however, suggests a different chain of associations that re-enact a binary separation between mind and body, rational and irrational, public and private, masculine and feminine, largely criticised by queer and feminist critical pedagogy (Britzman, 1995; flores, 2013; Holvikivi, 2019; hooks, 1994). This has two immediate effects. On the one hand, and contrary to what is expected, it reinscribes the sensitive as belonging to the irrational, private and feminine side of the binary. Sensitisation work is, therefore, a type of gendered labour executed primarily by, and associated with, women, feminised bodies and/or LGBTI people, which echoes what I said earlier regarding the histories attached to the sensitive as a code word for gay, queerness and gender non-conformity. On the other hand, the brain/heart split upholds a way of knowing that bell hooks (1994) has characterised as one of compartmentalisation, where the wholeness and complexity of human experience is reduced to "compartmentalized bits of knowledge" (p. 15), of which the rationale behind mastering the "basic concepts and distinctions" of sensitisation sessions and treating them as disembodied abstractions are salient features.

Following the above, I argue that references to ethics, scientific consensus, vulnerability, inclusive language and the brain/heart split operate as anxiety containers as they both displace and prevent any potential conflict around the topic. Similarly, anxiety is what content warnings are supposed to contain by anticipating any potentially sensitive content. Warnings, in this context, worked by cautioning the participants at the symposium about what they were about to listen to, which would give them some time to prepare themselves for being exposed to conversations that might hurt their sensitivities (see Lothian, 2016). In this respect, warnings are also about safety and protection (Ahmed, 2018). This anticipatory function is key for both the workings of anxiety and content warnings. Moreover, it is not just the framing of gender diversity as a sensitive issue that is at stake here, but also the sensitivities of a predominantly cisheterosexual, educated and racially privileged audience that is cautiously cared for even by non-heterosexual speakers. What is it then that the staging of content warnings is doing? Besides shaping the idea of gender diversity as a sensitive issue, both the welcoming words and the speakers' introductory remarks ended up displacing the subject of care from trans* and non-binary people to the symposium participants, re-centring hetero- and cisnormativity. In other words, those who ended up being safeguarded were the majority of the cisgender assistants present in the room.

Contrary to the stated goals of sensitisation work, the sensitivities that mattered were those of the medical and psychological institutions that have historically reproduced the pathologising practices that the symposium aimed at eradicating. To some extent, this series of content warnings offered a different narrative of what sensitisation work is about, in which trans* and non-binary people appeared to be facilitating the displacement of the participants' discomfort against their own anxieties around the topic. Instead of "creating spaces of productive discomfort", as Alexis Lothian (2016, p. 751) rightly asserts in her work on trigger warnings, the organisers of the symposium, with the participation of the majority of the speakers, opted for leaving "the comforting distortions of structural privilege" (p. 751) unchallenged.

From that perspective, the construction of gender diversity as a sensitive issue exposed the sensitivities of health and psy professionals, who, through the staging of content warnings, managed to stay out from the call to *knowing the other*. The professionals "need to know them better", according to the medical representative of the university. Their own anxieties were not worthy of scrutiny and debate, as if their sensitivities had no role in shaping how the object of 'transgender health' was produced. In this sense, it was not only their sensitivities that were at stake but also their authoritative professional identities as medical practitioners. In refusing to question their own positionality and knowledge, I contend, the symposium and the iteration of content warnings during some of the presentations, rendered the diverse gender others in need of continuous medical and psychological examination, thus confirming the necessity of generating still more knowledge about them.

5.3.3 On Becoming Sensitive Professionals

After looking at some of the mechanisms at work in producing gender diversity and gender diverse people as both a sensitive issue and a vulnerable group, I turn now to analyse the call to be a sensitive professional that animates some of the features of sensitisation work. The reference to the figure of the sensitive psychologist appeared many times in the interviews and during the symposium. Being a sensitive professional does not consist only in knowing the basic concepts, but also in building sensitive working environments within their own activist groups, health centres and work teams, which in some cases have taken the form of safe, LGBTI-friendly spaces. A requirement to be sensitive thus operates to protect LGBTI

people from the prejudices, discrimination and violence that may come from the health institution. However, this requirement did not reflect what ended up happening at the symposium, where the sensitivities of the speakers and the audience became the subject of care and protection. What does it mean to be a sensitive professional, and what does sensitivity do to diversity work when the sensitive is conceptualised as something you can obtain as a learning outcome?

I discussed these issues with a group of three psychologists working in an LGBTI support group in Santiago. The question of sensitivity and the figure of the sensitive professional came up in relation to their concern around how to certify knowledge on LGBTI issues when recruiting new group members. In this respect, I asked them what they look for in a psy professional interested in joining their group. Although this had not been addressed collectively at the time of our conversation, one of them shared with me some preliminary thoughts on the issue. She said that "at some point we start[ed] wondering about how to build an instrument" to assess the required clinical skills and knowledge to work with LGBTI people. For them, it was important "to define what we consider[ed] scientifically essential", in addition to "the person's own clinical experience". For example:

> If the person comes from a critical epistemology it is easier to sensitise them. The other way round is harder. A person may not have much clinical experience on the subject but has been sensitised. That work is easier to do with these kinds of people than with those who have a lot of technical knowledge but are not so sensitised.

Following this statement, another member of the group said that when she joined the space, she "had the sensitivity" required for the work, further adding that "sensitivity is something that touches you personally, you can't come to it from theory". Another colleague present during the conversation shared a similar trajectory. He "arrived at the space more from sensitisation and therapeutic experience than from knowledge", stating that he also "has a gay brother", which would have put him in emotional proximity to the topic.

The brain/heart separation I referred to previously finds its equivalence in the knowledge/sensitivity binary suggested by the members of the group. Knowledge here appears limited to theory and clinical practice, in contrast to sensitivity which seems to come

with the individual, although it can also be acquired through training. If sensitivity, in this context, is a quality of the self that some individuals possess and that can be obtained through relations of proximity with theory or via LGBTI friends or relatives, events such as the symposium need to provide a learning route that can touch people's brain and heart, to move them from one direction to another. Given its personal and intimate nature, sensitivity becomes then a particularly complex thing to teach and transmit to others.

How do diversity professionals do this teaching in practice? All the events I attended provided a learning programme that followed a similar script. Before introducing the basic concepts and going through the different definitions, most of the speakers I had the chance to see on stage started their presentations explaining the relevance of having a conversation around sexual and gender diversity, which usually consisted of showing a contrasting set of touching images or video clips from news headlines, articles and human rights reports. There could be, for example, fragments of coming out testimonies, reports on LGBTI-phobic attacks, progress and setbacks in LGBTI rights in the country, etc. The selection and uses of images were intended to trigger an alternation of positive and negative affects such as hope, pride, fear and anger, which set up both a particular emotive tone and an emotional route from which to arrive at theory. 'Theory' here usually equates to information, to learning LGBTI terminology and the latest developments on the subject from authoritative sources, such as peer-reviewed journals, human rights reports, policy documents, local surveys and statistics on mental ill-health, which were used as *objective* sources with the aim of lowering people's barriers and potential resistances to the topic.

The use of renowned international references, scientific language, comparisons with other geographical contexts, and the idea of barriers were also present in the repertoire of other activists and diversity professionals across the three cities I visited. For instance, Pablo learnt from his activist friends in Concepción that before planning any intervention you needed to think first about the political goal of the activity. Sometimes, clear distinctions between so-called disruptive and soft interventions are made, where the transformative potential of the action—whether it be a workshop, a talk or a street demonstration—rely upon variables such as its scope and impact, either persuading the less sensitised or having conversations with those already convinced. "If you are trying to sensitise a person who has never heard about sexual diversity, or who gets confused and think that a gay person is, in fact, a man who wants to be a woman", said Pablo, "the best way to do it, avoiding as much

resistance as possible, is by entering with a diversity approach", as opposed to going along with other more political approaches such as dissidence.[81] The appeal to the sensitive, therefore, has a strategic function that is also defensive: in order to touch and challenge people's sensitivities, you need to avoid confrontation and get around their barriers.

Given its defensive structure, which is not the cognitive sense attached to the idea of barrier often used in sensitisation talks, Pablo's reference to 'resistance' can be thought of productively from a psychoanalytic perspective, as mirroring what happens in the psychoanalytic situation—that is, as signalling an unconscious response towards a sense of threat that blocks change from happening, in both its individual and institutional dimensions (see Laplanche & Pontalis, 1973). Regardless of the outcome, what remains in place then is the very structural problem that sensitisation strategies try to tackle, that is, hetero- and cisnormativity. Moreover, it not only leaves them intact but also bolsters them by re-centring those power structures, as I showed in my analysis of the uses of content warnings. Although the majority of my interviewees were mindful of the challenges involved in discussing diversity issues with broader audiences, the role that sensitivities of heterosexual and cisgender people play(ed) in shaping their activist and clinical practice remains—surprisingly—unchallenged. And it is the persistence of such structures of power, but most of all, their endurance at the disciplinary level, that makes resistance a better-equipped concept for understanding the stakes of sensitisation practices, as I hope will become more apparent in my conceptualisation of anxiety in the following section.

Taken as a whole, the way each of my interviewees described their work, produced a varied range of sensitive practices that needed to be carefully observed in order to move people from a de-sensitised position to a less defensive, more welcoming and friendly one. To this end, diversity professionals act as conduits to knowledge of LGBTI people, whose existence is often represented as a softened, non-threatening and vulnerable subjectivity in need of care. Because of its non-threatening character, the positivity of diversity offers a path through people's barriers that could not be achieved by using a more confrontational intervention, which makes sensitisation work a very persuasive strategy, although its effectiveness is questionable, as discussed above. In the same vein, psychologists also act as

[81] I come back to this notion of diversity as a form of entering in the following chapter. There I also develop the notion of dissidence and the political work it does within and outside institutions. Dissidence, when read through the sensitive, allows us to explore the institutional resistances that usually remain unnoticed when using a diversity approach.

filters whose role is often one of content moderation, sanctioning both the kinds of knowledges and ways of talking considered legitimate, as a means to shape the emotional disposition needed to understand the differences and struggles of non-normative sexualities and genders. From this perspective, sensitisation work can be seen as what Ahmed (2018) called a 'technique of direction', namely a set of practices for shaping a particular sensitivity towards the object, which make available some paths and not others (para. 12). The participants in the events are, consequently, directed towards an encounter with the reality of diverse others that is anticipated as likely to trigger a discomforting emotional reaction. And this, in turn, might lead to resistance and anxious defensive responses that need to be properly managed.

The relationships between knowledge and sensitivity, and the affective reactions enabled by them, especially those triggered by anxiety, are what I analyse in the following section, where I also explore the workings of a particular disposition to know that I call the anxiety to know.

5.4 The Pedagogy of Diversity

5.4.1 The Orders of Explanation

Among the issues mentioned recurrently in most of the interviews was the need for aligning health and education professionals with a common language and vocabulary. One of the goals is to teach non-diverse audiences the main conceptual distinctions between gender and biological sex, including a review and explanation of the different identity categories that exist. For some of my interviewees this was also their starting point as diversity professionals. Knowing the distinctions and interactions between the conceptual triad of sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression has been part of their own training process as well. Within that context, the call "to know them better" inaugurated by the symposium's authorities, spoke not just to people's expectations towards the event, but also to an orientation towards medical and psy knowledges. That is, an orientation to know the diverse other as a means to control, regulate and taxonomise its difference from the cisheteronorm via the language of diagnosis. However, the call to know is also an affective drive that makes use of anxiety as one of its primary triggers.

Events like the one on trans* health are particularly anxiety-triggering. In conversation with Diego, a psychiatrist from Santiago who was also present at the symposium, they described to me a few elements they have found worrying about the sudden emergence of training events on gender diversity in the last couple of years. Diego has "perceived an *ansias* (eagerness) for being trained, for learning and wanting to have tools for knowing what to do and what to say" about sexual and gender diversity. For them, there is a particular "demand to know about *lo trans** (trans* issues)" that they look upon with suspicion. Although "it is necessary, sometimes it feels as it were like a kind of *ensañamiento* (callousness impulse), and now everyone wants to know, everyone wants to call themselves a specialist", further adding that, "this is the part that scares me the most, it is like 'I went to a course and attended a seminar, so I'm ready' to go".

What Diego described to me was something I also felt during the symposium: a kind of greed for knowledge and information expressed in the urgent tone of the audience's questions, sometimes translated merely into memorising definitions and the *ABC*s of trans* health. Although I was tempted to interpret this voraciousness as evidencing an individual symptomatic reaction against the experience of not knowing, I engaged with this "eagerness" as expressing instead a socio-political dimension that I am calling the anxiety to know. I understand anxiety here outside a biomedical, diagnostic frame. Although inspired by a clinical-psychoanalytic framework, I put forward an understanding of the term that focuses on its social function, as an affect that "travels through psychopathological diagnosis and popular culture" and "that carries a certain 'discontent' or unease with it" (Minozzo, 2019, p. 141). As such, it works as a signal of a possible loss that appears in the face of danger, at the moment we lose control of what we know, and we face the uncertainty of not knowing (see Aduriz, 2018).[82] Furthermore, affects of anxiety anticipate a response to the demand for knowledge that interpellates—and haunts—psychology in its medical-scientific pretence: as a discipline, it must provide universal answers that work for *all* and in the same way (see Parker, 2001). As it was predominantly framed as a medical event, the symposium staged this demand in a particularly pressing manner. The danger and the threat that triggered the

[82] The way I use the term is different from the concept 'angst' (or 'anguish'), since anxiety would be its 'wrapper', in Lacanian terms: the means through which anguish appears to the subject (Aduriz, 2018). On the difference between anxiety and angst, both as a problem of cultural translation and in the clinic and popular culture, see the discussion of Fernando Castrillón (2014) and the work of Fernando Aduriz (2018) respectively. On the diagnostic trajectory of anxiety in the DSM and its contemporary resonance in the 'feeling good' culture and economy, see the work of Ana Carolina Minozzo (2019).

anxious response, I contend, were thus activated in response to the possibility of being outed (or surprised) as not knowing, in addition to a fear of losing epistemic authority over *the management* of trans* issues within the psy and medical sciences, as well as at the political-cultural level.

To account for the relationships between anxiety, knowledge and diversity, I turn to the writing of val flores, specifically her work on antinormative pedagogy and her critique against the logic of *saber explicativo* (explanatory knowledge) that saturates learning about sexuality and gender. Following flores's (2013, p. 319) work, what I have identified as the anxiety to know can be depicted as the acting out of an impulse to know *what the other is*. Paraphrasing Butler (1990), this is an impulse that emerges when the other disrupts the existing social norms of the continuity of heterosexual sexualities and normative genders. What triggers anxiety, then, is "the unmooring of symbolic categories of sex" (Elliot & Lyons, 2017, p. 360). Or, as Marco Posadas (2018) suggests from his work with analysts, a response that is expressed as a "resistance to the realization that gender may not be encompassed in a binary system" (p. 97).

Interestingly, this socio-political form of anxiety puts psy professionals in a position they also consent to—at least to some degree—which falls within what flores (2013, p. 242) describes as the "orders of explanation", that is, a logic of knowing that looks for the true meaning of things, and that faced with the question *what is the other* responds by providing certainties, clear and straightforward explanations. Diego illustrated well this position by describing what psychologists are looking for when attending events such as the symposium. The majority of them ask for "the particularities of a psychotherapy with trans* people, as if they were 'thirsty', in quotes, to be given practical guidelines" on how to work with trans* and non-binary people. Diego continued:

> There are many people who also come hoping to be enlightened on how to know if a person is *really* trans* or not, many of the most recurrent questions have to do with that… especially among clinical teams or individuals working with children and young people… [wanting] to be given a kind of algorithm to know if a child or adolescent, who tells them they are trans*, if that is *true or not* (emphasis added).

The above describes a scene that confronts both health and diversity professionals with their own lack, either in the form of lacking knowledge about gender diversity or as lacking a response to the demand for knowledge from their colleagues and patients. Anxiety, in this scenario, emerged as a defensive response to the encounter with an existence that exceeds the limits of understanding specific to the psy disciplines. It is a hasty response that does not tolerate uncertainty and openness, an impetuous aimed at obturating the question through repletion by filling it and stopping it with a straightforward answer. In Diego's quote, an algorithmic way of knowing is demanded to manage the unease and predict a response to flores's *what the other is* question, which troubles the practitioners' sense of mastery (see Britzman, 2012). The question "how to know if a person is *really* trans* or not" is addressed to cisgender professionals who then feel compelled to provide an answer to deal with their own sense of lack. Or, thinking with Posadas (2018), their "anxiety of not being able to grasp what [they] read as ambiguous" (p. 96) about gender non-conformity. Although most of my interviewees agreed that knowledge lies in the subject's inner sense of truth, what happens in practice, I argue, is the relocation of that knowledge in the figure of the psychologist. The 'scene of address', to borrow from Butler (2005, p. 50), remains unquestioned and is consequently confirmed. In other words, trans* and non-binary people acquire a being in relation to the epistemic authority of the psy professional and through the repetition of the question "are you *really* trans* or not" that haunts each clinical encounter.

Felipe went further with this criticism by calling out psychology's complicity with what Gerard Coll-Planas (2010) has described as the discipline's taxonomic-diagnostic obsession with trans* issues. Based on his psychoanalytic experience in Santiago, Felipe stated that he and his colleagues are usually called to respond if "what a trans* person is declaring is correct or not, as if we were there to confirm or to translate [their experience] to that of the hegemonic language", meaning the language of cisnormativity and taxonomical classification. For him, this scene reflects a cultural element that has its own disciplinary resonances. Psychology, in his view, "has not been very critical… there are exceptions, but psychology's incorporation in Chile has been very *servicial* (accommodating)", by which he meant that it has not been "capable of reversing the demand to explain the discourse of the other". In Felipe's words:

> It [has not been] capable of responding to that critically, instead, psychology responds accommodatingly. You are asked to explain what a trans* [person] is, and you are there to confirm… if he is *really* gay or trans*, and you are not able to ask who is asking you that question, giving some of that back to them (…) and being able to perform that mirror function that I find so crucial for psychoanalytic work, which is lost (emphasis added).

By answering the question *what is the other*, diversity professionals do not challenge the ideological grounds in which an alleged lack of knowledge on gender diversity is rooted. In fact, the scene described by Felipe has its own equivalence in the ways the gender identity law and the health system have understood the role of psychiatry and psychology in the legal and medical recognition of a person's gender identity. In the law and in clinical guidelines, psy professionals are asked to give their opinions as *peritos* (expert witnesses) on trans* health, which ends up transforming the law and the clinic into instances of surveillance (Yáñez, 2016). Moreover, psychologists' position as translators in Felipe's account, together with the discipline's accommodating location within the orders of explanation, confirms psychologists' complicity with cisheteronormative forms of knowing; in other words, the privileging of normative genders and the rendering of trans* experiences as diverse, epistemically inferior and even suspected of expressing a psychic abnormality (Radi, 2019b, 2020). The latter interrogates the scene of address and the position from which a demand for knowledge and confirmation of the other is formulated. As flores (2013) suggests, "not knowing about LGTTTBI[83] identities has nothing to do with lack of information, but with the hegemony of the heterosexual norm that builds the other as unintelligible" (pp. 330–331). It is against this backdrop that anxiety achieves its defensive function. If thinking about gender, according to Lisa Farley and RM Kennedy (2020), "means reckoning with the double standard that cisgender, too, turns on conflict, is not in charge of itself, and is wrought with uncertainty, while still considered 'real'" (p. 169), then asking consecutively if trans* people are *really* who they say they are is a way of exempting cisgender professionals from giving an account of their own lack and acknowledging their own opacity (Butler, 2005). In that sense, building gender non-conformity as unintelligible wards off what cannot be thought

[83] Abbreviation for lesbians, gays, travestis, transexuals, trans*, bisexuals and intersex commonly used in the Argentinian, *cuir*-activist context.

about the professionals' anxieties, protecting them from being exposed to their own conflicting relationship with gender (Hansbury, 2017).[84]

Taken together, what is then offered as a means for dealing with the anxiety to know and continue "retaining control over intelligibility" is a "battery of concepts" that fixes sexual and gender diversity "under the sign of the predictable, authorised and calculable" (flores, 2013, p. 319). What practices of knowing are sanctioned by the use of a battery of concepts that promote a logic of predictability over a logic of uncertainty and curiosity? What are the limits of explaining gender to *anxious cisgender audiences*?

5.4.2 Knowing the Basics: Visualising Gender

For pedagogical purposes, the majority of my interviewees have used Sam Killermann's genderbread person as part of their conceptual toolkit, which is one of the most popular learning strategies in diversity work, now in its fourth online version (Killermann, 2020). It consists of a yellow male-shaped gingerbread-man-like figure (see image 2) that most diversity professionals use to break down allegedly complicated terms, such as gender, sex and the LGBTI acronym "into bite-sized, digestible pieces" ('The Genderbread Person', 2020, para. 1). All the diversity professionals I met during my fieldwork knew about the cookie, and the majority of them have used a version of it, either the one you can find online, a translated one or an alternative version figuring a unicorn, a body shape or an umbrella instead of the gingerbread silhouette.

[84] To explore the specific connections between gender non-conformity and anxiety, see the work of Griffin Hansbury (2017), Lisa Farley and RM Kennedy (2020), and Marco Posadas (2018).

Figure 2

The Genderbread Person

Note. A slightly modified version of Sam Killerman's genderbread person, translated into Spanish. This image was used in one of the events on trans* health and human rights I attended in Valparaíso in April 2019 // *Image description.* A version of the genderbread person, translated into Spanish, showing the terms identity, orientation, sex and expression in the brain, heart, the genitals and the body silhouette respectively. On the right side, sliding scales of womanhood and manhood for the categories of gender identity, gender expression, biological sex and sexual orientation are displayed as a continuum to stimulate conversations on the fluidity of gender.

According to his creator, the cookie is not a diagnostic tool nor a comprehensive model of sexuality or gender as it is "meant to be a digestible introduction to these ideas" (Killermann, 2020, para. 34), available to anyone interested in learning or teaching about such concepts. The reference to the digestive is a notably suggestive expression that works here as a warning sign: gender and sexuality can be complex-contentious concepts that need to be simplified and compartmentalised in bits of knowledge for the sake of intelligibility. A bit of *that* that threatens people's sense of mastery and that health professionals need to possess to prepare in advance their (clinical) encounters with LGBTI people. It is used to predict, calculate and apprehend the diverse other through the sum and multiple combinations of its individual parts, which are easier to digest than trying to take in its wholeness and complexity.

The popularised version of the genderbread we know, which is the one put forward by Killermann, originates from the activist work of trans* communities of colour. Despite the fact that Killermann's genderbread person has been criticised for upholding the gender binary and reproducing forms of gender policing, including accusations of plagiarism and appropriation from trans* activists (see cisnormativity, 2013; Social Justice Wiki, 2018), I will focus here on the infographic's pedagogical function. Specifically, I draw attention to the role of the visual and biology in the ways sexual and gender diversity are portrayed and, ultimately, digested in training forums. Killermann's genderbread person was promoted as a visual aid to explain gender. As a visual artefact, it projects the categories of gender identity, sexual orientation, gender expression and sex onto the body surface; these are spatially allocated to the brain, the heart, the body silhouette and the genitals. The cookie works as a capturing device by fixing the categories in a supposedly neutral body, which, despite efforts to neutralise its form, resembles a stereotypically able-bodied, male-shaped figure like those that can be found on toilet doors and other gendered spaces. Although being created by and for trans* of colour communities (cisnormativity, 2013), Killermann's genderbread person speaks more about his positionality—a white, cisgender, heterosexual man—than of those the cookie claims to represent. It therefore aims to explain gender diversity to cisgender audiences from a cisgender standpoint (Social Justice Wiki, 2018).

This learning tool is not just used to visualise gender, but also to show the multiple combinations that follow from putting the different categories together. On this point, Caterine shared with me how she uses the genderbread person within the organisation she works with in Valparaíso. She combines the cookie with a chart she made for illustrative purposes, in which the main categories are displayed together with their correspondent options. "For example—she said—biological sex: male, female, intersex; then gender identity: feminine, masculine, agender, bigender (…) sexual orientation: heterosexual, pansexual, homosexual, asexual, bisexual, and I try to put several more options".[85] Caterine connects each of the categories through lines that go from one side to the other, "a lot of lines, actually. When people see my chart, it looks a bit chaotic, but I try to explain it with examples, like asking them: 'let's imagine a person who…' and they understand it much easier". The latter seems to be crucial, as many people are still not familiar with the reality of LGBTI people. Based on this logic, in order to know the basics, they also need to imagine

[85] See my critique on the place of heterosexuality within sexual diversity and diversity work more broadly in the following chapter.

who those these concepts refer to. Questions such as who they are, how they look, how to (clinically, socially) recognise them, etc. emerge from this kind of visual immersion into sexual and gender diversity. On this, and paraphrasing flores (2013, p. 313), the genderbread person operates as a "gender prophecy". In other words, by departing from an already established grid of identities, categories and socio-sexual imaginaries, it allows both diversity and trainee professionals to predict every possible combination, just like the demand to have an algorithm to know who is *really* trans* referenced earlier by Diego. In addition, and contrary to its original intention, it ends up working as a diagnostic tool, similar to the logic behind requesting a gender certificate to confirm and explain people's gender identity, to which I will return later.

On the other hand, the image as a whole reproduces the bio-psycho-social mixed approach to gender and sexuality that has historically prevailed in the psy disciplines and medicine (Roselló-Peñaloza, 2018). By allocating gender to the brain and sex to the genitals, the genderbread image reanimates the fantasy that both medical and psy professionals hold of explaining non-normative sexualities and genders as having both a psycho-social and biological substratum, which confirms the role medicine and psychiatry have in treating gender non-conformity. The role of biology in explaining gender diversity is also reinforced by locating the trans* symbol on the crotch and by labelling it sex, re-centring the place of the genitals in defining trans* subjectivities. The latter has been fixed by similar infographics developed by trans* communities such as the gender unicorn, where the category of (biological) sex has been replaced by 'sex assigned at birth' to signal its socially constructed character (Social Justice Wiki, 2018; Trans Students Educational Resources, n.d.).

Both the brain and the genitals are the areas where the medical terms 'dysphoria' and 'non-conformity' are usually located, which justify medical, psychiatric and psychological interventions like the ones discussed during the symposium. The fact that the categories of gender identity and (biological) sex are dissociated in the genderbread person partly explains why the neuropsychiatric term 'gender incongruity' is still being used by some medical practitioners. For instance, after introducing the genderbread to the assistants of the symposium, a paediatric psychiatrist defined the term transgender as a "person experiencing gender incongruity", showing some clinical vignettes that talked about the experience of children *who feel like the opposite sex*: "a child who feels like a girl or who feels like a boy", she asserted. References to the term 'incongruity' enacted the binary separation between the

brain and the genitals by explaining the transgender experience as a mismatching between a given, invariable "biological" sex and what is described as a "feeling", which corresponded to the person's sense of identity. What followed then during the speaker's presentation was an overall description of developmental models aimed at explaining the formation of gender and sexual identity, attending specifically to the biological factors intervening in the trans* experience. The entire sequence, spanning from the genderbread person to the explanation of gender incongruity through development theories, produced "a difference as needing an explanation" (Roselló-Peñaloza, 2018, p. 29), an identifiable origin, something that can be tracked and observed. According to this logic, and following Miguel Roselló's research (2018) on the clinical construction of gender and transsexuality, "to trace causes is itself an exercise of exclusion" as "it constructs subjects/objects as (still) inexplicable" (p. 29).

