Homomercracia

Social Change and Sexual Diversity in Times of Emerging Neoliberalism in Chile

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A Thesis

In the Department

Of

Humanities

Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Humanities) at

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

July 2016

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Abelardo León

                Homomercracia. Social change and sexual diversity in times of emerging
                neoliberalism in Chile
Entitled:

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Humanities)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

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Abelardo León

Concordia University, 2016

During the last few years, increasing sensitivity has been shown toward civil and sexual rights for gay, lesbian and transgender people in Chile. There are several reasons for this, which include, for example: the emergence of the student movement in 2006, which encouraged several social groups to demand recognition of their rights, and institutional support from the conservative government of Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014). From here, important steps in favor of the LGBT population where taken, making them more visible in the media, approving the antidiscrimination law in 2012, and creating the conditions for the approval of the civil union agreement in 2015 during Michelle Bachelet's tenure as president.

Accordingly, this qualitative case study examines the symbolic dimension of LGBT civil rights discourse in the 10 years leading up to the approval of the civil union agreement in 2015. This research uses phenomenology as a broad conceptual umbrella, and Critical Discourse Analysis and Multimodality as methodological approaches. In this sense, this study is grounded in three interdisciplinary areas: Discourse Analysis, Queer Studies and the study of Social Movements. I have analyzed this political moment as the effect of a new relationship between homosexuality, the global market and liberal democracies using a concept which I call *Homomercracia*. My conclusion is that under these economic and political conditions, the

commodification of homosexuality leads to the emergence of a regulated pattern of

homosexuality—a white, male, socially successful professional—which, though widely accepted

in Chilean society, is strongly marked by racial and economic biases.

devoted to teaching and explaining to me the behavioural nuances of his native language. Many thanks, Phil. I truly appreciate it. Also, to my friends in Chile: Alejandra Toro, Francisca Reyes, Ximena Martínez, three great and admirable women who challenged and encouraged me to develop this body of research. And, to my friends in Canada: Arturo Velásquez, Florencia Marchetti, Ryan Conrad, Marcin Wisniewski, Roy Meuwissen, David Thompson, Tim Cyr for their unwavering support and for continually motivating me to not give up.

Lastly, I would like to express my profound thanks to my family in Chile: my parents, my brothers and sisters, and my nieces and nephews, for always being concerned for my wellbeing despite the distance between us, for keeping me informed about their lives, and for always maintaining their sense of humour.

I extend my love, respect, and gratitude to all of you, for your invaluable support in making this research possible.

Abelardo León, Montreal 2016

TABLE OF CONTENTS

To the reader: this is not a dissertation on Sexual Diversity and Social Change, but rather on Love.

A. León

INTRODUCTION

Social reality in which humans interact and thereby transcend their individual motives and actions appears as an immense volume of symbols, values, ideas, metaphors, beliefs and practices expressed in discourse; the countless ways of discourse emerge as its elementary form. Our research therefore begins with the analysis of discourse.

Recent historical records in the civil, political and social fields suggest that, after the decriminalization of sodomy in 1999, there has been an increasing willingness in Chilean society to recognize lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) civil rights.[1] For example, in 2009, the former right-wing Chilean president, Sebastian Piñera (2010-2014), introduced into his televisual presidential campaign a male gay couple holding hands, intended to bring visibility to LGBT civil rights, one of the key social issues in his government agenda. This was the first time that a genuine election candidate's political campaign had included depictions of homosexuality on public television. Most importantly, this depiction moved away from the offensive stereotypes of superficiality and flamboyancy that plagued earlier representations.

In the legal sector, the year 2012 saw the Antidiscrimination Law finally approved, after it had spent seven long years being contested in Chilean Congress. This law penalizes the arbitrary discrimination, distinction, exclusion or restriction of all Chilean subjects, thus implicitly offering protection against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. In addition, in January 2015, under the second government of Michelle Bachelet

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[1] See MOVILH, XIII. Informe anual de derechos humanos de la diversidad sexual. Hechos 2014, 2015; MOVILH, XI Informe Anual de Derechos Humanos de la Diversidad Sexual en Chile. Hechos 2012, 2013; MOVILH, X Informe anual de derechos humanos de la diversidad sexual en Chile. Hechos 2011, 2012.

(2014-2018), the civil union agreement (Law 20830) established to regulate the legal

consequences of common-law life between two persons of the same or opposite sex was

approved in both houses of the Chilean Congress. In tandem with these sweeping legal changes,

public opinion demonstrated significant support for sexual diversity, not only in the increased

number of people participating in LGBT civil-rights marches, but also in the election of

representatives of sexual minority causes to positions in various local governments.

These recent episodes offer a sharp contrast to a society that has historically repressed

LGBT subjects, and it is not immediately clear why and how public discourse concerning sexual

diversity shifted so dramatically within a relatively conventional heteronormative context[2]. My

first assumption is that the arrival of modernity in Chile—deeply rooted in the Hispanic

tradition—and the adoption of a neoliberal economic model during the Pinochet dictatorship

significantly shaped Chilean social identity, influencing the definition of sexuality and the

perception of homosexuals, lesbian and trans people. Effectively, Chile's delay in modernization

postponed discussion and acceptance of issues concerning sexual diversity rights until very late

into the 21st Century.

Given the lack of research conducted into this apparently successful and relatively recent

advance for civil rights in Chilean society, in this dissertation I consider it necessary to

investigate how public discourse concerning sexual diversity has been shaped following the

transition to democracy: which communicative factors have legitimatized LGBT subjects in

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[2] By "heteronormativity" we will take here the definition provided by Miriam Smith: "The term "heteronormative"

refers to the ways in which heterosexuality is treated as an often unstated social norm. For example, social policies

are often based on a heteronormative concept of family (opposite-sex partners and their children)" (Smith, 2007, p.

91).

civic society? How has the rest of the population become sensitized to the needs and demands for sexual diversity? My central objective is thus to identify the meaning and scope of these changes, focusing, in particular, on the LGBT community. I have to clarify that my use of the term "community" in this research is rather extensive, and encompasses a section of the population which is, in principle, very diverse, and includes deep cultural, economic, ethnic and sexual differences. These differences, of course, affect each individual's interests, motivations, expectations and, most fundamentally, the construction of their identity. However, I assume they all share a history of oppression—based on their sexual orientation—which binds them together.

A central assumption, here, is that language has played a fundamental role in this social process. Through language we create our reality and negotiate the world at large. Indeed, as Heidegger explains, "language is the externalization of discourse," (Heidegger, 1927/ 2003, p. 184) and therefore discourse necessarily functions as a multi-actionable phenomenon. In other words, it is not only what is being stated about something, but also how that statement is articulated, by whom it is expressed, and in what context the meaning-making process takes shape that is important. Accordingly, this research will analyze the repertoire of concepts provided by dominant and emerging discourses related to LGBT representation in Chile, assuming that communication as a social practice implies the production of knowledge and consequently the privileging of certain ways of defining and understanding reality. In the case of the Chilean LGBT community, I support the idea that the elicitation of empathy as political strategy—understood as the ability to recognize the feelings of others (Bernhardt and Singer 2012; de Waal 2009)—has facilitated greater understanding of the demands of lesbian, gay and trans people. Consequently, this study aims to understand social change mainly as a cognitive phenomenon in which knowledge is always in movement. That is to say: the production of

knowledge has an effect on the social construction of identities to the extent that it can support—

or deny—the institutionalization of practices and ways of being.

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THIS RESEARCH

> *Lo que puede el sentimiento no lo ha podido el saber,*
>
> *ni el más claro proceder ni el más ancho pensamiento,*
>
> *todo lo cambia el momento cual mago condescendiente,*
>
> *nos aleja dulcemente de rencores y violencias,*
>
> *sólo el amor con su ciencia nos vuelve tan inocentes.*
>
> (Violeta Parra, *Volver a los 17*)

Statement of the Problem

Even a cursory consultation of the relevant literature shows that the LGBT population has been historically marginalized and violated, not only in Chile, but also throughout Latin America (Arboleda, 2011; Contardo, 2011; Astudillo, 2012; Corrales & Pecheny, 2012; Pecheny, Figari, & Jones, 2008; Posa, 2005; de la Dehesa, 2010; de Lima Lópes, 2005; Guajardo, 1999). However, during the last ten years there has been an increasing sensitivity toward the civil and sexual rights for gays, lesbians and transgender people (MOVILH, 2014a, p. 9). I contend that this can be partly explained by the strategies employed by LGBT organizations in Chile, who have been thematically consistent in their targeting of specific populations who may support them, and ultimately, in their appeal to the institutional and political powers that create and implement policy. Emotional engagement tactics have been crucial to this strategy, and this is visible in visual campaigns, the press, social media, and discursive public forums. This coherency in approach and its consequent effect upon the populace suggests a change in the

perception and moral values of Chilean society following its transition to democracy.[3] Although this shift has been studied before, former studies fail to examine the critical discursive field which supports the homosexual movement: that is, little attention has been paid to how gay rights organizations have lobbied, negotiated, and entered several demands of the LGBT community into public debate (i.e. demands for gay marriage, anti-discrimination laws for sexual minorities, awareness and prevention of HIV in the LGBT community amongst others). My study seeks to fill this gap.

This social phenomenon, then, is new, and its progression can be noted in the dates of the three legal depositions that modified legislation in favor of the LGBT community, namely: 1) the decriminalization of sodomy in 1999; 2) the antidiscrimination law approval in 2012; 3) the civil union agreement law, recently approved in January 2015. This study treats the decade that separates the decriminalization of sodomy and the antidiscrimination law approval as deeply significant. This period demonstrates firstly how slow and difficult it has been to legislate for equal rights for sexual minorities and, consequently, to redefine social life with a view towards building an inclusive society. Secondly, it represents a challenge to every researcher who wishes to understand the factors that have made LGBT civil rights recognition difficult. Possible factors that have influenced this increase in support include: the claiming of the incompleteness of political transition to democracy as a main factor for social inequality (Calleros-Alarcon, 2009).

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[3] We will understand "social change", here, to mean those modifications in the social structure which have an impact on conceptions of the world, values, and cultural products as they are expressed in politics, technology, belief, science, art and every other form of knowledge (Sztompka, 1995). One expression of this social change can be observed in how discourse reproduces psychological structure and its relationship to reality, and the way in which this compares with the past from a historical and social perspective (Velasco Castro, 2009).

(Benedikter & Siepmann, 2015); the discrediting of the Catholic Church following the conviction of church leaders accused of acts of pedophilia; generational change, the presence of women on the public stage, the ubiquity of internet technologies, the expansion of international market trade and the rising number of students demanding a better public education since 2006 (Bellei, Contreras, & Valenzuela, 2010).

In this sense, It was not until Sebastián Piñera came to power in 2010 — the first elected right wing Chilean president in 50 years, whose four-year administration broke with four consecutive terms of the Social-Democratic coalition of parties (*Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia*) — that important steps were taken in favor of the LGBT community. As I previously noted, the introduction into his televisual presidential campaign of a gay male couple holding hands worked against the wishes of the most conservative side of his political sector. In the video Piñera states: "Today people accept us. Now we need a country that respects us." One of the actors from the couple then exclaims: "And Sebastian will be our voice!" (Campaña Sebastián Piñera, 2010).

It is interesting to note that Piñera, here, refers to homosexuals using the collective pronoun "we." This attitude stands in great contrast to that of Michelle Bachelet, a presidential candidate from the 2006 election, who declared in a televisual public debate that she was opposed to gay marriage:

Journalist: I want to know what Michelle Bachelet thinks, the woman, concerning whether gays should have the right to get married as heterosexuals have today. Don't tell me that the country is not ready for this because I want to know your personal opinion [sic]

M. Bachelet: I disagree with gay marriage, among other things because the

Chilean Civil Code states that marriage is a union between a man and a woman.

(Te Pasaste, 2013)

This example not only illustrates how political discourse was underwritten in 2005 by the sectors that were opposed to gay marriage and supposedly represented the majority of voters, but also provides an example of how this discourse oscillates depending on public opinion. During an interview conducted for this research, Rolando Jiménez, President of MOVILH, describes a "divorce between the political class and the citizenry" (Jiménez, 2015). According to Jiménez an important part of the political class might be anchored to a conservative paradigm opposed to "the ordinary citizen who observes reality from a different logic" (*op. cit*), mainly influenced by the effects of globalization, the expansion of the internet and the growth of social media. This "divorce" explained by Jiménez suggests that political class and society run in different tracks with different speeds; while the first one carefully advances between the risk of innovating and sustaining governance, the second one advances a few steps ahead absolutely devoid of any impediment. A drastic example could be reflected in the fact that Bachelet tailored her discourse to what the majority of voters wanted to hear during her second presidential campaign in 2013 in which she broadly supported gay marriage (EMOL, 2013).

It is obvious to argue that the process of policy-making fits its political discourse to the whim of the masses, and that surveys and polls fulfill an increasing role in political calculations and strategy. In this sense the influence of mass media and technologies seems to be common-place in liberal democracies which have modeled, thanks to marketing and publicity, their own way of conducting politics. However, a more accurate observation based upon approaches provided by biology allows me to propose in this research that this interpretation is simplistic. I

purport that politics, as every expression of human life, is governed by the very drive for survival in permanent relation with the environment. This in turn suggests that political discourse is affected by the principle of adaptation in wich variations seem to be the only certainty in the political arena.

The explosive uprising which occurred in April of 2006 in Chile is a clear demonstration of this adaptive reaction in governments. It was March of 2006 and Michelle Bachelet took office; one month later thousands of students participated in marches organized across Chile. By the end of May, the mobilization had grown to approximately 800,000 students from more than 950 high schools and protesters were sometimes severely repressed.The numbers of detentions reached levels unprecedented since the mobilizations against the dictatorship during early 1980s (Ruiz, 2007, p., 40). Mobilizations of 2006 demanding "free, public, and quality education and for no profits" (Cummings, 2015, p. 50) meant the breeding ground for social discontent, reaching 90 percent approval of the populace in 2011 (Simonsen, 2012, p. 102). The entire picture shows a new social context; having been born in democracy, detached from the history of repression during the dictatorship and far removed from the fear of a possible destabilization of Chilean democracy, the new students' generation challenged the political system and the major figures of the process of transition. From then on, "*la generación sin miedo*" (the fearless generation) "became a collective identity that united students and motivated them to take protest action" (Cummings, 2015, p. 64). This collective discomfort introduced new and more complex social agencies that had nothing to do with the ones mobilized in the times of transition to democracy, constituting one of the linchpins of this research: a social change in times of post-transition to democracy.

From a sociological perspective, Chile's students constitute in many ways a "new kind of middle class" less because of their economic resources, but rather because of their cultural capital. […] the mobilization which started with student criticism of the (in their view) insufficient quality of education led to the creation of the preconditions of general social change, i.e., of society as a whole, by demanding principal alterations of institutional and sociopolitical arrangements. (Benedikter & Siepmann, 2015, p. 113)

In this sense, if in 2006 just 19% of the Chilean population supported gay marriage and in 2013 that number had shifted to 36%, then it is clear that these numbers reflect two very different social contexts in which generational change, the increasing availability of information technologies, and the effects of social change since the spring of 2006 led by the student movement had an effect on what the public understood by the term "inclusive society" (CIPER-Chile 2011; CEP 2013). Consequently, the political decision to include homosexual concerns in Piñera's presidential campaign of 2010 and Michelle Bachelet's re-election campaign in 2013 reflects the reaction of this strategy for surviving among these sudden changes.

A central claim of this dissertation is that the recognition of emotions plays an important role in the negotiation of civil rights. Therefore, this research studies the production of empathy in public discourse, by focusing on the cultural and political relationships that have shaped homosexual social identity in Chile following the decriminalization of sodomy in 1999.[4]

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[4] In 1999, Article 365 was repealed, and sodomy was consequently decriminalized. However, the criminalization of consensual homosexual relations with minors under 18 still remains in force, even though the age of consent for heterosexual relations in Chile is 14. Thus, recent LGBT organizations have focused on this discrepancy, understanding that all legal differences promote prejudice against the homosexual population. It is also important to

Part of my assumption in this research is that empathy has played a very prominent role in the pursuit of recognition of gays, lesbians and transgender people historically neglected and oppressed by the heteronormative tradition. Indeed, none of what LGBT organizations in Chile acknowledge as *"historic accomplishments in favor of equality"* (MOVILH 2013, 13) could have happened without the capacity of these organizations to gain the empathy of the rest of society. In this sense, the process of gaining empathy for sexual diversity and civil rights has meant dismantling the discursive structures that portrayed gay, lesbian and transgender people as deviant subjects. Thus, the success of LGBT organizations is closely related to the strategy to communicate their own history as a stigmatized group.

Accordingly, we will understand empathy not as a feeling "but rather a process through which others' emotional states or situations affect us" (Morrell, 2010, p. 41). Indeed, I contend that the process of obtaining civil rights is far more complicated than the deployment of rational arguments. Although, rationality does help to find a path towards the goal in the contentious political arena, the very factor that keeps social cohesion across this process is an integrated structure between emotions and cognition. This premise allows us to recognize that empathy implies actual concern for others, and an attempt to understand their feelings, whether they are positive or negative. In this sense, it plays an important role not only in our evolutionary history—allowing us to survive as species (de Waal, 2009)—but it is also crucial to the construction of collective identity and the adhesion to (or detachment from) a particular group. It

point out that article 373 of the same code punishes offenses to morality and "decency". This stipulation still has special interest for transsexuals and transgender persons. Historically, articles 365 and 373 have been points of convergence for LGBT demands.

is thanks to this kind of emotional identification that each group builds their own narratives and introduces their specific problems to society. Indeed, according to several scholars in the field of sociology, the subjective manner with which the stories of each group are told is even more important than the "objective" characteristics of a problem or social concern (Dunn, 2004).

In this sense I propose to analyse this social contingency as the effect of a new relationship between homosexuality, the global market and democracy, and I will call it "*Homomercracia*". The basic assumption, here, is that the increase in rights for the LGBT community has been "commodified" by the market, and the first step to understanding this triangular relationship is to acknowledge that "as money in the gay and lesbian communities becomes itself a commodity, the community becomes described more as a target market rather than as a community" (Freitas & Kaiser, 1996, p. 86). In other words, we might say that a good voter is also a satisfied consumer of political discourse. Indeed, if Piñera's campaign pivoted on the question of civil rights, it was only because it was the necessary lure to obtain the homosexual vote. However, it is important to remember that this exchange of votes for civil rights did not mean an acknowledgement of all homosexuals, lesbians and trans people, but just a certain kind of voter already understood as composing part of the liberal-democratic market. As Julienne Corboz explains:

> If we examine traditional models of citizenship, it becomes clear that those with non-heteronormative sexualities are denied access to a range of civil, political and social rights. […] Despite those with non-heteronormative sexualities being granted more access to some citizenship rights, such as inclusion in media and consumer culture, the spaces for the exercise of these rights are still predominantly heterosexualized. Further,

these spaces may be the sites of additional forms of exclusion based on gender, class and race. (Corboz, 2009, pp. 3-4)

Since empathy has played a prominent role in the pursuit of recognition of LGBT people, my argument is that we are in the presence of a dialectical process whereby homosexual agency contributes to changes in the institutional discourse surrounding homosexuality, and in turn institutional discourse influences the identity of homosexual subjects.

Thereby, the value of my research lies in the fact that the results obtained will provide a useful and informative compilation of recent advances in the fight for recognition of LGBT sexual rights within the contemporary Chilean context. In the same vein, this work will provide a new perspective with which to understand the process of gaining LGBT rights in Latin America, focusing upon the neoliberal ideology of recent Chilean governments, and how homosexuality has been conceptualized by political institutions. Linking homosexuality, the neoliberal market and democracy under the term *homomercracia* represents a dialectic interpretation of the information collected during my fieldwork. At the same time, it provides us with an opportunity to put on the table epistemological debates on empathy as a cognitive mental process and social ability. Finally, this research will facilitate better comprehension of the cultural, political and aesthetic appropriation of the homosexual subject's image in the media. It will thus provide a background to the historical representation of the homosexual subject, and, more broadly, the economic and political elements involved in the production of homosexual discourse.