As a practice of knowing, the genderbread person falls within the orders of explanation framework. Some of its uses also perform a diagnostic function by producing strict definitional boundaries between concepts and identity categories, which align with the workings of pathologisation. This new version of pathologising power, I suggest, does not act by sanctioning trans* and non-binary people's experiences as pathological but via rendering them as *still* inexplicable, this time within diversity work. The use of the adverb 'still' in Roselló's quote is intentional as it signals the temporalities at play in conceiving some experiences as still needing an explanation. This was reinforced by a series of statements made by some of the practitioners at the symposium who insisted on the fact that "we still don't know much about them" and "we don't have enough local casuistry" on trans* and non-binary people. The language they employed was telling of their approach to the subject, and the power dynamics at play in creating a gatekeeping system in which both trans* health and trans* knowledges were produced as a medical field of expertise, wherein trans* voices remained systematically excluded.

As a way of offering a different account of the genderbread person, I next discuss an alternative version of it led by a trans* educator at a non-medical event I attended, in which they challenged its diagnostic misuse. Although the conceptual work addressed some of the genderbread person's shortcomings, particularly its disembodied nature, the presentation produced a different type of pathologising effect, this time against racialised bodies, exposing the whiteness of the space and diversity work's troubling relationship with race.

5.4.3 Visualising Exclusions

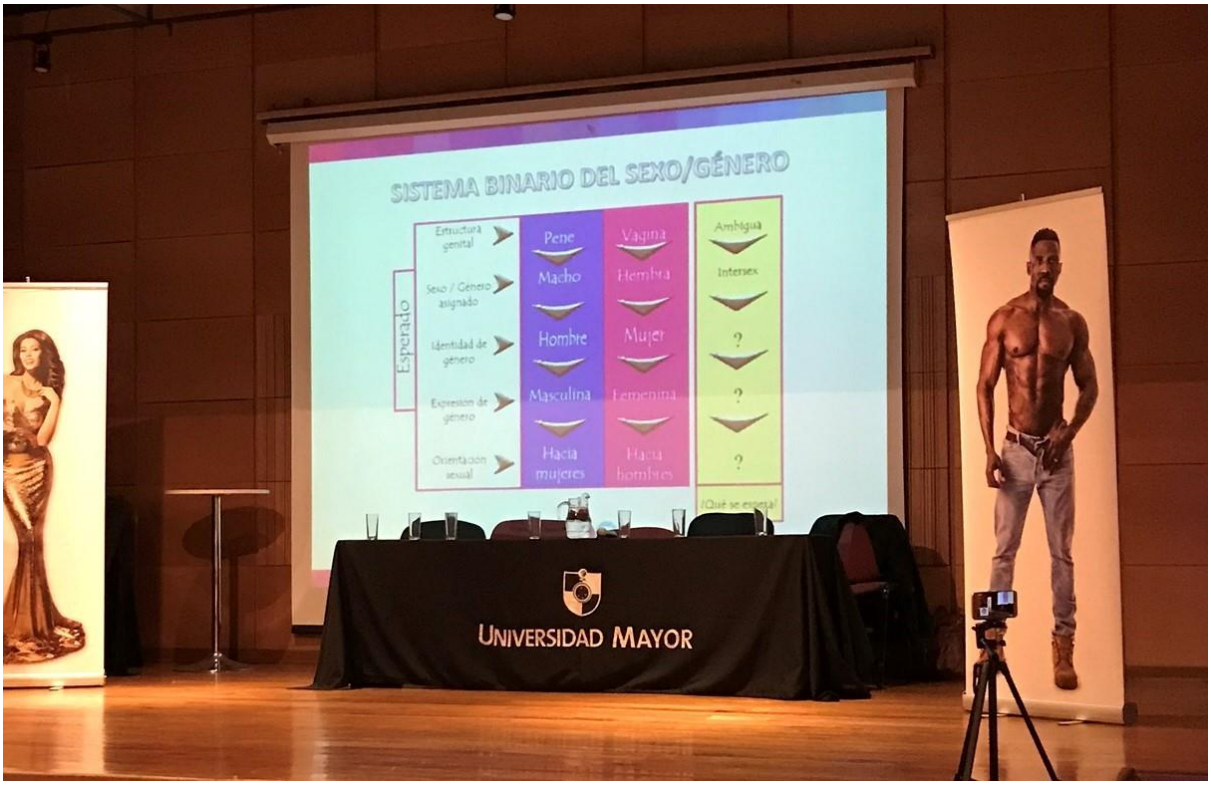
Except for one of the events I attended during my fieldwork, almost none of the professionals I saw on stage, either presenting the genderbread person or the gender unicorn, introduced the LGBTI terminology with reference to themselves. It was as if the terms in question had nothing to do with them, as if similar systems of classification did not mark their bodies as well. The exception was a seminar on trans* childhood and education organised by a transgender organisation in April 2019 in Santiago, mainly targeted at education professionals. In its sensitisation module, the conceptual work was led by a trans* activist educator who introduced the terms of the genderbread person through different visual resources. Contrary to what happened at the symposium, trans* and non-binary activists were the main organisers.

From the very beginning, the organisers addressed the audience using neutral language: trans* and cisgender professionals were using the letter 'e' without providing any further explanation or warning the participants about it, as happened at the symposium. The speaker in charge of explaining the basic concepts provided first a general overview of the invention of the sex/gender system in the West and the presence of *lo trans** (the trans*) in the history of science and Indigenous cultures. They then introduced the assistants to the *generómetro* (gender-meter), a kind of interactive pedagogic resource that required people's active participation. Contrary to what many of us were expecting, they wanted to go through the main conceptual distinctions with us; they wanted to make us feel part of the exercise and accountable for what we would say and think about others' experiences. Unlike what happened at the symposium, the speaker here wanted to share the stage with us and work with the knowledge we all brought to the seminar.

They placed on the stage two big banners depicting a hyperbolic racialised representation of masculinity and femininity, as can be seen in picture 3 below. In between the banners, a graphic representation of the basic concepts was projected, including definitions for each of them from a human rights perspective, with quotes from the Yogyakarta Principles, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, among others. Volunteers from the public were also requested to participate in the interaction.

Figure 3

The Generómetro (Gender-Meter)



Note. A PowerPoint slide representing the sex/gender binary system, and two banners on each side depicting stereotypical racialised images of femininity and masculinity. // *Image description.* A projector curtain showing a visual representation of the sex/gender binary system. In front of it, a large table covered in black cloth, together with two banners located on each side of the stage portraying a full-body picture of a black man and a black woman respectively. The sex/gender system image has four columns. From left to right, the first includes the terms genital structure, sex/gender assigned, gender identity, gender expression and sexual orientation. Just on the right of each, the second and third column in blue and pink respectively, signal what is expected for each of the terms. For example: penis, vagina (genital structure); male, female (sex/gender assigned), etc. The fourth column in yellow, starts with the term ambiguous on the top (genital structure) followed by the term intersex (sex/gender assigned). The rest of the spaces in this column are filled with a question mark.

The speaker asked the participants to move across the space between the banners, imagining that there was a line that kept them connected in a continuum. They were asked to stand somewhere on the line in response to how they felt about the sex/gender system, as if they were being measured based on their location on the line, having both the hyper-

masculine and feminine images as points of reference. The speaker went through the terms, asking the volunteers first to help them define what the terms meant, locating themselves on the line afterwards according to their understanding of the concepts. The participants moved across the line in response to three questions: "how I identify within the sex/gender system", "to whom I feel attracted" and "how I think people perceive me". They all shared their answers and interacted with each other in dialogue with the definitions provided by the speaker. It was an embodied enactment of the classificatory logic informing the genderbread person, a way of sensitising the audience that did not place the onus of diversity work exclusively on trans*, LGB and intersex individuals, but in the community of educators present in the room, who, as far as I can tell, were mostly white. We all learnt that despite the need to know some of the basic conceptual distinctions, we were all implicated and, somehow, complicit in reproducing an approach that excludes the bodies and experiences that do not fit within the sex/gender binary system.

One of the things I did not comprehend as a seminar attendee, and even afterwards during the analysis of my field notes, was the role the banners, and their correspondent visual representation of masculinity and femininity played in the *generómetro* dynamic. Specifically, I did not understand the decision to put on the stage, on the edges of it, two hyper-sexualised and racialised bodies. What surprised me was that neither of them was properly introduced or contextualised, even within the scope of the critique of the sex/gender binary system and the framework used by the speaker to trouble Western notions of sex and gender, which were also examined through an intersectional lens. Why then choose to visually represent the extremes of the gender-meter with such racialised bodies without troubling the visual in its objectifying effects? What does this entail for a critique of the exclusionary effects the sex/gender system might reproduce? What do the silences around race (and racism) tell us about the means through which race appears in *our* disciplinary practices and ways of knowing LGBTI people?

Race and the racialised portrayal of masculinity and femininity worked as *that* of which we could not speak or think during the *generómetro* activity. They can be thought about only if discussed in theory and in relation to other cultures, as occurred at the beginning of the talk. By doing this, knowledge of race and racialisation was—and still is—simultaneously displaced and disavowed, as if race was "alien to 'us' and 'here'" in the training room (Lewis, 2013, p. 887). Through this displacement, "a gesture of ghettoization

[was] enacted", to borrow from Lewis (2013, p. 887), which contributed to leaving race out of the sex/gender system, and keeping racism and other forms of intersectional oppressions unchallenged—a situation not exclusive to this particular event nor to trans* issues, as the silence around race and racism cut across all the events I attended. Although the *generómetro* aimed at helping people to locate themselves within (or outside) the binary system, by placing two racialised images at the extremes of the metric, the event, in spite of itself, contributed to making racialised subjectivities both unthinkable and impossible to identify with. Gender, in this context, was both staged as for the participation of a predominantly white audience and made *different* as a case study by using two racialised bodies as examples, which, contrary to the participatory spirit of the dynamic, were not integrated into any of the questions or the reflections afterwards. What happened during the gender-meter activity, I would argue, is expressive of one of the modalities by which racism works in Chile, namely through the perpetuation of a racist ideology that imagines Chile and the Chilean identity as raceless or white-mestizo (Barandarián, 2012). Put differently, the staging of a gesture of ghettoization during the gender-meter activity was also telling of the lasting effects of an "ideology of antiracist pretense" (Nascimento, 2007, p. 7) constitutive of the nation-building project.

These mechanisms express one of the critical aspects of the turn to diversity I discussed in my concepts chapter, which relates to the displacement and erasure of race as an effect of the arrival of diversity in the psy disciplines. The staging of the black body through the visual also worked as a metaphor for an unspoken social exclusion of which nobody talks. It is not just the omission of race as a social marker in this and all the events I observed, but also the phantasmatic[86] presence of *negritud* (blackness) in the history of Chile (see De la Maza & Campos, 2021). As Joseph M. Pierce (2020a) accurately shows in his critique of the uses of racial parody by some Chilean sex-dissident groups, the staging of the black body as a resource to *exemplify something* (e.g., as a metaphor) is closely connected to the silence around the presence of Afro-descendant groups in Chile that haunts current discussions on the new Constitution today.[87] Blackness, according to Pierce, "becomes a taboo subject precisely because it accounts for black invisibility in Chile" (p. 45), which would be

[86] In reference to Williams' (1991) phantom-word concept I discussed earlier in Chapters 2 and 3.

[87] Even though the constitutional process defined a 'reserved seats' formula to include representatives of Indigenous people, the proposal to give Afro-Chilean groups a seat did not meet the quorum for approval in Congress, despite being legally recognised by the Chilean state. Therefore, they were excluded from participating in the constitutional process.

consistent with people's attitudes towards Afro-Caribbean migration in recent years (see Tijoux, 2016). In that sense, it has become a ghostly presence as well, making itself seen through the banners, paralleled by our silence as viewers during the training session, and through my omission at an early stage of the analysis, as reflected in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, racialised bodies were positioned as having nothing to do with sexual and gender diversity, and as not being differentially affected by the exclusionary effects of the sex/gender system. They were pushed, if not expelled, even further to the margins of people's socio-sexual imaginaries—despite being front and centre on great banners, which made it impossible not to see them. Returning to the idea of the digestive, "if diversity is digestible difference" according to Ahmed (2012), "then other forms of difference become indigestible, as that which the organization body cannot stomach" (pp. 69-70). And this is even reinforced by Chile's historical silence on race,[88] which has shaped, and still informs, our complicities with racist forms of discrimination and its corresponding exclusionary effects in diversity work and social sciences research more broadly (see Tijoux & Palominos Mandiola, 2015). What happened at the event is thus symptomatic of the whiteness of Chilean academia and professional careers, particularly those linked to the psy disciplines.

On the whole, I argue that both the genderbread person and the gender-meter exercise have shown how diversity work, and more specifically the pedagogy of diversity in training contexts, can produce rather than mitigate the exclusions it claims to prevent. As I showed in my analysis of the *generómetro* activity, exclusions might not only get reproduced on the basis of sexuality and gender but also regarding other social markers such as race. As a capturing device, some of these visual infographics reproduce rather than challenge the orders of explanation framework I discussed earlier, by constructing gender diversity as, indeed, still needing an explanation. It is through fully knowing the diverse other—and making it digestible in the terms of the psy disciplines and education—that gender and sexual diversity becomes a sensitive issue as well, ready to be clinically managed. Just like the welcoming words to the symposium made it clear, knowledge about gender diversity is directly connected with clinical treatment, insofar as trans* people appear to be particularly prone "to high rates of mental health pathologies" in medical and psychological discourses.

[88] The place of race and its modes of (dis)appearance in both my thinking and the literature on sexual and gender diversity within Chilean psy disciplines is addressed in different places throughout this thesis, especially in my theories and methods chapter.

What does this entail for a clinical practice that claims to be affirmative and culturally sensitive? What does the (loud) silence about race and racism from diversity work tell us about what affirmative and culturally sensitive means and for whom? In what ways have the different practices of knowing I have described so far contributed to making LGBTI people a special case of sensitivity to mental health pathologies, specifically suicide risk and distress? To what extent have these two mental health indicators become one of the signs under which sexual and gender diversity can be included, if not just tolerated, within the psy disciplines? How is it that the commitment against pathologising practices ends up contributing to keeping LGBTI issues stuck to narratives of violence, psychological distress and risk? In what follows, I address these questions looking for the marks of pathologisation in sensitisation practices and some versions of the cultural competence model. In doing so, I follow the associations between sensitivity and pathologisation in the clinic from the perspective of my interviewees, looking at how the anxiety to know I described earlier is also enacted in the form of a demand to know that informs how affirmative approaches to psychotherapy, and diversity work more broadly, address the question of 'culture' and 'specific health needs'.

5.5 The Workings of Pathologisation

When I asked Carmen about the reasons behind the resistances psychotherapists experience when dealing with the question of non-normative sexualities and genders in the clinic, she shared a hypothesis with me based on her experience researching psychotherapy in Santiago. Apart from the overtly LGBTI-phobic reactions you may find in surveys and interviews with clinicians and psy professionals, Carmen referred to "a benign form" of pathologisation that usually goes unnoticed, which, according to her, makes sexual and gender diversity visible as objects of curiosity. "It treats them as if they were a delicate thing, you know? Reproducing the idea that it is something people talk about in the intimacy" of their private spaces, she said. What struck me at the time was her insistence on attending to the ways LGBTI issues are talked about among mental health professionals. By not "treating diversity, in quotes, normally", she added, "I think it pathologises anyway". Her words find an echo in something Gladys told me when discussing similar issues at her workplace in Concepción. For her, the recent fascination with trans* health is a good example of how trans* issues are now the new

fetish for a big number of mental health professionals in a process she described as "social fetishisation", with similar effects as those you can see in the media and politics.[89]

Putting Gladys's and Carmen's ideas together, I suggest thinking about diversity work as enabling, if not directly contributing to, a fetishistic approach to trans* health, in which trans* bodies are spoke about as objects of curiosity for the medical-psychological gaze. As Carmen mentioned, diversity work risks being approached as an "attractive circus show, eye-catching, something which generates great curiosity. And at that moment", she continued, "you run the risk of returning to the idea of something 'weird', something that triggers curiosity". This in turn ends up creating a *demand to know* what it is that makes trans* and non-binary people so unusual, so challenging for disciplinary practices. As a social fetish, trans* issues are stabilised into homogeneous bits of information that render their existence predictable and manageable. Learning the basic concepts and acquiring a common vocabulary is the first step towards "treating them well", following the words of the medical authorities of the symposium. Once knowing the main conceptual distinctions, diversity professionals and clinicians need to know what to do, which, in most cases, translates into a demand "to be given practical guidelines", to quote Diego's previous comments once again. In this way, and paraphrasing Tobias Wiggins' (2020) work on clinical transphobia via Freud's writings on fetishism, the genderbread person and the figure of the clinical guideline also act fetishistically as objects "that contain the assurance of certainty" and that "can be 'looked at' to avoid lack, the heterogeneity of desire, and uncertainty" (p. 66). Just like the mechanisms at work in what I previously described as the anxiety to know concerning diversity knowledges: for many health professionals, it is the encounter with not-knowing and the uncertainties around gender what triggers the need to take back control to quell gender panics (Westbrook & Schilt, 2014).

As a "delicate" thing, turning back to Carmen's words, the idea that non-heterosexual, trans* and non-binary existences "must be confirmed still prevails". She added that she thinks that "for many psychotherapists, the question of whether or not trans* people are a perversion is still there… as if a differential diagnosis, in quotes, had to be made". Interestingly, references to the register of the sensitive appears again implicitly in Carmen's views through

[89] On this, Débora Fernández (2019; Fernández & Pradenas, 2020) has written about what she called the "cultural acceptance of *lo trans**" in recent years, from the time prior to the media coverage of the film *A Fantastic Woman* to the appearance of *lo trans** in the mobilisations of the *Feminist May* (*or feminist tsunami*) and the recent social uprisings.

her uses of the word delicate, which is discursively associated to one of the meanings attached to the term sensitive in its relationship with femininity, as discussed earlier in this chapter. In this context, nevertheless, the word delicate expresses a different chain of associations that put it in proximity to the term 'diagnosis', becoming sticky: those who are or pass as delicate need to be diagnosed. Furthermore, the uses of the word "diagnosis" in Carmen's quote resembles the deployment of psychological tests to *detect* homosexuality in the admission process for studying psychology, to which Débora and others referred in the previous chapter.

The need to confirm people's identities resounds powerfully with the ongoing demand for gender certificates that, although enforced by both the gender identity law and the health system, has perpetuated the well-established tradition within the psy disciplines of questioning (young) people's self-identification as gay, lesbians or bisexuals, according to some of the interviewees. Just as happens today with gender identity, this still happens, although much less frequently, with the sexual orientation of adolescents. Diego, for instance, found a parallel between what they experienced personally with regards to their sexual orientation by the age of 15 or 16. At that age, they recalled, "I had that experience of psychologists saying to me like 'don't rush… you don't have to rush with this (…) this could change, it could be a stage'". Today, however, if "a 15, 16-year-old boy tell us 'I'm gay', [our response is] 'Okay, move on'. But if he says 'I'm trans*', I feel the same break, the same movement that happened before with sexual orientation".[90]

These discursive associations, and the ways they have found an echo in recent Chilean histories around the (de)pathologisation of sexualities and genders, are still active, and their effects can be felt in the present. How is it that the quest to confirm and clinically differentiate one identity from another operates in gender affirmative and culturally competent approaches to psychotherapy? And more generally, how does this "benign" form of pathologisation operate in diversity work today?

[90] On the policing of trans* childhood by both the psy disciplines, medicine, the police, and the state, see the work of Jules Gill-Peterson (2018), Jacob Breslow (2021), and Marlene Wayar (2018). Regarding the production of moral panics around the figure of the effeminate child, and the histories around the regulation of children's sexuality as a means for preventing homosexuality in the US context, see the work of Eve Sedgwick (1991) and Peter Hegarty (2018), respectively.

5.5.1 The Culture of the Model

To explore these questions, I now focus on the call to increase knowledge and understanding of LGBTI people put forward by the cultural competence model, which is one of the most popular approaches to LGBTI psychotherapy and one of the paths through which diversity has made its way in the psy disciplines. Broadly speaking, the model is organised around three working dimensions, of which one refers explicitly to the need to become knowledgeable about the specific reality and health needs of LGBTI population (Fuentes & Peña, 2017; Fundación Todo Mejora, 2017; Martínez et al., 2018).[91] According to Carmen, it is crucial to distinguish between attitudes and clinical competences, the former being characterised by a commitment to being an 'affirmative professional', and the latter by having specific knowledges and clinical skills to deal with non-normative identities. With regard to the former, this is not just a "gay-friendly" attitude. "Just as there are specific training programmes for drug-addict patients, children and young people, and even so standardised" clinical procedures, Carmen said, psychologists "should be aware that this is not just a positive attitude, but also a clinical competence that needs to be developed, and that is ethically compulsory for any psychotherapist" working with LGBTI people.

An affirmative attitude is also a commitment of care that explicitly enacts a depathologising principle, as Alyson suggested when talking about her clinical experience within a diversity unit in Santiago: "Sexual and gender diversity exist, they are human characteristics, and we take responsibility in understanding and knowing them". On the other hand, a culturally competent professional, she added, "knows the culture of the person you are confronted with, like… no, well, not that you confront with, I don't want to put this as a confrontation, but… with the person you share the space with in the psychotherapy".

The "no" and the "but" with which a descriptor of the therapeutic situation is first denied in Alyson's statement, is immediately rectified and replaced with a more positive one: "share". Interpreting this as an 'error of speech' might help us to see what is being denied and what chain of associations seem to be interrupted by the irruption of the term "confrontation". My reading is that what Alyson experienced as an error resulted from the antagonism

[91] To sum up these three dimensions, I follow the systematisation proposed by Grzanka and Miles (2016): 1) *knowledge* on gender and sexually diverse group's experiences, as well as evidence-based information on LGBTI health care; 2) *skills* grounded in standards of care for working with diverse patients and 3) *awareness* of personal biases, prejudices and cultural codes that might affect the patient's wellbeing negatively (see also Beagan, 2018).

between competing intentions that speak about what is left out and disavowed in the depiction of the clinical encounter in the cultural competence model. The word "confrontation" acts as a reminder of the asymmetrical power structures that organise the patient-therapist relationship; or to be more precise, the encounter with non-heterosexual, trans* and non-binary people. Confrontation also suggests conflict, disagreements and negotiations.[92] This might translate into an understanding of the clinical setting as an experience with ways of explaining subjectivity that most often precedes clinical encounters—for instance, the words and definitions mental health professionals get from diversity training—thus offering an already defined system of meanings and categories to the individual that occludes its own voice and difference (Latham, 2017).

Even though the same model suggests different venues for health professionals to work on their privilege, biases and subtle forms of oppression (i.e., white privilege, hetero and cisnormativity), it does not critically reflect on the model's own cultural assumptions and potential iatrogenic effects. In this sense, not only do LGBTI people *have* a culture but the model itself has a culture too and mobilises the culture of the discipline from which the model operates: its values, ideologies and practices of knowing. By engaging with culture as *that* that only sexual and gender others possess, health and diversity professionals are therefore constructed as culturally neutral, which leaves their "narrow profession-specific cultural worldview" out of critical examination (Beagan, 2018, p. 126). This might be one of the reasons why the role of other social markers such as class, race, ethnicity, and disability were systematically omitted in the majority of the events I attended as important cultural factors in shaping the experience of health and wellbeing of LGBTI people. Although class appeared a few times to explain inequalities in access to health services, it was generally invoked as a mere descriptor and not as a structural factor that impact also in the kinds of stories diversity professionals tell about their clinical encounters with LGBTI people. Beyond knowing their sexual orientation and gender identity, no other social marker appeared to make a difference in their experiences of mental ill-health, discrimination and violence, as if they were all the same regardless of their class, race, (dis)ability and place of residence, among other crucial factors. In this way, and echoing my discussion on the (multi)cultural turn in psychotherapy in Chapter 2, the arrival of cultural competence has involved the

[92] See my analysis of diversity as a concealment strategy to avoid dealing with conflict in the next chapter.

dilution and even erasing of the model's original focus on race and racism, confirming the whiteness of the psy disciplines' cultural grounds in Chile (see Beagan, 2018).

Regarding the model's cultural assumptions in sexuality and gender matters, I now analyse two specific cultural aspects of the model, namely a) the belief that the more we know about diversity issues, the more possibilities we have to reduce discrimination and cisheteronormative forms of violence; and b) the making up of sexual and gender diversity as specific cases of sensitivity to distress, suicidal risk and negative mental health indicators, which mobilises a different modality of the sensitive that constructs LGBTI people as particularly prone to develop mental ill-health issues.

I asked Alyson about her understanding of the term "cultural competence" and the means through which the psy professional's culture shapes LGBTI people's experience in the clinic. She shared with me the following assertion:

> We need to have tools, like knowing when a person says, "I want to go to a women's *carrete* (party) and don't know where to go", I need to be able to know what the networks available to offer are. Or… if a… if a lesbian woman is talking about… her difficulties in having sexual relationships with her partner, I must have a certain level of knowledge about how a sexual relationship between two women is, or between two men, because a woman doesn't have a prostate, and a man does [for example] … I think you have to be very clear about what you want to transmit, and understand that it will slip away… I mean, your culture *se te va a notar* (will be exposed), you know what I mean? If you believe that gender is binary, your culture *se te va a notar* when teaching sexuality.

The first part of the quote reiterates how invested Alyson and many of my interviewees are in knowing and describing the diverse other, as I have shown throughout this chapter. Much of this impulse to know is informed by the pervasive reality of LGBTI-phobia, discrimination and cisheteronormativity within the psy disciplines and health institutions, which work as a strong argument for keeping the normative principle of 'knowing the other' in place. Building on that, information and knowledge about gender and sexual diversity might have a preventive function as well, protecting LGBTI people from being mistreated and

discriminated against. This is why it is crucial for psychotherapists to work on their own prejudices and cultural beliefs to avoid them being enacted upon their patients, as Alyson asserted with the expression *se te va a notar*. The difference here is that knowledge is not connected to definitions and basic concepts but to culture, meaning roughly the beliefs, practices and tastes of those with whom they are working (see Beagan, 2018).

What is interesting though is that the need to know LGBTI people's culture is also prescribed and stimulated by guidelines and institutional documents on the topic, thus it is not only an individual impulse. In this regard, a demand for knowledge is once again enacted, but this time, unlike what I analysed for the case of the symposium, it is expressed in the form of an *incitement to know* that comes from the cultural competence model itself. In fact, the assumption is that the more health professionals know the diverse other, the better skilled they are to meet their health needs, which, in turn, translates into a varied range of psychological interventions aimed at identifying and evaluating those needs (Beagan, 2018; Martínez et al., 2018). Although these practices inform public policies on the matter and are crucial for developing focalised interventions for increasing the wellbeing of the LGBTI population (Montero Vega et al., 2017), most of them are not free from reproducing some of the problems I have discussed so far, especially those that re-centre hetero- and cisnormativity and exclude trans* voices in the design of the interventions.

Gladys, for instance, expressed her critical views on a few psychological interventions geared towards diagnosing health needs and *confirming* trans* people's identity, namely 'psychological accompaniment', 'counselling' and the 'gender certificate'. The fact that most psychological interviews aimed at trans* people in the health service include some form of needs assessment makes her particularly upset, especially when the majority of them are compulsory for amending their birth certificates, pursuing hormone replacement therapy or surgery (see Casanova Bahamondes & Espinoza-Tapia, 2018). What is particularly striking for Gladys is that these interventions are not demanded by trans* people: "Why is this interview necessary? Why is it necessary to make a needs assessment when it is not requested?", further adding that, "It's violent for someone to assume that I need something without me needing something". What seems to be problematic here is the assumption on which the requirement of a needs assessment is based, as for Gladys

> …no one knows better what the needs of trans* people are than we do, and this has been arrogance from psychology and psychiatry, like assuming that we have to go through a type of psycho-social support or even a psychological evaluation (…) that someone who doesn't belong at all to my community comes to tell me who I am, how am I going to live *lo trans** (the trans*) in me. I think that's violent.

Gladys's words challenge what the cultural competence model takes for granted, that is, the fact that a needs assessment has to be done regardless of what trans* communities already know about their own needs. Mostly because many trans* people "were on their own hormones" before these interventions even existed, with all the risks and lowered life expectancies that these procedures have meant for the most vulnerable ones in the community, according to Gladys. And this is crucial from the perspective of the affirmative and depathologising principles that inform the needs assessment practice within the cultural competence model. Despite the model's well-intended efforts, and of those coming from culturally sensitive professionals, Gladys has experienced these interventions as forms of violence, which, in her experience and those of others she knows, have ended up questioning trans* people's self-perception and, ultimately, their right to exist on their own terms, echoing trans* and travesti theorisations on the subject (Radi, 2019b; Rizki, 2019; Rodríguez, 2016). The figure of the psychological evaluation and the gender certificate complicates this situation even more, as it is a complex scenario for the majority of the diversity professionals I interviewed as well. Nicolás, for instance, a clinical psychologist working with trans* children and their families in the Valparaíso region, told me that it is still usual for endocrinologists and clinicians to ask for a psychological report to certify whether a person is trans* or not. Referring to the people he works with, he says: "It's very difficult for me because that goes against everything I try to transmit to the family and to the children and adolescents". Knowing that this demand is somehow entrenched in the gender identity law and in the clinicians' practices, Nicolás tries to respond to it in a way that does not compromise his principles and the rights of his patients. "What I do is to make this transparent with them and write a certificate that basically says that the person identifies as transgender, not that I say that". He adds that although this would make "a small difference", it actually "makes a big one" because the report respects people's self-identification and prevents psychologists from being positioned as the judges of others' identity.

Leonor shared a similar experience with me based on her work at a hospital in Valparaíso. Although most of her trans* patients only want the gender certificate when approaching the system, she makes it clear that she "is not a *despachadora de informes* (report dispatcher)" and that if they need something quicker, the advice is "to look for another person because things are more complicated" than just providing a piece of paper. She usually explains to them what she can offer and what the psychological accompaniment consists of, emphasising her interest in doing whatever she can to make their "transition as fulfilling as possible". Unlike Nicolás, the gender certificate here does not work as evidence of people's identity, but as sensitive information to decide whether or not the person is fit to start hormone therapy or have surgery. This is particularly relevant "in cases where there is a severe mental health pathology, a personality disorder" or even "harmful drug use", according to Leonor's experience. In those cases, she said, she advises her patients to "enter a drug rehab programme" or go to a psychiatrist within the same unit. Although these are extreme situations that represent "less than 20% of the cases" she has seen, I would suggest that, for the most part, trans* people are advised to go for a complete psychological and/or psychiatric evaluation as a default practice, just because they are trans*. Leonor has managed to build a protocol of attention based on the experience of other hospitals alongside with the trans* community that has helped reduce some of the negative effects of the needs assessment referenced earlier by Gladys. Unfortunately, this way of working is an exception, not the rule, even among the different gender units available in the country. One of these forms of interventions is the *mesas de trabajo trans** (trans* working groups).[93] Although the *mesas* were designed to be participatory initiatives between clinicians and local trans* communities, they have not always guaranteed the effective participation of trans*, non-binary and travesti people in the design and execution of some of the programmes' interventions. Gladys, for instance, shared with me that she was thinking about resigning from her participation in one of the *mesas* because "they don't want to make some things more flexible, especially those related with depathologisation". All she was doing for the *mesa trans** throughout those years "was basically giving my salary to another person",

[93] At the international level, it is worth mentioning the work of the Stop Trans Pathologisation Campaign of the Trans Depathologisation Network. Launched in 2009, it defined an International Day of Action for Trans Depathologisation (October 17th) that brings together various activist organisations and professional bodies globally around a common agenda: the removal of diagnostic categories that still classify trans* experiences as mental disorders, free access to hormonal treatments and the abolition of corrective surgeries on intersex people, among others. On the history of the Network, its manifestos and transnational scope, see the work of Amet Suess Schwend (2016).

adding that "it can't be that the view of cisheterosexual people holds primacy over trans* people" in the design and implementation of focalised health policies aimed at addressing the needs of their community.

5.5.2 Dark Statistics and the Social

For the reasons mentioned above, Gladys thinks that what would be consistent for a clinic that praises itself for being affirmative and depathologising would be "to facilitate the gender certificate and not to charge for it". The costs of waiting times in gender identity programmes and the time and money it takes for a full psychological evaluation, among other crucial issues, are paid both symbolically and materially by the gender diverse population, and for the majority are survival matters. The intersections of race, class, and geographical location that organise health care provisions in Chile impact dramatically on how trans* health is distributed across the territory, which has its own resonances in the ways psy professionals respond to trans people's requirements (see Martínez et al., 2019). When the needs assessment operates as the only and, sometimes, automatic answer to whatever trans* people ask in their encounters with the psy professionals, it leaves them caught in a process that they have not requested and that ends up pathologising the very *needs* that have led them to the professional's office. Just as Gladys emphatically put it: "I find it violent, to let them come and tell me that they are going to give me a diagnosis because *maybe* something is wrong with me. I mean, why don't we do that with heterosexual people?" (emphasis added).

The emphasis on the word "maybe" connects with the use of the adverb "still" in Roselló's (2018) quote on the temporalities of pathologisation I mentioned earlier,[94] as these two words signal a particular relationship to time that constructs gender diverse subjects as "lacking with respect to temporalities that exceed the therapeutic present" (p. 60). Lacking with respect to their mental health, as an ever-present possibility and dreadful reminder: *maybe something is wrong with me* and if it is not treated, my health requirements can take even longer. Even within the most comprehensive approach, to paraphrase Wiggins (2020), "to be considered subjects worthy of inclusion", trans* people depend on a "discursive enactment of exclusion from health" ('something is wrong with me'), "and subsequent aspirations toward change ('but I can be made better')" (p. 62). From this perspective, trans*

[94] "…to trace causes is itself an exercise of exclusion (…) [as] it constructs subjects/objects as (still) inexplicable" (Roselló-Peñaloza, 2018, p. 29).

and non-binary people are therefore constructed as specific cases of sensitivity to psychological distress and mental ill-health. In other words, they are approached as "necessarily psychologically suspect" due to their sexuality and/or their gender (Latham, 2017, p. 50), even before attending the gender clinic or the psychologist's office. And this connects with the starting point of this chapter and my discussion on the workings of sensitisation in training spaces, since the above exposes another modality of the sensitive that puts gender and sexual diversity in a relation of proximity with mental ill-health issues.

In the same way that not all bodies and experiences are equally sensitive for the psy disciplines, the experiences of distress, suicide risk, anxiety and depressive symptoms stick to specific communities as well. Based on my fieldwork experience, LGBTI people seem to be particularly prone to experiencing those mental health issues and, therefore, particularly vulnerable to their effects. Discursively, they are constructed as such, which does not suggest downplaying the evidence that has consistently shown the specific vulnerabilities to which the LGBTI population is exposed, not due to their diverse gender or sexuality but as an effect of heteropatriarchal and cissexist forms of violence (Alveal R. et al., 2019; Barrientos, 2015; Barrientos et al., 2019; Martínez et al., 2018; Tomicic et al., 2016). How does this operate at the level of discourse and how do sensitisation practices contribute to those associations?

Diego, for instance, shared with me their apprehensions towards using what they called *estadísticas negras* ('dark statistics' or 'dark figures'), meaning here the depiction of negative mental health outcomes through numbers, percentages and evidence-based research. Along with that, and in proximity with the field of criminology, the term dark statistic is also discursively associated with its uses in police crime statistics to illustrate the gap between the number of committed crimes and those never reported, which is often racialised and classed evidence (see Quinteros R., 2014). Diego has resorted to dark statistics to persuade non-sensitised audiences about the importance of addressing the health needs of the LGBTI population in the hospital unit where they work. In the process of establishing the unit as such, they remembered having discussions with authorities at the hospital who used "natural law" as an argument to resist the unit's demands. Diego and their colleagues decided that they were "not going to discuss natural law with them" as they wanted "to present empirical data" to support their request to work with a "population with unmet health needs". This strategic move translated into presenting the "quote-unquote dark statistic" to them, namely the reality of "mental health risks" and "health inequalities". As a strategy, this way of

talking was highly effective as it touched people's sensitivities: the dark statistic, in Diego's view, "make the violation visible". Moreover, Diego continued: "It has an impact since people do not empathise with these concepts of human rights per se, but rather when the violation is exposed, the right is understood". Nicolás also referred to this last point regarding some of the sensitisation strategies he has used to deal with difficult educational communities. Unlike Diego, Nicolás mentioned that he usually starts the training sessions "telling stories that are a bit tragic" to show "how the gender binary can affect a boy or a girl's life concretely", which in most of the cases trigger "shocking" reactions among the participants. Although similar in purpose, Diego's use of dark statistics does not come without hesitations, as for them "it is not the most comfortable thing to do". "It's tough", they said, "because even if you're not straight, nor cisgender, how to talk about that is… I think it's hard to stop it from being shocking".

What counts as shocking and for whom is a crucial question to be asked here, one which connects with my discussion on content warnings, and the sensitivities and anxieties at stake in training sessions. Whose sensitivities are being protected and/or incited in sensitisation practices? In what ways does the cultural competence model address the ethical issues at stake in representing violence through dark statistics and tragic stories from the perspective of those marked by such violence? In what ways might the use of dark statistics end up working fetishistically for the sake of shocking the other, as if reactions of shock and the ability to be shocked by something were equally distributed and, by themselves, *good* pedagogical outcomes. The ways the dark statistic of LGBTI mental ill-health is used in these examples do not say much about people's class and race background: as numbers, the intersections of these and other axes of difference are masked and the statistic is presented as if the cases were all the same. This erasure is all the more significant when we take the literal translation of *estadística negra* (black statistic) and ask what is darkened or obscured through the uses of these figures. As in the case of the gender-meter exercise, here the word 'black' and the racial connotations of dark statistics are concealed and not talked about, even though the racial question is discursively associated with it and appears in the conversation through the use of the word black in the dark statistic, acquiring a phantasmatic presence. By using it to sensitise the audience, I would argue, diversity professionals contribute, although paradoxically, to deepening the stigma and the imaginaries that (still) associate LGBTI issues with criminality, particularly trans* and travesti people from marginalised social

backgrounds; it victimises them and makes it hard to tell a different story that challenges such stigmatising narratives (see Rodríguez, 2016).

One of the speakers at the symposium intervened on different occasions during the Q&A to calling out people's attention on the ways they were talking about trans* and non-binary experiences in childhood. As a trans* activist himself, with a long trajectory working as human rights advisor, he asked them to be more careful about the language they used when describing trans* people's sensitivity to developing mental health problems. "Instead of saying that we have depression due to social factors—he said—it is better to say that the society as a whole needs psychological support to be more inclusive". And he added, "It is not only what I need as a trans* person, but what all of us need". By saying this, he shifted the focus from the individual to the social in a way that I think is more effective than just pointing out the social determinants of health or studying them for a distance; as if the social does not touch diversity professionals as well; as if they were not part of the very social structures that make trans* people *psychologically suspect*.

Pointing those structures out and denouncing their iatrogenic effects is as essential as analysing them. However, it might also exempt the psy professionals from looking at their participation and complicities with those structures. By way of example, for Gladys the psy professionals' complicities with those oppressive social structures translate into a way of reducing the social to mere acts of recognition of their identity as trans*. Most of the experiences she knows are shot through with a lack of attention to the social effects of discrimination, among which the experience of fear is a critical one, even when their identities are somewhat *confirmed* by the mental health professional, as if to be afraid was, for some of them, evidence that they are not trans* enough. "Why you are afraid?", the psychologist has asked them, many times, with an inquisitive tone. It is the reiteration of the scene of address that struck her. "Because we go to the streets, we read the newspapers, because we are in constant communication with our comrades and we know who they kill, we know that they can kill us". "We also know", she recalled, "that we go to the psychologist and they treat you as if you were a man, we know that you go to the psychiatrist and the idiot throws you psychiatric drugs when you are in a stage before taking hormones".

These failed encounters with psy professionals create a gatekeeping system in which trans* and non-binary people are expected to conform to particular ways of being and feeling that go against their knowledge about who they are and why they feel what they feel

(Latham, 2019; see Riggs et al., 2019). This is a gatekeeping system that, contrary to its duty of care, has taught trans* and non-binary people to protect themselves from the very people and institutions that are supposedly there to affirm their existences. It is a circuit of exchanges that they have also used to produce knowledge about their own needs and to create their own knowing practices, which cannot be standardised according to the psy disciplines' rules. Just like the speaker's intervention during the Q&A at the symposium, Gladys also re-directed her anger and criticism towards the social in a way I found quite challenging, and that connects with her demand towards psychology for a reparatory act, as discussed thoroughly in Chapter 4. What psychology needs to do, according to her experience, is to recognise its part in reproducing the social inequalities that shape trans* people's experiences of health and wellbeing: "As long as social inequalities remain, there will continue to exist quote-unquote trans* patients; borderline disorders will continue to exist in our community, there will continue to be type 1 or type 2 depressions, anxiety disorders, etc.". Moreover, "when we try to talk about our lives as if they were a standard," she powerfully asserted, "we will always find failures, because we are not what others think we are". In other words, trans* and community-based knowledges trouble the therapeutic insights of standardised clinical models, pedagogic devices and training materials by exposing their own ideological failures and harmful effects. And this, I think, is a powerful intervention, especially for someone like me who has participated in these institutions and who has used those training materials; as someone implicated in her challenge and demand for reparation, as well.

5.6 Conclusion

I remembered feeling amazed by the clarity with which Gladys described these failed encounters with the health system. This is the same powerful impetus she employed to talk about what she expected from the psy disciplines and the kind of reparative work she and many of her trans* comrades demanded from them, on which I reflected in the previous chapter. As a way of concluding, I want to bring her critique of psychology's complicity with social inequalities together with her insistence on the reparative. Reading the latter through the lens of the arguments I put forward in the last section of this chapter, I would like to engage with Gladys's critique of the idea of the "trans* patient" as a way to intervene in the kinds of narratives that diversity professionals tell about the existence of LGBTI people. In

particular, I mean the kind of stories produced within diversity training spaces, therapeutic encounters and clinical guidelines, most of them shaped through the prism of the dark statistic and the sensitivities and anxieties of hetero-cisgender professionals. Engaging with the idea of the "trans* patient" as both an invention and a subjective effect of the clinic (see Latham, 2017), allows us to limit the scope of what can be known about *lo trans** and what can be possibly learnt and transmitted about LGBTI people through diversity work.

This chapter emerged from the need to critically analyse what has become mainstream within affirmative clinical approaches to sexual and gender diversity, that is, the need to sensitise professional teams, institutions and individuals working with LGBTI people in the clinic. In doing so, I have followed the affective life of the words sensitive and sensitivity in their uses and connections with health care and teaching, suggesting that in their associations with the clinic both terms give way to specific ways of knowing the other that resemble pathologisation. I have asked in what ways the different modalities of the sensitive I identified throughout the chapter produce trans* and non-binary people as *distressed* and *sensitive to* mental health problems. Rather than producing them as explicitly deviant or mentally ill, pathologising power worked here in a more subtle way through the everyday doing of psy professionals and the affective mechanisms that shape their relationships with diversity knowledges. Based on my participant observation at a professional symposium on trans* health, I have analysed then staged of a series of pedagogical encounters and affective responses triggered by the experience of lack of mastery on gender diversity. In doing so, I have tracked the workings of anxiety in the ways an incitement to know the other is enacted in training sessions. Against this backdrop, I have argued that there is a particular pedagogic language that ends up constructing non-normative genders as still needing an explanation and, therefore, in need of specialised care by the psy disciplines, now positioned as essential gatekeepers for access to gender-affirming interventions (Riggs et al., 2019).

The chapter then examined the work that the sensitive and sensitisation practices do in securing that gatekeeping system, interrogating what sensitivities matter and for whom in the learning of so-called sensitive contents. It explored the pedagogical function of diversity through different practices of knowing, among them that of the genderbread person and the *generómetro* (gender-meter), discussing the problems at stake in both visualising and staging gender for the participation of white cisgender audiences. In particular, the acting out of forms of racism via the objectification of racialised bodies as a means for explaining

diversity, which, paradoxically, contributed to leaving race out of the sex/gender system and reinforcing the myth that racism is alien to Chilean society, thus exposing the whiteness of the training space and the psy disciplines more broadly. Race, I have argued, has acquired a psychic life that haunts diversity work and the psy disciplines. And this, in turn, speaks about the phantasmatic presence of *negritud* in the history of Chile that demands to be heard and persists against its disavowal in the present.

As I have shown, an attentiveness to the affective mechanisms at play in the need to know the other has allowed me to identify the marks of pathologising power in the psy disciplines' taxonomical obsession with classifying and clearly distinguishing the trans* existence in ways that exclude people's accounts of themselves and in their own terms. When those voices appeared front and centre in both the training room and in community-based interventions, they troubled the disciplines' ideological tendency to pathologise and exclude what, ultimately, challenges the orders of explanation. The next chapter further examines some of these challenges looking at how the language of diversity has been mobilised to negotiate *difference*.

Chapter 6

The (Dis)Comforting Politics of Sexual Diversity

> For the past thirteen years, a MARCH[95] of contemporary non-heterosexual sexualities has taken place [in Santiago], under different names: Gay Parade, Gay Pride and, in the last few years, MARCH FOR SEXUAL DIVERSITY. This year, 2011, the leading organisations called it simply MARCH FOR DIVERSITY, stripping away the word SEXUAL, which for me and others is at the heart of its political identity. I can only dare to hypothesise what the reason might be: the aim to bring in more people, and all the better if they come from all ideological/political sectors.
>
> Kena Lorenzini (2011, p. 19)

6.1 Introduction

In her 2011 book, *Diversidad Sexual. 10 años de Marchas en Chile* (*Sexual Diversity: 10 Years of Marches in Chile*), feminist activist photographer Kena Lorenzini shared part of her visual archive of ten years of LGBTI protests. The quotation above is part of a short introductory piece, which the author used as a path to remember and to keep alive the histories of the Chilean LGBTI movement. The photographs and the testimonial pieces of well-known feminist and LGBTI activists included in the book are, in the words of Lorenzini, dissident gestures against both the de-sexualisation and sanitisation of the march, and the erasure of the history of struggles around the word sexual in Chilean LGBTI politics. These critiques have been a topic of intense debate among activists and scholars from the Arts and the Humanities since the 1990s,[96] which has not been taken up by scholarly work from mainstream Social Sciences, and, particularly, the psy disciplines. The fact that Lorenzini was also a practising psychologist before publishing her 2011 work, and author of a book on

[95] Capitalisation in the original.

[96] See for example the work of Pedro Lemebel (1998), Nelly Richard (2018a), CUDS, the Colectivo Universitario de Disidencia Sexual (Díaz, 2011), Juan Pablo Sutherland (2009), Víctor Hugo Robles (2011), Toli Hernández (2007) and Fernando Blanco (2013), among others.

lesbian couples in Chile that built on her experience in the clinic (Lorenzini, 2010), is relevant in this sense. Interestingly, most of the reflections in her 2011 book come from a feminist-activist standpoint. She is not speaking as a psychologist nor engaging critically with Freudian psychosexual theory, as she did in her lesbian couples project.

A set of questions emerge from here, which will be explored throughout this chapter. Firstly, and consistent with my initial discussion on the temporalities of diversity and the stories of the field in Chapter 4: What political work is the term sexual doing to its companion term diversity? What does the move of bringing people in allow activists (and diversity professionals) to do differently, and what effects would be enabled by this inclusive gesture? And lastly, how would these moves translate into practising diversity within the psy disciplines in a way that resembles the mechanisms of both "stripping away" and "bring in more people" described by Lorenzini?

I wanted to introduce this last chapter with this excerpt on the history of the Chilean LGBTI movement, as it shows some of the analytical features I aim to discuss here. Unlike Chapter 5, which mostly focused on gender diversity and the pedagogy of diversity in clinical training settings, in this chapter I follow the political life of sexual diversity through the experience of my interviewees in their encounters with institutions, whether the health system, the state, the municipality or the activist space. The chapter is also a way of further exploring some of the ideas discussed in Chapter 4 around time, space and the generational by looking at the psychic life of conflicts and their ghostly presence in the present. In doing so, and in dialogue with my analytical framework, I interrogate my data in its dialectical nature, asking in what ways the mechanisms that organise my interviewees' discursive positions around diversity are also expressive of broader socio-political processes that are characteristic of the Chilean post-dictatorship period (Richard, 2015, 2017/2019, Chapter 1; Rivas San Martín, 2011a).

To that end, I first return to the question of what sexual diversity means to my interviewees and in what ways their understanding of the term is shaped by its uses and ambivalent encounters with diversity work throughout their professional trajectories. By closely listening to the narratives of the participants, I suggest engaging with diversity as having an aesthetic dimension, which I interpret through the workings of a *sistema de la mirada* (system of seeing) that informs the ways Chilean society reads people's bodies, gestures and manners (Contardo, 2020; see also Astudillo Lizama, 2012, 2015). In a second

step, I discuss diversity's uses as an umbrella term and the place of heterosexuality within different approaches to sexual diversity that include heterosexual people as another sexual orientation, questioning the limits of a gesture of "bringing in" that does not trouble the status of sexual diversity as the other of heterosexuality. As I will show, the proximity of diversity to heterosexuality has made most of my interviewees feel uncomfortable and ambivalent towards the language of sexual diversity in its complicity with cisheteronormativity. I want to use those affective registers as sites of inquiry to explore what we can learn about diversity when we change our focus of attention to affects of ambivalence and discomfort, and how resistance to the heterosexual norm is articulated within different institutional spaces. In this regard, one of the ways in which some of my interviewees have dealt with those feelings is by pluralising diversity or replacing it with either the LGBTIQA+ acronym or 'sexual dissidence', placing their hopes and transformative fantasies onto those terms.[97]

I conclude by exploring the function that both the pluralisation of diversity and replacement strategies perform alongside their psychosocial effects. In doing so, I suggest that these strategies worked as a means for dealing with difference-as-conflict by either managing antagonism in relation to LGBTI issues or radicalising their transformative effects. What alternative narratives and ways of doing diversity are emerging here? In what ways do those stories and discursive strategies contest or interrupt psy disciplines' hegemonic power over non-normative sexualities and genders? I address these questions in line with what I explored in Chapter 2 regarding the psychic life of diversity. To that end, I hypothesise that the strategies put forward to cope with the ambivalence of diversity, might speak about the ways conflicts in the spheres of sexuality and gender have been politically managed in post-dictatorship Chile, opening further research paths to illuminate diversity's multifaceted work.

6.2 Introducing Diversity

The term diversity appeared many times during my interviews and the conversations I had with diversity professionals outside the interview setting. It appeared spontaneously, linked to a broad range of objects and quotidian expressions that sometimes echoed the kind of

[97] The LGBTIQA+ acronym stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*, intersex, queer or questioning and asexual people.

everyday diversity talk you can find outside academia, in the news, social media, policy debates, etc. (see Núñez Noriega, 2011). In my interviewees' narratives and expressions, diversity appeared attached to the words space, professionals, people, genders and sexualities. *Personas de la diversidad sexual* (sexually diverse people) and *diversidad sexo-afectiva* (sexual-emotional diversity) were recurring expressions as well, most of which were used as descriptors or catchphrases, and less often as analytical frames. Diversity appeared to have no history, as a straightforward, self-evident and transparent term, which made it hard to interrogate. That was my main challenge as interviewer: how to make my interviewees talk about something that, at first sight, did not arouse much interest or curiosity in them.

Diversity is a term with which some of the people I interviewed engaged both conceptually and technically as a normative principle within psychotherapy and activist practice. For others, diversity was not a conceptual category but rather an identitarian trait available to health institutions, community centres and psy professionals in their efforts to embrace a friendly and welcoming face. Diversity was for some a framing strategy, and it was also an emotionally loaded term towards which they felt ambivalent and uncomfortable, even critical, especially as regards its history of struggles, disciplinary uses and transformative potential. Working with my interviewees through the question of use, instead of questioning diversity's meanings, allowed me to access a series of discursive registers, visual markers and aesthetic practices, which have been described in the literature as characteristic of a type of language that produces a particular field of intelligibility (see Ahmed & Swan, 2006; flores, 2013; Puwar, 2004; Sabsay, 2016). So far, I have shown some of the forms this has taken in the clinic, social research and pedagogy. However, in this chapter, I move forward to a different engagement with this language, one that shed lights on diversity's conflictual nature and that cuts across different institutional contexts and interpellates my interviewees in different ways.

In what follows, I introduce one of the first features of sexual diversity that arise from this way of inquiry into its uses: its aesthetic dimension. While this dimension was not a recurrent theme in my interviewees' accounts, it allowed me to connect a series of associations, images and examples that, despite not explicitly referencing aesthetics, pointed to visual markers, styles and practices that speak about diversity's appeal to those who identify with it and that feel closer to it. My argument here is that diversity, as a term, has a style attached to it which conveys the participants' positioning in class, race, and gender

terms, thus enabling a system of visual classification that facilitates specific reading practices among LGBTI people and diversity professionals. Given that most of these references were given by contrasting diversity to other terms such as dissidence or diversit*ies*, I revisit this issue later to explore what happens to the aesthetic dimension when, in association with these other terminologies, it sticks to different bodies, identities and political practices.

6.3 The Styles of Diversity

I met Cristina on my first visit to Valparaíso. Before starting to record our conversation, she mentioned that she did not feel as much like a psychologist as most of her colleagues, suggesting that perhaps I would not get as much information from her as I was hoping. Maybe I had hopes because of the kind of work she does, her closeness to local feminist activists and her socio-critical approach to psychology. What does it mean to feel more like a psychologist or less like one? How does she know that, and how can she say that someone else feels that way? To illustrate this question, Cristina referred to another psychologist we both knew and said, "you see her, and you realise she's a psychologist, you know… the way she talks" and the way she looks. I agreed with her. Feeling like a psychologist is perhaps something you can see. Somehow, we both shared an image of what psychologists look like, with special attention to ways of talking and performing that we perceived as typical of psy professionals. Interestingly, I realised that a similar logic can be applied to psy professionals working with LGBTI people or within a diversity framework. Cristina's comment about her colleague, who is a well-known LGBTI psychologist who I also had the chance to interview, opened up a novel research path to me on the meanings and practices attached to sexual and gender diversity that pointed to the register of the visual.