Literature review

There have been many political changes that indicate an increase in concern over LGBT civil rights in Chilean society during the last few years (see for example: Paoli Itaborahy and Zhu, 2013; MOVILH, 2013). Cabello and Castillo (2014) state that this new climate of tolerance

has shifted the debate away from the social—and a set of discourses traditionally identified with left wing parties that fought against Pinochet's dictatorship—and towards the legal sector. In this regard, Astudillo (2012) recognizes that new strategies to maintain and create homosexual visibility, particularly as practiced by new right wing sexual diversity organizations such as FUNDACIÓN IGUALES, have taken over from the militancy of older leftist organizations such as MOVILH and MUMS. This new approach, Astudillo observes, represents the gradual emancipation of sexuality from other social discourses, and leads to greater definition of its own semantic field based upon love and family as core values. Berrueta (2012) proposes that as these subordinate groups found and maintained their voice, they were also creating texts, stories and their own memories, placing in the public arena a new category of the homosexual subject. However, these studies conclude that, despite these positive changes, there is still a high level of homophobia in Chilean society. Whilst these and other such studies report a positive correlation between the strengthening of the discourse of citizenship and the visualization of homosexuality in the public sphere, there are limited conclusive diagnoses that integrate the many areas in which discourse on homosexuality is produced. Accordingly, this study provides an examination of the symbolic aspect of gay, lesbian and transgender culture as part of this recent process of social change in Chile, from 2006 through to the approval of the civil union agreement in 2015.

Previous Research on the Topic

Two journalistic works —"Bandera Hueca" by Robles and "Raro" by Contardo— have attempted to trace a history of Chilean homosexuality. Situating the dawn of the homosexual movement in Chile in the 1990s, Robles' work focuses, in particular, on struggle, conflicts amongst gay leaders, speculations concerning sexuality, social prejudices, and the threat that the HIV crisis posed to the homosexual community. The book provides an interesting testimony of

the 1990s however it often falls into personal and literary anecdotes and lacks scientific evidence. Contardo's account, in contrast, is more historically accurate: turning toward court records, newspaper articles, interviews, and literary and cultural production more generally, the author deploys a historiographical methodology so as to bring more weight to the issue. Unfortunately, the author often forgets to cite his sources, or does not quote them completely, and uses conceptual categories in a lackadaisical way (Salazar, 2012).

It is thus rather difficult—if not impossible—to find thorough and well-research accounts of the homosexual movement in Chile. One of the most complete volumes on social movements recently published—*Movimientos Sociales en Chile. Teoría histórica y proyección política* (Salazar Vergara, 2012)—does not even include homosexuality as a category of analysis, although the author does acknowledge that research into the topic, historically, has lacked a sufficient demarcation of categories. My conclusion about this gap is that it is due to a mix of factors: the surprising emergence of sexual diversity's demands, the inefficiency of interpretive models, conceptual systems and analytic categories with which to talk about gender and homosexuality, and finally a patronizing epistemological view of homosexuality as purely a scientific-medical and juridical concern. Indeed, Diego Guevara (2010) in "Una rama torcida en la vida sexual..." identifies this conceptual lacuna, whilst recognizing a general movement towards more historiographical studies in countries like Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Colombia. To Guevara, "a dialogue which triggers the circulation of ideas between national historiographies, to assess similarities and particularities of each sociocultural reality in our continent, is still a pending topic" (Guevara Valenzuela 2010, p.12).

Guevara Valenzuela (2010), along with J.Cornejo (2011) and González (2004) seeks to explain this lack, observing an interrelation between the hetero-patriarchal Chilean tradition

founded on the colonial Hispanic model, the criminalization and search for a homosexual pathology, and the scarcity of reliable documentation concerning homosexuality (medical literature published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tended to consider it both deviant and outrageous).[5] Guevara explains that the main sources for historiographic research are court cases, clinical records and police reports. We know little, however—with regards to these historical events or their memory—of the desires, preferences and future dreams of this marginalized social subject. J.Cornejo observes a similar social phenomenon: under the auspices of Public Health and Criminology, the author argues that the traditional medical system is a cultural device used to introduce and maintain social control. Moreover, this medical model was supported by the strong moral and ethical constraints of the Catholic Church, a patriarchal model in itself.

Lastly, the literature reviewed also makes a point of framing the LGBT rights debate within the tradition of the *Machismo Latino,* a concept which has guided Chilean normativity. This tradition has been strongly supported by religion (Cornejo Espejo, 2009; Mancilla Agüero, 2007; Cabrera Barrera, 2005). Cornejo Espejo, for example, points out that the Catholic Church has been historically implicated in the construction of prejudice towards LGBT subjects, construing homosexuality as a sin and psychiatric illness. His study demonstrates that the evangelical church in Chile has gained more support in the last few years, thus contributing to the maintenance of mainstream heterosexist ideology. Both research projects conclude that discourse of homophobia in the Christian Church functions as a mechanism of control exerted on the homosexual subject, which then becomes a broader ideological mechanism of control

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[5] The documentation these authors have compiled will offer historical support to this study at the moment when I turn to an analysis of the genealogy of homosexual discourse.

within the wider context of society and state institutions. However, these studies are limited in that they only provide information concerning the relationship between state institutions and the church, and fail to explore other pertinent critical aspects, such as the socio-discursive level of reality and the symbolic relationship between people and their own beliefs.

On Homosexual Public Discourse in Chile

Literature review shed light on an interesting discussion conducted on three axes: stigmatization as it pertains to social, health, class and gender conditions (Guajardo and Reyes Hernández, 2001; Guajardo 1999; Nuñez, 2004), the Chilean State as a representation of the dominant male image (Bengoa, 1996), and the hegemony of male homosexuality (Sánchez 2004; da Silva Concha, 2006). These readings will be useful to conceptualize my position regarding the relationship between homosexuality and liberal state under the concept mentioned above "*Homomercracia*".

One more important conclusion concerns the introduction of women as an epistemic field into the civil rights debate. The oldest readings assessed in this review testify to the strength of the male presence in the homosexual debate—whether as research writer or subject—and how sidelined discourse on female and lesbian subjects was under the Latino paradigm of *Macho-Hembra* (Carrasco Caro, 2005). In this regard, Celedón et al. (2007) highlight how difficult it is for Chilean women to live with the seemingly mandatory requirement of being a mother, having a family, and subordinating themselves to the male figure/economic provider. They go on to provide an important reassessment of the position of women within the homosexual movement, critically introducing the notion of "diversity", a term inherited from gender studies. These studies represent the foundation for the discursive deconstruction of gender based on the dichotomy man/woman, and the starting point for current debates on the disintegration of roles,

the introduction of new sexual practices, and the social and economic position of bodies. (Rivas Fuentes & Moreno Navarro, 2015)

Part of this re-conceptualization can be observed in the debate regarding family and homosexuality in studies of civil law. Until the early 2000s, it was believed that in both practice and study the law must be guided by a medical-scientific ethic, which was itself strongly influenced by religious thought (Oyarzún Valenzuela, 2004). Ferrer (2007), for example, analyzes the nature of homosexuality, and describes the difficulties of adaptation for homosexual children, before proposing a model for their conversion using psychotherapy. In opposition to models like Ferrer's, the process of gaining recognition of LGBT rights in Chile has been a long juridical trip which began with the decriminalization of sodomy in 1998, and has most recently manifested in the approval of the antidiscrimination law in 2012 and the recently approved *Acuerdo de Unión Civil* (civil union agreement) in 2015. It is undeniable that social perception of homosexuality has changed, and that it has become increasingly accepted (Buendía Esteban, 2012). In this regard, Romero Martínez (2011) notes that homosexuality called into question the traditional meaning of marriage as a legal regulation for biological reproduction. According to Muñoz, such rhetoric is the result of the institutionalization of a specific moral discourse (Muñoz León 2011, p.29). However neither of these studies provide revealing conclusions about either current or proposed courses of action for social intervention.

In the same manner as the debate regarding the family and adoption, the fields of childhood and education provide larger scope for study. Despite social harassment and the conservative tendency to consider homosexuality as sexual deviation, it is clear that studies are emerging which depict a burgeoning sexual revolution in a society full of prejudices and inequalities (Barrientos Delgado, 2006). Conclusions on this matter report changes in the sexual

behavior of adolescents in Chilean society, and an increasing tolerance toward same-sex relationships in the female adolescent population (Conejero & Almonte, 2009). Nevertheless, some authors recognize that the overcoming of prejudice is still only in infant stages, and there still exists notable differences of opinions across generations (Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008). In this regard, recent studies identified the effects of a lack of sexual education in school (Calderón Muñoz, Cortés Bustamante & Retamales Pizarro, 2013).

Summary of Literature Review

The readings reviewed largely follow three methodological approaches to the topic. Firstly, a historical approach, which gathers legal, medical and press material in order to reconstruct a history of the homosexual subject, analyzing the constitutive elements of sexuality in Chile, and recreating the historical use of concepts (Contardo, 2011; J. Cornejo 2011; Guevara Valenzuela, 2010; González, 2004). Given that homosexuality was considered a taboo subject and thus an inappropriate topic of discussion, it was always hidden; consequently, historical researchers conclude that reporting daily life beyond criminal and hospital reports is almost impossible due to the paucity of material (Contardo, 2011, p.49; González, 2004, p.66). In this sense, historical research highlights the fact that, during the 20th century, the Public Health system constructed and reinforced the idea of a medicalized homosexuality, validating the psychiatric paradigm and introducing categories of social control into Chilean society. The historical approach can also be linked with legal studies, since they explore legal documents, legal procedures, official gazettes, articles of law, etc. (Barrientos Paredes & Llanquilef Candia, 2012; Oyarzún Valenzuela, 2004).

Within this literature review, the field of sociological studies offers a second methodological approach. Most of these studies combine a qualitative and quantitative approach

in order to describe the social dimension regarding homosexuality in Chile. Astudillo (2012), for example, explains that this approach helped him to avoid his theoretical pre-conceptions as an observer of specific social phenomenon. A special mention must also be made of some educational, psychological and obstetric studies that incorporate interviews and life stories so as to enrich their quantitative perspective (Lizama Muñoz, 2009; Asencio Calisto, 2006; Hernández Mariarte, 2006).

Finally, the third methodological approach comes from the field of Discourse Studies. Berrueta (2012), for example, provides a valuable examination of organizational reports, narrative, poetry, chronicles, essays, interviews, and letters, amongst many other forms of literature. The foundation of this approach, as the author explains, is ethnographic observation. However, Berrueta is not meticulous enough in his use of this critical-analytical methodology: he limits his writing to a description of the history and theory of critical discourse analysis, and then simply provides some records that concern homosexuality in Chile. Despite the fact that there are several studies that demonstrate an interest in using a phenomenological paradigm, my conclusion is that, up to this point, researchers are inconsistent in their methodological approach, consequently they fail in their analysis and discussion of their corpus.

Each of the studies considered in this review represent a significant effort to enlarge the study of homosexuality from the early years of democracy's arrival in Chile up to the present day. Although the authors disagree on the use of categories and how they relate to the homosexual subject's political agency, each works to restore an understanding of and appreciation for civil rights as it pertains to sexual diversity. That being said, there are currently no studies that provide a methodological approach which focuses on the relationship between homosexuality, language and empathy at the level of public discourse. By combining Critical

Discourse Analysis and Multimodal Discourse Analysis, this thesis will contribute to overcoming this lack in the homosexual narrative.

Proposition and Questions

The purpose of this qualitative case study is to examine the symbolic dimension expressed in the discourse of the LGBT civil rights' movement since the decrimination of sodomy in 1999 until the approval of the civil union agreement in Chile in 2015? This qualitative research is supported by an examination of the facts and historical events concerning the Chilean LGBT community's recent advances in gaining civil rights as they are represented at a discursive level. To reach this objective I will provide a coherent frame within which to present more suitable explanations of the current debate, integrating interdisciplinary studies on Discourse Analysis, LGBT Studies and Social Movement studies. In this regard, a qualitative study will allow us not only to recognize the elements that compose the universe of our study, but to weigh them, determine their relationships and reveal important aspects of democracy and human rights following the transitional period in Chile.

In this sense, I contend that, in qualitative research like this, hypotheses are rarely settled before fieldwork and data collection commences (Hernández Sampieri, Fernández Collao, & Baptista Lucio, 2010). Indeed, there is no problem in formulating explicit hypotheses in qualitative research: the problem is the inappropriate application of "quantitative standards to qualitative research hypothesis" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 53). In an attempt to avoid the use of rigid predictions I will guide my subsequent analysis and discussion using a *propositional* model rather than a hypothetical one (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 75). Accordingly, these propositions provide me with the reasoning with which to start my research.

Proposition

As we have seen until now, during the last ten years —and after the uprising of the students movement in 2006— it has been possible to observe in public discourse an increasing acceptance of homosexuals, lesbians and transgender people in Chile. My first proposition in this regard is that this advance is more emotional than rational, in that policy creation and the construction (or replacement) of social paradigms required the recognition of social biases, judgment, intuition, and individuals' emotional lives. Accordingly, my second proposition is that this advance comes not only as the result of years of struggle within the LGBT community in its fight for civil rights, but also because this recognition has been facilitated through homosexuality's assimilation into heteronormative discourse, where the elicitation of emotion through empathy is a key political strategy. Finally, my third proposition is that this process is dialectical, in that homosexual agency has contributed to changes in the institutional discourse surrounding homosexuality, and, in turn, the effects of liberal democracy and free-market capitalism have influenced the identity of homosexual subjects. This discursive strategy has been crucial in LGBT organizations obtainment of benefits from Chilean legislation.

Central Question

What is the characteristic of the symbolic dimension expressed in the discourse of the LGBT civil rights' movement since the decrimination of sodomy in 1999 until the approval of the civil union agreement in Chile in 2015?

Sub-questions

    i.   What role has empathy played, in particular, in the process of giving rights and democratic legitimacy to the LGBT population in Chile?

ii. What are the "turning points" in this recent political process in which sodomy was decriminalized in 1999, the antidiscrimination law was approved in 2011, and the civil union agreement in 2015?

iii. What major communicative strategies, related to empathy, have LGBT organizations used in this context?

iv. What are the structuring meanings of the relationship between the market and democracy in this construction of a more accepting Chilean society?

v. How has this social process—recognition of civil rights for lesbians, gays and trans people—contributed to the construction of a more democratic Chilean society?

vi. Looking forward, what challenges, gaps and conflicts can we foresee?

Theoretical Framework

The starting point of my Theoretical Framework is the very fact that this is an interdisciplinary study. There are several definitions of this concept (Bammer, 2013, p. 5; Callard & Fitzgerald, 2015, p. 4), however the most meaningful is based in the acknowledgment that interdisciplinarity suggests the idea of crossing boundaries of existing disciplines (Gilbert, 2011) in an attempt "to integrate or synthesize perspectives from several disciplines" (Barry & Born, 2013, p. 9) . A second definition recognizes that interdisciplinary research is motivated by the need "to solve problems whose solution are beyond the scope of a single discipline or field or research practice" (National Academy of Sciences; National Academy of Engineering; and Institute of Medicine, 2005, p. 26). However the primary meaning is based on the acknowledgment that reality is complex, interrelated and created according to the experience of the subject. In this sense the authoritative set of practical norms and traditions represented in disciplines seems to be experiencing a crisis as a result of globalization, the emerging of new

social media, and the need for understanding the problems in our modern world such as climatic change or human migrations. From this point of view what really emerges as important is to emphasize the problem instead of the matter, paraphrasing Karl Popper: "We are not students of some subject matter, but students of problems. And problems may cut right across the borders of any subject matter or discipline" (Popper, 1963, p. 88). This final conclusion underpins this research across disciplines to reach a meaningful response to our questions regarding the symbolic dimension of the LGBT discourse in Chile during the last ten years.

Although interdisciplinarity does not accurately describe my theoretical approach this is the beginning which justifies the lenses that I will use to observe a specific reality. Figure 1 summarizes how the different principle parts relate to one another. The three areas of this study (Social Movement Studies, Discourse Analysis Studies and LGBT Studies) are visually represented by the three rings intersecting on the graph. These intersections represent the interdisciplinary epistemic relationship which this study is attempting to explore. In other words, the space in which these three rings meet represent the very meaning of the production of knowledge regarding social change in the context of the last ten years in Chile, from the student spring in 2006 until the approval of the civil union agreement in 2016.
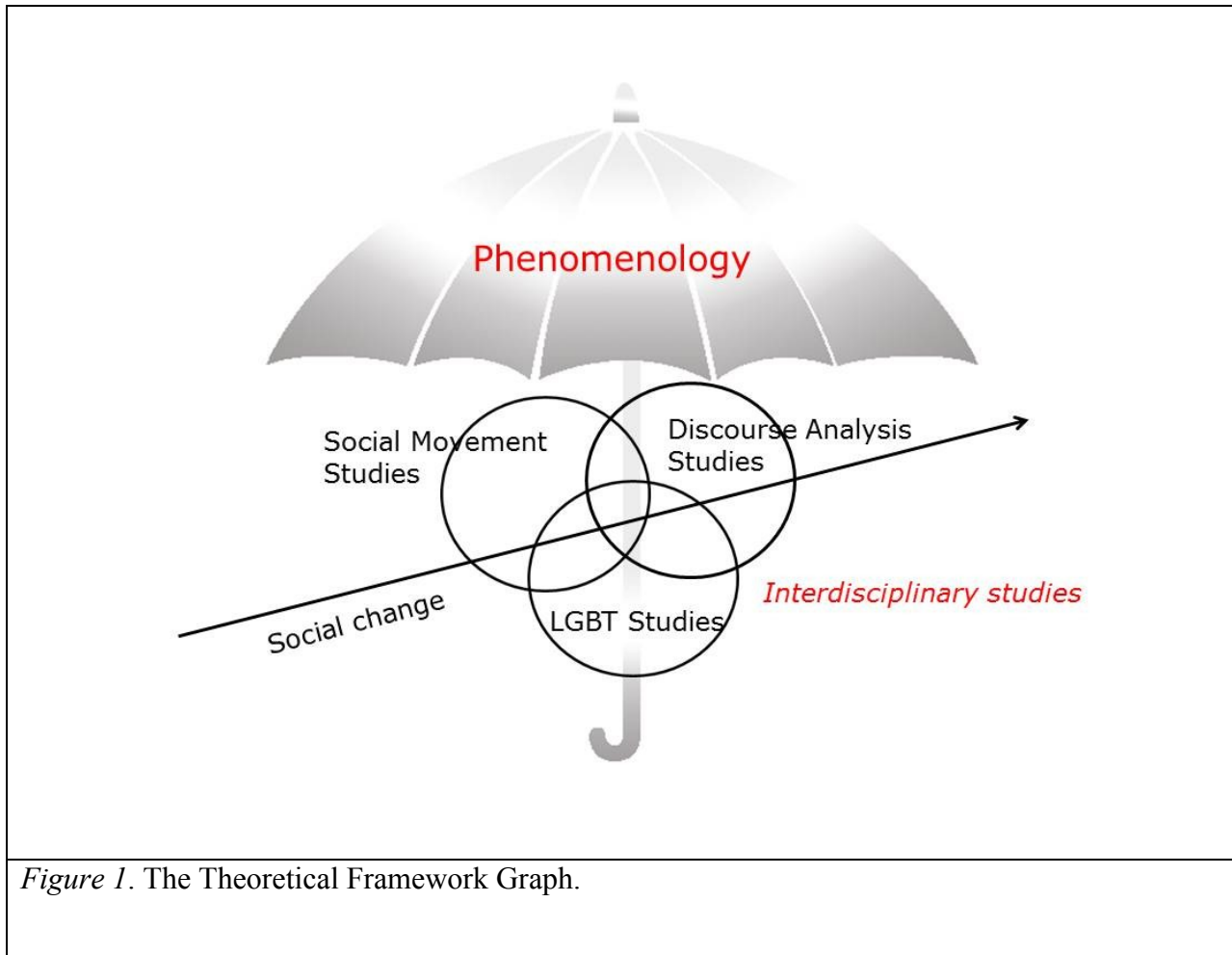
Figure 1. The Theoretical Framework Graph.

To understand the set of circumstances that brought forward the approval of this law the

big umbrella in the graph represents phenomenology, the main framework of this research.