Later in our conversation, I asked Cristina about the rationale behind the name of her workplace, which included the term 'sexual diversities'. I was curious about the plural form of the name and its difference with respect to its singular form. Moreover, her organisation has introduced an explicit feminist dissident approach to their work; therefore, their decision to go for diversities instead of dissidence was highly relevant. When I asked her about this, she referred to some meetings from the *mesas de diversidades y disidencias* (sexual diversities and dissidences working groups) of which she is part, to illustrate the differences

she perceived between organisations and individuals who use or identify with a diversity or dissidence terminology. As background information, Cristina mentioned that "there is a lot of tension between diversity and dissidence within the activist space", adding that ultimately the tension "managed to come together" in the figure of the *mesas*, where everybody, proponents of diversity and dissidence, have a say in matters concerning their particular views and needs. I asked about the differences between both terms, as they seemed to signal two different political positions. Where did that knowledge come from, I asked, and how clear was it for her to recognise who identified with dissidence and who with diversity? "Totally—she said—, their discourse, their *aesthetic*, you know? I am going to tell you something *súper feo* (very nasty). For instance, you immediately know who is from *Iguales*" and who is not (emphasis added).

Fundación Iguales (Equals Foundation) is one of the mainstream LGBTI organisations in Chile, commonly linked to upper-middle class elite gay males from Santiago.[98] The group and their male representatives aligned with what Cristina perceived and understood as the subject of sexual diversity, which, for her, has a strong classed and gendered background, with leadership positions held predominantly by gay men until quite recently. What caught my attention from Cristina's account was that in her way of explaining what diversity is and does, she suggested that engaging with sexual diversity has an aesthetic component.[99] For diversity to be meaningful and legible, I thought at the time, it needed to be interpreted by someone who was already immersed in that meaning system, which is shaped by classed and gendered assumptions that we both understood. The word "*feo*" is also crucial here, as it worked as a warning sign to protect Cristina and me from associations that might sound offensive, ironic or unfair. Cristina was aware of the symbolic burden of her "nasty" imaginary, and she expected me to understand what she meant by that due to my alleged proximity to the critique she was implicitly invoking—a proximity that was transferred to me through the person who put us in contact, but that could also be triggered by her reading of

[98] *Iguales* has been the target of intense criticism since its appearance in the Chilean LGBTI activist scene in 2011 (see, for instance, the work of Cristeva Cabello [2012, 2015], Víctor Hugo Robles [2011] and Juan Pablo Sutherland [2009], among others). Their leading founders were the ones referred by Lorenzini (2011) in the excerpt I quoted at the beginning of the chapter.

[99] Diversity's aesthetic dimension is understood here as a visual stylistic dimension that conveys people's appearance, gestures and manners, which aligns with Cristina's descriptive uses of the term 'aesthetic' in the interview material. In that sense, my references to aesthetics as a style is different from the uses of aesthetics in its philosophical and political connotations, in which the distinction between art and politics, or art and life, is blurred and interrogated inasmuch they both participate in the construction of the visible and invisible, the thinkable and unthinkable (see Rancière, 2006, 2011; see also Richard, 2018a).

my appearance and her assumptions about my political stance on the themes under discussion. Although she did not explicitly outline these aesthetics, and neither did I expressly ask about them, the examples she provided, which were present in a few other interviews as well, suggest engaging with her reference to 'aesthetic' as *a form of visibility*. Specifically, that is, as a visual system of classification used to convey the meanings ascribed to particular styles and stylisation practices, which make visible and distinguish people according to the ways they dress, look and express themselves, as of direct relevance to sexual and gender diversity (see Hall, 1973/2018; Hebdige, 1979). To that effect, Cristina's allusion to the aesthetic works as a means for reading and decoding people's differences, which I also use to put into dialogue with local social norms that mark individuals' bodies and interactions.[100] In that respect, the aesthetic of certain groups and identities, as well as the aesthetic of specific practices, words and ways of talking, become intelligible to the extent that they refer to values, norms and visual codes that organise the interactions among those people, while potentially invisible to those from the outside.

Drawing on recent scholarship that addresses the question of class inequalities in Chile, I suggest interpreting the aesthetic dimension of diversity through the lens of what has been described as the *sistema de la mirada* (system of seeing), which appears to be a central aspect of Chilean sociability (Contardo, 2020; Frei, 2019; PNUD, 2017).[101] Based on this body of literature, I argue that a system of seeing comprises a visual disposition to recognise people's places in the "map of distribution of destinies", already marked by where you were born, your education and your surname, the colour of your skin and closeness to the Chilean ruling elite, among others (Contardo, 2020, Chapter 1, Section 1, para. 4). This implies that how you are treated depends on the place you hold within the social structure, with people from disadvantaged social backgrounds being constantly discriminated against, *miradxs en menos* (looked down upon) and ignored (PNUD, 2017). What is interesting about these observations is the place that the look and the visual hold in shaping how people relate to

[100] I reflected on some aspects of these normative arrangements in my description of events as rituals in Chapter 3 and in the description of the symposium space in Chapter 5.

[101] My understanding and uses of the terms 'seeing' and 'system of seeing' differ from the concept of 'the gaze' in its psychoanalytic, film media and visual studies traditions, where the gaze is usually theorised in relation to the notions of desire, identification, objectification, and subject formation. On its psychoanalytic deployments through the work of Jacques Lacan and Frantz Fanon's rendering of the Lacanian 'mirror stage', see the work of Stephen Frosh (2013) on the gaze and haunting eyes. For a critical reading of psychoanalytic theories of the gaze from a feminist standpoint, see Laura Mulvey's (1975) and Michele White's work (2017). The gaze is also theorised in Black feminist theory through bell hooks's (1992) notion of the 'oppositional gaze' as a mode of Black resistance and agency.

themselves and to others. The look here is not neutral as it also reproduces social inequalities based on class, gender, sexuality and race. In that sense, and building on Butler's (1993) analysis of Frantz Fanon's narration of the racist interpellation in *Black Skin, White Masks*, the look entails both a "pointing and a seeing" (p. 18). Thus, the question of what is *seen* through a system of seeing is, in part, a question of what a certain racist, heteronormative and classist episteme produces as the visible, as for Butler the act of seeing is a "reading", and as such "is not a simple seeing, an act of direct perception, but the racial production of the visible" (1993, p. 16).

The look and the system of seeing, as they appear in the research on inequalities in Chile, have their own history within Chilean LGBTI literature, sexual dissident activism and academic research as well.[102] This is a much richer tradition, I would say, in which the experience of class discrimination is already shaped by that of racism and LGBTI-phobia. In addition to the ways the heterosexual elite looks at non-normative people, the LGBTI *código de la mirada* (code of the look) reproduces subtle forms of discrimination among themselves, as do visual forms of recognition that have been vital for distinguishing who is and who is not *like us* (see Asalazar, 2017). Although in this tradition the look has been the subject of a different kind of inquiry, one in which the mapping and the storytelling of (homo)sexual desire have been central, I take this further to interrogate whether diversity has a particular look attached to it. Additionally, and returning to the question of the aesthetic as a visual stylistic dimension, I ask what role the intersections of class, sexuality and race play in the construction of style differences within diversity work, and in what ways the system of seeing allows the reading of those differences.

6.3.1 Domesticated Styles

In conversation with Sebastián, a clinical psychologist and activist from Valparaíso who has also participated in the *mesas*, I asked if he uses the term sexual diversity in his clinical practice and what people outside psychology and LGBTI activism understand by it. His answer reminded me of Cristina's reference to aesthetics. Sebastián said:

[102] See, for instance, the literary work of Pedro Lemebel (1998), especially his *crónicas radiales* (radio chronicles), the work of Gonzalo Asalazar (2017) and his speculative quest for the life of male homosexual desire before the military coup in Santiago, the writing on the history of the gay presence in Chile by Óscar Contardo (2011) and Pablo Astudillo's (2012, 2019) research on the geographies of lesbian and gay sexualities.

> People know that diversity refers to LGBTI people; they associate it with the work that *Movilh* and *Iguales* do, the figure of Rolando Jiménez, etc. If they hold a more heteronormative view, diversity will be associated with the figure of Luis Larraín, Pablo Simonetti, because only men pass, they look more heterosexual.[103]

To him, the last bit of the quote represents one of the side effects of the appealing nature of diversity. Although the use of diversity in everyday conversations "allows it to accumulate positive affective value" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 67) due to its proximity to a joyful-conciliatory rhetoric, Sebastián looked with suspicion upon the "positive associations" that people emphasise when putting together diversity with a heteronormative, and predominantly masculine, visual representation of sexual diversity. Cristina made a similar observation, saying that one of the reasons she decided to put dissidences and diversities together in the description of the work they do in their organisation, is to "not reproduce what diversity historically does, like that men come first", rendering trans* people and lesbians and bisexual women invisible.[104] What Luis and Pablo, and to some extent Rolando, have in common is their closeness to Santiago's politico-cultural elite, with Pablo and Luis being two of the leading founders of *Iguales* and members of the board. They represent, in Sebastián's words, "the stereotype of an LGBT person who looks like a heterosexual man, with money, who behaves like a man, talks and dresses like a man".

By describing a series of attacks perpetrated against trans*, gay and lesbian people in Valparaíso, Sebastián stressed that "when you have the chance to share with them and see who they are, you realise they are people *que se les nota más* (that you can tell)". Most of those attacked, he added, "are people who come from a lower socioeconomic background,

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[103] Rolando, Luis and Pablo are well-known gay activists from two of the most traditional LGBTI organisations in Chile, *Movilh* and *Iguales*. Even though *Movilh* and *Iguales* advocate for a state-centred approach to activism, the two differ substantially in their closeness to the politico-economic elite. Since its appearance on the LGBTI activist scene, *Iguales* has been perceived as primarily made up by upper-class gay male professionals and, despite changes in the organisation's leading roles, it is still identified as a predominantly white and privileged activist space (Cabello Valenzuela, 2015; Campbell, 2014).

[104] Lesbian-feminist and decolonial activist Iris (Toli) Hernández (2013) has reflected on this dimension in her critical reading of the diversity politics of mainstream LGBTI organisations in Chile, suggesting that what has shaped LGBTI activism is a dominant gay governability that has historically silenced the voices of lesbians, trans* and travesti activists. On this, see also the work of Juan Carlos Garrido (2016, 2017) and Roxana Gómez Tapia (2019).

who are not heteronormed", which in his view are those "who get hit first, and the ones who suffer the most terrible things". Crucially, in his words, looking like a man, passing as heterosexual and having money signal the ways gender, class, race and sexuality shape how diverse others should look in order to be recognised and tolerated. As such, these social positions act as a warning sign: the closer you are to the "heteronorm" and the social elite, the more protected you feel and the safer you are, according to Sebastián. The level of discrimination Pablo or Luis might "suffer is less" than that of those who look different from them. In this respect, the stylistic appealing of diversity through the image of the privileged gay man in Sebastián's account captures people's socio-sexual imaginaries into a specific set of visual representations that normalise difference. In other words, diversity mobilises a "gay domesticated aesthetic" that "flirts" (Sutherland, 2009, p. 187) with cisheteronormativity and their codes of good behaviour.

According to Sebastián, what usually triggers the LGBTI-phobic attack is that it is targeted against those "you can easily tell" due to how they look: "their homosexuality, the fact they're different". Sometimes, he continued, "you don't know what they are, you just know they're different and that bothers you". What bothers him, instead, is being constantly asked why he and his friends "can't be like Luis Larraín, who is so heterosexual… while being homosexual". Why, he added, do "you need to shout that you're gay from the rooftops? Do I yell at you that I'm heterosexual?" In that respect, what secures diversity's success is resorting to visual references aimed at giving a face to LGBTI issues, to turn an abstract debate or idea into concrete experiences with which people can easily identify or to which they can aspire. However, the style of these visual references stands in open contradiction with the reality of Chile's demographic composition (see Contardo, 2014). Moreover, it stands in sharp contrast with the presence of those who are *too* gay, lesbian or trans*, "people you can easily tell", in Sebastián's words, and whose difference upsets people: "the travesti living on the streets, the *marimacha* and the *hueco*".[105] What bothers is not homosexuality, since you can be homosexual as long as you pass as heterosexual, as long as you are not so noticeable, like Luis or Pablo in Sebastián's stylistic repertoire. It is difference that bothers, a difference that exposes an excess: *that* which LGBTI people show without restraint, and that

[105] *Marimacha* and *hueco* are colloquial forms of expression commonly used as an insult against non-normative gender expressions that also has a class/gender component. *Marimacha* can be translated as tomboy or butch lesbian, and *hueco* has a close connection with the English term faggot while targeting specifically effeminate gay male subjects.

which the cisheterosexual gaze cannot tolerate. That is to say, what bothers is being poor and not heteronormed, which not only signals a class position but also speaks about racial difference. This is because in Chile, the poorer you are, the darker you look, which is a particularly deciding factor regarding how race is understood in a country that "feels itself white" (Contardo, 2014, Chapter 2, Section 1, para. 6).

As discussed in my concepts chapter through the work of Viveros (2020), "in Latin America, racialisation cuts across class borders" (p. 24), and racism is exercised in relation to people's appearance. Moreover, being too gay, lesbian or trans* challenges another hidden norm in Chilean sociability, namely what Pablo Astudillo Lizama (2015) has described as the 'rule of discretion', which entails a twofold move aimed at "holding back visible manifestations of homosexuality" (p. 1438).[106] On the one hand, dominant gender norms need to be carefully observed, even among LGBTI people, who also participate in gender policing practices among themselves (see Hale & Ojeda, 2018). On the other hand, the rule of discretion translates into sanctioning the exhibition of the body and sexual desire in public, especially among groups with greater sociocultural capital (Astudillo Lizama, 2012). Explicit sexuality, according to Astudillo, is something that needs to be avoided and that is "*mal visto*" (frowned upon) (p. 65). Despite the sexual and gender norms that shape the field of the visual being presented as having no relation to class and race, this ordering of styles, appearances and practices—which "is supposed to be purely aesthetic" (Nascimento, 2007, p. 18)—is not separated from its class, race and ethnic connotations. In that sense, diversity works to conceal and disarticulate the intersections of class, race, gender and sexuality from its understanding of difference. However, Sebastián's references expose this mechanism of concealment; it is through the differences that bother the system of seeing that diversity's concealment mechanism gets exposed.

In what ways does the norm of discretion shape diversity psychologists' style? While we talked about the differences between diversity, diversities and dissidence, Sebastián said that he "feels closer to diversities. Saying the contrary would feel a bit hypocritical". Interestingly, here he used the same critique he employed against the association between

[106] These relationships have been explored and theorised through the concept of 'respectability' in Black feminist, queer and feminist theory, mostly from an intersectional perspective. On the 'politics of respectability', see the work of Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (1994) and Patricia Hill Collins (2004); in its intersections with class, see Beverley Skeggs (2012); in relation to sexuality and dissident sexual-aesthetics, see the work of Michael Warner (1999), Leticia Sabsay (2016), Jillian Hernandez (2009) and Deborah R. Vargas (2014).

diversity and heteronormativity, coupled with the figure of the privileged gay man. It would feel hypocritical, he said, because "I dress and behave in a more heteronormative way", adding that "in my day to day as a psychologist I can't use a language such unsuitable [like dissidence]; I have to be more careful, and for that purpose the term diversity is used". Dressing and behaving in a more heteronormative way echo the *holding back* move described by Astudillo regarding any visible sign that holds the potential to bother the cisheterosexual gaze. It is as if being a psychologist and looking as such were against or conflicting with a specific style and way of talking, which, according to Sebastián, requires a suitable and careful language. Just like the scenes I described in Chapter 5, wherein the use of the 'letter e' in the presentations, for instance, was carefully observed, some diversity professionals were concerned not to look so activist. Within this context, diversity provides the suitable language and the fitting style. In other words, sexual diversity seems to suit because it also fits into the ways Chilean society is organised according to hierarchies of class, race, gender and sexuality. The language of diversity, paraphrasing Sebastián's words, does not bother existing class and race inequalities, and seems to be accommodated within the cisheteronormative structure that governs current regimes of visibility when it comes to sexual and gender others.

6.3.2 The (Discreet) Sexuality of Diversity

In a slightly distinct setting, the rule of discretion finds its equivalence in the ways diversity appears in different institutional scenarios outside LGBTI activism. Echoing some of the insights made by Sebastián, most of the interviewees working in such contexts coincided that the term diversity is a "politically correct" expression, a "kindest", "quick and friendly language" that makes things easier for audiences not used to talk openly about LGBTI issues. Against this background, diversity becomes valuable in relation to institutional contexts and, most importantly, when it is used as means to achieving the goals of specific interventions: by quoting Ahmed (2012), through institutional practices aimed at "getting *in* by getting *to* certain people" (p. 67, emphasis in original). That is, choosing strategically which words to use to *get to* those who would otherwise not be interested in diversity, or that would be in direct opposition to any LGBTI-related initiative within the institution. This is why the positivity and friendly appeal of the term is important, as mentioned earlier.

I talked about these issues with Pablo, a psychologist from Concepción, based on his experience as an activist and early career researcher in LGBTI wellbeing. Much of his activist experience has sought to influence politically the work that has been done by institutions not necessarily committed to advance LGBTI rights in the city. "However—he said—in most cases political impact is done in a very confrontational way", adding that one of the things psychology can contribute to activism is to introduce the "idea that to influence politically you can do that a little more, how can I put it? Culturally sensitive. As an activist or diversity professional you need to have the "*tino*"[107] and the ability to read people's resistances and to anticipate potential institutional barriers. In that sense, sexual diversity is a tactful and convincing term that serves the purpose of enabling access to specific institutional spaces. What does it mean to act with *tino*, according to Sebastián? He explained:

> At the end, for instance, you have to adapt yourself to the context in which you are, right? For example, working with a student union is not the same as sitting at the table with the director of the school to convince them about your goals. You can't go dressed the same way [as if you're talking with an LGBTI activist]; you can't use the same words; you can't make explicit sexual allegories, because that creates resistance in the authorities.

In a similar vein, I talked to Isabel, a well-known activist clinical psychologist from Santiago, about one of her works as a consultant in sexual and gender diversity. One of the things she usually does when dealing with potential job opportunities is negotiate the terms and conditions of her interventions. In this regard, the design of pedagogic modules and training plans are critical, along with the negotiation of the use of specific terminologies. The latter could be a sensitive matter, especially for more traditional institutions. On this, I asked her what the terms she usually uses are. I also asked her to speculate what would happen if the description of the courses she regularly offers to schools and health institutions included the terms sexual diversities or sexual dissidence in their title. Would that make any difference to the outcome? Isabel said:

[107] *Tino* is a skill or a characteristic people have. It can be translated as having tact, insight or good judgement. Someone with *tino* knows how to act wisely and sensitively in a given situation.

> I don't know how to explain this, but if you go to sell your story to the Ministry and you want to train their male and female staff members… if you go with dissidence, I'm not sure if they will buy you, but you can put it in later once you've sold it. And yes, this could sound like, super like 'hey, but you just want to buy things'. However, if we really want to sensitise as many people and spaces as possible, the entry must be in a certain way, although we then talk as we wish.

Diversity works in both excerpts as an adaptive, encompassing frame that demands a special performance in order to be effective: diversity professionals need to dress, talk and behave in a certain way to be credible and to gain access to certain spaces. It provides the suitable language and the fitting style, in keeping with the previous analysis. Diversity also has a commercial value as a marketing device in the knowledge market, where non-conforming sexual and gender experiences are offered, exchanged and even sold in market terms (see Ahmed & Swan, 2006; Cabello Valenzuela, 2015; Lorenzini Lorenzini, 2011). If sexual diversity is what goes first for securing an entry that would otherwise not be possible by using other conflicting terminologies and styles, diversity functions as a façade to hide a more radical agenda that people in power, and mainstream institutions, experience as threatening and unsettling.

As I showed in the previous section, diversity's effectiveness relied not just on its conciliatory and positive attractiveness, but also makes on its stylistic appeal to enter via the visual into the institution's socio-sexual imaginaries. Regardless of their personal choices, Pablo and Isabel know what terms to use, how to dress and how to perform in front of the representatives of the institution. In that respect, diversity professionals project an image of themselves with which their audience, local authorities, scientific boards and, sometimes, corporate funders can relate. However, this is an image that does not bother them and does not explicitly challenge the institution's gender, race and class ideology. The preference for sexual diversity in Pablo's and Isabel's accounts, seems to protect the institution and representatives by keeping them safe from any inconvenience or attempts to unsettle their position, echoing my discussion of the subject of care in sensitisation work; its appeal comes from its positivity, softness and friendly appearance. This is why the expression of "explicit sexual allegories", in Pablo's words, is considered inappropriate as it also troubles the rule of

discretion. Diversity, in this sense, domesticates sexuality within the boundaries of heteronormativity, stripping away its political and disruptive potential. However, and this is important for Pablo and Isabel, diversity is often used strategically to get in, as a first step, with the aim of securing an entrance. What happens next, once inside, is another story. The fantasy in many cases, as Isabel mentioned, is that then they will be able to *talk as they wish*, which for her is one of the alternatives available to dealing with any potential conflicts that might arise in the negotiation of her entrance to the institution.

Astudillo's rule of discretion suggests a different reading of these dynamics, as it enables another way of inquiring into the role of sexuality in shaping some aspects of diversity work. For diversity to do its work, it requires doing something to the term sexuality as well, which functions differently if the chosen term is dissidence or diversities. As a compound term, sexual diversity stands for a discreet version of sexuality that avoids discomfort and does not bother dominant class, gender, race and sexual norms. Given sexuality's potential to produce discomfort and politicise allegedly neutral spaces, it can arouse suspicion in traditional institutional settings. Concerns around the category of sexuality, for instance, might involve removing it from discourses around diversity, as happened to the diversity march of 2011 described in the quote by Lorenzini at the beginning of the chapter. A conversation I had with a diversity support group based at a hospital in Santiago, allowed me to access some of the concerns around the term sexuality I have mentioned here. Through a group member I knew before starting my fieldwork, I learnt of the difficulties they faced since they started working with LGBTI people in the hospital, which included, among other issues, their visibility as a group and the choice of their name. For a traditional institution, this was indeed a matter of concern.

In response to my question about their history as a group, they linked their origin to previous working initiatives with LGBTI people that were not initially attached to any LGBTI health programme within the hospital. The group came into existence as an institutional response to the increasing demand for support and medical treatment of diverse people, especially after the Gender Identity Law was passed in September 2018. As a complement to this version of their origin, a group member said that what triggered institutional attention was "that someone from within the hospital informed the authorities that an unauthorised vasectomy [to a trans* person] had been practised". This incident was then used by the group as an opportunity for starting a conversation on how to provide

psychological support to the LGBTI population which had, in fact, been receiving psychotherapeutic attention for a while. What started as an "inquisition" against those possibly responsible for the surgical procedure, shifted to a process of negotiation with the authorities of the hospital that included a bioethical committee and medical practitioners from different units. Once the initiative was approved, the group needed a name. Based on an early informal conversation I had with a group member, I knew that their initial suggestion was to be called "sexual diversity support group", but the institution decided to go for diversity alone. In the words of one of the members who was present at the conversation: "I remember that at the time of the dissemination of the initiative, the secretary of our unit removed the 's' [word] from the name and diversity has stood alone since then". Despite working exclusively with LGBTI people, the authorities of the hospital thought that by stripping away the term sexual from the group's name, they would make their way into the institution via a more consensual and positive terminology. To my knowledge, the group has not put the word sexual back. They did not question the institutional decision either, as it would have sounded too political for a health institution that prioritises scientific evidence-based claims.

My perception that day, which I had the chance to confirm in two individual interviews later, was that the move of not including the word sexual in their name was not addressed as a political gesture from the hospital. It was presented as a strategic move to gain institutional legitimacy against any possible resistance which, given the nature of the institution, was certainly real. Nevertheless, it was not, as it was for Lorenzini, a question about the "political identity" of their work, nor about the possible de-sexualising effects of their clinical practice or the specificity of diversity work within the institution. It was rather interpreted as a *pragmatic decision*, and in that sense, assumed to have nothing to do with politics. They wanted to make a case for a technical justification of their place within the hospital by using the language of scientific evidence for that purpose, which, for them, was the only possible way to bring sexual and gender diversity into the rationale, and the identity, of the institution. The act of removing or stripping away "the 's' word" operates similarly to the "holding back" mechanism of Astudillo's rule of discretion and Sebastián's *se les nota más* (you can tell) expression in relation to diversity's aesthetic dimension, as it prevents non-normative sexualities from becoming a matter of public interest. The logic seems to be that non-normative sexualities must be silenced to be included: if they were named, it would make noise; it would bother the authorities of the institution. However, another reading is possible here. In the hospital context, which could also be true for other similar settings,

diversity already references non-normative sexualities, as the underlying assumption is that people *still know*: the patients, the secretary and their medical colleagues know which are the cases treated in the hospital unit. They approach the institution as *sexual and gender diversity cases*. In that sense, rather than silenced, non-normative sexuality becomes an 'open secret' among those who know, given what diversity already implies (see Sedgwick, 1990/2008).[108]

To continue exploring the workings of this mechanism, in the sections that follow, I examine the relationships between diversity and conflict. So far, I have shown some of the modalities that conflict and its avoidance incarnate through the visual and discursive aesthetic register, suggesting that it is via embodying a particular style that diversity manages to avoid bothering the cisheterosexual gaze. I take these intuitions to deepen our understanding of the uses of sexual diversity, by critically exploring the place of heterosexuality and the politics of inclusion that arise from working with LGBTI people.

6.4 We are all Diversity

6.4.1 Diversity as an Umbrella Term

One point of contention among the interviewees was around the place of heterosexuality in diversity work. In some cases, their position came up spontaneously during our conversations, but in a few cases I had to ask them explicitly about it. A similar situation was replicated in many of the events I attended, wherein the term heterosexuality was sometimes explained and included as part of the conceptual work during the sensitisation stage.

Building on these different scenarios, a first divide was outlined between statements that did or did not include heterosexuality in the interviewees' uses of sexual diversity. Some of them took a strong position against using the term as it also comprised heterosexual people; others, while aware of this, shared a more flexible and strategic view that engages with diversity as instrumental to a particular agenda, widening the scope and meanings

[108] The term 'open secret' references Eve Sedgwick's (1990/2008) theorisation in *Epistemology of the Closet* as a way of describing the structure of knowledge as a "closeted dynamic" (Hemmings, 2020, para. 3) in which ignorance plays an important role regarding what we claim to know and not know concerning non-normative sexualities. As in the case of the hospital unit, sexual diversity can only be hinted at but not openly spoken.

commonly attached to diversity beyond the confines of sexuality and gender. How were some of these positions articulated in the interviews? Here is a selection of quotes that show their means of articulation:

> I think [sexual diversity refers to] those perceived as different from the traditional or… the norm. Therefore, all those who fall outside what is culturally and socially or biologically expected… within what we humans expect (…) But here at [our Centre], we understand diversity as 'all the people' (…) We don't exclude the heterosexual person from sexual diversity, but we do understand that it has to be a name, in fact, there is a proper name, culturally and politically, for those perceived as *more different*, which is sexual and gender diversity (emphasis added)—Alyson, Santiago psychologist.

> I don't use it because diversity includes heterosexuality… To me, heterosexuality is not part of diversity; it is part of a political regime that says that everybody has to be heterosexual and that that's desirable (…) Sometimes people have said to me, so heterosexuality is not just another sexual orientation? And I say no, it's a political regime—Leonor, Valparaíso psychologist.

> I use [diversity] for everything… Why? Because I want people to stop understanding the concept of diversity as sexual diversity, because you say diversity and it's like 'no, I'm not gay', and then you are like 'No, no, no, I'm talking about a different thing' … I try to make them understand that we are all diversity (…) It receives a much more negative connotation in those places where people don't understand the word diversity in its whole—Eduardo, Concepción psychologist.

> It's a term that I'm questioning… in my training sessions, I always start with an activity where I ask [to the participants] what your sociogram looks like. They move around, and without warning, I start asking for LGBTI+ people: 'Who knows someone LGBTI+?' And by the end, the last question I always ask is who considers themselves as part of sexual diversity… People are supposed to be moving around but

> not much happening, so I move alone and suddenly someone says something like: 'Everybody, right?'. 'Ok, everybody' [I reply]. And then I start saying that we are all part of sexual diversity, we are all diverse. Another different thing is to talk about LGBTI+ (…) I question myself though, but to be honest, this has happened quite recently because when I now talk about diversity, I felt like 'No, that's not right'; there, [in diversity], they all are—Isabel, Santiago psychologist.

The above quotes present four different moments in which diversity acquires meaning in relation to the ways difference is perceived by dominant structures of power that portray some individuals as "more different" than others. Implicit here is a comparison between two terms, with one being the zero point of reference from which the other acquires visibility as the bearer of a difference that needs to continually behave, look and speak about itself as different. I already showed how this mechanism works in the clinic as a response to a taxonomical impulse that emerges from what I called the anxiety to know. Here, however, diversity is signalling a location within an inside/outside spectrum, that uses the political language of inclusion/exclusion to demarcate those who fall under the sign diversity: that is, "those perceived as different from the norm" and "who fall outside what is culturally expected", according to Alyson. Diversity is simultaneously a "there", in Isabel words, where everybody has a place, where the main criterion of exclusion, that is heterosexuality, is somehow included and demands to take its part at the institution's table (Ahmed, 2012). "Diversity is everything", and it can be used as an umbrella term "for everything", as Eduardo said, which is for some of my interviewees a reason to oppose its uses, especially when it equates heterosexuality to experiences and groups with radically different interests, socio-political positionings and struggles (flores, 2013; Núñez Noriega, 2011).

Both Leonor and Isabel were aware of the problems of using diversity as a catch-all term and have made some discursive arrangements to reconcile the encompassing power of diversity with the need to keep alive its subject singularity, that is non-heterosexual sexualities. Using the LGBTI acronym and the plus (+) sign, stating explicitly the sexual and gendered dimensions of diversity, or engaging with heterosexuality as a "political regime" instead of just another "sexual orientation", seem to reverse diversity's homogenising and depoliticising effects—by this I mean, taking a cue from flores (2013), reducing the complexity of non-normative experiences to a "definable typology of identities" (p. 308) that

renders all of them equally diverse. Hence, diversity depoliticises when it refers to "all the people", treating them as if they were "all diverse", as in Alyson's and Eduardo's quotes.

These semantic strategies find resonance in what Gustavo, a Santiago-based psychologist, tries to do with his colleagues at their teaching centre. Despite mainly addressing non-heterosexual and LGBTIQA+ identities, he uses diversity to expand the meanings traditionally attached to it to encompass other diversities that go unnoticed due to an exclusive focus on the categories of sexual orientation and gender identity. From this position, with which other interviewees also agreed, diversity stands for diverse sexual practices, bodily diversity, "the presence of asexual people who are also super invisibilised", Gustavo added, "or the concept of relational orientation that has to do with questioning different types of emotional bonds, from romantic love to monogamy". His position also stands for "diversity within diversity", which was for some of my interviewees a way for them to say that just as cisheterosexual people are not a homogeneous group, neither are LGBTIQA+ people. In other words, if each of these groups is different from one another and, even within them, none is equally the same, we are all somehow diverse.

Expanding the scope of diversity via enlarging the acronym or naming other sexual-emotional realities, seems to enact a similar depoliticising effect to the one I described previously. Moreover, some uses of the acronym express the workings of Ahmed's (2012) concept of the 'non-performative', that is, the discursive practices through which the very commitment to inclusion does not produce the effect that it names. In this regard, Alyson, for instance, agreed that sometimes using the LGBTI acronym "is intended to generate an [inclusive] effect". However, she also does not seem all that certain about its function in practice, "because, for example, most people talk about LGBTI individuals, but have never met an intersex person". "If naming can be a way of not bringing something into effect", to quote Ahmed (p. 117), what does the uses of the acronym tell us about diversity's commitments to inclusivity and the subjectivities that matter? If we are all somehow diverse, following flores (2013), "the ideological fabric that organises discrimination and repudiation" (p. 239) is obscured. And with this, I contend, the questioning of dominant class, gender, race, ableist and sexual norms are displaced and remain unchallenged. In other words, by equalising somewhat different experiences, intersectional oppressions are depoliticised "and the question that explains why the 'other' becomes 'other', 'different', turns invisible" (flores, 2013, p. 239).

6.4.2 The Problem with the Language of Inclusion

As Ahmed (2012) rightly asserts, diversity's inclusivity and generosity as an overall term mobilises a promise that, while marking some subjectivities as different from the norm, simultaneously brings them in as a sign of inclusion. In line with flores's critique, the problem that follows is that this mechanism "makes the sign of exclusion disappear" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 65). This subtle modality of erasure is then reinforced by the "we are all diversity" slogan that both psy professionals and workshop participants iterated as if by doing so, they wanted to displace the focus on the exclusions that brought them to talk about sexual diversity in the first place.

The workings of inclusion, according to what I suggested before, present two problematic side-effects: it equalises difference and generates new forms of exclusion through assistance-based practices. On the one hand, some versions of inclusion within diversity work reinforce the normative power of heterosexuality, by adding different identity categories that do not question the baseline that produces diversity as the other of heterosexuality. On this matter, Pablo said that a diversity approach "seeks to assimilate" and to "make a space within [a heteronormative] structure", without necessarily questioning its ideological foundations, which, in his view, would be the work that dissidence does. To illustrate this point, I take my conversation with Carlos, a clinical psychologist from Santiago and Valparaíso, as an example of this assimilationist gesture. To him, one of the advantages of using the term sexual diversity is that it produces a similar effect to the one produced by the figure of the "internal migrant", gesturing to how migration policies have worked in Chile. Diversity, in this sense, "points to bringing in something that is on the periphery; bringing it to the core of what constitutes identity", further asserting that by doing so "we can make them part of the whole, not as phenomena of the margin". The idea of the "core identity" and the "margin" reinforces, rather than challenges, the inside/outside and centre/periphery binary separation of heterosexism (Núñez Noriega, 2011). Moreover, by using a racialised figure, that of the internal migrant, Carlos is also replicating one of the common tropes that scholarship on race and migration in Chile has widely discussed.[109] That is, conditioning the inclusion of the migrant other to the social order of the "core" Chilean identity, which is imagined as white, cisheterosexual and class privileged. Carlos's "bringing

[109] To deepen the linkages between racism, colonialism and migration in Chile, see, for instance, the introduction to the special issue on "Racism in Chile", guest-edited by M. Emilia Tijoux and M. Gabriela Córdova (2015) in *Polis. Revista Latinoamericana*.

in" expression, I would argue, marks non-normative sexualities as parallel to the "internal migrant", such that the diverse others are whitened through the comparison.

Within this logic, diversity's migrant status is continuously explained in reference to the gender, sexual, class and racial dominant norms, from which the "internal migrant" acquires shape and a legible identity. The "bringing in" gesture in Carlos's quote leaves no space for conflict or resistance against "being part of the whole". It produces a fantasy of a harmonious coexistence that equalises the differences, and that ends up aligning them as alike under the conciliatory logic of the sum, much like what I suggested in relation to the LGBTIQA+ acronym (Richard, 1994, p. 94; see also flores, 2013). Although the (+) sign appears to be intervening in the limited scope of a list of discernible identity positions, it does not interrupt the logic of counting and adding, nor the matrix of intelligibility that governs the conditions of recognition that make LGBTIQA+ identities visible and knowable.

If any difference is equalised, regardless of the marker that rendered them in need of inclusion, the structures of power that support that system are therefore obscured and naturalised. Diversity work, in this logic, functions as a technology of exclusion *á la* Foucault by depoliticising the structures of domination that produce certain bodies and experiences as different from the norm. This leads me to discussing the second side-effect that emerges from the language of inclusion, namely, the exclusions carried out by assistance-based interventions, which, in most cases, end up victimising LGBTI people. Leonor, for instance, is very critical about these practices. Based on her clinical work in Valparaíso and her activism within the Network of Public Health Professionals of Trans* People, she said that almost "everything that is said about diversity comes from an *asistencialista* (assistance-based) perspective". Phrases like "poor trans* people, let's help them" or "these people have suffered so much, so we are going to help them" are commonly heard in conference and workshop spaces, even within clinical units or municipal offices. Health professionals also reproduce this kind of discourse and some of them are fond of presenting themselves as experts in diversity issues or trans* health, treating LGBTI people "as if they were fools". For Leonor, "*asistencialismo* (social assistance) is a form of violence, a form of pathologisation" that usually goes unnoticed. However, given the precarity of health services, and trans* units in particular, diversity professionals have seen the need to strategically make use of the assistance-based approach in order to "beg for improvements in their working conditions".

Once they have the "minimum guaranteed conditions", Leonor added, "we could start to think about leaving *asistencialismo* aside".

In that context, limiting inclusion to mere assistance-based acts individualises suffering and reduces complex structures of oppression into abstract identity categories that become the cause of psychological interventions (Martínez De la Escalera, 2018). As flores (2013) and Han (2012) suggest, this kind of assistance-based interventions is mobilised by affects of compassion and sympathy that understand the work with so-called marginalised communities as acts of charity. Paraphrasing Han (2012) again, my reading is that the affective response that gives shape to practices of *asistencialismo* among mental health professionals is mostly triggered by a generalised feeling of guilt that works as a means for them to pay their debts with regards the LGBTI community, as discussed in Chapter 4 with Gladys's references to *asistencialismo* as a "Christian act". What is problematic, however, is what Leonor mentioned about violence and pathologisation. *Asistencialista* practices can be violent, precisely because of the psychic and affective ties that connect health professionals with those whom they try to assist (Han, 2012). LGBTI people's perceived lack of gratitude and constant criticism irritates to the point that health workers end up discriminating against those they wanted to help, especially trans* and non-binary people. Furthermore, when they are called out for that, as Leonor recalled from different meetings and academic events, health and diversity professionals react defensively, demanding gratitude, recognition and, sometimes, even threatening that they would not continue working with trans* people.

As with the figure of the "internal migrant" and the use of diversity as an umbrella term, the language of inclusion shows its limits and conditions through assistance-based interventions. As I have shown throughout this section, the gesture of including non-normative identities fails to fulfil its promise and does not intervene in the systems of domination that produce the diverse others as objects in need of assistance *because* of their difference (Martínez De la Escalera, 2018). Despite efforts to equalise different identity positions within a rationale of harmonious coexistence, the logic of inclusion being uphold by some diversity and health professionals also fails to keep its equalising, non-conflictive promise under a "we are all diverse" slogan that produces its own exclusionary effects.

Taking these two analytical tropes together—diversity's tendency to equalise difference and produce subtle forms of exclusions—in the following section I will show that attempts to subvert diversity's problematic relationship with heterosexuality and

asistencialismo are by no means a straightforward move. Those attempts also spoke about my interviewees' ambivalent relationship to the work they do and their place within the institution, which cannot be solved through mere semantic arrangements or affective displacements. By looking at these registers, I hope to complicate easy arguments for or against diversity, foregrounding the ambivalences through which diversity is taken up by psy professionals.

6.5 The Ambivalence of Sexual and Gender Diversity

Although fully aware of the problems of using sexual diversity, some of my interviewees expressed their frustration and ambivalent feelings towards it, either through performing different roles with me or speaking simultaneously from different discursive positions. Sometimes they did this by showing one side of their professional identity that I perceived as more official, mainstream and even conservative; at others they appeared more critical and transgressive, a position which, I would suggest, was also negotiated in their everyday encounters with the institution, whether it be the university, the clinic or the activist space. My presence and the imaginaries that shaped the ways we understood the interview setting, what I demanded from my interviewees, as well as how I responded to the fantasies around our political investments in the topic were also relevant in setting up a space for expressing our ambivalences, as discussed in my methods chapter.

One of the paths that allowed me to listen to and make sense of my interviewees' ambivalence towards sexual diversity was through its companion term, sexual dissidence. Every time the term dissidence appeared, it provoked an effect on the conversation that pushed the participants to position themselves regarding their work and politics, establishing hierarchies between those who felt closer to one or the other term. Within that metric, feeling close to diversity would make you suspicious of holding a more traditional approach to LGBTI issues, whereas embracing a dissident politics would make you a more radical professional. Interestingly, that boundary was not as clear as I thought it would be, not only because none of them explicitly positioned themselves for or against a diversity or dissidence approach, but also because I found both perspectives present in their discourses, sometimes even simultaneously.

Pablo, Diego and, to some extent, Carlos, who for the most part has found himself at ease with diversity, have also felt compelled and attracted by sexual dissidence. In their ways of relating to both terms, they made clear distinctions between what aspects of diversity and dissidence have a place in their day-to-day working routines and activisms. When explaining to me the difference between the terms, they transmitted the idea of feeling trapped and constrained in a kind of official language that they did not even choose, and at which they have also been looking with some distance and criticism not long ago. "It's like I've come late" to the discussion, I was told by Diego. It is as if "I would have had no participation in deciding or not using that term, diversity". This was a decision that came afterwards in Diego's case, in a second moment that coincided when they became politically involved in activism. They continued:

> When I started attending conferences and delivering training sessions myself, that was the term, [diversity] was in the air, in the academic environment. I think it was the first attempt to put a term in positive (…) Maybe the word homosexual or gay had a disruptive effect in certain spaces, so I imagine people being like 'how do we present this differently?'. I feel it was a marketing strategy, even.

The feeling of constraint Pablo, Carlos and Diego expressed to me played out differently depending on the institution in which they were based, their (privileged) position within it, and the risks some of them could take in using one term over the other. Yet, it is not just their professional identity that is at stake here. Their conflicting existence as sexual and gendered subjects and their stories of arrival at sexual and gender diversity are also central to their ambivalence—a point that speaks about my own trajectory too, since I could identify myself in many of those trajectories and contradictory attachments to diversity.

Taking these affective registers and experiences together, I suggest engaging with sexual diversity as a container of contradictory and non-exclusive investments that I interpret as expressions of ambivalence. Using a psychosocial approach, I take from psychoanalysis' concept of ambivalence of feeling the idea of a bi-location of opposed affects and thoughts in the subject's psyche, which are simultaneously held "in a way that they cannot come up against each other" (Freud, 1913, p. 35, as cited in Swales & Owens, 2020, Chapter 1). The

primacy of a conflicting duality at the core of ambivalence's conceptual specificity (Lorenz-Meyer, 2001), is what I take further to analyse both individual and social expressions of ambivalence towards diversity in its "grammatical" form through my interviewees' speaking positions (Parrini, 2018, p. 71). While locating conflicts of ambivalence in the individual psyche, psychoanalysis' discussion of ambivalence in the formation of culture and its discontents suggests engaging with the idea of conflicting impulses as also shaped by society (Lorenz-Meyer, 2001). Specifically, I refer to the multiple contemporary forms that affects of love/hate take under conditions of multicultural neoliberalism, where encounters with diverse others are celebrated if they do not challenge structural inequalities, as discussed previously for the case of the assimilationist effect of inclusive discourses and *asistencialista* practices. At the same time, ambivalence also has a symptomatic value (Laplanche & Pontalis, 1973) and can work as a social symptom (see Araujo, 2006), since it exposes the elements of the social that have not been collectively elaborated, specifically the negative components of the affective attitude—in this case, and this is my claim, conflicts around the sphere of sexuality and gender, and the presence of a consensus rhetoric that has shaped the ways Chilean society has dealt with difference, particularly in the post-dictatorship era (Richard, 1994, 2004).

Following the above, attending to ambivalence sheds light on what otherwise would go unnoticed, that is, the complexities of keeping together the demands and hopes that come from opposing feelings, which reflects what Hemmings (2011) identified as the impossibilities of occupying one affective state over the other. However, the coexistence of both tendencies is not as harmonious as the language of inclusion intends. Feelings of ambivalence also show the extent to which the positive and the negative components of my interviewees' investments in diversity pushed to avoid negativity as a way of solving the emergence of potential conflicts and disagreements. Interestingly, by identifying diversity with positivity, dissidence is by turn constructed as its logical opposite: it carries with it the weight of conflict and discomfort, that which people and institutions seem to be continually displacing and projecting onto others as not part of their institutional ethos. Inquiring into the impossibilities of ambivalence is what I explore next, by discussing different strategies aimed at solving diversity's ambivalent institutional appeal.

6.5.1 Resisting from Within and Against the Institution

One of the means through which some of my interviewees have dealt with their ambivalent attachments to sexual diversity, has been accepting the terms and conditions defined beforehand by the institution in which they are based, and then "talking as [they] wish", far from the institutional gaze, as Isabel remarked. A few of them shared with me different anecdotes of situations where they found themselves challenging the terms defined by their workspaces. Leonor, for example, told me that one of the things she did not like about diversity is that "it sounds too lovely to me, like too nice for me to use it, but—she recognised—I end up using it strategically". By way of illustration, she said that "the majority of the training courses I offer [as an independent consultant] are titled 'sexual and gender diversity', because it is something that people understand; it is just the title of the activity. What I finally speak about, is something else". Those who participate in her courses "say to me: 'I got into a sexual diversity course and I didn't know this was going to be…' about heterosexuality as a political regime, and I answer them: well… surprise!". Other colleagues have changed the title of their Powerpoint presentations before and after starting their talks, and others have explicitly shared with their audience the reasons why they do not like diversity or any other term. Diego, for instance, said that they sometimes use diversity as a "hooking strategy". After introducing the audience to the goals of the activity, "from the very first minute, I say to them that diversity is a term with which I don't feel comfortable", shifting to other terminologies and ways of talking. Generally speaking, both Diego and Leonor cannot just dispense with the use of sexual diversity, because it is also the only way for them to do their work and reach those in need of psychological support.

One possible reading would be to see in those interventions a direct attempt to challenge diversity's complicity with cisheteronormativity and its ways of knowing. In some institutional contexts, however, the very fact of talking about sexual and gender diversity is challenging enough. The case of the diversity support group I referred to before illustrates this point quite well, as for them the chances of being part of one of the hospital's units relied on stripping away the words sexual or gender from its name. Although some of the group members would have gone for sexual dissidence, they accepted the institutional decision and, simultaneously, acted differently in their private practice. In a separate interview, one of them told me that, for him, "working on sexual diversity has to do with confronting power structures", which, given the conservative nature of the hospital, put them in "an attitude of

resistance against those structures". What they were doing, he continued, "is a kind of work that vindicates, values and affirms diversity", which goes against some of the stereotypes of the institution as LGBTI-phobic. They decided to challenge those imaginaries from within the institution and to claim their seat at the table, betting on a gradual change over time that would secure both their space within the hospital and the provision of psychotherapeutic care for LGBTI people.

In contrast, Gladys has dealt with diversity's flaws in a rather different way, as for her the differences she has had with the institution have been also political. Her workplace in Concepción depends on the regional government, which partially explains why, according to Gladys's views, her working unit follows a diversity approach. She described her work as a "programme aimed at strengthening young women and dissidents' physical autonomy", further saying that "the dissidence part is something I add to it". She also offers counselling sessions to trans* people through the "Personalised Attention Unit" of the programme, that provides psychosocial accompaniment and supports them in their job search. In a similar move to the kind of gestures and strategies already mentioned, Gladys has been trying to keep her dissident work beyond the reach of the institution, resisting the local authority from within but without necessarily compromising her politics. For her, "all this has to do with something institutional. In positions of power, there are heterosexual people. You can't tell them that you're uncomfortable with their politics, you see what I mean?" And she then went on to say that

> perhaps you can question that as a user of the programme, but not as a worker. At the end, however, you will always end up being *the travesti who yells alone* in a room, full of I don't know how many people, saying 'hey, we are not diversity!' (emphasis added).

Resisting people "in positions of power" who are mainly heterosexual, and who also have a voice in deciding which programmes get funded and who would also benefit from the state's policies, articulates a different kind of resistance than the one mobilised by the diversity support group in Santiago. The scene of the travesti yelling at the district office exposes the social imaginaries that inform a particular way of doing politics, and, I would say, of doing

dissidence work, which involves both a discourse and an aesthetic component that challenge the cisheterosexual system of seeing. But not just that, as it also reproduces the image of the marginal-crazy travesti not worthy of political attention, with whom power structures do not negotiate nor share their place at the table (see Rodríguez, 2016). And if they did, it would be in the form of *asistencialista* practices under the grid of diversity, in a clear parallel with what Sebastián referred to in relation to the violence experienced by those "you can easily tell"—the *yelling travesti* evoked by Gladys is a figure placed outside diversity's respectable aesthetics. In this respect, I argue, the image of the yelling travesti reveals the ambivalence of diversity, wherein the negative attitudes towards trans* and travesti people are displaced onto assistance-based programmes that leave them trapped between affects of guilt and forced gratitude. And as Leonor pointed out, this position ends up exposing them to different forms of violence, discrimination and pathologisation.

These examples complicate both the logic of institutional inclusion that diversity appears to facilitate and what resistance to cisheteronormativity might entail. They also speak to the idea of diversity as having an institutional appeal, which evokes a collaborative working style that aligns diversity professionals "to work 'with' rather than 'against' [the] institution" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 65). Within this logic, the yelling travesti, the activist who would choose to confront the authority with explicit "sexual allegories" and the sexual dissident who constantly appears in my interviewees as the other of sexual diversity, signal another location of exclusion with its corresponding mechanisms of othering. Some versions of diversity work, as discussed in the beginning of the chapter, normalise difference through its various discursive and stylistic registers, which often project a sanitised, well behaved, discreet and less disruptive performance that knows how to speak and how to dress in the presence of those in power, echoing Pablo's earlier quote. Against this background, diversity seems to function as a regulatory frame that both normalises and re-classifies non-normative identity positions into hierarchies of sexual and gender respectability, which build on existing class and racial distinctions (Sabsay, 2016; see also Hernandez, 2009).

However, for some of my interviewees, who were also aware of the contradictions of their affective investments in diversity, the solution is not as simple as stopping the use of the term and going for sexual dissidence or for an extension of the LGBTIQA+ acronym. If diversity is the discourse and the aesthetic they cannot just dispense with due to the term's ambivalence, the critical views I am suggesting here need to consider the unequal

institutional conditions in which my interviewees work, both in their material and symbolic dimensions. Working *against* the institution has a cost for both the individual and the long-term projects in which they are implicated, such as the diversity support group and the personalised attention unit that Gladys coordinates, which may stop working. Even so, if they could use their preferred terminologies to overcome diversity's ambivalence, that would not be sufficient either. Most of the discursive strategies I have analysed so far can be interpreted as mere replacement strategies, aimed at partially solving my interviewees' ambivalence within the boundaries of the institution. A replacement strategy can, however, produce the effect of forgetting, albeit temporarily, the histories of struggles that have been erased and softened by sexual diversity, and that trigger my interviewees' desire to overcome its limitations (see Ahmed, 2012). By reading this through ambivalence, however, I suggest considering that what is also forgotten is diversity's negative affective investments, those that the psy professionals seek to displace away from the gaze of the institution—that is, their discomfort and frustration with the term, as well as their guilt and sense of debt. If according to Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis (1973) ambivalence has a symptomatic value, by getting rid of diversity or using it as a replacement of so-called conflicting terms, the psy professionals and the institutions risk bringing the displaced affect back. And this, far from being a risky thing in itself, needs to be interpreted as a form of resistance against its forgetting. If, according to Freud (as paraphrased in Phillips, 2015), "we are ambivalent… about anything and everything that matters to us" (para. 2), we cannot just replace or get rid of the categories with which people identify. As Sabsay (2011) acutely suggests, those very categories are also ways of living in the world and, as such, "they rebel against" (p. 26) their forgetting, which I interpret as a warning sign. If "we do not address their resistance—which is our own too—the assumptions under which they are based will appear again with another face like the return of the repressed, terminating a discussion that has not yet taken place" (p. 26). And this is similar to what Lorenzini (2011) did with her photographic retrospective in the quote I used at the beginning of the chapter, as a means for her to bring back the struggles of the Chilean LGBTI movement and those around the word sexual. As Williams (1991) and Gordon (2008) suggest, these categories and the struggles around their forgetting can also work as phantoms and, as such, they may return to haunt.

Next, I delve into those affective experiences, particularly those of discomfort and conflict, as sites to explore what resistance may look like, to then enquire about the promises that dissidence seems to be fulfilling in my interviewees' accounts. In doing so, I want to

conclude by taking Sabsay's reference to the return of the repressed and exploring the temporal imaginaries at work in *returning*, and the conflicts and mechanisms of concealment that a psychoanalytic understanding of repression may reveal.

6.6 The Politics of Discomfort and the Production of Difference as Conflict

Discomfort is an unsettling affect that speaks about experiences that touch people's histories and sensitivities differently. Feelings of comfort and discomfort do not mean the same for everyone. At the same time, it is possible to bear the burden of causing discomfort in others without even noticing. Discomfort was for some of my interviewees a strong justification for opposing and being suspicious of diversity's positivity, as for them its main problems rest in its sweetness and less threatening character. In its sanitised and friendly version, sexual and gender diversity works as a "form(s) of comforting" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 148) by allowing people to feel at ease with the aspects of sexuality and gender that escape from their understanding and sense of mastery. From this perspective, experiences of discomfort are also traversed by ambivalence, as they reveal the encounters and missed encounters between propositions of certainty and uncertainty around what sexuality and gender are, especially in their non-normative forms of expression (Hemmings, 2018). Paraphrasing Hemmings (2018), I suggest that discomfort shows thus a failure in the ways people intervene in gendered and sexual meanings, exposing that what "we inherit as knowable" (p. 1) is always contested, situated and, sometimes, disturbingly uncertain.

Jazmín, for example, works as an organisational psychologist and leads the diversity and inclusion division of her workplace in Santiago. When I asked her about her interest in LGBTI issues, Jazmín replied that when she first "found out that I didn't understand a word of what people were talking about, and felt that discomfort… I felt the need to learn about this as quickly as possible". Feelings of discomfort, in her view, are activated in response to "any topic you have never talked about" and are mainly triggered by people's lack of accurate information on the subject. She illustrated this point through the following scene, which built on her experience delivering workshops on diversity to different groups and organisations:

> Let's say you start with a group of, I don't know, thirty people with whom we are going to talk about sexual diversity, and they all start feeling super uncomfortable. You see that in their body language. Nobody wants to talk, as if they are all looking away. Uncomfortable.