There are many schools of phenomenological thought—each of them dealing to a greater or

lesser extent with issues in psychology, philosophy and the natural sciences—but what all of

them share in common is one problem: phenomenon. This problem is fundamental to any theory

of knowledge since in any investigation there is a "someone" who has decided to know the

object and to create a story about and from it. Therefore, my epistemic attempt will be to

recreate a coordinated description of the things that strike the observer as most important about

an event (leaving some things aside and emphasizing others) and thus describing the

psychological, historical and sociological circumstances in which the perceiving subject experiences it. Maturana and Varela state in this regard:

> […] the phenomenon of knowing cannot be taken as though there were 'facts' or objects out there that we grasp and store in our head. The experience of anything out there is validated in a special way by the human structure, which makes possible 'the thing' that arises in the description. (Maturana & Varela, 1992, pp. 25-26)

Aristotle was one of the first to recognize that the foundations of knowledge can be found in the structures of the mind. Consequently, "mind" always means something to Aristotle. Centuries later, Hegel, in his *Phenomenology of Mind* (1807), identified that the basis for this act of knowing is found in consciousness:

> Consciousness, we find, distinguishes from itself something, to which at the same time it relates itself; or, to use the current expression, there is something for consciousness; and the determinate form of this process of relating, or of there being something for a consciousness, is knowledge. (Hegel, 1807, p. 83)

This is a principle that epistemology has grappled with throughout its history, and it is not until Husserl that a claim emerges which posits that subject and object are correlated: that is, when we know something, it is impossible to deny there is a relationship between subject-object. Paraphrasing Sartre in *Being and Nothingness* (1953) "all consciousness, as Husserl has shown, is consciousness of something" (Sartre, 1953, p. li).

In the same vein, I follow Husserl in his assertion that conscious life is necessarily intentional. This means that all experiences refer to objects in the world with an intentional production of meaning: "Especially important is the right of intentional relations, of the intentions of expectations, which yield the transformation of an empirical transcendent positing

into systematic connections of consciousness." (Husserl, 2006, p.1) In this way Husserl extends arguments made by Franz Brentano, for whom the genesis of consciousness is intentionality.

In short, Brentano proposes that every psychological phenomenon contains something akin to an object, that is to say, psychological phenomena always relates content or point to an object, and this process of "referring to something" is always phenomenal: in love there is always something loved; in hatred always something hated; in belief there is always something believed and so on. Thus for Brentano in every act of consciousness there is always an "intentionality" since consciousness always "refers to-". Anything that does not occupy a space in the consciousness of the individual simply does not exist as knowledge, or, in the words of Brentano: "every phenomenon which does not belong to the course of the life of this individual lies outside of his sphere of knowledge." (Brentano, 1874/2009, p. 27)

I quote Brentano and Husserl so as to identify the relationship between experience and intentionality. In this regard, my interest in studying elements of LGBT discourse in times of neoliberalism in Chile not only aims to record historical events, but also to identify how these events became important, mobilized society, and provided the context for a public policy shift in favor of diversity. In other words, if my research is broadly concerned with social change, then the study of this change must be founded on the way in which all intentionality is mobilized to change social reality. Only by accepting that all research is motivated by a cause—previously established by the interests of the researcher—can we make sense of the paradox of studying social event of which we are a participant (even if only as a spectator).

To understand what it is in the broad context of my framework table 1 summarizes in three columns the goal of the study, the theoretical framework and the expected outputs according to the lens that composes the Theoretical Framework.

Table 1. Summary of the Study, Theoretical Framework and expected Outputs

Study	Theoretical Framework (lens)	Output
The purpose of this qualitative case study is to examine the symbolic dimension expressed in the discourse of the LGBT civil rights' movement since the decrimination of sodomy in 1999 until the approval of the civil union agreement in Chile in 2015.	Phenomenology (Husserl 1913; Varela 2000; Mayz 1975).	-Experiences and perception -Symbolic Meanings
	Interdisplinarity	
	Social Movement Studies (Tarrow, 2011; Della Porta & Diani, 2006)	-Social Change -Contentious politics -Empathic processes
	Discourse Analysis Studies (Fairclough, Language and Power, 2001; van Dijk T. , Discourse & Power, 2008; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001; Foucault, 1977)	-Multimodality -Power relationships -Narratives
	LGBT Studies (Butler, 1990 ; Bersani, 1995).	-Identity -*Homomercracia*

Some Considerations on Language

The analysis of the symbolic dimension expressed in discourse introduces two

foundational assumptions for this research: firstly, as humans beings endowed with the capacity

to create, imagine and form relationships, we live in a world of linguistic interactions which are

in a permanent process of expansion. Secondly, as Maturana and Valera acknowledge, we are defined in and through language, and this inescapable condition modifies our perception of both reality and our-selves. These two assumptions are crucial for this research in that they do not consider language as simply a tool for interacting with others, but as a way of being and creating knowledge. As Maturana and Varela point out:

> Every reflection, including one on the foundation of human knowledge, invariably takes place in language, which is our distinctive way of being human and being humanly active. For this reason, language is also our starting point, our cognitive instrument, and our sticking point. It is very important not to forget that circularity between action and experience applies also to what we are doing here and now (Varela & Maturana, 1992, p. 26).

> Numerous researchers have studied this relationship between language and the construction of social identity concluding that the first plays a fundamental role in interpersonal relations (Gumperz, 1982; Ochs, 1996; Bauman, 2000). Language forms part of our history as social animals, in that it served (for instance) to create strong interpersonal affective relationships associated with the need to collect and share food (de Waal, 2009). The enrichment of all mechanisms involved in language—that is, the "general process of cognition, such as audition, vision, or short- and long term memory" (Fitch, 2010, p. 21)—along with recurrent socialization lead humans to the production of language (Varela & Maturana, 1987).

In this sense, an individual's self-perception is formed by the input received from his social group and the material conditions of their environment. Consequently, the study of the structures of experience and consciousness sets up the basis for this research. The structure of my argument is as follows:

i.   Language is a form of communication, but it is not identical *to* communication. According to Fitch (2010), if communication simply means to exchange information through a system of signs and semiotic rules, then all animals are capable: birds can learn complex vocal songs, dogs use several communicative systems such as urination or barking, ants use pheromones, sounds and touch. Nevertheless, "language represents and communicates meaning in a different, and much more flexible and detailed way than these other systems" (Fitch, 2010, pp. 25-26). In conclusion, language is a unique system which allows us to describe ourselves and our own circumstances. As Fitch points out:

Rather than viewing language as a monolithic whole, I treat it as a complex system made up of several independent subsystems, each of which has a different function and may have different neural and genetic substrate and, potentially, a different evolutionary history from the other. (Fitch, 2010, pp.17-18)

ii.   As a method of communication, language facilitates deliberation, assessments or biases, and thus the approval or rejection of others' behaviour. It organizes our social life through rules, laws and constitutions. In this sense "language is considered as crucial in the reproduction of ideologies, which, in turn, is seen as central in establishing and sustaining social identities and inequalities" (Hart, 2010, p. 13). The complex ability of mind to create beliefs, to experience emotions and influence the volition of others is the "obvious advantage for primates, who live in relatively large-scale social groups" (*Ibid*., 21). In this sense, I inherit an understanding of the cognitive system as a "biological phenomenon" (Varela and Maturana, 1992, p.7), which predates language (Hurford, Studdert-Kennedy & Knight, 1998). We can conclude that our cognitive system is

always being affected, expanding and adapting to our knowledge. In this sense our epistemological structure, that is, our meaningful constructions of theories, beliefs, and criteria about truth, are always evolving as part of our symbolic word and interaction with language.

iii. After millions of years of evolution, we have developed a very sophisticated integrated system for perceiving, codifying and creating a specific response to phenomena using language: this process is the foundation of knowledge-creation.

iv. Norms, social rules, laws, and institutions are the elements that determine our social organization and our specific idea of democratic life. In this sense, I argue that the construction of institutions is intimately connected to our biological evolution. It is important to note that the claim, here, is not that democracy should be considered the *only* biological manner of organization, but that every form of social organization is an extension of our cognitive system, and its comprehension represents an opportunity to enhance the ways in which we interact with others. Using epistemic approaches from cognitive science, social cognition and humanities could provide a better comprehension of the social and environmental preconditions for the exercise of democratic life.

v. Our cognitive system does not receive input and create output in a logical, linear way. On the contrary, it is the name for a barely integrated and poorly assembled set of tools such as perception, emotion, memory, and structures of learning. As Joseph Heath states, "the structure of human reasoning system is below even the (already low) standards of evolutionary "design," because it is not adapted for the job it is currently being asked to perform" (Heath 2014, 78). Consequently, we need to go beyond typical answers and try to identify how specific social groups control certain paradigms, and which emotions

trigger certain publics, attitudes, values, knowledge, common sense and ideologies (van

Dijk, 2008). As Maiese explains: "although emotions often are not explicitly cognition

in the sense portrayed by traditional cognitive theories, they are indeed thoroughly bound

up with and inseparable from cognition" (Maiese, 2014, p. 514). Integrating work on

emotion conducted in both cognitive science and the humanities will provide us with a

better opportunity to understand a long-term cultural change in LGBT civil rights

struggles in Chile, and will thus facilitate meaningful social changes in the process of

decision-making.

vi.   In this regard, "there is a broad consensus that empathy is a fundamental component of

our social and emotional life" (Decety & Cowell, 2014, 337). However, despite the great

deal we know about empathy on a discursive level, researchers in cognitive science point

out that there is much that we do not know at the level of cognition. For example, Frans

de Waal (2009) wonders if empathy is a way to take care of others, or simply a

sophisticated tool to take advantage of others' good nature so as to survive and

reproduce. DeVignemont and Singer (2006), in a similar vein, wonder if empathy must

be interpreted as the *understanding* of another person's feelings, rather than simply a

response to another person's situation which is different from one's own. In the case of

gaining civil rights for homosexuals, lesbians and trans people in Chile, some researchers

point out how important LGBT groups find social sensitization in the process of others

understanding their historical outrage and rejection. However, researchers are urging us

to study—and fill—three gaps in the relation between empathy and public discourse on

homosexuality: 1) the democratic dimension of sexual rights studies in Chile; 2) the

relationship between the market and democracy in the construction of a more socially

acceptable homosexuality and 3) the construction of a full rights society in order to overcome the difficulties inherent in the transition to democracy. All of these sensitive areas are interconnected, because they represent three central concerns in the move toward a more developed and democratic society in Chile.

Methodology

This research is supported by fieldwork that I conducted between November 2014 and March 2015 in the city of Santiago. During the five months that I spent in this city of just over 6 million people, I made contact with LGBT organizations, visited their places of work, and studied memorials and archives related to the subject. I also interviewed leaders, activists, volunteers and politicians. I talked to ordinary people in the street, and took notes on their behavior, thoughts, feelings and social expectations. At a certain point I realized that despite all the specialized techniques for collecting data, the person who made decisions on where and what to focus on was me, and that meant accepting my circumstances, my beliefs, my prejudices, my certainties and my doubts. I therefore became aware of the great paradox at the heart of any research with claims to the objective: we cannot escape the fact of being ourselves whilst we experiment.

My original questions can be approached through a qualitative methodology, since this "consists of a series of interpretive, material practices to make the world visible" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). Indeed, my research is an attempt to grasp the many segments of "social reality:" collecting information from the transcriptions of interviews, directly observing social groups, compiling informal data from web pages, reviewing documents (established laws, written reports, political discourse, press releases), analyzing literary production (fictional, essays, poetry, songs), audiovisual production (films, documentaries) and artwork. Broadly

speaking, my intention is to recognize and explore the elements of social life that pertain to the LGBT community's demand for civil rights.

At this level, qualitative research will provide me with the tools to interpretively explain the phenomena which the participants experienced in a specific context. Several authors conclude that qualitative research studies attempt to make sense of phenomena in terms of the meaning that people bring to them and the way they integrate them into their experiences, perspectives and opinions (Creswell, 2007; Hernández Sampieri, Fernández Collao & Baptista Lucio, 2010). In addition, this way of conducting research will provide me with a theoretical frame through which to link the discursive production surrounding homosexuality in Chile and modeling of historical consciousness. I base this methodological objective on two complementary sources: phenomenological analysis (Husserl, 2006) and studies of identity and cognition (Varela, 2000; Hart, 2010).

I pursue this objective whilst keeping in mind the greater purpose of providing a multimodal interpretation of the citizen subject modeled after Chile's long transition to democracy. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of historical documentation as a disciplinary approach, I will elucidate vicissitudes in the Chilean political context. Former studies that deploy CDA share a similar objective: exposing power relationships, dominance and social inequality. In this sense, discourse studies propose a very particular relation between discourse and the structure of domination: every discourse is produced in a determined space and time by certain actors who are seeking to produce a certain effect of domination (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.3). Accordingly, CDA differs from traditional studies of rhetoric and text linguistics in that it deems the external relations of production of meaning that legitimizes some

groups of power and constitutes the moral order particularly important (Fairclough, 2001; Fairclough, 2003).

In this regard, Teun van Dijk suggests that language is a combination of micro-level discursive production "such as text, talk or communicative interaction" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 251) and macro-level discursive production such as institution, relations between groups, instituted and organized knowledge, and social power (van Dijk, 1999).[6] Since Critical Discourse Analysis aims to study the relations of social power and its conditions of reproduction, the relationship between micro-level and macro-level discursive production is crucial. Given that every discursive practice is based on the beliefs and myths of a collective narrative, which in turn transforms this narrative into a continuous movement, I argue that behind this text-production there is a biological integration of constitutive acts of cognition such as perception, memory and motivation (Varela, 2000) that provide the background for the production of Ideology. In this sense the starting point of this complex network of signifiers is empathy as a natural ability to understand others.

Since studies that use CDA presuppose that there is a strong relationship between discourse, power hierarchies and the reproduction of social inequality (van Dijk, 1993), public denouncement of abusive discursive acts seems to be a central endeavor for the analyst. My

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[6] Any CDA study should consider the connection of these two parts of discursive production: the micro-level discursive action and the macro-level cultural understandings, which van Dijk calls "social cognition" (van Dijk, 1993, p.257); these will be the shared presupposed meanings, concepts and knowledge by group members. As Adam Hodges points out quoting Brunner "we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative -stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing, and so on" (Hodges, 2011, p.3).

theoretical position is significantly different. Although public demonstration of one's indignation can be a useful tool for the analyst, limiting CDA to such an instrumental practice runs the risk of reducing it to a simple act of propaganda, thereby foregoing the various benefits involved in the interpretation of texts. My proposal in this regard is that CDA provides a valuable opportunity to reflect upon what we validate with our opinions, what we sanctify and demonize, and what has an effect upon our social practices, institutions, and public policies.

Following Halliday (quoted by Hart, 2014, pp., 6-7), we might contend that any CDA which is not based in a theory of language is not discourse analysis. However, I support the criticism that some forms of CDA confine themselves to a limited selection of textual productions, and simply organize and highlight some comments, essentially "repeating back stretches of text" (Hart, 2010, p.5). To escape the prescriptive use of CDA that ultimately ends with a persuasive or tendentious claim, I will employ a multimodal approach, which identifies the relation, interaction and creation of meaning between text and visual images. In other words, verbal communication involves meaning making at both the linguistic and visual level (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001).[7]

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[7] This notion of multimodality is based upon the diversification of writing genres since the development of the media industry. Kress and van Leeuwen argue that, historically, genres in writing were highly rated across the spectrum of formal expression of written communication, for example novels, academic treatises, official documents and even articles in the newspapers (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, p.1). All of them were built on the basis of written media being more or less uniform. Lately this reality has changed, and specialized disciplines and gender are often intersected with the visual image. Consequently multimodality operates in and across different modes of production of text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 2).

In this sense, Kress and Van Leeuwen suggest that multimodality should be defined as an understanding of communication as a series of phenomena—whether textual, aural, linguistic etc—in the service of messages. For example, when we watch news on television, the image encodes written text, and in turn written text encodes emotions and feelings that the news on television produces. In other words, text and image comprise a chain of meanings in permanent and unstoppable production, or what we call "semiosis". This constant production of signification is what characterizes discursive production in our contemporary world.

Throughout my research I seek to demonstrate that shifts from democracy to dictatorship to transition-democracy are not linear, discrete stages whose historical principles are anchored within the core of each of these stages. My critique of this traditional conceptualization of time is that it does not provide a convincing explanation of the long process of arriving at modernity in Chile. My research thus corresponds with Chilean neuro-biologist Francisco Varela's studies regarding time and consciousness, and his philosophical reflections on Edmund Husserl's phenomenology (Varela, 2000). The linear—and mechanical—explanation of time is inherited from classical physics, which understands it as an arrow made up of moments in a continuous, sequential flow (*ibid*., p.319). In place of such a model, I share Varela's view that time is a complex texture, and, more importantly, consciousness plays an important role in its perception and interpretation. I therefore propose to understand the historical stages stated above as discursive fluctuations and variations within the whole structure of socio-political life—that is, expressions of the cognitive dynamic that governs social forces.

Having said that, my methodological approach in figure 2 combines the Data Analysis Spiral model (DAS) proposed by John Creswell (2007) and the Multimodal Discourse Analysis approach conceived by Guther Kress and Theo van Leuwen (2001). My plan therefore is to

create the main fields with which to organize the data, and then analyze them by making

categories and comparisons which focus mainly on how metaphors are expressed in discourse.[8]

Figure 2. Data Analysis Spiral model (DAS) proposed by John Creswell (2007).
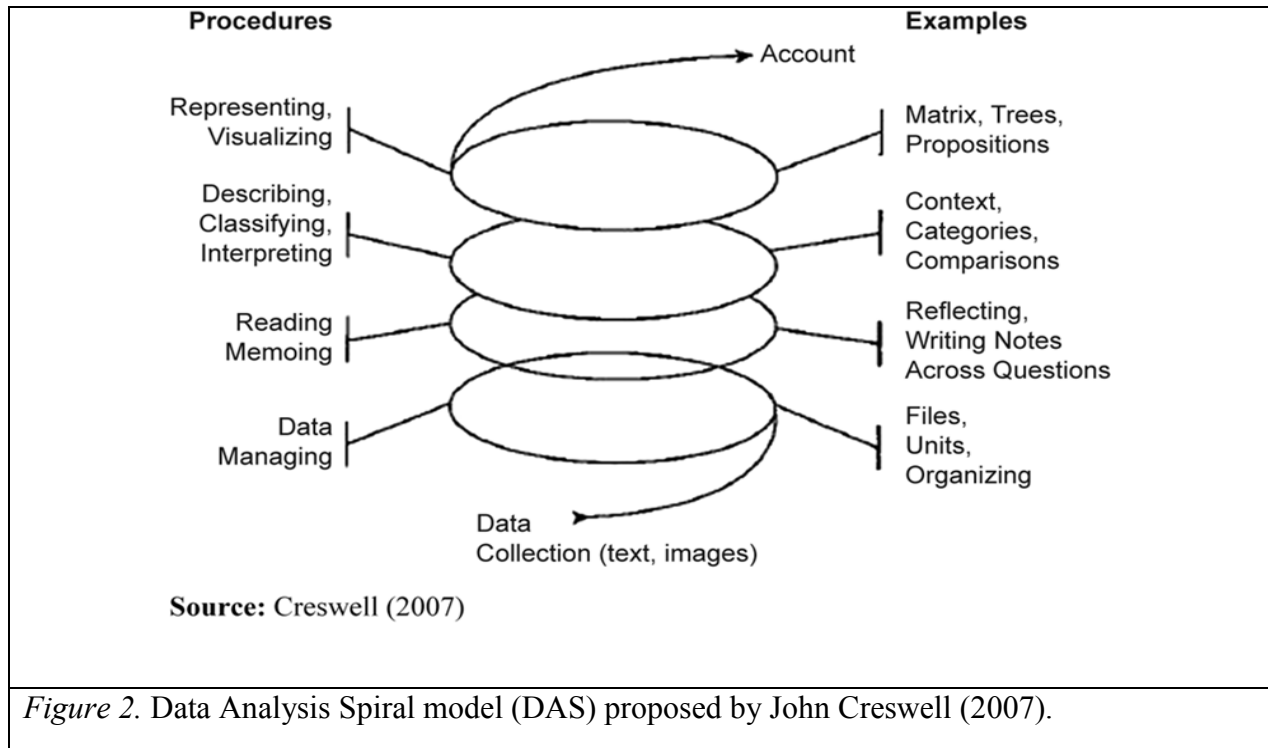
The DAS model outlines four stages of work, which are briefly described below:

  1) Organization of data into files, index cards and units.

  2) Exploration of the database and production of short phrases, ideas or key concepts. At

  this stage I will analyze the data by offering my own descriptions, developing themes and

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[8] Metaphor plays an important role in my research, since we perform acts of reality using this cognitive function. It

is understood, here, in the traditional sense taken from Aristotle in his *Poetics* as the act of "giving the thing a name

that belongs to something else" (Aristotle, 2002, p. 51). In this sense, the transference of some specific properties of

a given thing to another via analogy, comparison or association is one of the oldest forms of expression in speech.

providing interpretations in light of my own view or views of the perspectives offered in the literature. At this point it will be important to consider the strategy of multimodality, that is, the relationship between images and text.