Given that for many of them, discomfort is the starting point for learning and assimilating new content, Jazmín warned me that "where there are discomforts, there is no point in approaching them through confrontation, because the only one who will lose something is me". In this context, diversity is used to produce feelings of comfort that would otherwise fail if Jazmín's diversity and inclusion team decided to deploy a more confrontational term such as "feminism" or "sexual dissidence", as these both usually "cause upset" according to her view. Feelings of comfort are connected to experiences of learning-as-certainty, as I showed in Chapter 5 concerning the uses of content warnings in diversity training. Interestingly, though, discomfort precludes learning; it does not trigger the desire to know that sparked Jazmín's initial curiosity. Quite the contrary. Diversity work "mobilises discomfort" strategically, using Jazmín's words, to sensitise the organisation and build a positive working environment that is expected to impact positively on people's job productivity. According to this logic, if LGBTI people did not feel comfortable in their work, it would imply a "tremendous waste of energy" in adapting themselves to hostile conditions, instead of using "that same energy in making the best of their working potential". In the end, the company would profit from diversity work as it ensures LGBTI workers' productivity and adaptation to a predominantly white cisheteronormative institutional culture. Moreover, what diversity work seems to be doing is producing management techniques aimed at pacifying differences (flores, 2013), geared towards avoiding potential conflicts that may arise from the organisation or LGBTI workers, and that would impact negatively on their performance (on the critiques of corporate diversity strategies, see Davis, 1996; Mohanty, 2003).

Although the strategy put forward by Jazmín might be for some the only and most effective way to reach and remove people's barriers, for others this might come at a high cost, especially if those leading the interventions are the embodied representatives of the discomfort of others. This is something I have personally experienced before as both a diversity professional and a participant in numerous workshops, talks and training sessions. For instance, the experience of feeling trapped between my desire to challenge institutional

LGBTI-phobia and my fear of being outed, attacked and called out for my views, the ways I talked, my gestures. I have the memory of having felt uneasy with the means through which some health professionals talked about our experiences, and my frustration with the *impunity* with which most of them pathologised our identities. It was easy for me to relate to those feelings in the voice of some of my interviewees. It was clear for them that they had been the source of discomfort in spaces where disagreement and conflict were not easily tolerated; where even "yelling" for their rights, dressing in certain ways and not feeling "grateful" for being invited to talk were characterised as signs of deviance or disturbance, as non-legitimate sources of knowledge. Following Ahmed (2014), discomfort thus operates as a "feeling of disorientation" and as "a sense of out-of-place-ness" that "involves an acute awareness of the surface of one's body" (p. 148), which becomes the container for other people's projections of their anxieties and insecurities—what they cannot easily digest and what therefore returns as aggression against those blamed for disturbing their comfort.

As regards those instances of discomfort and disruption, Leonor shared with me different anecdotes in which she has been made to believe that she is "the crazy one", a troublemaker and oversensitive professional, for calling out transphobia in the medical sector, and even among diversity professionals. The two of us attended the same medical symposium on trans* health that I referred to in Chapter 5. Weeks later, during our interview, Leonor went back to the event to explain why she thought some people in the health sector relate to her as a difficult person. While she was talking, she also recalled why she felt so uncomfortable during the symposium. She shared a scene from the event with me. Leonor was sitting in the front row at the end of one of the talks, waiting for the presentation of a well-known trans* activist and human rights advisor, who happens to be her friend and colleague. He was one of the last to present, which happens regularly with non-medical guest speakers and trans* people in particular, who are often invited to share their coming-out stories and testimonies of navigating the health system, not as experts or subjects of knowledge, but as "exemplification of the knowledge of others" (flores, 2013, p. 313), repeating one of the tropes that trans* and travesti activists and scholars have systematically criticised throughout their work (see for instance Latham, 2017; Radi, 2019b; Rizki, 2019). He started the talk by criticising the negative ways some previous speakers had referred to trans* experiences, a criticism none of the other speakers, who identified as gender-affirmative professionals, had made before in the Q&A session. Leonor remembered that his presence in the room was "uncomfortable. As I said, we are never peaceful", especially, she

then added, “with people who think they know the truth, doctors, you know? We show them that this is not what they think it is, and they don’t like feeling questioned”. The term peaceful is important here as it gives new meaning to diversity work by troubling what comfort means and for whom. She and the trans* speaker at the symposium refused to take on the emotional labour of producing comfort for others, to free them from the tension provoked by not knowing, by the very differences they aim to pacify and to master through descriptive clinical categories, dark statistics and assistance-based practices.

In a similar vein, Sebastián took up Jazmín’s initial insights that connected discomfort *vis-à-vis* the experience of learning, adding that for him, learning was also about challenging people’s comfort zones. To do so, he said, you need a more confrontational term, “you can’t do that with diversity”. For Sebastián, the potential for an identity to upset people and make them feel uneasy is worth exploring as a starting point for knowledge and political action. It is for that reason that he thinks, “you need to use a slightly stronger language like dissidence, to generate discomfort and to produce reflection, because if there is no discomfort, there is no reflection”, powerfully adding that “we can’t be at ease while people are still being killed… we can’t stay comfortable while people commit suicide”. Discomfort is, therefore, used productively to disrupt what would otherwise remain naturalised, that is, the violence against those whose lives do not count, whose stories and struggles resist being classified within a diversity framework or under the dark statistic figure of sensitisation work. This is because discomfort, contrary to the affective labour of sensitisation, aims to question people’s certainties without necessarily offering a straightforward answer. It refuses to fill with comfort what is anxiously demanded in the absence of certainties. The language of sexual dissidence, on the contrary, promises to do something different in this regard by enabling a kind of work that most of my interviewees described as more critical and transformative than diversity, as it takes difference-as-conflict into account and politicises what diversity fails to address as a replacement strategy. In other words, in its failure to prevent conflicts and disagreements from emerging. What did my interviewees mean by dissidence and what kind of politics does dissidence articulate within the psy disciplines?

6.7 The Promise of Sexual Dissidence

The terms sexual dissidence and dissidence have appeared in different moments throughout my three analytical chapters and were referred to in my interview materials in relation to the words political, radical, discomfort, critical and subversive. As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, however, the genealogies of sexual dissidence are different from those of sexual diversity within Chilean LGBTI politics (see Gómez Tapia, 2019; Rivas San Martín, 2011b), and as for the case of the psy disciplines, there is no single narrative to account for the means through which the term dissidence has made its way into them.[110]

This is important for at least two reasons. On the one hand, and with the exception of a few interviews, most of the references to sexual dissidence had no explicit connection with a particular genealogy or activist tradition. Although the figure of Pedro Lemebel, CUDS, and Hija de Perra[111], for example, were mentioned in some of my interviewees' accounts, the politico-cultural context of the critique they represent was somehow left out. Specifically missing was their questioning of some versions of the Chilean (homo)sexual politics of the post-dictatorship and their critique of the state as the privileged site for politico-activist action (see Rivas San Martín, 2010). On the other hand, and in reference to the work I discussed in Chapter 2, sexual dissidence exposes diversity's conflictual nature in its attempts to appease difference. Going back to the notion of the turn to diversity and its histories of conceptual departing and erasure, I ask after the political work that dissidence does to diversity in its relationship to time, suggesting that the discursive presence of dissidence in the interviewees' accounts can be thought of as a *returning* move to the ways conflicts in the spheres of sexuality and gender have been governed in post-dictatorship Chile. In that sense, I argue, dissidence appears as a site of inquiry into the socio-political aspects that shape diversity's psychic life.

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[110] Although I could not find any scholarly work to account for a history of the uses of sexual dissidence within Chilean psy disciplines, there is a rich critical tradition on the uses of psy knowledges to pathologise dissident sexualities and genders from a sexual dissident perspective. See, for instance, the work of CUDS' members (Cabello, 2011; Díaz, 2011, 2018), Juan Pablo Sutherland (2009), Hija de Perra (2015), and more recently the work of CERES (Centre for the Study of Social Research), particularly that of Débora Fernández, María Jesús Ibáñez Canelo and Helena Figueroa González (2021), among others.

[111] Dissident activist and performance artist, well known for her use of the grotesque, the monstrous and the abject to question Chilean racist heteropatriarchal foundation and trans* aesthetic representation more broadly. Her artistic name, *Hija de Perra*, translates literally to "daughter of a bitch".

Similarly to sexual diversity, sexual dissidence has its own language and aesthetics (see Díaz, 2011; Hija de Perra, 2015; Linett, 2020). Dissidence was constantly defined by my interviewees in contrast to diversity, either explicitly or implicitly, as that which diversity is not. "The language of dissidence", in Sebastián's words, "seeks to break with diversity's comfort", which for him and many others meant breaking with the comfort of cisheteronormativity, as it opens up possibilities for a reworking of the script that orientates diversity work in psy practices (see Ahmed, 2014). This is done, for example, by questioning the *asistencialista* logic that informs certain versions of counselling and LGBTI psychotherapy, and by critically examining the upper-class gay male bias that saturates the visual representation of diversity work within LGBTI activism. Pablo asserted that, unlike sexual diversity's assimilationist logic, sexual dissidence "aims to interrogate the social order" and not to accommodate to it, functioning more "as a disruptive measure that seeks to de-naturalise that order" by considering "the variables of segregation and exclusion" as points of departure for action. Others see in sexual dissidence a way to "oppose heteropatriarchy and normative sexualities" by "marking a difference" from the "we are all equal, but diverse" slogan of most mainstream LGBTI activist groups. "I am a dissident of what people tell me is the norm," Eva, a Valparaíso feminist psychologist said to me, "and I am also dissident of what they say diversity is because I can be different from diversity, you know? And this does not have to be classified as the new diversity either".

Dissidence works in these references as a location that signals both a set of practices and ways of inhabiting the discipline of psychology that is critical of its heterosexist, capitalist ideology. As discussed in my concepts chapter, dissidence exposes the failure of a matrix of intelligibility that rather essentialises the taxonomies of identity in which the sexual and gender diversity framework is rooted, interrogating heterosexuality as a non-identitarian power structure (Cabello, 2011; flores, 2013; Rivas San Martín, 2010). The "I am a dissident of" speech form in Eva's account is important, as it does not just show a refusal to make of dissidence a new identitarian formation, but also orientates individuals towards embracing a way of intervening that puts them in an antagonistic relationship to the norm. And this includes moving away both from the institutional and, most importantly, from attachments that privilege comfort for some at others' expense. If, as flores (2013) suggests, diversity signals "a zone of pacification of antagonisms" (p. 309), dissidence, on the contrary, amplifies antagonisms as a means of intervening in that zone. Dissidence contests the notion of equality and inclusion entrenched in the psy disciplines and mainstream LGBTI activism

that focus more on the ways we are *the same* than on how we are different, according to Pablo. In that respect, dissidence "marks a difference" in his words, by intervening in the discourse of we are *the same* through practices that remind us that "we are not all the same". Being non-heterosexual, trans* or non-binary are not the only differences that matter. Consequently, dissidence unmasks both the exclusionary and disequalising effects of the language of diversity, which reproduces instead of questioning existing class, gender, race and sexual hierarchies (see Fernández, 2009, 2016; Fernández & Siqueira Peres, 2013).

Dissidence's potential to upset people is what Sebastián likes about the term. Unlike diversity's positivity, he added, "I like something more political and that sounds harder, to make some noise in people". Faced with the question, "Who are you? Or why would you call yourself in such a way?", Sebastián replied that by calling yourself dissident, people are left perplexed, with an answer they cannot classify, "a term that makes them question" and that interrupts the certainties of the framework of intelligibility that makes non-normative sexualities and genders knowable objects for the cisheterosexual gaze. Dissidence's noisy and provocative nature partially explains its complex relationship with the state and the institutional. As discussed in Chapter 2 through the notion of 'State homosexuality', since its appearance on the activist scene, sexual dissidence has made the state one of its sites of political intervention, refusing to turn to it as a legitimate interlocutor for liberatory purposes. A refusal to be recognised and classified by the state is also at the heart of sexual dissidence activism and constitutes part of dissidence's genealogies in post-dictatorship Chile: the state has persecuted, pathologised and criminalised dissident sexualities and genders from the time of the dictatorship, through the democratic transition and up until today, making them ghostly through disappearance in the archive (e.g., official records of victims) or via practices of whitewashing as discussed in Chapter 4 (Alveal R. et al., 2019; Araya Cornejo, 2001; Hiner & Garrido, 2019; Rivas San Martín, 2011a).[112]

[112] Non-normative sexualities and genders were policed and regulated during the democratic transition via the still-in-force criminalisation of "affronts to decency" and the rhetoric of consensus, which held back public discussions on the subject to prevent conflicts from emerging (Araujo, 2005, 2011; Garrido, 2016; Rivas San Martín, 2011a). Police violence against dissident sexualities and genders has not stopped either, as seen in recent reports that provide evidence for human rights violations during 2019 October's social uprising, in which the most affected were those from poor neighbourhoods who troubled the dominant sexual and gender norms, and that *reaffirmed* their non-conformity during the forced detention, especially trans*, travestis and *camionas* (Chilean slang for butch lesbians, which translates literally as 'female lorry drivers') (Alveal R. et al., 2019).

A sexual-dissident politics thus lacks the plasticity that diversity seems to perform by entering political institutions and disciplinary spaces that dissidence cannot, or at least not without costs. Contrary to diversity's institutional appeal, those for whom dissidence is appealing are not the ones in positions of power, nor who have become somewhat institutionalised, that is, who feel at ease with how the institution works and treats non-normative sexualities and genders. This became clear during the interviews, as references to specific institutions, state representatives and practices such as municipal authorities, the health centre or the funding agents, alongside practices of memory and transmission such as the work with emotions in Galdys' account were made, either to justify the use of one term over the other or to illustrate the problems of pushing for a more radical agenda within their workplaces. As quoted earlier from Isabel, "If you go with dissidence, I'm not sure if they will buy you, but you can put it in later once you've sold it".

Isabel's view is echoed by Pablo's emphasis on sexual dissidence as a confrontational and non-buyable aesthetic, especially when it comes to negotiating with institutional spaces. Based on his experience, sexual dissidence's "methods and iconography" mimic and/or are inspired by "drag and trans* performances… porn-terrorist expressions and, I don't know, very genital performances" aimed at confronting people with explicit sexual content. "It is funny, it is great, and, for me, who am knowledgeable on the subject, I enjoy it very much", he said, but it could be shocking for people not used to talking about these issues openly, "like people close to power and from a traditional background". It is like "throwing that up in their faces; inadvertently rubbing the genitality in people's faces", something that conservative audiences "find it hard to digest". On the one hand, dissidence rebels against attempts to normalise and domesticate sexuality in the name of tradition, sensitivity or respectability, re-sexualising the discourse and aesthetics that produce non-normative sexualities and genders. The concept of sexual dissidence rejects the pursuit of a societal sameness that would make diverse others' inclusion dependent upon the erasure of those signs of difference that upset the comfort of the cisheterosexual gaze. On the other hand, the reference to digestive metaphors reminds us which forms of difference can be digested and which cannot be stomached, as discussed in Chapter 5 (see Ahmed, 2012). Non-digestible differences are not just sexual, class, race and gender based but also refer to conflicts, discomfort and antagonisms that arise from the intersection of these categories, which confirms Mercedes's impressions based on her experience in dissident and feminist activist spaces in Santiago. The preference for diversity or any other consensual terminology, in her

view, “ends up making conflicts invisible”, and despite the “need to think of conflict not as a bad thing, in practice—Mercedes added—people see it as something that divides and that ultimately becomes a bad thing”.

6.7.1 Diversity as the “Trojan Horse”

Reading the section above against the idea of diversity as a replacement strategy together with Sabsay’s (2011) suggestion of the return of the repressed, I suggest thinking of diversity as a compromise formation in the psychoanalytic sense (Laplanche & Pontalis, 1973), by which I mean a discursive formation aimed at conciliating conflicting ideas and affective attachments that follows the not-yet temporality of the repressed (see Sabsay, 2011). It is as if the use of diversity allows conflicts in the spheres of sexuality and gender—conflicts that cause division in some and discomfort in others—to be temporarily pacified and, in some way, stripped away, forgotten. Within this context, I suggest that the presence of the signifier dissidence in the political vocabulary of some of my interviewees seems to work as a defensive mechanism against the erasure of the histories of struggle over state violence and disciplinary forms of oppression that continue today.

The not-yet temporality of the repressed might help us here to connect the avoidance of conflict and discomfort that diversity seems to facilitate with the ways Chilean society and the psy disciplines, in particular, have dealt with LGBTI issues through time. It is against this background that I suggest that dissidence might be understood as interrupting the positivity of diversity in its forward-looking orientation to time, as it brings to the fore the history of struggles of sexual and gender minorities and their exclusion from the democratic project of the transition. Moreover, and building on sexual-dissident critique, dissidence resists the arrival of diversity in LGBTI activism by contesting the pursuit of consensus over conflict, which, I would argue, link diversity back to one of its origins as a post-dictatorship formation—that is, as a means for appeasing and managing difference (Rivas San Martín, 2011a). When used in the clinic and in the day-to-day life of psy professionals, dissidence appeared through the way diversity professionals negotiate their politics within the institution and their ambivalent attachments to diversity. It also brought to my attention, through the listening of my interviewees’ narratives, the histories of struggles that have been denied, replaced or disappeared with the arrival of diversity, which have made themselves visible through affects of discomfort. Somehow, its inescapable presence—and the necessary failure

of the strategies aimed at eradicating its discomforting presence—say something about the workings of a different mechanism that functions similarly to the return of the repressed. Paraphrasing Freud and Joseph Breuer's initial theory of the traumatic, I suggest thinking about discomfort and sexual dissidence as "a foreign body which long after its entry must continue to be regarded as an agent that is still at work" (1955, p. 6). In other words, what seems to be at play here is a way of thinking about the workings of sexual dissidence as a politics of entering that is different from diversity, whereby its unsettling effects are as important as its capacity to enter into and somehow remain in the place. As a body foreign to institutional spaces and to those who do not want to know about conflicts, sexual dissidence remains an uncomfortable and ghostly presence.

Carmen, for instance, described the work that dissidence does as tense and complicated. This is not due to the term itself, although she is not fully aware of its meaning and history, but due to the context in which her academic work takes place. "I think that if we just go with dissidence, it would be too hasty… it would close many doors for us; they would look upon us with much suspicion", pointing to the scientific community of researchers with whom she works, but also to standards of legitimacy regarding what counts as evidence in scholarship on LGBTI issues. The difficulty comes with what she called the "need to categorise", which for her is an "unfortunate" but necessary practice in a research environment that prioritises quantitative methods and evidence-based projects. Diversity, in this context, appears as the category that Carmen and her colleagues cannot dispense with because it somehow enables and transfers the credibility needed to get through institutional resistances. Dissidence "has a different political component", which echoes some of my interviewees' assertions about dissidence's political appeal and the apparently widespread agreement on diversity's lack of political power. In fact, Carmen added that "using sexual and gender diversity is more, in quotes, neutral", although she attached to those terms—and to the ones who use them—some political value. "You can see here, [in the terms], something like a [commitment] to LGBTI people's right to exist, to non-violence and non-discrimination", a commitment to "ensuring respect of their human rights".

What makes diversity more neutral is dissidence's "radical" way of fighting for those political aims, which Carmen characterised as "a little more of a shock, antagonistic" kind of politics, "more linked to activism, which does not necessarily, and I'm thinking aloud, exclude scientific research". In a way, she did acknowledge that their research work is

political and not neutral; it is a form of "academic activism", she added, which allows them to differentiate from other kinds of political practice, in this case, the "antagonistic" activism that belongs elsewhere, not there in their traditional research spaces, echoing Débora's words in Chapter 4 about the location of debates around the DSM and the dictatorship in psychology. As in Débora's, "they were outside, in culture, on the streets and in politics". Those kinds of "political activism", Carmen further recalled, "are located in other contexts; here, the form of validation and visibility [we push for] respond to the demand, in quotes, for 'scientific rigour'". This resonates implicitly with Pablo's words around the problems of sexual dissidence's methods and iconographies. In short, its confrontational discourse and aesthetic appear to be in conflict with specific ways of doing research within academic spaces. In those contexts, research on LGBTI issues seems to follow a double script: one of scientific rigour, on one hand, and another that puts them close to and in dialogue with LGBTI activism, on the other. Diversity is the term that bridges the gap between these two languages, as it conciliates "the need to categorise" with a politics of visibility, non-discrimination and respect for human rights that is perceived as not too radical.

The question now arises as to which demands and struggles remain outside the limits set up by this tolerable version of politics. Which knowledges and practices will not find their way and will thus be labelled as not rigorous enough? Which understandings of politics can emerge from this way of doing diversity and dissidence work, and research on LGBTI wellbeing in particular? Diversity, Carmen continued, "goes unnoticed, like a Trojan horse… dissidence would be without a Trojan horse, like going all in". This image is a compelling one as it frames the diversity-dissidence discussion within references to war and conflict, negotiating tactics and trickery. If sexual diversity is imagined as a Trojan horse, the underlying assumption is that what comes with the term is potentially confrontational and may cause alarm. Hence the only way for it to get into specific spaces is via a friendly *façade*, hiding what others may perceive as threatening, echoing Isabel's assertion: once securing an entry, "we [can] talk as we wish". Despite previous associations with softness and comforting feelings, sexual diversity here appears always to be under suspicion, at least in the field of scientific research. This suspicion opens up some space in which to think about its politics beyond the mere management of difference-as-conflict. And this would imply recognising the presence of dissidence within diversity, whether in the form of gestures or as instances such as the ones I described earlier when exploring ambivalence. Such ambivalence bears witness

to the inescapable presence of discomfort and its marks across time, especially in institutional contexts where a Trojan horse is needed to put the terms that matter to us into work.

6.8 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have sought to highlight the "grammatical ambivalence" (Parrini, 2018, p. 71) present in the ways sexual and gender diversity were taken up by psy professionals in their efforts to include gender and sexual others into their disciplinary body. By closely listening to my interviewees' uses of the term diversity, I have challenged traditional readings of the problems at stake in diversity work that go beyond producing a critique for or against it, asking, instead, about the affective and political work enabled by those uses across different institutional settings. In doing so, I have suggested engaging with diversity as having both a discursive and aesthetic dimension, which replicate the ways Chilean society is organised according to hierarchies of class, race, gender and sexuality. Inquiring into the uses of diversity allowed me to access other concepts, such as sexual dissidence, which made conflict and discomfort visible as sites of interrogation into the transformative potential of such terms to bring about structural change. While the language of dissidence challenged diversity's attempts to pacify difference, it also showed the limits of dissidence's political appeal when it comes to enacting critical disciplinary work from within institutional spaces.

Feelings of ambivalence that shaped my interviewees' encounters with diversity speak to diversity's function as a compromise formation, as it offers an attempted solution to the tensions in the production of difference-as-conflict. Furthermore, it speaks to the psychic life of conflict in its entangled temporalities and the histories of struggles attached to the inclusion of diverse sexual others, both in social and in psy discipline spaces. As an effect of diversity's depoliticising tendency and its management approach to conflicts, what would otherwise be addressed as a political matter ends up producing its own failures and exclusionary effects: that which exceeds the limits of cisheteronormativity and its taxonomical, victimising ethos. Examples of this in the chapter were analysed through the figure of *asistencialista* practices, the (+) sign in the LGBTI acronym, the yelling travesti, the removal of the word sexuality from diversity work, and the exclusion of those who trouble

the racist, classist and heteronormative epistemes that produce what is seen as acceptable, tolerable and worthy of respect (see Butler, 1993). As for the last point, I have suggested engaging with diversity as a mechanism of concealment that enables the disarticulation of the intersecting nature of the differences that organise social life. In that regard, diversity produces an ordering of styles, relationships and practices that are supposed to be purely aesthetic, divorced from its class and race connotations. And this, as I have argued, relates with the operations of displacement and erasure of race and racism that have informed the notion of the turn to diversity I have conceptualised in this thesis.

The repetition of the words conflict, discomfort and politics in my interview encounters as a means of signalling what diversity lacks, resonates with broader socio-political contexts that find their equivalence in the psychic mechanisms that organise my interviewees' discursive positions. My argument here was that the repetition of these terms, which can also be found in critical scholarship on diversity, has had a concrete form of articulation in Chile. Indeed, they have also been iterated by sexual dissidents' critical work on the means through which sexual and gender others have been incorporated in the country's progress narrative regarding LGBTI rights. Dissidence, I have argued, exposes diversity's ambivalent nature in its attempts to neutralise difference in a way that resembles how conflicts in the sphere of sexuality and gender have been managed, displaced and made disappeared in post-dictatorship Chile.

Without necessarily inscribing their critical views in the same genealogies of sexual-dissident activism, part of this tradition has appeared in my interviewees' voices through the workings of what I described as the presence of dissidence within diversity. Following the analytical threads I have put forward across my thesis, I suggest engaging with dissidence as interrupting the pervasiveness of a consensus rhetoric within both the psy disciplines and diversity work. Paraphrasing Richard (2004), dissidence might intervene here by interrupting the continuity of a consensus mentality aimed at appeasing antagonisms and "forcing diversity to become noncontradictory" (p. 16). What this chapter has shown, nonetheless, is that contradiction is constitutive of diversity as it is predominantly experienced through its ambivalent attachments. Rather than searching for a solution, I have suggested using these affective registers as paths to explore the traces of the history of struggles and contradictions that inhabit the present conditions of the psy disciplines, and that escape their forgetting.

Chapter 7

Conclusion:
In-Between Turning and Returning

While I am in the process of writing this chapter, Chilean people, and those like me who live abroad, are preparing for the first round of the presidential election on 21 November. Since the 2018 feminist May and the 2019 October social uprising, a significant part of the country *has woken up*,[113] new social actors have entered politics, and the drafting of a new Constitution has renewed hope in the need to implement structural changes that could end, once for all, the last vestiges of Pinochet's dictatorship. Nevertheless, the stakes of this election are high. The risks associated with a possible rollback of existing social protections and democratic freedoms haunts the electoral process, especially now that a far-right candidate has gained popularity in the polls.

In the middle of the presidential campaign, the press revealed that two government deputies—one of them from the political party of the far-right presidential candidate—presented an order to the University of Chile and Santiago in July this year, to report on all activities related to the teaching of gender, in addition to the names of those who teach such subjects and the budget for the funding of those courses. By appealing to an alleged constitutional power, they ordered the authorities of the universities to

> report how many centres, courses, programmes and lesson plans refer to issues related to gender studies, *gender ideology*, gender perspective, sexual diversity and feminism, detailing their main characteristics and singling out the professional personnel or teaching staff who are responsible for them (Vicerrectoría de Extensión y Comunicaciones, 2021, para. 1, emphasis added).

[113] *Chile despertó* ("Chile has woken up") was one of the main slogans of October's social uprising.

In parallel to this order given to the universities, the congressmen sent a similar request to the Ministry of Health and Finance to report on the state funding allocation to gender identity and sexual diversity health programmes. Not satisfied with this, they targeted the trans* organisation OTD,[114] asking whether they receive state funds and, if so, to report on what purpose these resources are transferred for and how they are used—particularly, if any state aid has been used to finance the *TRANSFEST* cultural festival aimed at celebrating the human rights of trans* people, the first of its kind in Chile. Furthermore, they ordered the Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage to inform on the state resources allocated annually to the Museum of Memory and Human Rights, which has been the target of multiple accusations, especially concerning the museum's ways of narrating the events that led to the 1973 coup d'état and Pinochet's dictatorship. That gender studies, sexual diversity, feminism, human rights and memory have appeared discursively associated as subjects of concern reflects some of the threads I have explored in this thesis, which has shown how different forms of diversity work have been used by some of the participants as a means to resist forgetting. If the turn to diversity tells a story of conceptual departure, erasure and disappearance, as I have argued, then some forms of diversity work act as enablers for those histories to survive and be transmitted—and for some, that can be worrying and experienced as a threat.

In relation to the gender-identity health programmes, the deputies asked about the reasons behind asking for treatment, the total amount of resources allocated and the identities of the recipients. The health services in question were those of hormone replacement therapies and surgical procedures such as mastectomies, metoidioplasties, hysterectomies, oophorectomies and orchiectomies (La Voz de los que Sobran, 2021). Despite the deputies knowing that these actions were controversial and that they might fall outside the scope of their legislative powers, the whole performance was set to send a message, a threat. This is how those who were targeted read and reacted to the request. Their responses anticipated what might happen in the country given the similarities with events that have been taking place globally concerning the persecution and criminalisation of gender scholars, feminist, trans*, travesti and human rights activists (see Butler, 2021; Corrêa, 2017; Graff & Korolczuk, 2021; Pető, 2018). Besides challenging the framing of 'gender ideology', the authorities of one of the targeted universities (2021) treated these actions as "a kind of inquisition" (para. 3) and a "form of censorship, violation of academic freedom and

[114] OTD is a transfeminist organisation based in Santiago. The acronym OTD stands for *Organizando Trans Diversidades* (Organising Trans Diversities).

restriction on full university autonomy" (para. 6). The Gender and Sexualities Commission of the Chilean College of Psychologists (2021) joined the responses by adding that the mandate "violates the right to privacy and the due protection of people's health information" (para. 3). A representative from OTD (2021) described the requirement as "the most serious persecution that a public authority has made against the trans population" (para. 7), adding that it was a targeted harassment aimed at "criminalising" and persecuting "those of us who fight for the trans community and for sexual-gendered diversities and dissidences" (para. 9). At a critical time where trans* health programmes and the overall access to trans*-affirmative care has been particularly affected by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, these attacks are particularly worrying (see Equipo OTD, 2021). The message is clear: faced with a possible far-right government, the fate of trans* affirmative care, sexual diversity programmes and the teaching of gender studies is unclear; they might lose the little state support they have, making their status even more precarious.

As I have shown across my three empirical chapters, diversity knowledges already had a "minority residence" (p. 222) in the academy (to paraphrase Parrini [2011]), and the same can be said for trans* and sexual diversity health services within the public health system. The precarious conditions under which many of the organisations, research projects and working environments I have referred to find themselves attest to the fact that these attacks have a history, one that has taught most of my participants valuable lessons and that has been transmitted across generations of diversity professionals. What seems to operate differently now, in the face of this *kind of inquisition*, is that the requirement demands access to the names and recipients of those involved in providing the teaching and care of the sexually and gender-diverse population. The fear of a reversal of ongoing democratic processes that characterised the 1990s and 2000s, to which I referred in Chapter 4, seems to be working again in the current political scenario. This time, however, sexual diversity is listed as one of the *contentious* subjects that need to be reported and monitored, and as such it appears publicly as a potentially conflictive presence. The fact that sexual diversity can trigger such authoritarian responses from far-right politicians teaches us something about diversity that speaks about its conflictual and ambivalent nature: diversity can be both a mechanism of concealment that equalises difference and a practice productive of discomfort that can work as a *Trojan horse*, as shown in Chapter 6. As this thesis has suggested, it is in that place where conflicts emerge and are exposed, concealed or displaced, that the workings

of diversity and its politics are to be found. And it is in that place, as I have argued, in the comings and goings of conflicts, where diversity also acquired a psychic life.

Taken together, this thesis has aimed to explore how sexual and gender diversity—as a concept, a framing strategy, a discursive practice or stylistic marker—has been taken up by psy professionals working with LGBTI people, asking how the ambivalences and achievements linked to the uses of diversity are expressive of broader psychosocial processes. In this concluding chapter, I draw together the different threads of analysis that derive from the key findings of my thesis in dialogue with my research questions, which I restate here in a slightly shorter way since they organise the recounting of the study's principal findings:

1. *What work does the idea of the turn do in relation to the ways the Chilean psy disciplines have taken up the concept of sexual and gender diversity? What happens to diversity in its encounters with sexuality and gender, and what discourses and affective attachments are enabled by these encounters?*
2. *What kinds of practices have emerged from those discourses and affective attachments?*
3. *How has the idea of the turn to diversity contributed to articulating a field of work and research in diversity, and through what means has this knowledge been transmitted?*
4. *In what ways are the narratives and discourses around diversity expressive of broader socio-political struggles?*

The following sections address these questions in relation to the notion of the field and the temporalities and affective appeal of diversity, the workings of the turn and its returnings, as well as the hauntings of race and the post-dictatorship; the chapter discusses the contributions and implications of my observations for the struggles against pathologisation and state violence and suggests possible venues for further research.

7.1 Reimagining the Field of Sexual and Gender Diversity and Resisting Progress

This study is organised around an investigation into the turn to sexual and gender diversity in the psy disciplines, a study that critically interrogated the notion of the turn in its temporal, affective and political imaginaries: by asserting that a *turn* has happened, I argued in Chapter 2, the circumstances, words and histories that were *there* and came before the turn are assumed to be overcome and fixed in their shortcomings and alleged potential risks. Within this logic, diversity's arrival has also been linked to a particular temporality, that of progress. In showing this link and exposing its workings, this research placed time and temporality as sites of inquiry into the normativities at work in presenting sexual and gender diversity as a corrective to decades-long experiences of pathologisation, epistemic and state violence that are usually framed as belonging to the past. Thereby, as argued across my empirical chapters, the notion of progress attached to diversity performs a narrative function by keeping the idea of progress unchallenged and retaining the times of diversity aligned with the temporalities of the socio-legal, exemplified in various moments of the thesis through the image of Chile as an alleged progressive country. And this, as I learnt from one of the interviewees, has had a misleading effect because it has prevented attention being paid to the different forms of violence that still impact gender non-conforming and sexual-dissident people.

Following from the above, in Chapter 4, I critically examined diversity's temporal politics and investments in progress, which, as I showed, were linked to how some of my interviewees imagined the field and knowledge production on diversity issues, in addition to how the country has moved forward in matters related to LGBTI rights. Progress, I argued, has also worked as a boundary-making strategy for the constitution of the field of sexual and gender diversity. From this perspective, I showed that most of the developments that have taken place in the psy disciplines have pursued an "agenda effect" (Valdés & Guajardo, 2007, p. 15) that has gone in tandem with the progress made in LGBTI rights and the *wave* of recent social mobilisations. Taking its distance from the way in which the formation of the field has been traditionally conceived in the literature, this thesis suggested new modes of questioning and listening to what constitutes the field of sexual and gender diversity, ones that challenged the official historiography of research areas already formed, such as that of LGBTI psychology, interrogating mainstream narratives that insist on imagining the field as spatially located in the university and the capital. In doing so, in Chapter 4 I challenged the

centralist discourse that shapes knowledge production in Chile, arguing for a shift in the locus of inquiry in these matters: from a focus on the lack or absence of diversity knowledges in the university curricula to accounts that incorporate other crucial elements, such as those that look at the role of affects, the stories practitioners told about their encounters with diversity and feminism, the importance of considering the territorial specificities when doing research on the subject, and processes of knowledge transmission across generational lines that occur in community-based interventions, support groups, training sessions and activist spaces.

Discussions around the notion of the field have also been mainly focused on what has been produced intellectually within the borders of disciplinary knowledges. Questions such as what counts as knowledge or does not, what is properly psychological about that knowledge and what, on the contrary, belongs to the realm of activism, were referred to by my interviewees as informing specific practices of gatekeeping, such as the space of supervision in the clinic, the evaluation of dissertation projects and the teaching of feminist issues on psychology courses. By using the expression *pruebas de blancura* (whiteness tests), which I borrowed from one of the participants, in Chapters 4 and 5 I showed how the construction of epistemic boundaries also applies to both sides: as a means of controlling what passes as psychological knowledge in diversity work, and as a means of ensuring that those interested in working with LGBTI people are critical of psychology's pathologising, cisheteronormative and *asistencialista* (assistance-based) ideological grounds. In that sense, events like the symposium on trans* health and the uses of pedagogical resources for explaining diversity, such as the genderbread person, were also analysed as instances of boundary-work that contribute to define the field. As such, these spaces and practices that are usually not considered as factors that also configure what we know about sexual and gender diversity within the psy disciplines were addressed in their structuring capacities and included in my interrogation of the field. Although it is still important to continue exploring what is available in terms of scholarly literature and activist production on diversity issues, this thesis brought forth instead the need to draw attention to what is happening in the field and in the territories outside Santiago and learn from them, as my inquiry has shown.

The importance of affects as an analytical path into the workings of diversity was another crucial finding. For example, anger and distrust were repeatedly expressed in the interview encounters, appearing as structuring elements in the participants' narratives about the field and as drives that mobilised a desire to know otherwise, one that has been

foundational in their stories of coming to sexual and gender diversity. Following this, I argued that the emotional labour involved in creating boundaries to enable different ways of being and practising diversity within the psy disciplines has been also productive of another mobilising force, that of reparation. Taking a cue from Ahmed's (2012) notion of diversity "as a form of repair" (p. 164), in Chapters 2, 4 and 5 I argued that one of the ways in which the psy disciplines have taken up sexual and gender diversity is by hoping that the term will bring about change in how disciplinary knowledges approach LGBTI issues, particularly trans* health. However, a demand for reparation appeared in various moments in my interview encounters in the form of an institutional *mea culpa* to signal that these hopes and expectations have not arrived yet. It is the insistence and refusal to forget what has been done to diverse bodies and subjectivities that are also at work in the uses of reparation by some of the participants. And, as I suggested in Chapter 4, the latter operates as a form of resistance against the hegemony of the temporality of progress that diversity advances in its forward-looking orientation to time.

Affects also played an important role in informing different practices of knowing in diversity work. My thesis underscored the political work that affects do in the act of knowing the *diverse other*. It did so by showing how the subject of diversity was produced in training sessions as a sensitive and anxiety-driven object of inquiry, which, I argued, triggered a particular response aimed at explaining the other through what I called the anxiety to know. However, what counts as sensitive, triggering or anxious content was not evenly distributed in the interview materials and the events I had the chance to observe. Based on my participation in different seminars, talks and workshops, I noted that sensitivity and anxiety stick to trans* and non-binary people in ways that non-normative sexualities do not. This, I argued, was expressive of how the psy disciplines and diversity work more broadly are addressing the question of diversity today. Additionally, it was also demonstrative of the place that gender diversity has in current socio-cultural discussions, which are productive of specific anxious responses and forms of gender panic.

Despite the greater visibility that trans* issues have had in recent years and the opportunities that this *new* ordering of the visual has brought in terms of knowledge production on gender diversity, my thesis warned us about the risks involved in translating this possibility into a call to produce *more* knowledge about *lo trans**. Against this background, in Chapter 5 I contended that these practices are also expressive of the

functioning of new forms of pathologisation and regulation that shape the ways the psy disciplines approach LGBTI issues, particularly trans* and non-binary genders, regardless of the disciplines' efforts to come to terms with their pathologising history, which is still a haunting presence. In that sense, I demonstrated that the need to know the other that is central to some versions of the cultural competence model ends up constructing diversity as a still inexplicable *cultural* difference. In that schema, which I analysed through what flores (2013) described as the orders of explanation, sexual and gender diversity were also produced as discrete categories to be known and included in a system of representation that refuses to question its own ideological foundations. Not only that, since in addition to the refusal to question the mechanisms of categorical capture that organise part of diversity work, I showed that the sensitivities, discomfort and gender anxieties of psy professionals, alongside psychology's myopias towards race and other forms of intersectional inequalities, are also rarely questioned and exposed for critical scrutiny. Quite the contrary, these are actively protected, displaced or projected onto the *diverse others*, as if these anxieties or myopias did not exist or did not contribute to perpetuating the very problems that diversity work tries to tackle. Further, I contended, these affective mechanisms and structures of thinking not only remain intact and out of critical scope; they are also bolstered and re-centred as organising principles of the pedagogy of diversity in the psy disciplines.

7.2 Histories of Concealments, Ambivalences and Hauntings

As I argued in Chapters 2 and 3, one of the aims animating this thesis was to propose a conceptual and methodological path into the workings of the turn to diversity that allowed me to account for, and enabled access to, diversity's psychic life. The point of departure for this inquiry has been the conviction that taking an 'either/or' approach or a 'for or against' critique to assess the harms, opportunities or capacities of the language of diversity would not tell the complete story of its multiple and complex lives. Indeed, as anticipated in Chapter 1, by examining diversity's conflictual nature, my thesis has contributed to shedding light on what otherwise would remain concealed and out of sight by focusing exclusively on the critiques or the celebratory rhetoric with which the turn to diversity, and the alleged progress introduced by its arrival, is usually embraced. In doing so, I have developed a mode of interrogation that asks after the work that diversity does rather than what it is or is not. This

methodological orientation enabled access to different kinds of knowledges and ways of dealing with difference, which in turn informed specific practices of knowing the *diverse other* that sometimes went against diversity's non-pathologising and conciliatory promise, as I previously discussed. In that sense, as I have shown, what diversity is and does is a question that is both theoretical and empirical in scope, which cannot be responded to by looking at the concept only. And this, I contend, makes a significant contribution to existing bodies of literature and research initiatives that look at diversity from a critical angle by signalling the need to explore its narrative and discursive workings empirically, attending to both the concept's conditions of possibility and people's ambivalent attachments towards its uses in different institutional settings.

Against this backdrop, and informed by feminist and queer theorisations, as well as critical race studies and postcolonial theory, I argued that to understand better the psychic and political work that the turn does we need to situate diversity "as part of a conceptual legacy" (Lentin & Titley, 2008, p. 15) and a broader history of arrivals and departures (Ahmed, 2012). In this genealogy, the turn to diversity has been theorised as a *replacement concept* to that of race and anti-racist struggles in the shaping of the post-dictatorship nation-building project. Therefore, and this was my contention, a research project committed to interrogating diversity critically, either in its analytical or descriptive capacities, must engage with these histories and read them as informing what we know about the concept in the present. From this position, which was the starting point I undertook in crafting my conceptual and methodological framework, diversity manifested its ideological function as a regulative and normalising practice, whose politics is one of erasure, disappearance and concealment.

By looking at diversity's conditions of emergence first, I interrogated the epistemic and political status of diversity as a *given*, devoid of history and disputes. As reflected in Chapter 3, I also experienced this feeling of emptiness and, to some extent, banality while I was in the field whenever I asked the participants to talk about the meanings of diversity and its uses in their workplaces: in a sense, what I found in the literature had an empirical correlation that posed crucial challenges for me as a researcher in my efforts to make the participants speak about diversity without sharing my own ways of framing the problem. In some cases, it seemed that the participants could not say much about it beyond a binary analytic logic that placed them for or against the term and its politics. For a few, instead, the problem was that they were not aware of diversity's conceptual history or that it was the term

circulating in their workplaces before even having a chance to come up with their own alternative vocabularies or framing strategies, as one of my interviewees mentioned to me. And even for some, there were no other options either as sexual and gender diversity was the term that facilitated an entering to institutions, research grants, state funding and health facilities that would not necessary be available if the term chosen was, for instance, sexual dissidence or feminism. Therefore, rather than confirming my own assumptions and apprehensions, or those that have been already documented in the literature, this thesis demonstrated the analytic productivity of prioritising those moments of uncertainty, uneasiness and sense of inevitability that emerged from the uses of diversity as sites of interrogation into its workings.

Moreover, these registers spoke about another critical dimension that pointed to diversity's conflictual status: its ambivalent nature. Ambivalence proved to provide a solid conceptual tool to address diversity professionals' contradictory attachments towards sexual and gender diversity, particularly in relation to how they have dealt with experiences of (dis)comfort and the negativity of their affective life that arises from their encounters with the concepts of diversity and sexual dissidence, and the institutions where they worked. Even though ambivalence, in both its conceptual and empirical potential, acquired greater relevance in the analytic process, it was already embedded in my theoretical scaffolding, particularly in my formulation of the psychic life of diversity. Ambivalence, in its psychosocial function, offered a way of interpreting the material that highlighted the contradictions that inhabit the concepts and frameworks we use to make sense of the things we see and listen to in the field. Affects of ambivalence have their own *grammar*, in the words of Parrini (2018), as they are also productive of different subject positions that were expressive of the impossibilities of occupying one affective state or political positioning over the other (see Hemmings, 2011)—for instance, the impossibilities of deciding between being perceived as radical and politically progressive by their peers and me as a researcher, or conservatives and heteronormative in their politics and aesthetics according to the dominant system of seeing I described in Chapter 6. All these elements, which revealed crucial dimensions of sexual and gender diversity that are underexplored in specialised literature on the subject, expand the scope of what we know about diversity and the institutions and disciplines that have taken it up. Ambivalence also offers a research path for the analysis of the strategies of resistance to the cisheteronorm and pathologising power that are commonly advanced by discourses of diversity and dissidence within the psy disciplines, which are

commonly thought of as replacement strategies meant for solving the discomfort produced by ambivalent affects. Instead of rushing to put an end to discomforting feelings, my thesis contributed to showing how in those very moments diversity reveals its conflictual nature, which is usually left out of the analysis. This is not only due to specific conceptual or methodological choices but is sometimes owing, I would argue, to our ambivalences as researchers, which are not always explored as such nor used in their analytical capacity as informing our ways of seeing and interpreting the material.

An attentiveness to questions of location, positionality and reflexivity was also a crucial methodological orientation that I used throughout the analysis and the writing of the chapters as a means of accounting for the decisions I made and the perspectives I chose to see and listen to in the research materials. These were also helpful mechanisms for accounting for the ghostly elements of my fieldwork experience, which I then used as *evidence* of the psychosocial processes at work in some of the analytic threads I followed across my empirical chapters. Gordon (2008) reflects on similar issues when thinking about the notion of the field and the hauntings surrounding some of the stories she traced in her *Ghostly Matters* research. She asks, "in what fields does fieldwork occur?" (p. 41), particularly as she was trying to identify hauntings and ghosts, which she acknowledges are somewhat unusual objects of inquiry for a social scientist. "To study social life one must confront the ghostly aspects of it" (p. 7), she adds, which poses relevant questions for the ways we know and produce knowledge about and with our research subjects. My thesis took Gordon's invitation and produced its own answers; most of them were partial and exploratory in nature but together they contributed to addressing the ghostly aspects of research, which in my project translated into a quest for the hauntings that inhabit the psy disciplines in their troubling relationship with conflict and the recent history of Chile.

As I hinted in my reflexive account on the locations in which my fieldwork took place, I was not aware of the ghostly dimension of my research until I came back from my fieldwork and started listening to the interviews, re-reading my notes, and remembering what happened. This realisation was essential: it is not until you go back to the materials, at a second or third moment, that you become sensitive to the workings of these elements and how they inform your reading practices. Looking backwards, I realised that there was something in the material and in my memory of how things unfolded during the six months I stayed in Chile that kept bothering me. There was something in the ways my interviewees

talked about diversity that alluded to something else, *another scene*, not necessarily connected with the *here and the now* of the interview encounter. Through my field notes, I was also able to recognise this other scene in the ways many of the events I attended spoke about and dealt with the question of diversity and its companion term dissidence, which seemed to represent two different temporalities and affective modalities, as I thoroughly reflected on in Chapters 3, 4 and 6. I now know, though partially, what that uneasiness was about. It was through the figure of the ghost that this feeling acquired a life, which I tried to listen to by following the traces it has left in the recent history of Chile, particularly that of the post-dictatorship. If "the way of the ghost is haunting", according to Gordon (2008), haunting is then "a very particular way of knowing what has happened or is happening" (p. 8). And this, far from being just a methodological contribution to the study of hauntings, is also a solid conceptual framework for delving into the psychosocial mechanisms at work in my inquiry into the psychic life of diversity.

As suggested earlier, research initiatives aimed at interrogating the turn to diversity in its temporal dimension need also to question the movement metaphor implicit in the verb 'turning'. The mechanisms of displacement, erasure and concealment that characterise the notion of the turn that I put forward in this thesis trouble its temporal imaginaries and the boundaries between the psychic and the social that shape these processes, as if they were separate spheres. I used these mechanisms to name the different modalities of dealing with conflict that informed diversity work, which were expressive of dynamics that took place simultaneously at the individual and social level, as expressing an individual desire to seek consensus on alleged contentious issues and a social impulse to stay *on the top of the wave*, which, I argued, coexisted with forces that pushed back and resisted the desire to move forward. Thus, my methodological and conceptual framework contributed not only to make these moves in their contradictions and mismatching visible. Most importantly, they showed how the notion of the turn is also expressive of a continuity, "a *return* to something that was present before" and that continues haunting today (Roseneil & Frosh, 2012, p. 6, emphasis in original).

7.3 The (Non)Place of Race and the Post-Dictatorship in Diversity Work

In my concepts chapter, I examined the historical, epistemic and social circumstances that made it possible for diversity to arrive and have a life of its own as a concept and a socio-political category for the analysis and description of difference. In the account I outlined in Chapter 2, I suggested that one of the features that were specific to the turn to diversity was that the circumstances of its arrival were associated with the departure of certain political vocabularies such as race, racism and social justice (Ahmed & Swan, 2006). Thus, in this story diversity emerged as a replacement concept, one that carries the symbolic burden of the histories of the terms and struggles that have been made ghostly alongside its arrival.

By tracing diversity's historical legacies and by following it around in its discursive and narrative forms, I showed how the erasure of race at work in most multicultural and cultural diversity discourses has been passed on and shaped contemporary uses of sexual and gender diversity in Chile, permeating disciplinary knowledges and the training of diversity professionals. In the sphere of practices, most of the forms of diversity work I observed and analysed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 did not include race and other markers of difference aside from sexuality and gender, and, to a minor degree, class, which appeared mainly as a descriptor of peoples' socio-economic background, and as one of the categories that shaped diversity's aesthetic dimension, particularly in its stylistic mode of expression. Along these lines, I asserted that the diversity training space, the cultural competence model, the gender-meter activity, and specific reading practices associated with diversity's aesthetic appeal exposed diversity's complicity with forms of racial erasure and displacement that spoke about the whiteness of Chilean professional careers, and diversity work's troubling relationship with race and racism.

Through specific modalities of seeing and the forms of silence, hypervisibility and objectification of racialised bodies that were analysed in Chapters 5 and 6, I contended that a "gesture of ghettoization", to borrow from Lewis (2013, p. 887), was enacted and staged in some of the events I observed, contributing to keeping race and racism out of the conversations about sexual and gender diversity. Further, I noted in Chapter 6 that diversity works by concealing the trouble of race in its intersections with sexuality, gender and class, producing an ordering of styles, practices and ways of being where race seems to have no relationship with the very problems that diversity aims to address, namely

cisheteronormativity, discrimination and disciplinary violence. In that sense, I showed how the *diverse other* is equalised and depoliticised in its class and racial difference under the umbrella term diversity, making them all look alike, as if the only differences that matter were that of gender and sexuality.

As I suggested in different moments of the thesis, the silences around race and racism are not contingent on the professionals I interviewed nor the research design—although I did contribute to those silences by not asking for their presence in my interview encounters. These findings, however, were also expressive of a parallel analytic thread that traverses this thesis and that points to the workings of the turn to diversity in its psychosocial dimension. In this vein, I argued that what has passed on through the histories of disappearance and erasure that are typical of the diversity turn, such as the replacement of race and racism, have acquired a haunting presence that responds to specific forms of the historical disavowal of race in Chile, making it felt and noticed in various ways across my empirical chapters—for example, through invocations to the figure of the dark statistic and transgressions to normative ways of seeing *those you can easily tell*, or through more explicit means like the racialised banners of the gender-meter activity. Race, I argued, worked as a phantom-word in Patricia Williams's (1991) terms: as long as it is never used, "as long as [racism is] done with a smile, a handshake and a shrug" (p. 49), it will continue working as a seeming absence, producing forms of disciplinary myopia and exclusion that are yet to be recognised and named for what they are.

In response to one of my research questions on the place of the socio-political in my inquiry into the diversity turn, my empirical chapters showed how some of the problems and contestations I analysed around the uses of diversity were also expressive of broader socio-political struggles and psychosocial processes, which are not limited only to those exclusive to the psy disciplines in their pathologising and individualising ideological tenets. Using a psychosocial framework and building on feminist and sexual-dissident critiques, I argued that the mechanisms of erasure, concealment and displacement also do particular work in Chile that differentiates it from the trajectories and theorisations that have been made about diversity in other contexts and critical scholarship. In this respect, and in dialogue with some of the conclusions presented in Chapters 4 and 6, I suggested conceptualising diversity as an alternative signifier to the political vocabularies of *sexual minorities* and *sexual dissidence* that have marked part of the history of LGBTI activism and the ways research on the subject

has been undertaken. As I advanced in my analysis of the materials collected during my fieldwork, I also noted that in relation to this history and its orientation towards assuaging conflict, diversity could also be understood as a post-dictatorship formation.

Revisiting one of the comments I made in Chapter 1 about the scope of this thesis, the post-dictatorship and its haunting presence in the research materials not only enabled a context for situating some of my claims. Together with ambivalence, it also contributed to complicating the notion of conflict I put forward as partly informing diversity's psychic life. Within this context, in Chapter 6 I suggested engaging with diversity as a compromise formation since it offered an attempted solution to appeasing conflicts, avoiding discomfort and the anxieties linked to non-normative genders, as demonstrated in my analysis of the workings of sensitisation in diversity training sessions (Chapter 5). It was in the moments in which those solutions failed or showed their limits and exclusionary effects that diversity appeared as a conflictual object. Along these lines, I suggested, although speculatively, that this was not only due to issues pertaining exclusively to the psy disciplines but was also due to the lingering effects of a consensus mentality in the ways diversity professionals have dealt with the conflicting heterogeneity of social life in post-dictatorship Chile.

The thesis suggested a methodological and conceptual path to trace the haunting presence of the past—or what is deemed as belonging to the past, as already overcome—in the ways diversity work is undertaken and resisted in the present. The dictatorship, overt forms of pathologisation and state violence appeared as three of those events and practices of the past that I recognised as still informing some of the dynamics and concerns I observed during my fieldwork, although in some cases implicitly, as inferred presences. Spontaneous allusions to sexual dissidence played a crucial role in my reading of those moments where the past made its way into the material, which I interpreted in Chapter 6 as a means of bringing to the present the histories and struggles of the sexual and gender politics of the post-dictatorship that have survived and persisted, despite having been replaced by other more conciliatory vocabularies. In doing so, and connected with my critique on the temporalities of diversity, I suggested thinking about the presence of sexual dissidence as a returning move that counteracts the turn to diversity in its forward-looking orientation.