3) Description, analysis and interpretation of the data. Here I will follow the recommendation of Creswell in terms of not developing more than twenty five to thirty categories of information, and then "working to reduce and combine them into the five or six themes that I will use in the end to write my narrative" (Creswell, 2007, p.151). Creswell also provides methods to analyze the information interpret metaphors as rich sources of multiple meanings, analyze double entendres that may point to an unconscious subtext, and separate group-specific and more general sources of bias by "reconstructing" the text.

4) Representation of data as "a packaging of what was found in text, tabular, or figure forms" (*ibid*., p.154).

My fieldwork was focused on collecting information in the following three main areas. Firstly, I ran two Focus Groups in January 2015, one of them heterogeneously composed, and the other made up of members of an LGBT organization (*Fundación IGUALES*). Secondly, I conducted 13 interviews related to the homosexual movement, culture, and activism in Chile. The interviewees were selected using the snowball method until a saturation point was reached. A list with the description of each person interviewed can be found in the Appendices. Lastly, in February 2015, I spent four weeks visiting the MUMS' archive and the National Library in Santiago de Chile. This provided me with a long list of materials such as press clippings, reports, and movies.

In my research I will pay special attention to the integration of different discursive resources, and theorizing how they interact to create meaning. In this sense, I'm guided by the meta-functional principle of integrating semiotic sources in order to obtain the "ideational meaning" (Hart, 2010, p.106) with a particular focus on political advertising, marketing, propaganda (election programs, slogans, election campaign discourse, announcements, posters, election brochures, etc.), and artistic and cultural production such as (movies, books, fashion, etc. [Scollon, 2001]).

Given that words refer to conceptual elements, I inherit the contention from Fauconnier that discourse creates "mental spaces" (Fauconnier, 1994) and I will therefore concentrate on law-making political procedures (laws, bills, amendments, speeches, etc.) and documents created with the intention of forming public opinion and/or self-representation (press releases, press conferences, interviews, talk shows, commemorative speeches, inaugural speeches, etc.).

Broad Topics of this Research

At the end of World War Two the fall in the price of exports and foreign investment were identified as the most significant obstacles to growth in Latin America. In order to combat this problem, CEPAL —United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean— was set up in 1948 under the ideological mandate of Argentinean economist Raúl Prebisch's *El Pensamiento estructuralista*. This new economic approach proposed that exports replace the purchase of industrial consumer goods such as clothes, food and certain industrial products. The *Pensamiento Estructuralista Latinoamericano* encouraged the strong participation of the United States in the Latin American economy, in order to create economy-driven politics

to transform nations. As Prebisch explained: "All this call for a more sustained and far-reaching effort than Latin America has ever yet had to undertake" (Prebisch, 1963, p. 102).[9]

Public reform in Chile under the Eduardo Frei Montalva government (1964-1970) came in the form of several public policies in health (birth control), education (educational reform under the ordinance number 27952, December of 1965), farming, and the development of local industry. All of these changes describe Chilean efforts to modernize. This long reform process during the 1960s to combat underdevelopment, the social revolution of Salvador Allende (1970-1973), Pinochet's dictatorship, and the transition to democracy represent stages in concerted political efforts to materialize the dreams of modernity. All of these phases demonstrate variations, modifications, alterations, mutations, and fluctuations. My objective in this case will be to identify which movements converge with the increasing demands of the Chilean LGBT community for sexual freedom. In other words, my argument is that beyond certain circumstantial historical moments following the transition to democracy, recent changes in favor

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[9] The original quote in Spanish: *un esfuerzo sostenido y de grandes proporciones, como jamás ha tenido que acometerlo hasta hora América Latina.* Based on this approach, at the beginning of the sixties, Latin America developed an economic model that focused upon the growth of the internal market, or *modelo económico hacia adentro* (Salazar & Pinto, 1999). This model was based on the development of industrial technology—mainly supported by the United States—in order to produce goods for local consumption. However, the home-grown nature of these industries created a bottleneck, and Latin American countries couldn't produce capital goods—that is, goods with which to manufacture other goods such as steel mills, cellulose processing plants, machines, tools and commodities with high technological complexity. Millions of dollars went missing in the search to buy supplies and machinery.

of sexual diversity represents (in the last case) the final step in the laborious move towards the "western project" of modernity.[10]

As part of a larger social movement, the blossoming of sexual rights in Chile not only represented a crisis in the larger ideological endeavor of introducing the country to the project of modernity (since the late 60s) but also subsequently, to the neoliberal economic model (the political introduction of which began during the 90s). All of these processes have fluctuations and discursive tensions. It is for this reason that a discussion of Chile's transition to democracy is not only an important step in sketching out the history of Pinochet's handover to the first elected president Patricio Aylwin in 1990, but it is also important in that it allows us to consider the quality of this democracy, or so-called "consolidated democracy" (Leon, 2009) spearheaded by former president Ricardo Lagos.

In this scenario, LGBT struggles for civil rights were also indicative of the historical tension over the control and deregulation of bodies. In this sense student marches that emerged in 2006 after the election of Michelle Bachelet as president highlighted this tension between an heteronormative and tradictional system on one hand and the emerging new social movements clamering for a new social and political order in Chile on the other. Among the demands for social change we can cite examples such as: the elimination of the constitution drafted by

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[10] Since democratization processes are complex and involve social and historical criteria, the transition from the Pinochet dictatorship to democracy has produced a lengthy debate in academia. However, the truth is that Chileans didn't go to bed one night under a dictatorship and wake up in a democracy: this was a complex process that took place over many years and included many significant acts (e.g. the setting up of commissions under Presidents Patricio Aylwin and Ricardo Lagos to clarify the abuses and violence under the dictatorship, the removal of the central monuments of the dictatorship).

Pinochet in 1982 and still in force; the binomial electoral system (eliminated in 2016) which was created during dictatorship to favor the second majority lists mostly representing right wing parties (Maira , 2001), and a private system of pensions as well as an education system that promoted inequality and exclusion (Muñoz, 2012). In this turbulent context LGBT organizations were able to present their demands in dialogue with a broader discourse of social justice put forward by the new generation. [11] According to to the interview with Leonardo Fernández (2015), the latter viewed with favor the idea that sexual freedom was closely linked to the deregulation of the female body,[12] and their own struggles to change the traditional structure of family which promoted women's subjugation to males.

The primary result of the acquisition of equal sexual rights for LGBT subjects has been the reinforcement of democratic values, the reduction of prejudice and the creation of opportunities for people historically marginalized by their sexual identity**.** During the last fifteen years, the terms used to refer to homosexuality in public discourse have shifted to "sexual minorities", "sexual diversity" and, in some cases, only "diversity". This change in the definition of homosexuality—confirmed several times by my interviewees—also represents a change in the perception of homosexuality. However, there has been some criticism on this matter. Erika Montecinos, for instance, declares that the concept of diversity became a very comfortable, politically correct word within the neoliberal context both for the government and LGBT organizations.

In brief, as homosexual organizations emerged at the beginning of the 90s, they labeled themselves as either "homosexuals" or "sexual minorities". This is the case for both the

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[11] In August 23, MOVILH held a conversation with the main liders of the students movement regarding a homosexual marriage law (MOVILH, 2007, p. 104).

[12] For instance, the bill concerning access to abortion , which had not yet been approved and in fact still was not as of 2016

MOVILH (*Movimiento de integración Homosexual*) and MUMS (*Movimiento Unido de Minorías Sexuales*). The struggles of these two organizations overlapped with those of certain leftist organizations which fought against human rights abuses during the Pinochet dictatorship. In contrast, the third organization I study in this research, FUNDACIÓN IGUALES (founded in 2011), represents an alternative position to the overcoming of past disputes, and supports the approval of anti-discrimination law (2012), gender equality (still under discussion in Congress), and the recent *Acuerdo de Unión Civil* (approved in 2015). According to my interviewees, as man's position as the normative sexual referent came under threat, so too did terms coined as concepts during 1990s such as "homosexual" or "sexual minority". Indeed, these terms became lost amongst a veritable plethora of new expressions to describe alternative sexualities: i.e. "sexual diversity", "LGBT", etc. Thus, in the 2000s, demands for sexual liberation diversified to the extent that other sexual identities became visible, as homosexual organizations were guided and identified themselves using the term "diversity".

As aforementioned, there is no agreement amongst scholars concerning the end of the transition to democracy in Chile. For the sake of clarity, I will follow those authors who see the government of Ricardo Lagos as the crucial moment that bookends this long period. Indeed, it is at the beginning of Ricardo Lagos' term as prime minster that we see the modification made to Article 365 of the Chilean Penal Code that decriminalized sodomy.

This change to the penal code in 1999 has had a major effect on the struggles that will be—and have been—organized in the twenty first century, because, in my opinion, it

represented the first step on the path to recognizing civil rights for the gay community.[13]

However, the challenge for LGBT organizations is how to expand their integration and encourage sustainable social development for other non-hetero-centered sexualities, and, equally importantly, to create an awareness of the discursive power of tradition and the market in creating identities**.** It is clear that the increase in support for LGBT rights in Chile is linked with the increase in public demonstrations led by high school students in 2006, who demanded reforms to the unequal education system privatized by Pinochet in the 1980s. However, at the same time, these protests were directed towards the massive changes implemented by a burgeoning neoliberal regime. In this sense, it is clear that we are confronting a paradox, since the neoliberal market system has changed radically the nature of consumption in Chile: at times this manifests as the control of sexuality using market strategies, and, at other times, it has facilitated the deconstruction of traditionally discriminatory attitudes towards homosexuals, by modeling them as good citizens.

Overview of the Proposed Structure of Thesis

While chapter one is dedicated to describing the methodological aspects of this research, chapters two, three and four are devoted to a narrative articulation of its findings. Each of these chapters has its own purpose, and is defined by the questions that introduce it. This structure has been chosen in order to ensure a narrative dynamic to this dissertation. It also responds to the main purpose of this research, which is to examine the symbolic dimension expressed in LGBT civil rights discourse over the last 10 years in Chile.

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[13] It has been helpful to corroborate this information provided by the academic advisor with the government of Michelle Bachelet, Fernando Matta, who argues that this change was able to open the spectrum of human rights in Chile, traditionally restricted to those who suffered abuse and torture during the dictatorship.

In the following chapters, I analyze three things within this context: the philosophical and scientific concepts of empathy, a key tool with which to understand the LGBT social movement in Chile; the symbolic representation of women in Latin America and in Chile, and how this has affected the discursive representation of homosexuality; and, finally, the attempts from different sectors of the LGBT social movement to adapt homosexuality and sexual diversity into the broad paradigm of neoliberalism in Chile. It is clear, then, that "empathy," "woman" and "adaptation" will lead the entire discussion of this interdisciplinary research.

Chapter two is an exploration and elucidation of the concept of empathy as it is understood from different traditions and perspectives—the purpose is to integrate a wide range of voices on the homosexuality debate, sexual diversity and LGBT political concerns. Accordingly, our natural condition of "being in someone else's shoes" not only represents the adaptation of the LGBT movement to institutional discourse, but it is also an expression of our need, as humans, to be accepted by the community. Therefore, the central argument in this chapter is that the process of gaining civil rights does not simply rely on the deployment of rational arguments, but also on cognition; this implies that perception, emotions, feelings and ways of being in language maintain social cohesion under an integrated symbolic structure. In order to support this argument, I will present an overview of recent discussions concerning empathy in philosophy, the humanities, social sciences and neurobiology.

If language is the gateway to understanding our ability to coordinate our behaviour with others, discourse can be understood here as the sum of intentions, purposes and motivations represented, embodied or performed in an oral, visual or material manner. Chapter three is devoted to understanding the relation between political purposes and their representation, guided by the assumption that power plays a central role in this relation. We shall explore, then, how

heteronormative discourse has shaped and controlled the historical image of woman, and how its

rejection can be discursively linked to hatred directed towards homosexuality in Latin America.

I argue that this is strongly connected to macho Latino culture, and is rooted in an Iberian and

Catholic culture that promoted—and maintained—a binary relation of man/woman. More

broadly speaking, this also represents an attempt by dominant male discourse to control the

female body, in the process reproducing the legitimization of masculinity. I argue, consequently,

that the notion of "woman" is significant to this research; it is the object of domination within

the heteronormative context, and one of the reasons why "homosexuality" has been historically

rejected in Latin America and in Chile since the arrival of modernity.

To observe this, I combine two methodological approaches: Critical Discourse Analysis

(van Dijk T. , 1993) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). This

chapter is dedicated to identifying the turning points in the process of gaining civil rights for the

LGBT population, beginning with the decriminalization of sodomy in the early years of the

LGBT movement during the 90s. My purpose, here, is to analyze the historical conditions that

have shaped homosexual social identity in Chile following modification to article 365 of the

Chilean Penal Code in 1999, which led to the decriminalization of sodomy.

Here, my work is in agreement with authors such as Teun van Dijk and Norman

Fairclough, who support the idea that certain groups control social paradigms as well as

emotions, attitudes, values, knowledge, common sense and ideologies (van Dijk 2008). In this

sense, I contend that there is a co-relation between social feeling and law; whilst several

supporters express the former in discourse, the latter has been a key target for the LGBT

movement in Chile, because it has identified that modifications to the law produce social change

in a a top-bottom directionality.

However, this is not the only way to produce change. I go on to argue that our cognitive system is far from being a processor of information that receives input and produces output in a logical, linear way. On the contrary, it is the result of the randomly assembled tools of perception, emotions, memory, and structures of learning. Consequently, the daily production of symbols, icons, and images condensed in discourse can also affect the structure of institutionality—for instance, political campaigns. With regards to LGBT civil rights struggles in Chile, what we are facing is a fascinating challenge to understanding a long-term cultural change.

Finally, chapter four focuses on the central concept coined in the context of this dissertation: *Homomercracia*. The creation of this concept comes as the result of my readings and reflections concerning recent changes in the image of homosexuality (as a discursive concept of citizenship) in times of emergent neoliberalism. Consequently, this last chapter represents an attempt to explore a vivid paradox lived in Chile while I was conducting my fieldwork. Pedro Lemebel, one of the most prominent homosexual Chilean performers and community writers who strongly denounced the abuses of the Pinochet dictatorship, passed away on January 23rd 2015; five days after he died, the civil union agreement was approved, and broadly celebrated by the main LGBT organizations. While one of the most notorious homosexual fairy stereotypes was dying, a new era in Chile was emerging. Indeed, this event represents an important moment through which to analyze discursive homosexual representations in Chile, and the struggle to build a new image of homosexuality within the context of the market and modern advertising.

However, we will learn that the origins of this political change in Chilean society are not quite as new as they might seem. In fact, they date back to the forced introduction of finance capital following the Pinochet coup in 1973, under the economic guidance of Milton

Friedman—this is what Naomi Klein refers to as an example of "the shock policy" (Klein, 2007). Klein argues that Milton Friedman and the Chicago School of Economics used countries in shock from disasters, upheavals or invasions as laboratories to introduce free market policies. These economic changes relate to the conceptualization of a new type of citizenship determined by the market. Within this social context, homosexuals are not only a convenient economic niche, but also good consumers and obedient citizens. In a certain sense, they represent the final conquest for the domination and control of the subject conceived by modernity.

However, not all gays, lesbians and transgender people are included in the plan of this dominant *Homomercracia*, but just those whose way of living can be commodified by the market. My argument, therefore, is that this commodification of homosexuality leads to the emergence of a new kind of gay leader—a male, white, socially successful professional—who, though widely accepted in Chilean society, is strongly marked by racial and economic biases.

Consequently, my narrative description is informed by the construction of Daniel Zamudio as a martyr of the homosexual cause and as a symbol of homophobia. The approval of the antidiscrimination law (also known as Zamudio's Law) represents a milestone in the history of the movement, and it used Zamudio as a metaphor for the historical oppression toward homosexuality. In this sense, the conceptualization of metaphor as a communicative tool will prove useful in describing the process by which the social imaginary is modified in order to create political conditions that lead to changes in the law.

CHAPTER TWO: ON EMPATHY

> …the minds of men are mirrors to one another, not only because they reflect each
>
> other's emotions, but also because those rays of passions, sentiments and
>
> opinions may be often reverberated, and may decay away by insensible degrees.
>
> (Hume, *A Treatise on Human Nature*, 1739)

Introduction

On March 27th 2012, at 7:45 pm—following several candlelight vigils—a 24-year-old homosexual man named Daniel Zamudio died at the *Hospital de Urgencia y Asistencia Pública* in Santiago, Chile. Despite the fact that his death was expected—he had spent 25 days in agony following a cruel beating from a gang of attackers—those who followed the case found themselves in a state of shock. In an unprecedented outpouring of public grief, thousands of people attended Zamudio's funeral the next day, transforming him into a symbol of sexual diversity in Chile (Césped & Berstein, 2012, p. 10; Radio Tierra, 2012). As the spokesman of *Movimiento de Integración y Liberación Homosexual* (MOVILH) declared on the night of his death:

> [Daniel Zamudio] becomes to us a martyr, a martyr of the sexual minority community, a
> citizen-martyr who did nothing except have a different sexual orientation… his only sin
> was to be born as he was (CNN Chile, 2012).

The Chilean police force's Department of Forensic Medicine documented the severity of the cruel attack on Zamudio's body: nine knife wounds, five cigarette burns, two contusions, one fractured leg, four swastika marks made with a sharp instrument, and a traumatic brain injury resulting from the severe impact of a rock which broke the skull (Fluxá, 2014, pp. 19-31). After

Zamudio's death, the Chilean president Sebastián Piñera expedited the approval of an antidiscrimination law which had, up until then, remained in Congress for seven years. In July 2012 the law was passed, signed by the President and entered into force. On October 17th 2013 Daniel Zamudio's four attackers were found guilty of first-degree murder by Judge Juan Carlos Urrutia (Águila, 2013). The crime caused wide-scale social unrest, and encouraged both those in the homosexual community and Chile at large to reflect: "this could have happened to me too" (La Red, 2015). Indeed, Chilean society's reaction to Zamudio's attack was the first clear demonstration of empathy[14] towards a victim of homophobia in Chilean history. Never before March 2012 had the Chilean people been filled with such a sense of sorrow and compassion (MOVILH, 2013, p. 121).

Media coverage of this event differed sharply with previous cases. Twenty-two years prior, on the 4th of September 1993, around twenty people died in a fire at the disco *Divine* in the city of Valparaíso, located two hours from the Chilean capital Santiago. To this day, both the number of victims and the origin of the fire remain a mystery: some argue that it was caused by an electrical short circuit, and others suggest that it was act of arson motivated by homophobia (Contardo, 2011, pp. 384-385). Whatever the cause, Chilean society's reaction to the tragic deaths of many homosexuals was expressed with a hint of both satire and contempt. At that time, LGBT organizations were still semi-clandestine groups living under the impact of the AIDS plague and the infamous law that punished sodomy. Indeed, in the 1990s homosexuality was considered a sinful choice—a set of irresponsible behaviors with embarrassing consequences for

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[14] Given that this chapter is devoted to the concept of "empathy" as it is defined in the humanities as well as in other fields such as neurobiology and psychology, a unique definition will not be provided at this point. Instead, the definition will be revealed throughout my argument, as I attempt to "unravel empathy".

which the homosexual subject was the only one responsible. After 17 years of military oppression, Chile was in the midst of a delicate process of democratic recovery. Augusto Pinochet remained a senator-for-life—a privilege granted by the 1980 constitution to former presidents, which came with immunity from prosecution—and Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994), the Chilean president, declared that Chilean democracy would look for "justice insofar as it is possible" (Muñoz & Quezada, 2016). In this social context, human rights organizations were more concerned with demanding justice for the crimes and abuses during the Pinochet regime than clarifying the case of 20 homosexuals who died in a disco fire. Consequently, homosexual rights were not seen as a human rights issue.

On May 22nd 1993—four months before the tragic events at the disco *Divine*—Aylwin began an official tour of three north European countries: Sweden, Finland and Denmark (Contardo, 2011, p. 13). Once in Copenhagen, he gave an official speech in which he stated to Danish congress that Chilean democracy was "solidly re-established and consolidated, pending only some refinements to the political regime" (Contardo, 2011, p. 13). However, in the middle of a round of questions, Aylwin was disconcerted when a journalist asked him about homosexual discrimination in Chile. It was the first time that a Chilean president had been questioned in this regard, and Aylwin could only reply with astonishment: "In Chile there is not the kind of discrimination that you raise in your question." He then added, after a pause: "Chilean society does not react with sympathy toward homosexuality" (Contardo, 2011, p. 14).