7.4 Implications and Avenues for Further Inquiry

One of the immediate effects of my inquiry, which is also one of the areas I hope to intervene in, is epistemological in scope. Academic knowledge production on sexual and gender diversity within the psy disciplines is still scarce and limited to specific research teams and initiatives, and in most cases subjected to state funding, whose allocation mostly relies on socio-political factors, as I argued in Chapter 4. These factors can contribute to making sexual and gender diversity *trending topics* but can also contribute to constructing them as threatening and dispensable issues that could generate an unnecessary expense for the state, even more now, in the middle of a global pandemic and within the context of anti-gender campaigns. Although I expect my thesis to contribute to knowledge production initiatives on LGBTI issues, I also expect to intervene in how a demand for producing more knowledge is articulated and enacted, who is responding to such call, and through which means.

As I anticipated in the introductory chapter and in my findings, the centrality that trans* issues have acquired in diversity work and particularly in my thesis might suggest that, indeed, more knowledge is required on a subject scarcely explored outside a pathologising and victimising framework. As I extensively analysed in Chapter 5, the need to produce more knowledge *about* gender diversity is not a neutral and harmless exercise, even when this is carried out by affirmative professionals within culturally sensitive environments. Most of these practices are grounded in what flores (2013) describes as the orders of explanation framework, which reinforces rather than challenges the *scene of address* (Butler, 2005) that characterises the clinical, research and pedagogical encounters I analysed across the thesis. And this, as I have shown, places the *diverse others* as inexplicable differences that need to be digested for the appeasement of others. The need to explain the other is endemic to the systems of knowing in which the psy disciplines, and the state apparatus more broadly, are ideologically rooted. My thesis showed some of the strategies that diversity professionals have implemented to question those roots in their material and symbolic effects. However, a few of them have questioned the *accommodating* position—in the words of one of my interviewees—in which most of the practitioners find themselves.

Rather than accepting the terms through which a demand for explanation and a requirement for evidence is formulated, one way of challenging the power dynamics at work in such moments would be to expose the privilege and the epistemic violence that make those

questions and requirements a legitimate formulation (flores, 2013). In flores's terms (2013), the goal would be to expose how our identities and experiences are constructed as "topics to teach" or to be debatable (p. 324) within an already established framework of representation that turns our difference into an identifiable diversity, and that makes us "victims of a lack of understanding" (p. 325) ready to be filled by expert knowledge. So yes, diversity knowledges are needed, but the demand for such knowledge needs to be held accountable. In that sense, we need a pedagogic structure that enables "the dismantling of the conceptual orders that conceal how difference makes a difference" (p. 328). In other words, and still thinking with flores, we need "to turn our matrix of intelligibility into a problem" (p. 328), an occasion of discomfort and potential risk, as some of my interviewees strongly advocated for and that can be deduced from the responses to the *inquisition* initiated by far-right politicians. In doing so, suggests flores, our interventions need to "establish more open and non-protocolised reading frames that make space for views that are suspicious of the dominant modes of understanding of our identities" (p. 328).

The investigation I pursued into the histories of the turn to diversity and its conditions of emergence might be helpful in ongoing initiatives that have taken up the terms diversity (and is plural form diversities), feminism or dissidence as descriptors of their institutional identity and the kinds of practices they promote. Diversity and Inclusion offices in different municipalities and universities, alongside various activist organisations and initiatives within disciplinary fields aimed at diversifying their curricular offer, might also benefit from some of the insights of this thesis. Particularly, those that pointed to the conditions of arrival of diversity and that interrogated the kinds of practices and affective responses, as well as the exclusions and forms of epistemic erasure that this arrival has brought about. Further, many of the definitions I suggested in Chapters 1 and 3 concerning the notions of the field, diversity knowledges, diversity worlds and professionals can also be expanded in their epistemic and political horizon: who is the subject of diversity or dissidence in these spaces? Which categories of difference are included, and what difference do they make in the ways these organisations understand their institutional ethos? What are the politics of these terms, and how does this permeate their multiple encounters with the institution? What is the place of race and racism in the histories of arrival of these spaces, and how does the answer to that question inform diversity work today? This last question is crucial. At a moment in time when far-right politics are on the rise and the drafting of a new Constitution has placed as one of the centres of the debate a demand for a plurinational state, highlighting anew that the

experiences of oppression based on race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality intersect seems to be a much-needed intervention, especially within the work that a diversity and inclusion office should be doing.

The growing institutionalisation of gender, diversity and dissidence in organisational settings such as local government offices, political parties, health centres and university spaces raises relevant questions that speak to some of the issues I discussed in my thesis, and that might contribute to exploring the work these terms do in such contexts (see Gaba, 2020). In this regard, I would like to highlight the affective labour involved in doing diversity work within institutional spaces, especially those that are hostile to the presence of non-normative sexualities and genders. Likewise, I would like to emphasise the different strategies of resistance put forward by diversity professionals and the ambivalence that informed each of them, especially those that presented diversity and dissidence as incompatible and mutually exclusive. "Doing diversity work", says Ahmed (2012), "is institutional work in the sense that it is an experience of encountering resistance and countering that resistance" (p. 175). As a way of entering, in Chapter 6 I showed how diversity and dissidence facilitate certain paths and, sometimes, block others. What works as conservative in one place can work as transformative in other settings, which held true for most of my interviewees in their efforts to fit and find their place within the institution and the work they do. It is the presence of dissidence within diversity, and vice versa, that counted for some of them as evidence of the impossibility of deciding what to do in relation to their ambivalent attachments to the terms that have marked their positions as sexual and gendered subjects. My thesis thus suggested that these strategies and affective resonances could be thought of as pedagogic instances for them to know the institution better and to discern better the transformative potential of the work they perform. As Ahmed (2012) suggests beautifully, engaging with diversity work in such a way "allows us to understand how speaking in the happier languages of diversity does not necessarily mean an identification with the institution but can be understood as a form of practical knowledge of the difficulty of getting through" (p. 175). In this way, diversity work is productive of knowledges that can teach us about the institutions in which we are based and the structures of power that resist the taking up of those knowledges.

Finally, in terms of avenues for further inquiry, I hope this thesis can inspire research initiatives that critically explore the racial dynamics at work in diversity work in Chile, particularly within ongoing research initiatives on the cultural competence model. But this

should happen not only in Chile; this can also be of interest to those doing research in contexts where the denial and erasure of race have been historically constitutive of both the psy disciplines and national identity formation, such as has been the experience of the countries located in the Southern Cone. How does a focus on race and the experiences of racism and racialisation change what we know about diversity work on LGBTI issues in the psy disciplines? What can we learn about the workings of racism in these locations and what historical and socio-political struggles are these processes expressive of? Although research on the role of the psy disciplines in the conformation of the *modern* nation-states and Indigenous subjectivity has been undertaken in Chile (see Mardones Barrera, 2017; Mardones Barrera, Salas, & Fierro, 2016), little attention has been devoted to analysing critically the ways sexuality, gender and class have shaped the racial imaginaries of the nation. And similarly, little attention has been paid to exploring how the psy disciplines have contributed to disarticulating the intersecting nature of these markers of difference in our ways of approaching the study of subjectivity and diversity—or, I would argue, what ultimately has constituted the subject of psychology in Chile.

Another area of further exploration is connected with one of the limitations that I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis: the place that the post-dictatorship—as a context and category of analysis—has had in my investigation into the turn to diversity. Although I suggested some hypotheses and possible connections with the interview material and the socio-political circumstances in which my fieldwork was carried out, I could not fully explore its analytical implications. The gaps in my interrogation of the connections between diversity work and the post-dictatorship might inspire different methodologies such as oral history, archival research or theoretical or speculative methods, which might take further some of the ideas I explored in Chapters 4 and 6, such as the processes of knowledge transmission across generations and the enduring impact of a consensus mentality in our ways of managing conflict (see for instance Besoain Arrau, Sharim Kovalskys, Carmona Sepúlveda, Bravo Vidal, & Barrientos Delgado, 2017). In this regard, this thesis suggested that the question of the field of sexual and gender diversity does particular political work in Chile, where the mechanisms of erasure, disappearance and concealment that I identified can be thought of as modes of inquiry into what has been made to disappear from the histories of the turn within the psy disciplines—particularly, the narratives surrounding the histories of knowledge production, within and outside the academy, on sexuality and gender during the dictatorship and the democratic transition. The gaps in the histories I encountered in my interviewees'

accounts spoke to me about how specific chains of transmission have been interrupted and made ghostly as a consequence of the lingering effects of state terror. In order to make sense of the cracks I found in the material, I resorted to the work of Richard (1994, 2004) and Rivas (2011a) and used the concepts of the *rhetoric of consensus* and *politics of agreement* as a way for me to understand what was at stake in those silences and where the limits of my interpretive work were. By looking specifically at these (and other) lines of inquiry, this thesis can contribute to ongoing research projects that look at the history of the psy disciplines in Chile, and that interrogate those histories in their relationship with memory, trauma and subjectivity (see, for instance, Hevia Jordán, Reiter Barros, & Salas, 2019). In doing so, I hope these suggestions can illuminate new research avenues into the ways the psy disciplines have dealt with the conflictual aspects of their own history, particularly their ambivalent relationship with gender and sexuality.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Topic Guide

Introduction

- Outline of the study: aims, objectives, information sheet.
- Interview setting; Consent form.

Topics/Questions:

1. **About the person and her/his/their activities**
   - To begin with, tell me something about yourself. What do you do professionally? What is your work/occupation about?
   - Tell me about the story of this space/institution and your story working within it…

2. **Educational and career path**
   - How did you become interested in doing research on sexual and gender diversity/ working with LGBTI people?
   - The role played by psychology and other disciplines…
     - How has psychology addressed these issues? What patterns and/or changes have you found so far?
   - What authors, theories and/or experiences have been important in the development of your interest in sexuality, gender and LGBTI issues?
     - If a colleague wants to work on sexual and gender diversity and asks you for advice, what kind of advice would you give them?

3. **On the uses of the term 'diversity'**
   - In recent years, the term 'diversity' has been widely used within psychology, and also in the fields of social policy, human rights and LGBTI activism…
     - Is 'diversity' a term that you use for the work you do?
     - What might diversity mean or refer to in the context of your work?
     - Are there any other terms that are used to address similar issues? If so, do you think they make any difference?

4. **Your work as a clinical psychologist**
   - Tell me a little bit about your experience working with LGBTI people in the context of your clinical practice.
     - Based on your experience, what are the most common reasons that bring LGBTI people to look for psychological support?
   - Psychotherapeutic models.
     - Do you follow or use any particular therapeutic approach/model?
     - What do you think about the increasing specialisation of mental health professionals in sexual and gender diversity?
   - How is your relationship with LGBTI activism, medicine and academia?

- Is it important for you that your patients know in advance your position regarding LGBTI issues? Why?

5. Your work as a researcher

- How have you developed your line of research?
  - Which are the main topics you have been doing research on? Whose research, projects or experiences have been influential for your thinking as a researcher?
- How is your relationship with the institution where you are based?
  - What are the main supports and resistances you have encountered so far?
- State of the art of research on sexual and gender minorities…
  - What trends and changes have you observed in the ways Chilean research and psychology has approached these issues?
  - What kind of relationship do you have with other disciplinary fields, activist initiatives and NGOs doing similar work to what you do?

6. Psychology and sexual and gender politics

- What might be the main challenges psychology/psychiatry/LGBTI-activism is facing today with regard to sexual and gender diversity?
  - How is psychology responding to these challenges in your view?
- How do you see these challenges in relation to current political debates on gender identity law, marriage equality, sex education, feminism?
  - And more recently, in relation to the rise of so-called 'gender ideology'? Have you ever come across this? In what contexts? How?
- What is your view on these debates?

Topic Guide (Spanish version)

Introducción

- Resumen de la investigación: objetivos, hoja de información.
- Encuadre de la entrevista; Formulario de consentimiento.

Temas / Preguntas:

1. **Sobre la persona y sus actividades**
   - Para comenzar, cuéntame un poco sobre ti. ¿Qué haces actualmente? ¿En qué consiste tu trabajo?
   - Cuéntame la historia de este espacio/institución/proyecto y tu historia trabajando ahí…

2. **Trayectoria educacional y laboral**
   - ¿Cómo es que te interesaste por hacer investigación sobre diversidad sexual o de género / trabajando con personas LGBTI?
   - El rol que ha jugado la psicología y otras disciplinas…
     - ¿De qué maneras la psicología se ha aproximado a estos temas? ¿Qué patrones o cambios has encontrado?
   - ¿Qué autorxs, teorías y/o experiencias han sido importantes en el desarrollo de tu interés por los temas de sexualidad, género y LGBTI?
     - Si un/a colega quiere formarse en temas de diversidad sexual y de género y te pregunta por un consejo, ¿qué le recomendarías?

3. **Sobre los usos del término 'diversidad'**
   - En los últimos años el término 'diversidad' ha comenzado a utilizarse ampliamente dentro de la psicología y en otros campos afines, como las políticas públicas, derechos humanos y el activismo LGBTI…
     - ¿Es la 'diversidad' un término que tú utilizas en el trabajo que haces?
     - ¿Qué significa o a qué refiere el término 'diversidad' en dicho contexto?
     - ¿Qué otros términos similares utilizas? ¿Qué diferencia hace?

4. **Tu trabajo como psicólogx clínicx**
   - Cuéntame un poco sobre tu experiencia trabajando con personas LGBTI en el contexto de tu práctica clínica.
     - A partir de tu experiencia, ¿cuáles son las principales razones que llevan a que una persona LGBTI consulte o demande ayuda psicológica?
   - Modelos psicoterapéuticos.
     - ¿Sigues algún modelo terapéutico específico? Sí, no… ¿por qué?
     - ¿Qué piensas de la creciente especialización en diversidad sexual y de género por parte de los equipos de salud, profesionales y políticas de salud?
   - ¿Qué tipo de relación tienes con la medicina, el activismo y la academia?
   - ¿Es importante para ti que tus pacientes conozcan con anticipación tu posición respecto a la realidad de las personas LGBTI? ¿Por qué?

5. **Tu trabajo como investigadxr**
   - ¿Cómo has desarrollado tu línea de investigación?

    - ¿Cuáles son los principales temas que has investigado? ¿Qué investigaciones, proyectos o experiencias han sido importantes en tu trabajo investigativo?
- ¿Cómo es tu relación con la institución en la que desarrollas tu trabajo académico?
    - ¿Cuáles son los principales apoyos y resistencias que has encontrado?
- Estado de la investigación en minorías sexuales y de género…
    - ¿Qué patrones y cambios has observado en la manera en que la investigación académica chilena y la psicología se han aproximado a estos temas?

6. Psicología y políticas de sexualidad y género

- ¿Cuáles sería los mayores desafíos que enfrenta la psicología/psiquiatría/activismo-LGBTI en relación a la diversidad sexual y de género?
    - ¿Cómo está respondiendo la psicología a esos desafíos?
- ¿Cómo ves estos desafíos en relación a los debates actuales sobre identidad de género, matrimonio igualitario, educación sexual, feminismo?
    - Y más recientemente, ¿el avance de la denominada 'ideología de género'? ¿Has escuchado hablar sobre eso? ¿En qué contextos? ¿De qué forma?
- ¿Cuál es tu visión en relación a estos debates?

Appendix 2: Interviews[115]

Table 1

List of Interviewees

N°	Pseudonym	City	Date	Occupation
1	Cristina	Valparaíso	January 2019	Psychologist
2	Leonor	Valparaíso	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
3	Sebastián	Valparaíso	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
4	Caterine	Valparaíso	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
5	Nicolás	Valparaíso	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
6	NNN	Valparaíso	April 2019	Clinical psychologist
7	Eva	Valparaíso	May 2019	Clinical psychologist
8	Isabel	Santiago	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
9	Mercedes	Santiago	December 2018	Psychologist
10	Gustavo	Santiago	December 2018	Clinical psychologist
11	Carmen	Santiago	January 2019	Psychologist
12	Felipe	Santiago	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
13	Carlos	Santiago	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
14	Diego	Santiago	January 2019	Psychiatrist
15	Jazmín	Santiago	February 2019	Organisational psychologist
16	NNN	Santiago	March 2019	Clinical psychologist
17	NNN	Santiago	March 2019	Psychologist
18	Débora	Santiago	April 2019	Psychologist
19	Alyson	Santiago	May 2019	Clinical psychologist
20	Miguel	Santiago	May 2019	Psychologist
21	Pablo	Concepción	January 2019	Psychologist
22	Gladys	Concepción	January 2019	Community psychologist
23	Rosa	Concepción	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
24	NNN	Concepción	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
25	NNN	Concepción	January 2019	Clinical psychologist
26	Eduardo	Concepción	May 2019	Educational psychologist

[115] I included those that did not appear with a pseudonym in the empirical chapters with a 'NNN' symbol.

Appendix 3: Events[116]

Table 2

List of Events

N°	Type of Event	City	Date	Theme(s) - Keywords
1	Activist Dialogue[117]	Santiago	November 2018	Anti-gender politics, LGBTI activism, Latin America
2	Book Launch	Santiago	December 2018	Gender, feminism, academia, interdisciplinarity
3	Conference	Santiago	December 2018	Mental health, social policy, research, cultural competence
4	Seminar	Santiago	December 2018	Trans* activism, feminism, discrimination, human rights
5	Symposium	Santiago	December 2018	Trans* health, trans* medicine, research, Standards of Care
6	Conference	Santiago	December 2018	Gender, diversities and dissidence, research
7	Roundtable	Santiago	December 2018	Cyberfeminism, social media, sexual-dissident activism
8	Festival	Santiago	December 2018	Culture and arts, Pedro Lemebel, LGBTI activism
9	Workshop	Santiago	January 2019	Critical psychology, gender, LGBTI, subjectivity, queer theory
10	Talk	Santiago	January 2019	Sexual dissidence, digital activism, the body
11	Book Launch	Santiago	January 2019	Psy disciplines, trans* health, critical psychology

[116] I listed here the three 'group conversations' I had with psy professionals working on the intersections of mental health, diversity, gender and sexuality, psychoanalysis, medicine, and LGBTI activism.

[117] I managed to attend this event with activists working on anti-gender politics in Chile and Latin America two days after arriving in Chile, before formally starting my fieldwork.

12	Research Dialogue	Santiago	January 2019	Intersectional feminism, education
13	*Group Conversation 1	Santiago	January 2019	LGBTI support group, affirmative approaches, institutional work
13	Conference	Santiago	January 2019	Critical psychology, childhood, postcolonial theory
14	Training Course	Valparaíso	April 2019	Trans*, childhood, gender identity, human rights, affirmative approaches, activism
15	*Group Conversation 2 (1st part)	Santiago	April 2019	Study group, psychoanalysis, psychology, diversity, gender
16	Seminar, Roundtable, Discussion	Santiago	April 2019	Diversity and the political right, activism, politics
17	Seminar	Santiago	April 2019	Trans* childhood, education, activism, human rights
18	Activist Dialogue	Santiago	April 2019	Conversion therapies, politics, activism, human rights, law
19	Research Dialogue	Santiago	May 2019	Diversity, gender identity, quantitative research, surveys
20	Report Launch	Santiago	May 2019	Lesbian activism, violence, activism, human rights
21	*Group Conversation 2 (2nd part)	Santiago	May 2019	Study group, psychoanalysis, psychology, diversity, gender
22	*Group Conversation 3	Santiago	May 2019	LGBTI support group, affirmative approaches, sensitivity, clinical practice
23	Roundtable	Santiago	May 2019	Anti-gender politics, gender ideology, feminist and LGBTI activism, human rights, academia
24	Book Launch	Santiago	May 2019	Gender equality, feminism, community-based interventions,

				women’s rights, psychoanalysis
25	Seminar	Santiago	May 2019	Mental health, sexual and gender diversity, Latin America, minority stress, homophobia

Appendix 4: Information Sheet

Name of the Researcher: Tomás Ojeda Güemes
Institution: Department of Gender Studies, London School of Economics

What is this research about?

My project aims to explore the different ways in which Chilean psychology has approached the reality of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people (LGBTI), specifically from the perspective of psychotherapy, academic research and/or activist practice.

In case you want to participate, what your collaboration will consist of?

The idea is to know more about your work experience in the field of sexual and gender diversity, and the role that psychology has played in the ways you have approached the reality of LGBTI people. If you agree to participate, I will interview you for approximately 1 or 2 hours, with the possibility of scheduling a second meeting in case I need to further discuss with you some other aspects of your experience.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can withdraw at any point of the study without having to give any reason, and there will be no negative consequences. The interviews will be conducted at the time that suits you best, and preferably at your workplace. Our conversation will be tape-recorded, and I will also be taking notes as you speak. In case you do not want to answer some of my questions or if you do not want to be recorded, please do tell me and I will turn off the recorder at any moment.

What will my information be used for?

The information you share is confidential. The interviews and the field notes are part of the research material of my doctoral thesis, and will also be used in future academic publications, conferences and/or public presentations. For these purposes, I will modify any information that may identify you (e.g., names, workplace, etc.), unless otherwise expressly stated.

My supervisor and I are the only ones with access to the audio files and the field notes. In case I need help with transcription, I will look for professional assistance and ask them to sign a confidentiality agreement with me. Finally, the consent form, the audio-tapes and the transcripts will be stored in a safe place.

What if I have a question or complaint?

If you have any questions regarding the research please contact me by email at t.i.ojeda@lse.ac.uk or by phone on [redacted] If you have any concerns or questions concerning your experience as interviewee, please contact the LSE Research Governance Manager via research.ethics@lse.ac.uk, or one of my supervisors, Prof. Clare Hemmings C.Hemmings@lse.ac.uk All the information contained in this document will be fully described in the consent form that I will ask you to sign before starting the conversation.

Fieldwork Information Sheet (Spanish Version)

Nombre Investigador: Tomás Ojeda Güemes
Institución: Departamento de Estudios de Género, London School of Economics.

¿En qué consiste mi investigación?

El objetivo de mi proyecto es explorar las distintas formas con que la psicología en Chile se ha aproximado a la realidad de las personas lesbianas, gais, bisexuales, transgénero e intersex (LGBTI), específicamente desde la psicología clínica, la investigación y/o práctica activista.

En caso de que decidas participar, ¿en qué consistirá tu colaboración?

La idea es conocer tu experiencia de trabajo en el campo de la diversidad sexual y de género, y el rol que ha ocupado la psicología en tu aproximación a la realidad de las personas LGBTI. Esto lo haremos en el contexto de una entrevista semi-estructurada que se extenderá por 1 ó 2 horas, con posibilidad de que agendemos un segundo encuentro en caso de que quisiera profundizar en algún aspecto de tu experiencia.

La participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Podrás retirarte de la entrevista en cualquier momento sin necesidad de darme ninguna explicación, y sin que ello genere ninguna consecuencia. Las entrevistas las realizaremos en el horario que a ti te acomode y de preferencia en tu lugar de trabajo. Nuestra conversación será grabada y tomaré notas mientras vas hablando. En caso de que no quieras responder alguna de mis preguntas, o que prefieras que no utilice la grabadora, estás en todo tu derecho de pedirlo.

¿Qué pasará con la información de las entrevistas?

Las entrevistas y las notas de campo forman parte del material de análisis de mi tesis de doctorado, y las utilizaré también en futuras publicaciones científicas, conferencias y/o presentaciones públicas. Para estos efectos, modificaré cualquier información que pueda identificarte (ej. nombres, trabajo, etc.), salvo que manifiestes expresamente lo contrario.

Mis supervisoras y yo somos lxs únicos que accederemos a los archivos de audio y las notas de cada encuentro. En caso de que necesite ayuda con la transcripción de las entrevistas, la persona a cargo de ese trabajo firmará un acuerdo de confidencialidad conmigo. Finalmente, el formulario de consentimiento, los audios y la transcripción de las entrevistas permanecerán guardados en un lugar seguro durante toda la investigación.

¿Qué puedo hacer si tengo alguna duda sobre el estudio?

Si tienes alguna pregunta relacionada con mi investigación y/o con la entrevista, por favor escríbeme a mi correo electrónico t.i.ojeda@lse.ac.uk o llámame al teléfono [redacted]. En caso que quieras manifestar tu preocupación sobre el proceso, puedes enviar un correo a la unidad de Research Governance de LSE research.ethics@lse.ac.uk, o contactar directamente a una de mis supervisoras, Prof. Clare Hemmings C.Hemmings@lse.ac.uk Toda la información contenida en este documento será descrita en profundidad en la hoja de consentimiento que te pediré que firmes antes de comenzar con la entrevista.

Appendix 5: Consent Form

Consent Form

The purpose of this form is to clarify the commitments that I make to you as participant, and for you, if you are happy with it, to give your consent to participate. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any question. Thank you again for participating.

Please read the form below, tick the boxes accordingly, sign and date if you agree.
Overall, I can confirm that:

I have been provided with information about the project and the researcher. I have also had the opportunity to ask further questions.	
My participation is voluntary, and I am aware of my right to withdraw from the study at any time without providing any explanation. If I decide to do so, this will have no negative impact on me, either personally or professionally.	
I agree to be contacted again in case the researcher needs to further discuss aspects of my professional experience not fully covered in the first meeting.	
I agree to the interview being audio recorded.	
I am aware that the information provided might be employed in presentations, conferences and academic articles.	
In relation to my personal identity, I would rather (select one alternative): — Allow the use of my name along with quotes or information I have provided. — Be identified with an alternative name (specify): — Do not use my name or any alternative name (anonymous). This will prevent reproducing direct or indirect citations.	
I agree to participate in this study.	

Please retain a copy of this consent form.

Participant name (voluntary):

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Interviewer name:

Signature: _____ Date: _____

For information please contact: Tomás Ojeda – t.i.ojeda@lse.ac.uk

Consent Form (Spanish Version)

El objetivo de este formulario es establecer por escrito los cuidados que yo como investigador me comprometo a tener contigo durante mi investigación. En caso que estés de acuerdo, te agradeceré que expreses tu consentimiento al final. No dudes en contactarme si tienes alguna pregunta. Gracias nuevamente por tu participación.

Lee por favor los puntos que se describen a continuación, marca cada casilla e incluye tu firma si estás de acuerdo. *Yo confirmo que:*

He sido informadx sobre los objetivos de la investigación y la identidad de quien la lleva a cabo. Tuve también la posibilidad de resolver mis dudas.	
Mi participación es voluntaria y estoy consciente de mi derecho a terminar con la entrevista en cualquier momento, sin tener que dar ninguna explicación. Si decido hacerlo, esto no tendrá ninguna consecuencia para mí.	
Estoy de acuerdo con ser contactadx nuevamente en caso de que se necesite profundizar en algún aspecto de la entrevista que no alcanzamos a desarrollar.	
Acepto que las entrevistas sean grabadas en audio.	
Soy consciente que la información proveída podrá ser utilizada en futuras publicaciones, conferencias y presentaciones académicas.	
En relación a mi identidad, prefiero (elegir una alternativa): — Autorizo que se use mi nombre junto a citas o información que yo haya entregado. — Prefiero que se me identifique con un seudónimo (especifique): — No utilizar mi nombre ni ningún seudónimo (anónimo). Esto impedirá reproducir citas directas o indirectas.	
Manifiesto mi consentimiento a participar de este estudio.	

Por favor guarda una copia de este formulario.

Nombre del / la participante (voluntarix):

Firma: _____ Fecha: _____

Nombre entrevistador:

Firma: _____ Fecha: _____

Para mayor información, contáctame a este correo: Tomás Ojeda – t.i.ojeda@lse.ac.uk