Oscar Contardo argues that the coalition that supported the government of Patricio Aylwin wanted strongly to be recognized by European social democracies as a reliable equal. Whatever the case, Aylwin's government was not thinking of Chilean sexual minorities when they discussed human rights. As Contardo explains:

Aylwin's response to the Danish journalist that day of May 28th 1993 set a limit between

what the government of the new Chilean new democracy understood as human rights and

a mere expression of "sympathy" (Contardo, 2011, p. 14).

What is the meaning of this gap that separates the lack of social sympathy, reluctantly

expressed by Aylwin's government in the early 90s in Chile, and the massive outpouring of

empathy expressed during the funeral of Daniel Zamudio in 2012? What does this progressive

attitude towards sexual diversity tell us? In other words, does this progression suggest a change

in the perceptive, judgemental and affective abilities of individuals in Chilean society?

With the aim of answering these questions, the present chapter is separated into three

sections. The first one is devoted largely to reviewing two understandings of empathy, those of

Aristotle and David Hume. The second section presents a useful account of the relationship

between empathy and certain recent explanations of its origins based upon the study of mirror

neurons in neurology. Finally, in the third section, I use the aforementioned work to better

understand Chile during the Pinochet Era. This last section will provide us with an in-depth

account of the evolution of the concept of human rights regarding sexual diversity in Chile from

the early 80s to more recent times.

Philia and the Beginning of Empathy

In *Nicomachean Ethics,* Aristotle devotes chapters VIII and IX to the subject of

friendship. It is in the Greek philosopher's term philia —a complex notion which refers to a

variety of relationships, and is defined as a tendency to create emotional ties with others—that

we find many points of correspondence with what we currently understand as empathy. In fact,

Aristotle argues that the feeling of friendship or philia is necessary to our lives "since it is a

particular virtue, or it involves virtue; furthermore, it is something most necessary for life"
(Aristotle, 1998, p. 1). For Aristotle, philia means a state where the individual, through a logical
process, recognises similar values in others. Aristotle conceives of this human process as one
that imitates nature where "like attracts like" (Aristotle, 1998, p. 2) For Aristotle there exists in
all living species a natural tendency to pair with other subjects that are identified as similar to
themselves.

This notion of identification with things that are similar is crucial to Aristotle's writings.
Consequently, Aristotle conceives it as the root of every relationship between humans—from
simple interactions through to the most complex of relationships such as the organization of
nations, governments and democracy. Indeed, for Aristotle, friendship—the act of thinking and
going forward together—is the basis for the formation of governments, states and civic life.
Although the word philia possesses a wide semantic range—ranging from the individual's
preference toward someone in the realms of friendship, family relationships and erotic love—
what stays consistent across all definitions is the notion that living beings are naturally attracted
to one another. Thus for Aristotle the fundamental condition for any kind of human association
is not justice but the feeling of friendship with the other: "to the extent that people hold things in
common, to that extent there is a friendship, since to that extent there is justice as well"
(Aristotle, 1998, p. 13).

If we transpose Aristotle's concept of philia onto contemporary discourse concerning
empathy, it seems clear that the terms share many similarities. In this sense, Aristotle provides a
novel approach to the simple and natural fact of being drawn to loving others. The philosopher
seems to suggest that humans are conditioned to receive the love of others as a spontaneous and
natural operation when he states: "most people seem, out of love of honour, to wish to be loved

more than to love" (Aristotle, 1998, p. 11). Therefore, our natural disposition to be loved would be for Aristotle a learning process in which we gradually become dependent on the occurrence of this stimulus in our environment. Thus Aristotle not only gives us an essay devoted to empathy, but he provides the basic elements that are involved in a friendship relation such as compensation and justice. As he notes, "if people are friends there is no need for the virtue of justice, yet if they are just they still need friendship. Furthermore, among ⟨types of⟩ just actions, that which is most just is thought to be characteristic of friendship" (Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 1998, p. 1).

The relationship between friendship and justice established by Aristotle complements the notion of empathy to which this research adheres. Recent studies conducted on animals put forward the idea that our gregarious nature may be strongly mediated by our sense of justice (de Waal, 2009). Although there is a large field of study that draws a link between community and justice, what I would suggest here is to understand justice as a biological attribute observed in several species. Dogs, for example, are able to identify the inequitable distribution of food (de Waal, 2009). My contention, here, is that if we understand empathy as a complex skill that integrates cognition, the sense of perception and our emotions, and if this complex system allows us to join together in communities to protect us from environmental threats, a sense of equality plays a role in maintaining this complex structure. In the words of the primatologist Frans de Waal: "Whatever noble reasons we give for fairness and justice, they have the firm backing of our vested interest in a harmonious and productive social environment" (de Waal, 2009, p. 192).

Accordingly, de Waal's conclusions coincide with Aristotle's propositions expressed more than 2,000 years ago: sympathy that we feel for others leads us to search for similar

objectives together. If concord, for Aristotle, is vital to the interests of the *res publica*

responding to the call for help, to assist the unfortunate and to work collaboratively would be to

both Aristotle and de Waal expressions of our need for harmonious social life.

David Hume's sympathy

Perhaps the philosopher who has most studied empathy as a basic element of social life is

David Hume. Unlike Stoic thought that puts reason before passions (*pathos*), Hume suggests that

reason is subordinate to our emotions. In Hume, reason is an inactive ingredient which cannot

take action itself: "reason is wholly inactive, and can never be the source of so active a principle

as conscience, or a sense of morals" (Hume, 1738, p. 458). Thus, for Hume, feeling has an active

role, and consequently passion is the source of all our motivations and moral structure.

How do reason and emotion operate to produce an effect on our behavior? Hume argues

that when we observe the feelings of others, they cause a similar effect in our own feelings to the

point that they move us. For Hume, we are moved by the pain or joy of others because we are

able to mirror their emotions. However, what we have here thus far is only the reflection of an

action; there must be something else which provides us with the ability of acting. Hume then

proposes the theory that each of us has the ability to "[convert] an idea into an impression by the

force of imagination" (Hume, 1738, p. 427)

For Hume, what distinguishes human beings in their evolutionary journey is precisely

their ability to imagine. Imagination has given us the ability to plan, design and transform nature.

However, it has also provided us with some negative traits such as the need to control excessive

uncertainty and the future. Consider a zebra, for instance, in the middle of the Savannah. It will

release adrenaline at the exact moment it perceives that a lion is approaching. We humans

however, need only to imagine danger or uncertainty to produce stress hormones. This demonstrates the great power of imagination, and David Hume was able to recognize the link that ties ideas to action.

Hume points out that "In sympathy there is an evident conversion of an idea into an impression. This conversion arises from the relation of objects to ourself" (Hume, 1738, p. 319). Thus when we transform the idea into an impression, what we actually do is "imagine" reality as if it were happening to us. Our ability to move ourselves, to impact ourselves, and to change the original course of our actions will depend on the impact (impression) that this idea can cause in our own person.

On the morning of March 2nd 2012, when television stations in Santiago showed the image of a 24-year-old man's broken body, covered in bloody swastikas made with shards of glass, it illustrated the first phase of what in Hume's terms could be understood as the conversion of ideas into a strong visual impression. That is to say, if we return to Daniel Zamudio's beating and his subsequent physical agony in the days that followed, Hume's ideas on sympathy can help us to understand how the process of empathy is deployed in modern societies. Several factors contributed to this increased awareness and feelings of impotence and compassion: Firstly, a young gay man was brutally beaten for reasons of hatred and homophobia; secondly, the impassioned uprising of sexual minority organizations—which had for many years reported similar cases of abuse—demanded justice for this crime; thirdly, Chilean society was extremely shocked by the brutality of this crime; and lastly, extensive media coverage of Zamudio's hospitalization, candle memorials along the country, the testimonies of his parents and friends, and press releases by spokespersons of sexual minority organizations.

Through its appeal to personal experiences and feelings, media coverage has a powerful effect on the subject that observes an action—in this case, one of sheer brutality. It is very unlikely that Daniel Zamudio would have become a martyr for sexual minorities in Chile if it was not for media participation during the days of his agonizing demise. In this sense—and according to Hume—phenomena such as this does not mean that we perceive others' feelings, but that we perceive their causes and their effects:

> When I see the effects of passion in the voice and gesture of any person, my mind immediately passes from these effects to their causes, and forms such a lively idea of the passion, as is presently converted into the passion itself (Hume, 1738, p. 575).

If passion is involved in imagination it is easy to infer that abstract concepts such as God, democracy, law, the state, nation, or even society, are abstractions reinforced by propaganda such as songs, myths, art, political discourses, and stories that generate strong attachments by impressions. We can conclude at this point that our powerful dependency on impressions transforms us into beings highly influenced by phenomena as objects of perception or experience. Although I do not want to establish a relativistic attitude toward reality or nature, it is important to emphasize how a subject is affected and draws conclusions about his relationship to the latter. In this sense, despite that in its "Treatise" Hume does not provide a single definition of what he means by nature, it is clear that in his work nature is deprived of all theological interpretation. As he writes: "we may only affirm on this head, that if ever there was anything, which cou'd be call'd natural in this sense, the sentiments of morality certainly may" (Hume, 1738, p. 474).

The "I" is for Hume a set of sensory perceptions that shape our consciousness and memory. Consequently, for Hume, our feelings depend on internal operations of consciousness, and our ideas are the result of this psychological process forming impressions that leave us with

a deep mark. Thus, Hume argues that perception is similar to feeling, stating: "Every thing that enters the mind, being in reality a perception, 'tis impossible any thing shou'd to *feeling* appear different" (Hume, 1738, p. 190). However, the Scottish philosopher is cautious in defining perception and feeling as the same thing, later noting: "Every one of himself will readily perceive the difference betwixt feeling and thinking. The common degrees of these are easily distinguished; though it is not impossible but in particular instances they may very nearly approach to each other" (Hume, 1738, p. 1).

The philosopher's significant contribution to a theory of consciousness leads us to a fundamental conclusion. As we have already seen, to Hume the process of creating abstract concepts is the result of impressions; therefore, any act of thinking is first and foremost an act of feeling. This means that to put ourselves in someone else's shoes we need first to feel as the other. This is the reason why Hume's philosophy has been described as a philosophy of empathy. (Agosta, 2014; Agosta, 2010)

> 'Tis indeed evident, that when we sympathize with the passions and sentiments of others, these movements appear at first in our mind as mere ideas, and are conceiv'd to belong to another person, as we conceive any other matter of fact. 'Tis also evident, that the ideas of the affections of others are converted into the very impressions they represent, and that the passions arise in conformity to the images we form of them (Hume, 1738, p. 319).

For Hume, sympathy is the foundation of emotional communication between human beings, and it is rooted in the socialization process that begins in our childhood years. If the world is an incessant display of stimuli that provokes us with impressions and ideas through our perceptual mechanisms, to Hume our own "I" would be built from these extraordinary

operations between perception, cognition and emotion. This is the main value of the theory of sympathy proposed by Hume: if we did not possess a mechanism that allows us to be moved by the world that surrounds us, we could not create ideas, reason, organize ourselves into communities or even be motivated to exist as individuals:

> We may conclude, that relations are requisite to sympathy, not absolutely consider'd as relations, but by their influence in converting our ideas of the sentiments of others into the very sentiments, by means of the association betwixt the idea of their persons, and that of our own (Hume, 1738, p. 322).

Hume's great contribution is the conclusion that all those involved in social life are exposed to the same principles of causation, contiguity and resemblance. Therefore, it is the principle of resemblance that motivates us to the sense of sympathy toward others and leads us to sympathize with others, in the sense of sharing the same place, culture, or simply the effects of the same natural environment.

> Ourself, independent of the perception of every other object, is in reality nothing: For which reason we must turn our view to external objects; and 'tis natural for us to consider with most attention such as lie contiguous to us, or resemble us (Hume, 1738, p. 340).

In an epoch of climate change, the effective deployment of sympathy becomes essential to the successful maintenance of human communities and ecosystems. Indeed, Hume's ideas concerning sympathy should be the vehicle that drives us to a new conception of community living, of our systems of democracy and social participation but, perhaps most importantly, our perception of the social environment as an extension of our nature. In other words, sympathy,

according to Hume, has the tendency to communicate our desires and feelings, and thus it serves as the core constituent of our social identity. His conclusions in this short review will help us to trace the concept of empathy, and to understand how it is related to recent discoveries in neurology and cognitive science. Similarly, the conclusions of Hume provide us with a way of understanding what social life represents, what makes us people, and what it means to act in accordance with other's desires. These conclusions are vital to the way I will read the recent process of social empathy toward the plight of sexual minorities in Chile.

Empatheia

One wonders at this point whether this "affection" described by thinkers like Hume also implies the creation of a shared aesthetic feeling. I assume that it is so, in fact! As beings thrown into this world, endowed with perception and cognition, the construction of an emotive memory of the world is mainly expressed through the arts. In other words, to have a place in the world means in turn to have a complex set of assessments of what brings us pleasure or displeasure, what is good, what is evil, what beauty and ugliness are. This tendency to look for pleasure has deep roots in the constitution of our psyche.

In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), Sigmund Freud discusses Eros and The Death Drive —the two principles on which a human being's experience of the world pivots. According to Freud, we are all living organisms that struggle between two poles: the desire to remain alive, and the wish to return to matter from which we originated. These are, of course, opposing drives: Eros is connected to creativity, harmony, sexual connection, reproduction, and self-preservation, whilst the Death Drive represents destructive feelings, aggression, and self-destruction. The point that I take from Freud's conclusions, here, is the notion that within our unconscious lives both good and evil, beauty and ugliness, light and darkness.

Empathy has been tightly linked with aesthetics and the creation of the concept of beauty. The etymology of the word is proof of what I argue here. The concept of empathy derives from the Ancient Greek word ἐμπάθεια (empatheia), "physical affection, passion, partiality". This is derived from two words: ἐν (en), "in, at" and πάθος (pathos), "passion or suffering" (Liddell & Scott, 1940). Despite the fact that empathy has no universally accepted definition, it can be broadly understood as the affective response of recognizing and understanding another's emotional state, sharing another person's emotions without confusing them as one's own. (Decety and Meltzoff 2011; Decety and Meyer 2008; Eisenberg, et al. 1991)

Although sympathy and empathy have long been understood as interchangeable (Chismar, 1988, p. 257; Spiro, McCrea Curnen, Peschel, & James, 1993, p. 103; Hojat, Spandorfer, Louis, & Gonnella, 2011, p. 989), it is important that we separate empathy from emotions and feelings such as compassion or sympathy. While compassion is an emotion we feel for helping people when they are in need, sympathy is the feeling of *understanding* others in need. Nowadays there is a broad consensus which defines empathy as "a fundamental component of our social and emotional life" (Decety & Cowell, 2014, 337) useful for feeling sympathy and compassion, loving, caring and relieving the pain of the person who is suffering (Bernhardt & Singer, 2012; Singer & Steinbeis, 2009; Singer, 2006; Decety & Chaminade, 2003). Accordingly, there is empathy if: (i) one is in an affective state; (ii) this state is isomorphic to another person's affective state; (iii) this state is elicited by the observation or imagination of another person's affective state; (iv) one knows that the other person is the source of one's own affective state   (de Vignemont & Singer, 2006). What do these four conclusions of empathy have to do with an aesthetic theory?

In this section I consider it necessary to review the German concept *Einfühlung*, a word whose history is not easy to trace or define   (Nowak, 2011). It emerged during the eighteenth century and has been used to explore the human psyche and has also served as an aesthetic formulation   (Depew, 2005). It involves our cognitive ability to understand other's feelings, and recognize in nature the symbolic-empathic relation that characterized primitive cultures "in which logical thinking had not led to the separation of man from nature" (Nowak, 2011, p. 304). An important figure in the development of this concept was Friedrich Theodor Vischer, to whom "*Einfühlung* meant the viewer's active participation in a work of art or other visual forms. It was a mutual experience of exchange between the body and the perceived object" (Nowak, 2011, p. 304).

The concept would be later translated into English by Theodore Lipps as a way of relating aesthetic experiences and the psychology of perception. In this sense Lipps is considered to be the creator of a systematic theory concerning the role of empathy in the construction of knowledge (Morgade Salgado, 2000). Lipps' central argument is that the external appearances of a work of art express a mental or spiritual state, and this same pattern can be followed in our interaction with other humans (Balbontín Gallo, 2007). Accordingly, Lipps defines objects as the result of all that is perceivable by the senses, in such a way that the form of the object is always the entity which takes shape in our mind.

Lipps provides a vivid example of how perceived images influence our own psychological mechanism of empathy, which is "nothing other than the inner aspect of imitation" (Agosta, 2014, p. 61). In his example of observing an acrobat, Lipps explains that it is through

the process of mimesis that one perceives both movement and its aesthetic manifestation.[15] Lipps then proposes another example to express this fact: the observation of a risk-taking juggler suspended in space on a tightrope generates within us a strong emotion—it literally *shakes* us, and makes us cling to the chair on which we sit, all this an unconscious reaction to the other's emotional state. In Lipps' words:

> The "other" is one's own personality, a modified own ego, which is represented and modified according to the external appearance and the perceptible expressions of life. The man besides me, of which I am conscious, is a duplicate and at the same time a modification of my self (Cited in Agosta, 2014, p. 62)

As we will see in the next section, this spontaneous ability to reflect others' feelings is natural, because here I propose that our competence in imitating reality in the visual and performing arts is an extension of our survival skills as biological organisms. Human beings are born without the tools that enable them to be independent in the world: that is to say, without a competent caregiver to protect and nurture a newborn baby, it would surely die. In biological terms, we are partially independent when we are born: that is, we begin with only the potential to learn such complex feats as walking, running, talking, painting, creating, and reproducing. This biological potential, according to Jacques Lacan, requires the input of others in order to develop: firstly, the stimulation of a parental subject (the "mythical mother") who introduces the child to the world of images, a parental subject that has mapped the road to the symbolic dimension of

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[15] Aristotle understood mimesis as something nurtured in childhood (Aristotle, 2002, p.8), an innate ability to imitate people, actions and human passions, and, like Lipps, he understands it as the link between perception and aesthetic sense. From this point of view, the performing arts such as music, theater and cinema depend on this ability to imitate not only nature, but human feelings

the world; secondly, the ability to recognize our own corporeal image and our consciousness as a distinct self. All this would be impossible if we were not equipped with a neuronal system that enabled recognition of others' emotions and behaviour. Lacan articulates his conclusions in his renowned essay *Le stade du miroir comme formateur de la fonction du je, telle qu'elle nous est révélée dans l'expérience psychanalytique* (1949) which was presented in congress in Zurich in 1949:

> […] *le petit d'homme à un âge où il est pour un temps court, mais encore pour un temps, dépassé en intelligence instrumentale par le chimpanzé, reconnaît pourtant déjà son image dans le miroir comme telle.* […] *Cet acte, en effet, loin de s'épuiser comme chez le singe dans le contrôle une fois acquis de l'inanité de l'image, rebondit aussitôt chez l'enfant en une série de gestes où il éprouve ludiquement la relation des mouvements assumés de l'image à son environnement reflété, et de ce complexe virtuel à la réalité qu'il redouble, soit à son propre corps et aux personnes, voire aux objets qui se tiennent à ses côtés* (Lacan, 1966, p. 93).

The key component in this human process of reaching maturity is self-control, and an understanding of the body. In later texts Lacan devoted his attention to mimesis as an innate attribute. Mimicry in nature has been extensively studied and there are various theories that explain it: for example, in some circles, it is said to have its origins in the ability that certain animals possess to scare predators, widely known as camouflage. Although these theories have been criticized, the fact is that imitation appears to be a behavior that evolves. It is not my intention in this chapter to delve into this fascinating topic, but simply to maintain Lacan's conclusion that human beings, as complex biological individuals, are endowed with the ability to imitate, and that our own survival—observed from the early months of our childhood—depends

on this reflex. Thus Lacan proposes the idea of "the mirror stage". It is with this theory that

Lacan recognizes the importance of the human optical system and our fascination with our

reflection, a process that begins around the age of 15 to 18 months. From that moment on, we

are captivated by our own image, a fact only emphasized by the positive reinforcement we

receive from our parents. From this, we develop a narcissistic sense of self.

Autopoiesis

If mimesis is a fundamental reality in artistic production, and if the ability to feel

empathy is a basic condition for politics, what is the objective of empathy within the biological

mechanism? That is to say: how do the conclusions drawn by Aristotle and Hume relate to

findings within the realm of science? In the early 70s, Chilean scientists Humberto Maturana and

Francisco Varela introduced the term "autopoiesis" to refer to one of the fundamental

characteristics of all living organisms: their independent morphological and functional

constitution. Indeed, both unicellular and multicellular organisms share the characteristic of

being able to reproduce and sustain themselves independently. We understand herein the term

"by themselves" in its broadest sense, recognizing that while all living organisms receive energy

from their environment, they are able to use that energy to maintain their structural consistency

and their internal chemical balance, in order to interact with the environment and other living

units. This whole process is done with complete independence.

The second aspect of every autopoietic system—and here it becomes clear why the

concept derives from the Greek *αὐτο*- (auto-), meaning "self", and *ποίησις* (poiesis), meaning

"creation, production"—is the ability to produce—understood both as a transformative and

destructive process—the necessary components for: (i) continuous interaction with the

environment and (ii) the establishment and shaping of their own structure (Maturana & Varela,

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1980, pp. 73-95). Put more simply, every living unit is characterized by its incredible ability to use substances from the environment for their own (re)generation and growth as well as to produce substances that allow them to send information to other living units. In the words of Maturana and Varela:

> Our proposition is that living beings are characterized in that literally they are continually self-producing. We indicate this process when we call the organization that defines them an autopoietic organization. (Maturana & Varela, 1992, p. 43)

This condition rules unicellular and multicellular units, and characterizes all metabolic functioning that requires the detecting of nutrients in order to assimilate them, or the disposing of toxins for survival. Thus living organisms have developed through evolution a sophisticated border/membrane system that distinguishes the environment and gives it its own dynamic. Mexican philosopher Katia Mandoki defines it as "the condition of receptivity or porosity, i.e. membrane of all living beings" (Mandoki, 2006, p. 17)[16] Thus, the membrane is the boundary that separates us but in turn (paradoxically) connects us with the world.

We can conclude so far that, as biological organisms, human beings are also autopoietic. Our multicellular condition—that is, the fact of structurally being "cell aggregates in close coupling" (Maturana & Varela, 1992, p. 87)—also gives us the ability to organize ourselves in several ways such as organisms, colonies or societies. Nonetheless, Maturana and Varela recognize that both unicellular and multicellular organisms have "operational closure" (Maturana & Varela, 1992, p. 89), namely "their identity is specified by a network of dynamic processes whose effects do not leave the network" (Maturana & Varela, 1992 p. 89).

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[16] My own translation.

We will use this principle of "operational closure" as a way of explaining how empathy has its basis in our own biological constitution, and, by extension, how it affects our social life. In this process the nervous system plays an important role. Our specific condition as subjects endowed with a nervous system is typically used to argue that we are not autopoietic in nature. With that we make, according to Maturana and Varela, the mistake of giving the nervous system a certain autonomy, and forget, consequently, that its organic roots respond to the same law of autopoiesis and organization. One wonders, then, what the real function of the nervous system is in our organization as living systems. We will not dwell on evolutionary explanations, here, but we will instead concentrate on the relationship between the nervous system and empathy as it is understood in recent biological studies.

Maturana and Varela explain that the nervous system "expands the realm of interaction of an organism" (Maturana & Varela, p. 147). In general terms, the nervous system coordinates voluntary and involuntary actions by transmitting signals to and from different parts of the body through specific cells called neurons. At a more integrative level, the function of the nervous system involves the use of sensory receptors to capture information from our bodies and the environment so as to regulate both our own relationship with what surrounds us and the function of our internal organs (Kandel, Schwartz, & Jessell, 2000). It therefore follows that our bodies can coordinate various actions using chemical and electrical signals without our having any awareness of any such actions. Consider the fact that while you read this sentence, you have no conscious control over your digestion, your breathing or your heartbeat: the brain does it for you. This sophistication of the nervous system has made possible the evolution of language, the imagination and construction of abstract ideas, concepts and culture (Fitch, 2010).

The human brain's exquisite ability to maintain the internal equilibrium of the organism on an organic level also occurs at the level of cognition – that is, in its integration of memory, emotions and experience. In this sense, to assert that our social interactions are an extension of these abilities of the brain is more than a simple metaphor taken from biology (Maturana & Varela, 1980). To process information from our environment through perception and to create networks with other biological beings equipped with the same abilities is the starting point for the creation of life within a society. Consequently, processes such as learning, reasoning, memory, problem-solving, decision-making and language are the result of the intricate organization of the nervous system.

A second concept derived from the work of Maturana and Varela, behavior, is usually defined as what an individual does by themselves such as walking, eating or talking. However, Maturana and Varela propose a radical change to this definition, arguing that behaviour instead results from an observer's evaluation of "changes…[to]…a living being's position or attitude" (Maturana and Varela, 1992, p. 136). If the traditional definition of "behaviour" emphasized the role of subject/agent who performs a task, then Maturana and Varela's definition shifts the focus to a subject who is capable of perceiving that action. As the two biologists explain: "By behaviour we mean the changes of a living being's position or attitude, which an observer describes as movements or actions in relation to a certain environment" (Maturana and Varela, 1992, p. 136).

Indeed, as Maturana and Varela explain, the majority of the terms we use to define behavior are linked to movement or displacement of a body, and these are, in turn, things governed by a nervous system and associated with the subject's will. As the two biologists write: "This situation, however, is normally described as a change in the plant's development and not

in its behavior" (Maturana and Varela, 1992, p. 144). Indeed, everything is in constant movement. The earth, for instance, travels around the sun at a speed of 107,208 kilometers per hour, 87 times faster than the speed of sound. Meanwhile the sun travels at a speed of 792,000 kilometers per hour (220 km/s). I strongly recommend that the reader hold on to his or her chair tightly because we are travelling through the universe at the vertiginous speed of 1600 kilometers per hour in round numbers.

Although movement is a fascinating subject, we do not have the time nor space to delve into this matter. I mention it only so as to argue that observable movement is not necessarily an indication of life itself. Each year, for example, deciduous trees—those that have the ability to renew their leaves—lose their foliage when the autumn arrives. The reduction of light and solar radiation makes these trees lose strength. Moreover, the soil freezes, which hinders the uptake of water and nutrients. Under these conditions, the productivity of the leaves decreases. The tree then adopts a more profitable strategy of energy conservation, which involves the shedding of leaves: withdrawing the supply of nutrients, it creates a film between the branch and the leaf base, whereby the leaves are finally abandoned to their fate. The tree has changed structurally, and because these events occur at a rate almost unnoticeable to the human observer, we do not usually judge this change in the tree as behavior. Why not? What Maturana and Varela propose, then, is that instead of understanding behavior merely as a conclusion reached by the observer under certain conditions, we should focus on the structural changes that allow living organisms to maintain balance and autonomy.

Thus, for Maturana and Varela, behaviour is not a property of the nervous system, as there is a multitude of living organisms that do not possess the latter but still have the capacity to respond to environmental stimuli through a phenomenon called irritability. As they explain:

Thus, the behavior of living beings is not an invention of the nervous system and it is not

exclusively associated with it, for the observer will see behavior when he looks at any

living being in its environment. (Maturana and Varela, 1992, p.138)

If there is no behavior as a phenomenon of the observer, what then is in place is only

structural change. Autopoiesis! What gives us such complex skills such as introspection,

learning and language? It is here that the nervous system plays a fundamental role as a generator

of "acts of knowledge." An example can be found in our complex visual system. Primates are

equipped with a highly sophisticated visual system. However, when we consider vision we

usually pay attention only to the eyes and their internal structure, but rarely do we consider the

system that connects the eyes to the brain. It is true that eyes have evolved over time to become

highly complex. But our eyes only capture still images; these images travel to the brain and the

brain is responsible for organizing, processing and making sense of these images. The Primary

Visual Cortex located at the back of the brain is the anatomical area charged with this task, and

our brain devotes much of its energy consumption to the sense of vision.[17]

From a developmental perspective, we know that infants are able to monitor and detect

the movement of a body and, in the same way, detect other movements (Decety & Grézes, 1999,

p. 172-178). One of the most accepted studies on this subject is Gunnar Johansson's *Visual

Perception of Biological Motion and a Model for its Analysis,* in which Johansson analyzes

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[17] This would explain not just how we perceive stimuli from the environment, but also how we give meaning.to

them. Fashion, art, and advertising make use of this natural predisposition of our brain toward images. From our

earliest days of life our vision works by identifying landmarks that will build images that have meaning. Thus our

interpretive system of images is not only based on physical stimuli but also in our own imagination developed over

time.

patterns of movement without the interference of forms. Johansson developed "the point-light technique", by attaching points of light to the joints of the human body (the wrists, elbows, hips, shoulders, knees and ankles). These initial studies have been corroborated by later research that demonstrates how sensitive we are to the motor interpretation of the body (Lappe, Wittinghofer , & de Lussanet, 2015).

This more recent work demonstrated how skilled our brain is at interpreting the human body in motion with limited visual information: indeed, participants were often even able to recognize the gender of the person whose movement they were analyzing (Kozlowski & Cutting, 1977). These studies demonstrate the fact that there is a conventional semiotic representation of all action, or at least the most basic actions involved in our survival (Decety & Grézes, 1999; Hart, 2010). The old Aristotelian hypothesis—formulated with only the philosopher's powers of observation and devoid of all modern technology—was right: we are highly skilled in the perception of and emulation and coupling with all that resembles us. We will return to this point later, when we analyze certain images that have characterized the recent process of empathy and its relation to the homosexual movement and sexual diversity in Chile.

Mirror Neurons

The activity of mirror neurons is a fascinating phenomenon whose discovery came by chance. In the early 90s, a study at the University of Parma led by Dr. Leonardo Fogassi, Vittorio Gallese and Giacomo Rizzolatti took place: in it, scientists placed electrodes on the Inferior Frontal Cortex of a monkey to study the reactions of specialized neurons in the movement of hands. Accordingly, this study focused on the monkeys' ability to grasp, release, rotate or move their hands. The experiment was set up in such a way that the scientists could register these movements by placing an electrode on a single neuron and recording its operation

while the monkey performed various activities when he was fed. In one of these instances, a researcher picked up some fruit, and the monkey's monitored neuron—without any movement on the part of the monkey—reacted by sounding an alarm. At first the researchers thought that there was an error with the experiment, but they soon realized that nothing was wrong with the equipment, and that the neurons in the monkey *had* reacted while the animal observed the movement of the scientist lifting up a piece of fruit to eat. Eureka, they had discovered mirror neurons!

There have been many related discoveries since that meaningful moment. While most studies have been carried out only on animals, there is sufficient evidence from tests conducted on humans using fMRI[18] to support the theory that mirror neurons form part of the human brain as well. It is for this reason that this discovery has been rated as one of the most important in neurobiology and cognitive psychology in the past two decades. Despite obvious differences, there is broad consensus that both human and monkey brains share this specific group of neurons (Rozzi, 2015; Cook, Bird, Catmur, Press, & Heyes, 2015; Orban, 2015; Goldman, 2011: Keysers, 2011). What makes this discovery so special? The basic claim is that our brain is structurally equipped to mimic the action of others in the same way that a mirror does. This, of course, overturns theories of learning that suggest that we are naturally able to learn through imitation. Studies show that the mirror neuron circuit, observed in figure 3, is composed of several areas and extends along the brain through the premotor and parietal areas, as well as the temporal lobe (Lamm & Majdandžić, 2014; Decety & Cowell, 2014; Bernhardt & Singer, 2012; Shamay-

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[18] Functional magnetic resonance imaging or functional MRI (fMRI) is a functional neuroimaging procedure which uses magnetic resonance imaging technology to detect physical changes (such as of blood flow) in the brain resulting from increased neuronal activity   (Huettel, Song, & McCarthy, 2004)

Tsoory, 2011; Decety, 2011). This suggests that the Macaque monkey (*Macaca fascicularis*) and human mirror neuron system may indeed stem from a common ancestor (Keysers, 2011, p. 46).

Figure 3. The Mirror Neuron System in human and Macaque monkey brains. The visual area in the temporal lobe (1); the parietal area (2) and the premotor cortex and (3) in human and Macaque monkey brains. As Keysers explains: "In the monkey we know that neural connections exist between 1 and 2 and between 2 and 3 but not between 1 and 3 (Source: Keyser, 2011, p. 47).
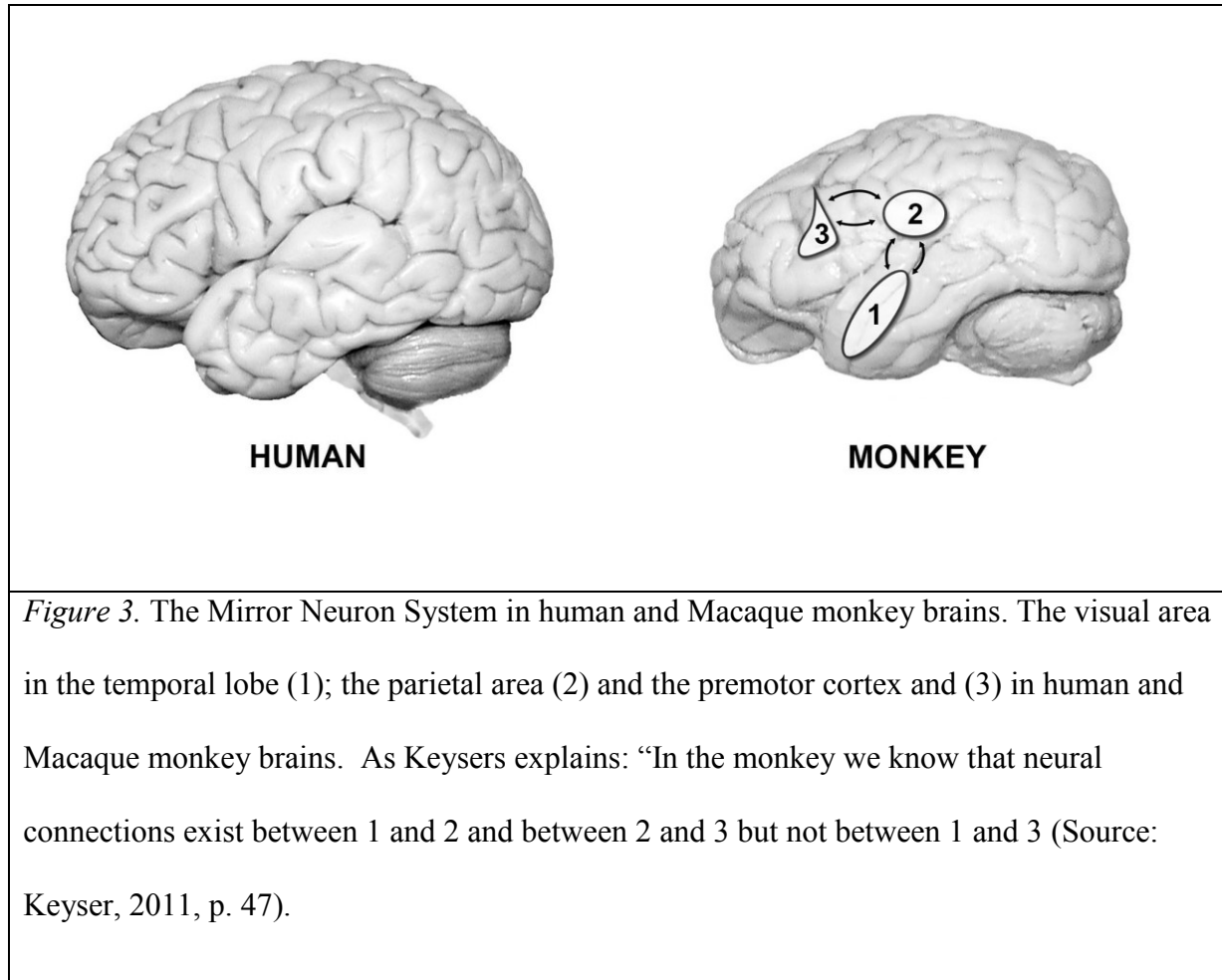
However, certain philosophers and scientists have received the discovery of mirror neurons with reluctance. Skeptics argue that the system is not in itself sufficient to explain the action of understanding others (Hickok , 2014). For example, the philosopher Lou Agosta argues that a phenomenon such as empathy lacks a corresponding physical or biological mechanism, and therefore "it remains a mere idea or concept without existence" (Agosta, 2010, p.12). Whilst exercising caution, Agosta recognizes the undeniable existence of two things: empathy as an

internal movement that leads us to put ourselves in others' shoes, and neurological evidence of the existence of mirror neurons in monkeys. What we have so far is an open and ongoing debate. As Agosta explains:

> In the simplest terms, this is how one organism can possibly come to have an experience qualitatively similar to what another organism is experiencing—the same set of neurons discharge in the two related organisms. That's it. Everything else is theory building. (Agosta, 2010, p. 13)

How can we explain this reluctance to accept the thesis that our tendency to feel moved or identify with others is supported by a set of neurons that respond to and mimic their movement? It would seem that this resistance is not only founded on centuries of thought that philosophy and the humanities have dedicated to arriving at an explanation of the cognitive process and its involvement in how humans learn, but also in the formation of values and moral principles that make possible the coexistence between humans, the formation of culture and the construction of civilizations. While this mirror neuron theory does not dismiss the importance of the cultural environment in the learning process—from how to use a spoon, say, to more complex action such as interpreting others' feelings—the fact remains that many researchers feel uncomfortable accepting the existence of mirror neurons.

Part of this dispute concerns the emergence of language and theories that explain our propensity for empathy. On the one hand, as Decety and Meltzoff point out, the thought of "philosophers has traditionally been that this self-other connection was thought to be a late achievement and perhaps dependent on language" (2011, p. 64), yet, on the other, recent studies in neurobiology suggest that our attraction and sensitivity to others—here understood as

empathy—plays an important role during the pre-verbal period in childhood development. If the latter is correct then it follows that this complex imitative system generates language, rather than language developing human empathy. Additionally, Decety and Meltzoff propose something further: "few philosophers took infant behavior as input into theories of human empathy" (Decety and Meltzoff, 2011, p.64). Indeed, it seems clear that modern findings in developmental science show that infants notice the equivalence between the acts of others and their own actions. This innate relationship with others should be taken more seriously in psychological and philosophical debates surrounding the origins of empathy and its role in political theory, democratic coexistence or, in the case of this research, in the complex recognition of sexual diversity.[19]

On the other side of the debate, there are many who have argued that to assume the existence of mirror neurons in humans requires a large imaginative leap. Responding to such critique, Daniela Mario (2013) makes an interesting point in his account of the history of evolutionary behavior: to accept the existence of mirror neurons in monkeys and to reject it in humans—arguing, for example, that studies have only been tested using fMIR—would mean

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[19] I support here the theory that evolution is far from being a rational process that equips each species with the tools to survive in an environment as if it were selected exclusively for them. Nature shows us a very different reality: species evolve as a result of multiple acts of trial and error, and thus evolution would seem more like a lottery than a foregone conclusion (Pagel, 2012, p. 10). The more attempts that nature makes to adapt to the environment, the more likely that one—or some—of these attempts will succeed. The simple law of probability demonstrates that nature can also play the dice. Evidence gleaned from studies of evolution also shows us that adaptations are usually less complex than we think. In this sense, if a particular adaptive mechanism has been effective then it will endure over time and become necessary. This means that if there is no reason to renew or change a particular successful innovation, nature simply does not change it. In terms of energy expenditure, nature is often the most aware.

that evolution, despite having an effective mechanism for understanding the environment, has interrupted a successful chain of adaptation in humans presumably so to create an even more complex adaptive mechanism. In the words of Daniela Mario, this conclusion contradicts every understanding we have about evolution, because species retain everything that benefits them (Mario, 2013, p. 64).

It has also been argued that there are certain parts of our body that offer evidence that we are part of an ongoing process of evolution. In this sense, the traditional concept of creation might be replaced by the principle that we are constantly in the process of being created. Take, for example, hiccups: although they are useless—and often annoying—scientists have concluded that they could represent the memory of a bygone age of human evolution, in which we possessed a double breathing system equipped with gills and lungs. The argument, here, is that when we hiccup, an old part of our brain is attempting to switch from lung breathing to gill-breathing, a process no longer necessary given our current stage of evolution. This physical mechanism would not have completely disappeared and would emerge as an artefact of our evolutionary prehistory (Heath, 2014; Shubin, 2009). Similar things can be said about the reason why we yawn. While several explanations have been offered, one theory in particular argues that the process is rooted in our remaining evolutionary bonds with animals that live in herds. It proposes that a single animal's yawn triggers a chain reaction that activates the brains of the rest of the animals in the herd. This represents a natural protective system that alerts the animals to the dangers that surrounds them, and removes them from drowsiness (Gallup and Gallup 2007). While in modern life yawning appears to be useless, the fact is that it still has a function. Muscle contractions that produce yawning shrink the arteries, sending a "push" of air supply to the brain. In contrast to what is believed, then, yawning, rather than being a symptom of sleepiness,

represents a bodily reaction to the need to be alert. In this sense, some evidences suggest that the secret of contagious yawning would also be connected with mirror neurons (Haker, Kawohl, Herwig, & Rössler, 2013).

The Mechanisms of Empathy

How does our discussion of evolution and mirror neurons relate to the increasingly empathetic response to the plight of homosexual subjects in Chile? In order to find an answer to this question, it is necessary to keep in mind the political conditions under which the homosexual movement evolved. Firstly, it is important to realize that the Chilean homosexual movement has more in common with the movements in other Latin American countries than it does with those in North America or Europe. In Chile, the Church's strong influence upon the formation of social identity (Larraín J. , 2001) and a rigid class structure resulted in a political system based on authoritarianism and conservative values (Sagredo, 2014). It was not until the uprising of left-populist governments in the second half of the twentieth century that this social structure was questioned. These upheavals culminated in complete democratic breakdown, and it was this disruption of president Salvador Allende's government in September 1973 that triggered a political crisis and strong social polarization (Salazar Vergara, 2012). This tumultuous period was followed by General Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship (1973-1990), a long authoritarian regime characterized by violence and arbitrary aggression. In this context, Chilean citizens had all sense of freedom and identity removed, as mechanisms of terror such as executions and forced disappearances became commonplace. The return of democracy in 1990 brought great hope for an end to seventeen years of darkness, and part of this recovery process has involved the discovery of the truth surrounding human rights abuses and the strengthening of democratic institutions.

Patricio Aylwin, for example, established The National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in 1990—broadly and simply known as the "Rettig Report" (Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación, 1996)—so as to investigate the human rights abuses committed during the military dictatorship. The report determined that 2,279 persons were killed for political reasons.[20] To this first report, made at the beginning of Chile's return to democracy, we must add The Valech Report (officially known as The National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture Report), a new report released in 2005 that records the abuses committed in Chile between 1973 and 1990 by agents of Augusto Pinochet's military regime. The commission found that 38,254 people had been imprisoned for political reasons, and that most had been tortured. It also found that an additional 30 people had been executed or had "disappeared".

My life, in certain respects, has revolved around these two reports. I remember vividly the day when Esteban, one of my paternal uncles, brought the hefty Rettig Report to my grandmother's house. The report consists of a brief biography of each person and a few details regarding the reasons for his/her detention, and the testimony of the witnesses who saw them before their arrest. Among the long list of names of was that of Patricio, Esteban's twin brother, an ex-professor of Spanish, who disappeared on January 6th, 1975 at the age of 29. For years this enormous tome has remained at my grandmother's house—perhaps the only book other than the Catholic Bible that she owns—acting as a replacement for the son who never returned, and as a makeshift and portable grave.

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[20] This report included 957 persons who disappeared following arrests and 164 "victims of political violence", a figure that included police officers and others killed by left-wing "extremists".

Meanwhile, we can find in the Valech Report the names of those who survived abuse and torture, but who were removed from their jobs and live —or lived— in exile. My father and some of my uncle's names appear in this report. My family's experience is not so different from many Chilean families, in that after years of denial of the abuses perpetrated by the dictatorship, they finally saw an official document in which State abuse was recognized. This brief personal history raises a number of questions: What leads us to commit these terrible atrocities to our own species, our own neighbor or co-worker at particular points in history with stunning insensitivity? What leads us, then, to turn things around, to recognize these abuses, to empathize with them and in some recent cases to apologize? What separates instances of historical apathy from sympathy? The Valech Report, which records details of torture during the Pinochet dictatorship states in its introduction:

> [...] Even harder to imagine: the infamy of sexual assault, the indecent lack of inhibition toward all integrity, the repeated physical aggression, the taking of alleged confessions, the electric shocks, the simultaneous hitting of the ears known as "the phone", and that evil human inventiveness that we humans possess when we have no mercy toward the victim or simply we show off our power. […] But it is also true, we do all this thirty years later, the victims are not the same and they are observed in a different manner than what they are and what they could have been. Thirty years later, institutions and people involved in some way in these acts are not the same either. Thirty years later we have a very different country, which forces us to recognize something that always should be recognized as unacceptable (Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura, 2004, p. 10).

There are a number of important points in this excerpt that will help to define and place the concept of empathy within the contemporary Chilean context. Firstly, I would like to highlight the issue of the "evil human inventiveness that we humans possess." In 1961, Adolf Eichmann, one of the major organisers of the Holocaust, was kidnapped in Argentina and taken to Israel by agents of the intelligence service. Not long afterwards, Hannah Arendt was commissioned by *The New Yorker* to fly to Jerusalem to be present during Eichmann's trial and to write a report. The report—which would eventually become the book *The Banality of Evil* (1963)—provoked widespread debate, and Arendt's unexpected conclusions led to her condemnation by many prominent Jewish intellectuals. The philosopher argued that Eichmann was not a monster but an unintelligent bureaucrat who simply followed orders without morally questioning their nature. In doing so, the philosopher did not exonerate Eichmann, but she did argue that under certain conditions, all humans have the capacity to embody this "banality of evil".

For those who were following the trial closely—both the Jewish and international community at large—it was difficult to understand why a Jewish woman who had both a personal history with the Nazis and a significant academic reputation would come to such a conclusion. If Galileo had to pay the price of public ridicule for leading mankind out of geocentrism, then it would seem that for Arendt the price of observing the most complex constellations of human behavior meant something similar. However, despite the criticism, Arendt's thesis has received a notable amount of scientific backing. That is, her philosophical conclusions concerning human nature and the science of human behavior seem to converge at a similar point: we are neither essentially virtuous or malignant. We have the potential to be one, both or neither, and this fact depends on social context. In fact, at the same time that Arendt

wrote her report on Eichmann, Stanley Milgram was conducing his studies at Yale University on the psychological relationship between obedience and authority. Milgram demonstrated that people can be manipulated to inflict torture on others when they feel pressure from an authority figure.

The experiment began with the selection of a volunteer in the street. That participant was led to believe that he was participating with a second person in an experiment to measure memory and learning. Next, each of the two participants supposedly "chose" their role in the experiment by picking a piece of paper from a box. The experimenter's accomplice then picks his paper and announces that he has been designated as "student." The voluntary participant in turn picks a piece of paper and discovers that they will fulfil the role of "teacher". Of course, both pieces of paper have the word "teacher" on it, so the real participant has, in fact, been tricked. Their role as "teacher" is crucial for the psychological experiment.

Next, the "student" is placed in an electric chair and tied up to prevent "possible excessive motion". So far, everything seems to be under control. Some electrodes are placed on the student's body with cream to avoid burns. The experimenter in charge emphasizes the fact that the electric shocks can become extremely painful, but they won't cause irreversible damage to the "student". All of this information is explained in front of the "teacher".

Before beginning the experiment, participants are told that it will be recorded, so they cannot later deny what happened. Both "teacher" and "student" then receive a discharge of 45 volts, a demonstration which acts as proof that everything that happens during the experiment will be "real". In this way, the participant who fulfils the role of "teacher" is fully aware that the electrical discharges can cause the "student" pain.

Finally the "teacher" and the experimenter in charge enter a module with a table, a machine that will provide electric shocks via a voltage generator, and a chair where the "teacher" will be located. Further, there is a sign and four lights in front of the teacher, with each light corresponding to the letters A, B, C and D. Each letter is illuminated according to the response delivered by the student. Figure 4 shows the role of the "Scientist" conducting the experiment and the other performs the role of "Student" who is tied to the chair. The third participant is the subject and the only real object of study, who is in charge of delivering the electrical shocks during the experiment.
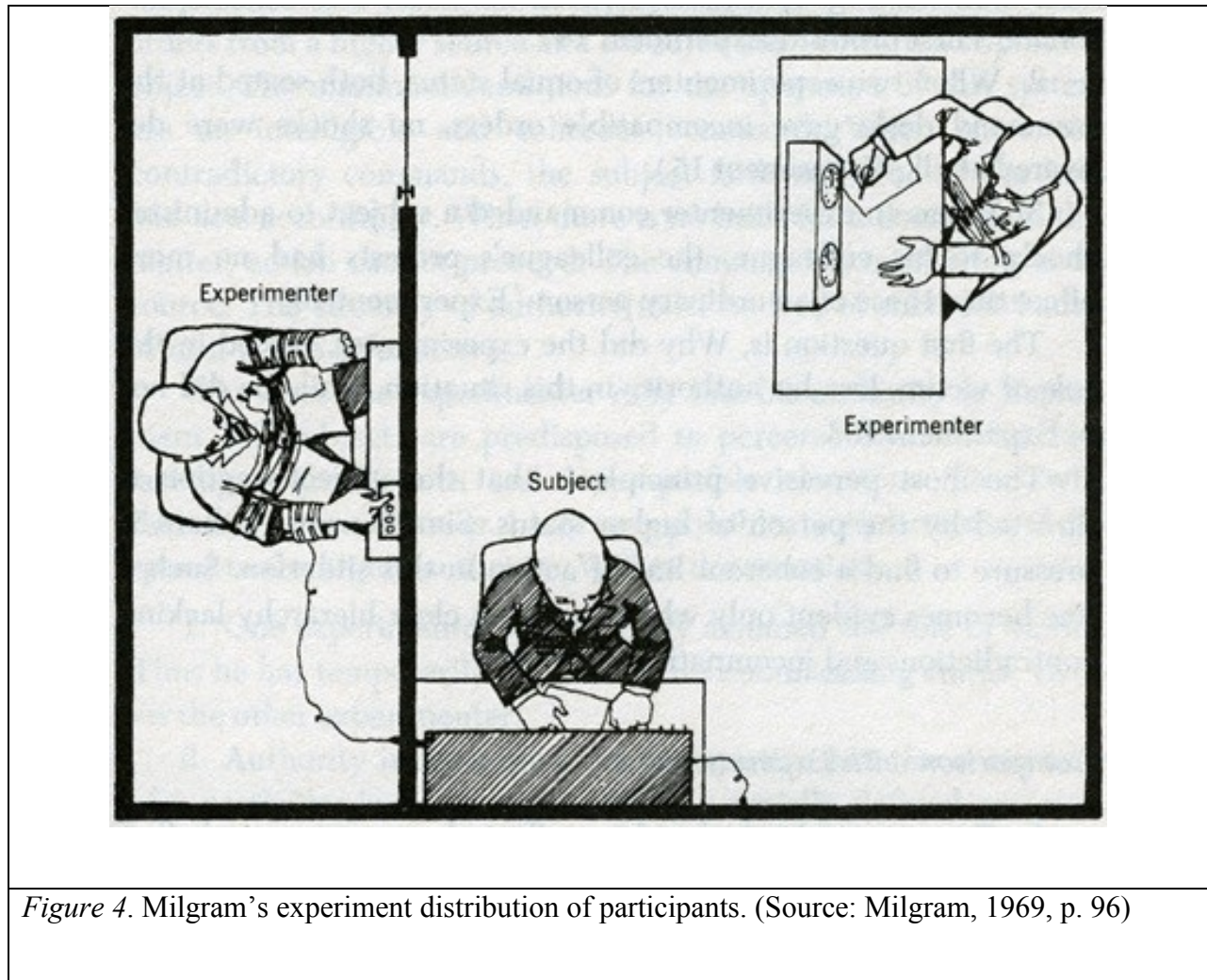
Figure 4. Milgram's experiment distribution of participants. (Source: Milgram, 1969, p. 96)

The researcher, sitting beside the "teacher", provides the latter with a list of word pairs to be read to the "student". Next, the "teacher" reads the first half of the word pairs, and the student is asked to remember and choose from a choice of four words which is the correct answer. The "student" has been asked, of course, to provide the wrong answers, so that they intentionally fail and the "teacher" is forced to punish them with electric shocks. It is important to note that throughout the experiment the "teacher" can only hear the "student".

The original records of the experiment and subsequent recreations—which can be accessed easily on YouTube—give us an idea of the emotional conflict in the "teacher," which pivots between feelings of empathy toward the suffering of the "student" and the will of the experimenter. Here is a recreation of the experiment conducted based in my readings and recorded videos on Milgram's experiment.

—The next word is "bicycle". The choices are "tire", "career", "helmet", "pants". The "student" has chosen the fourth option, "pants". After verifying that the "student" is mistaken the "teacher" delivers a shock of 150 volts. The "student" shouts and has begun to demand to be let out of the chair.

—I do not want to keep doing this anymore—. Pleads the "teacher" to the scientist who leads the experiment and who coolly replies: —Keep going please. The experiment requires that you continue—.

The "teacher" who is ignorant to the farce in which he is the victim continues almost reluctantly: —The next group of words are "blade", "rocket", "pencil", "rubber" —. The sign of responses ranging from the letter A to D is illuminated with the one selected by the "student". Again he has erred. The frustration can be seen in the eyes of the

"teacher" who must now deliver 180 volts to the "student" who begs him to not do it. The "teacher" looks confused, and the scientist in an even higher and more authoritative voice, says: —It's absolutely essential that you continue. You do not have any choice. You should keep going on—. The "teacher" applies, with notable reluctance, the electric shock amid cries of despair by the "student".

Stanley Milgram's experiment demonstrates not only how strong our tendency is to obey in a context of authoritative pressure, but also how difficult it is for a person to impose their own will in order to stop damage to others.[21] This would explain both the prevailing mindset during events in Nazi Germany, but also offers an explanation as to why thousands of young conscripts participated in torture, war crimes and the disappearance of compatriots during the Latin American dictatorships of the 70s and 80s. While the conclusions of this experiment and those of Arendt do not justify the crimes committed, they offer insight into how difficult it is to transform social paradigms and to raise awareness of suffering. In this regard, Milgram explains:

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[21] In the original experiment, 65% of participants (26 out of 40) applied an electric shock of 450 volts, although many were uncomfortable doing so. All "teachers" stopped at a certain point and questioned the experiment. Some of them—motivated by a strong sense of regret—said that they would return the money they had been paid. However, it is important to note that *no* participant refused to apply more shocks before reaching 300 volts. The subsequent study of the results and analysis of tests performed by the participants showed that 41% of the "teachers" in a context more similar to their "student" stopped the experiment earlier. When "teachers" were in the same room as the "student", 30% applied the electric shock (12/40). The percentage declined further if the scientist was not present in the room, with only 23% of teachers (9/40) applying the electric shock.

After witnessing hundreds, I must conclude that Arendt's conception of the *banality of evil* comes closer to the truth than one might dare imagine. The ordinary person who shocked the victim did so out of a sense of obligation—a conception of his duties as a subject—and not from any particularly aggressive tendencies. (Milgram, 1969, p. 6)

If in both the Nazi era and the Pinochet regime ordinary people witnessed pogroms, spoliation and abusive arrests, the truth is that many decided not to get involved either out of fear, or because they were motivated by a feeling that aligned them with the abusive acts of authority. In my experience, I remember that it was common to hear comments about arrested or missing people in Chile such as "He/she must have done something for this to happen"; "A situation like this does not happen to someone who works and respects the law" or "That happened to him/her because s/he was a communist." In addition, rumors—heavily promoted by the Pinochet dictatorship—circulated in Chile for many years that missing people had simply gone to Cuba or the USSR, or, on occasion, one would hear that someone (always anonymous) saw a supposedly missing person in Italy or France, enjoying a much better life with another woman. These are, of course, lazy explanations that in many cases relatives of the missing people had to endure, along with the consequent interrogation and public ridicule. In the history of my family, for example, it was not until the publication of the Rettig Report that the Chilean Military Forces granted my uncle Patricio the public status of "missing by force". It was on that occasion that my grandma said: "Wherever his bones may be. Now they can rest in peace".

We have no evidence to suggest that Arendt knew of Milgram's studies when she wrote *The Banality of Evil.* However, we do know that both came to a similar conclusion: evil is not a behaviour that is exclusively carried out by monsters or criminals with certain anatomical aberrations in their brain structure. Indeed, when evil is promoted by an institution such as the

state, when it has a collective character and has a strong advertising campaign that constantly deploys propaganda in order to persecute a group of people, the more likely it is that those carrying out the most deplorable acts are normal people—like you and me—that have been influenced by authority, and seduced by the recognition and acceptance of their social group.

Arendt's conclusions can also been observed in the participation of young soldiers in abuse and torture during Latin American dictatorships—particularly the Pinochet regime. In 2015, many were surprised to hear of the case of an ex-soldier who broke his pact of silence and admitted to having participated in the torture of Carmen Gloria Quintana and Rodrigo Rojas, two young students who were cruelly burned alive by a military patrol in 1983 (El Mostrador, 2015). Quintana was the only one of the two who survived. Surprised by the news that a former conscript had broken his pact of silence, she flew to Chile from Montreal, the city where she now lives, to meet one of her torturers. The interview is exceptional in the history of human rights in Chile, and is also instructive in the sense that Quintana reaches a similar conclusion to Arendt. That is to say, the killing machine headed by senior military leaders of the Chilean dictatorship produced its own victims: young military personnel who, without hesitation, tortured, burned alive or disposed of bodies without questioning why they were doing so, convinced as they were that the victims—labeled as communists, Marxists, or terrorists—represented a threat to Chilean society which had to be eliminated. Once again, we are in the presence of the trivial and the banal. As Hannah Arendt points out:

> It is indeed my opinion now that evil is never "radical", that it is only extreme, and that it possesses neither depth nor any demonic dimension. It can overgrow and lay waste the whole world precisely because it spreads like a fungus on the surface. It is "thought-defying", as I said, because though it tries to reach some depth, to go to the roots, and the

moment it concerns itself with evil, it is frustrated because there is nothing. That is its "banality". Only the good has depth and can be radical (Arendt, 1963, p. 471).

What Arendt and Milgram offer us, here, is the idea that humans have a tendency to obey authority, and that the concept of "banality" might represent —paradoxically— part of our complex and extraordinary system of emotional involvement with others. What I am arguing might seem contradictory, as neither the cases observed by Milgram nor the Holocaust atrocities analysed by Arendt represent examples of empathy toward the victims. However, what both cases suggest is that we are conditioned to adhere to certain ideologies or ways of thinking by our social and cultural environment. It is important to keep this in mind when we try to understand homophobia, or to explain why the emergence of new social conditions in Chile have allowed for open demonstrations of sympathy toward the LGBT community.

It is not my aim, here, to assess empathy's virtues, but—using the examples collected during my research— to develop the claim that we are biologically and evolutionarily enabled to live within a community, and that mirror neurons play an important role enabling us to form collective ties through emotions. The more we understand the way empathy works, the more we can face the cultural differences that make us a rich and diverse community.

We are gregarious subjects, and this complex ability called empathy can be understood as a triumph of evolution expressed in the structure of our brain. Strictly speaking, the human being is the most vulnerable of animals at birth: very young children have no fur coat to keep warm, no teeth to chew solid food, nor clear vision that would allow them to identify surrounding objects. Moreover, our body temperature drops immediately after birth, so we urgently need an adult to shelter and protect us from harm. Without compassion, tenderness, the

need for physical contact and empathy towards the pain and joy of others, humanity would have disappeared a long time ago.

However, as we shall see throughout this research, the obvious paradox here is that our gregarious nature is also responsible for the mistakes we make when seeking the acceptance of others. Sometimes the discourse of the majority is motivated by feelings of hatred. This is the case, for example, with religious bigotry in the United States, European populism during the Second World War, or the Caravan of Death in Chile and Argentina during the 70s. This is also the case with homophobia not just in Chile, but across the world.

It was not so long ago that, during protest marches demanding justice for the abuses committed during the Pinochet regime, participants representing homosexual organizations felt so ashamed that they marched hooded, covering their faces (Figure 5 and 6).

Figure 5 and 6. Members of the *Movimiento de Liberación e Integración Homosexual (*MOVILH) demand justice for the abuses committed during Pinochet's dictatorship. (Source: Archive of *Movimiento Unificado de Minorías Sexuales* MUMS).

According to Leonardo Fernández (2015), the purpose of this behaviour is easily explicable: it was intended to represent the erased identities of all those who went missing during Pinochet's reign. But one is left to wonder: why are the rest of march participants not hooded? It is equally possible, for example, to read this as a demonstration of the shame and guilt these participants felt at being homosexual: in other words, it was a form of self-protection, in which anonymity prevented the possibility of physical and verbal attack.

The question therefore becomes: how did gay and lesbian rights—sexual minorities historically rejected and persecuted in Latin America and Chile—become recognized on such a large scale in such a short period of time? What changed in the moral structure of Chilean society during the last decade, and why did political discourse demonstrate a greater tolerance of sexual diversity? My argument is that both Arendt's and Milgram's studies have much to say about how obedience works in the individual and how it can create hateful prejudice. We are motivated to hate in part under the influences of a social authoritative discourse that forces us to do so. If this is the case, then our natural tendency to obey would be nothing more than an example of our active need for social acceptance. In this way, the acceptance of others is our greatest reward.[22]

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[22] An everyday example of this need for validation can be seen in the Facebook "Like" function. Whenever a Facebook friend responds to an online action we perform with a "Like", the reward mechanism is activated. According to researchers in neurology and social networks, certain areas in the brain trigger the production of serotonin and other components at the moment of reward (the "Like"). These chemicals are the same ones produced, they argue, in people who habitually play slot machines. (Meshi , Morawetzs, & Heekeren, 2013; Izuma, Saito, & Sadato, 2008). Thus, despite being conditioned to empathize with those who suffer, we are governed at the same time by the effects of rejection or acceptance of others, which explains in part our dependence on cultural trends, fashion, politics, ideologies, sects, populism or homophobia.

The case of Chilean Judge Karen Atala provides a good example of what I have stated above. The story begins in 1991 when Karen and Jaime Lopez met at the University of Chile's faculty of Law. In 1993, they married and had three daughters. In March 2002, Atala and Lopez decided to get divorced. At that time, they mutually agreed that the daughters would live with their mother and once a week they would visit their father. In June of that year, Atala began a lesbian relationship with the historian Emma de Ramón. In November de Ramón moved into the house of Atala and her daughters. In January of the following year, the girls' father filed a lawsuit, arguing that Atala's sexual orientation would affect the "normal" development of their daughters, and that the relationship between de Ramón and Atala put the girls at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases.

Although the judge that presided over the lawsuit recognized that a mother's sexual orientation is in no way causally related to an inability to perform her duties, he still granted provisional responsibility of the girls to Lopez, and regulated Atala's visits. However, the judge in charge of dictating the final judgment rejected the lawsuit, stating that sexual orientation does not represent an impediment to developing a sense of parental responsibility. Consequently, the judge ordered the return of the girls to their mother.

Jaime Lopez was not satisfied with the decision and had it appealed. However, on March 30th 2004, the Chilean Court of Appeals confirmed and supported the conclusions of the judge. The following month, Lopez filed a complaint against the Court of Appeals with the Chilean Supreme Court. He claimed that Atala's decision to make her sexual orientation public affected the mental and social development of their daughters, and he requested that they be kept under his care. The Supreme Court granted Lopez's request, and the girls moved back to live with their father. The following represents the Supreme Court's decision—the highest court in the

country—to give custody of the girls to Jaime Lopez: i) as a result of social discrimination, there is a deterioration in the children's social, familial and educational environment, which leads to a decline in house visits from friends; ii) the daughters are confused about their mother's sexuality, and this could only have been learned from living with their mother; iii) the mother had placed her own interests first, ignoring those of her daughters, to start a life with her homosexual partner in the same household, and iv) the new family structure represents a risk to the overall development of minors. Thus, the Supreme Court of Chile felt that the two young girls were at "risk" of becoming "vulnerable" in their social environment: they were different from their classmates and neighbors, and this exposed them them to forms of isolation and discrimination that affect personal development . (Rodríguez Jiménez, 2012)

Atala argued that homosexuality was in no way causally related to her capacity to mother. She also said that the ruling of the court interfered with her privacy by forcing her to choose between exercising her sexual orientation and living with her daughters (Sentiido, 2015). However, despite her claims, Atala had pursued all courses of legal action available to her in Chile. Thus, on November 24th 2004, Atala took her case to the Inter-American Court on Human Rights (CIDH), and denounced Chile for having violating her right to equality and non-discrimination. Six years later, in a landmark verdict, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights concluded that Chile violated Atala's rights by denying her custody of her three daughters. Similarly, the Court noted that a recognized right cannot be denied or restricted under any circumstances as a result of a person's sexual orientation.

Karen Atala's struggle for custody of her daughters mobilized broader intervention into similar issues by gay and lesbian organizations. For the first time, a gay person—and a woman—defied the Chilean judicial power and created a public discussion regarding the right to

free expression of sexual orientation and the so-called "principle of best interests of the child" (Rodríguez Jiménez, 2012). If we recall the historically *macho* and Catholic foundation of Chilean society, then it is clear that the Atala case represents an exceptional change. It not only highlights the widespread hatred of lesbianism in Chile, but also, more broadly, hostile sentiments toward women that have gestated in Latin American society for centuries. Indeed, Atala herself recognizes the historic nature of the verdict when she explains that:

> Chile would not have the civil union agreement (AUC) today, which includes couples of the same-sex, if it were not for that sentence. Contrary to what happened 10 years ago when they took my daughters, today it is possible to talk about same-sex couples and families. Before then, the relationship I had with my partner was considered an "exceptional family" not socially valued. (Sentiido, 2015)

The verdict demonstrated to the Chilean State and Chilean society how vulnerable same-sex couples are. In this sense, Atala's trial proved that an unequal access to justice existed. Thus on December 14th 2012, at the behest of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the President of Chile, Sebastian Piñera (2010-2014), led an act of reparation. The Chilean Minister of Justice declared at the time:

> Society has become increasingly aware of the importance of ensuring non-discrimination as a cornerstone of a just society which respects the legitimate differences between people. The historical evolution toward the right to non-discrimination is closely related to the moment we are living as Chilean society today. Once countries move toward improving the basic conditions of life, concerns emerge which, although they were always latent, were postponed while basic needs were being met. […] Being

conscious that the fight against discrimination, as a social phenomenon must be constant and evolving, the law has incorporated in an emphatic way, categories which have acquired special relevance today. (Corporación Humanas, 2012)

We have reviewed in the final part of this chapter the nature of evil as Hannah Arendt and Stanley Milgram conceive it. We have also observed how the feeling of obedience is related to the mechanisms of reward and social approval. The minister's speech provides an apt account of how the LGBT rights movements must develop. Indeed, his use of phrases such as "evolution" and "progress" toward a "greater awareness" offer us a discursive image concerning evolution. According to the minister, societies move from one point to another and develop while they improve their ideas over time. In this sense, recent cases like Karen Atala's trial or Daniel Zamudio's death present crucial turning points, and historical moments that will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

Drawing upon Empathy

In March 2012, when Daniel Zamudio was attacked in the Parque San Borja in Santiago, I was living in Montreal. The winter term was ending, and the sight of heavy snowfall offered a stark contrast to that sad summer in Chile. News on the Internet informed us of an all too typical and violent episode: five young men, free from all self-control, under the influence of excessive alcohol, drugs, and an accumulation of emotions and frustrations took out their anger on one of their drinking buddies.[23] The body of Zamudio—covered in blood and swastikas—was discovered at dawn by one of the park guards.

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[23] In *Solos en la Noche. Zamudio y sus Asesinos* (2014), journalist Rodrigo Fluxá clarifies the assailants' relationship to Zamudio: although his murderers did not know him very well, they were drinking alcohol for

In this cruel way, night opposes day in Santiago: night time is the companion of beggars and punk bands, whose common mother is misfortune and whose law is that of the strongest; meanwhile, the day offers us a different Chile, full of the blessed and the righteous—successful people living and working under the sunlight. These worlds never touch each other, do not know each other, and if for some reason the twilight or dawn offers the possibility of encounter, it is always an ephemeral affair destined to be forgotten. In Santiago, poverty and misery are the fate of those unable to leave their own circle of misfortune. Accordingly, Daniel Zamudio's attack, as we shall discuss in next chapter, is not far removed from this cursory diagnosis.

We could say that Daniel Zamudio was simply an unfortunate man unlucky enough to become part of a small number of homicide victims in Chile. Why, then, did his death touch the hearts of thousands of Chileans who took to the streets demanding justice and condemning the murderers? Why did an anti-discrimination law, whose bill lay stagnant in Congress for seven years, suddenly become a national priority and get approved by the President of the Republic, just four months after the death of Zamudio? What made this case different from countless others in Chile? I contend that the greater the complexity of identities, cultural interests, and values articulating both themselves and broader social demands—a characteristic of the organic function of democratic institutions (Uvalle Berrones, 2001)—the greater the probability that organized social indignation rises up. In this sense, social indignation is not a symptom of the poor quality of democracy; on the contrary, it takes shape and is organized once the rest of society pays attention to its demands—mostly under a simple and righteous slogan such as that which was used in Chile during the student movement in 2006: "Free and quality education for

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approximately four hours before Zamudio became unconscious. It was at that moment that the group took advantage of Zamudio, tortured him and left him seriously injured.

all Chileans". At this level, society as a whole takes part, feels recognized and turns its attention to a specific social problem—in this case free education for all Chileans—and pushes the institutional structure and the government to react in favor of its demand.

In his extraordinary essay *Enlightenment 2.0* (2014)*,* Joseph Heath analyses a converse example. Heath wonders why Occupy Wall Street failed in its attempt to produce social change within the heart of capitalism. His conclusion is quite simple, and—as we shall see—has much to do with biological and communicative behavior. Heath compares the contemporaneous Tea Party and Occupy movements, and concludes that the difference between them is that the former understood the pre-existing conditions of the "social environment".Demanding action and getting people involved needs not only clear and precise slogans, but also requires that those slogans compose part of the promoted policies "in order to make very specific demands of their representatives" (Heath, 2014, p. 17). The psychological structure of social demand requires, most importantly, clarity: people need to define what to demand and to hold onto those demands during prolonged periods of negotiation in which they will have to face their own fatigue. As Heath asks, and implicitly bemoans: "who among the occupiers had the patience to work out the ins and outs of capital reserve requirements or credit default swaps, or the difference between an exchange and a clearinghouse?" (Heath, 2014, p. 16)

My conclusion concerning Occupy's failures is grounded largely in theories of communication. Traditionally, we conceive of communication using a model popularized by Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver—that is, communication is part of a package of "something" which is delivered from a transmitter to a receiver (Shannon, 1948). In contrast, Maturana and Varela radically reverse this material conceptualization by arguing that "there is no transmitted information" (Maturana & Varela, 1992, p. 196). Instead, what we really have is

"behavioral coordination in a realm of structural coupling" (Maturana & Varela, 1992, p. 196), if we understand structural couplings to represent two or more autopoietical units interacting without losing their own internal organization as units. In fact, Maturana and Varela propose that we are all determined structural units, where interactions are not instructive. Whatever happens to each of these units during the interaction is determined by its own structural dynamics, and not by a message. As they point out: "The phenomenon of communication depends on not what is transmitted, but on what happens to the person who receives it. And this is a very different matter from "transmitting information" (Maturana & Varela, 1992, p. 196).

If we return to Heath's assessment of the Occupy movement, we can see that his conclusion relates to Varela and Maturana's definition of communication, since the former concludes that the problem with Occupy was that it never moved the feelings of people beyond the slogans employed. This was not only because the movement's participants regularly changed, but also because it had such varied—and often opposing—demands. All this meant that Occupy's demands could not be represented or condensed into a slogan (Heath, 2014, p. 17). Heath's conclusions do not just concern the significance of the slogan, but also how important it is for a social movement to understand the nature of its demands, the way in which this social nonconformity is socialized and, finally, how slogans represent demands and mobilize the collectivity in a simple and comprehensible manner. In relation to this process as a whole, Varela and Maturana, with their radical interpretation of communication, might add that clear instruction makes it easier to gather the masses and co-ordinate action. Indeed, the less complicated the demand, the easier it is for a movement to connect the variety of biographies, experiences, life stories, shared feelings, emotions and hopes of its individuals. From the perspective of Maturana and Varela, collectivities are structurally determined as biological

organisms, and this determines the way in which they interact with the environment or with other collectivities. My conclusion, here, is that there is always a certain level of ambiguity in the phenomenon of communication, making it a complex problem, particularly in the identity-building process, the creation of social networks, and the mobilization of sources (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 121). In this regard, Manuel Castells holds a conclusive position: "our societies are increasingly structured around a bipolar opposition between the net and the self" (Castells, 1996, p. 3). This opposition acknowledges the tendency of recent social movements to be fragmented, confusing, contradictorily structured, and even ephemeral in terms of their identity; in this regard, an effective plan of recognition of a shared and clear problem implies the recognition of the intrinsic difficulties in communication.

Two further examples taken from the history of homosexuality in Chile can help us to elucidate certain biological principles at the heart of communication. In 1984, the body of a woman was found a few blocks from where Daniel Zamudio lay in 2012. Her name was Mónica Briones, an architect who was part of an organized group of lesbians who felt the urgent necessity to create a small movement of women opposed to gender oppression. On the night of July 8th 1984, Briones exited a nearby bar after celebrating her birthday. It is not known what happened next: the police believe that a car ran her over, whereas some witnesses said that she was attacked by a man whose identity was never discovered (Robles, 2008). The only certainty is that after a judicial investigation the case was dismissed in 1993. The alleged perpetrator of the crime was never found, nor was anyone who may have run her over (Contardo, 2011, pp. 316-317).

Mónica Briones' story had a great impact on the gay community, particularly on a group of lesbians who formed the feminist group Ayuquelén after her death (Contardo, 2011, p. 317).

This event took place at the tail end of a brutal dictatorship and economic crisis, as Chile marched towards the implementation of a neoliberal model, or, in the words of Milton Friedman, the "Chilean Economic Miracle" (Klein, 2007, p. 94). So as to maintain social order and implement this new privatized system of public service, repression of the media was widespread, as torture, military killings, kidnappings and curfews. It became terrifyingly normal to see fresh corpses floating along the Mapocho River in Santiago each morning, the starkest visual threat of terror and death.

This world of political polarization and violence promoted by the Chilean state in the 1980s was part of what Rafael Sagredo calls "the beginning of the search for modernity" (Sagredo, 2014, p. 262). While we will return to this point in later chapters, Sagredo explains that the history of Chile can be characterized by a cyclical movement that begins with democratic harmony, proceeds to crisis, and ends with the implementation of an authoritarian system led by a dictator. This move towards a dictatorship has happened three times in Chilean history: the regime imposed by Diego Portales between 1830 and 1837, the dictatorship of General Carlos Ibanez del Campo in the 1920s, and the Augusto Pinochet regime, between 1973 and 1990 (Sagredo 2014, p.259). It is for this reason that the state has justified institutional violence: it becomes a way of restoring social order and modernization. Amid this scenario of authoritarianism and resistance, then, victims of homophobia and gender issues such as Mónica Briones were considered casualties of second category crimes, murders that mixed shame and social criticism, as Jose Donoso would describe them in his novel *Casa de Campo* (Donoso, 1978). In the words of Donoso, who describes the historical events following the Pinochet coup in 1973: everything was "covered with a dense veil" (Álvarez-Rubio, 2007, p. 37).

If the opposite of empathy is indifference, then the deaths of Daniel Zamudio and Mónica Briones could be considered as such. The twenty-three years that separate their deaths raises questions regarding social change in Chile for which this research wishes to provide answers. Returning to the evening of March 27th, I remember being deeply moved by the massive amount of support offered to Daniel Zamudio's family, and the pain expressed by people who had only encountered him in press reportage. Indeed, unlike Mónica Briones, Daniel Zamudio's murder encouraged a greater amount of empathy in many people. I do not mean by this that during the Pinochet dictatorship empathy did not exist. On the contrary: there are many cases of solidarity for those persecuted after the coup in 1973. What these two murders demonstrate is that empathy, as well as being a complex system that involves our perceptual and sensory abilities linked to mirror neurons, is also the result of the joint exercise of emotions, values and learned habit.

This chapter has not only aimed to present a review of how work in the humanities, political philosophy, psychoanalysis and neurology can illuminate the concept of empathy, but, more importantly, it has analyzed recent social changes in the Chilean homosexual movement through this prism. This has laid the groundwork for my discussion in later chapters: the links that exist in our own conditioning as biological subjects with social behaviour that goes beyond the ideological explanations offered so far.

Furthermore, subsequent chapters will identify and analyze the social elements that explain what these socially empathic feelings towards sexual minorities in Chile mean, and what the dimension is of this social change. Returning to our original questions with regards to the role that empathy has played in the process of granting rights and democratic legitimacy to the LGBT community in Chile, what the experiences linked with empathy are, and sexual rights as a

new concept of human rights in Chile, I know this topic does not end here. As an example of qualitative research, this study seeks to shed light on the discursive elements that made the recent changes in Chilean law possible, such as the approval of the civil union agreement and the anti-discrimination law. I assume that these changes are not just the result of an effective communicational strategy, but they also reflect a cognitive change in Chilean culture regarding the value of being part of the phenomenon of globalization.

Conclusions

We can propose three conclusions from this chapter: firstly, despite empathy's various and complicated definitions, recent research in cognitive psychology defines it as an effective response that recognizes and understands the emotional state of another. Secondly, empathy has its basis in brain structure and the existence of mirror neurons. While this discovery is relatively new, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that our cognitive and emotional abilities are closely linked with this finding. That being said, we must not conclude that all human behavior is based solely on mirror neurons. It often happens that new findings in the scientific community produce a "fever" of explanations, which, as in this case, may fall into the trap of "neuromirroring" our responses to what we still do not understand about human behavior. Third, it is my contention that with the death of Daniel Zamudio, many Chileans took off a three-decade old gag, and responded with a newly possible sense of outraged indignation. This social capacity for collective indignation not only involves an act of empathy, but it also inaugurates a new historical moment in which social cognition encompasses the perception of abuse and the need for justice. On a painful but hopeful summer afternoon, as I watched from a distance Chileans empathize with, demand justice for, and mourn the death of a young man who they never knew, this research was born.

CHAPTER THREE: A DISCURSIVE INVESTIGATION INTO THE ORIGINS OF THE HOMOSEXUAL MOVEMENT IN CHILE

Todas íbamos a ser reinas,

de cuatro reinos sobre el mar:

Rosalía con Efigenia

y Lucila con Soledad.

(Gabriela Mistral, *Todas íbamos a ser reinas*, 1938).

Introduction

We will analyze in this chapter the discursive production of "homosexual" identity in Chilean society. To do this, we will examine the origins of the homosexual movement in Chile. The historical context, here, is that recent legal changes expressed in the approval of the Antidiscrimination Law[24] (2011) and civil union agreement Law (2015) are the result of a long process of mobilisation by LGBT organizations in Chile which started in the early 1990s. The period between the sodomy's law abolition in 1999 and the approval of the civil union agreement Law in 2015 saw five presidential shifts and a long process of social change in which the discussion around the meaning of democratic transition was fraught, and which continues even to this day. It is also true that these changes were catalyzed by the emergence of the

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[24] Law number 20609, best known as Zamudio's law (Ley Zamudio) was approved by ex-president Sebastian Piñera on July 12th 2012 (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2012).

"*generación sin miedo*", that is, the "fearless" generation of student protesters reviewed in chapter one.

In order to explain these recent changes, I will identify the main discursive turning points in the history of the LGBT movement in Chile. More specifically, I will focus on the major difficulties faced and the communicative strategies employed by LGBT organizations during this process.[25] In section one, using a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA), I analyze the relation between discourse and ideology in relation to the conceptualization of homosexuality. In section two, I identify and critique the man/woman binarism that strongly influenced the discursive representation of homosexuality in Latin America and Chile. This historical analysis is a crucial part of identifying the depiction of social actors, situations, and events associated with LGBT movement since its origins in the return of democracy in the early 1990s. In section three, I review the social and historical conditions that serve as the foundation for the construction of Chilean social identity. This represents an attempt to explain the struggle between tradition and social change. Finally, in section four, I introduce the concepts of transitivity, graduation, and connotation, as a way of explaining the emerging concept of homosexuality during the 90s and the early 2000s as a

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[25] Since this study analyzes discursive production and considering the unavoidable distance between the original language (Spanish) of my research in Chile and English, the language of this dissertation, this research does not intend to focus exclusively on linguistic production. I would argue that there are syntactical, grammatic and lexicogrammatical conditions that are non-transferable from one language to another, because linguistic rules and principles are also part of the semantic dimension of words and expressions. The fact is that in the process of translating from one language to another there is always something that remains: a gap impossible to embrace or recreate in a foreign ideational dimension.

political tool. This section explores the role of the visual image in public discourse and its relation with textual production.

Discourse and Ideology: We Were All to be Queens

The circulation of meanings, values, beliefs, goals, expectations, and motivations is the starting point of discourse. The interaction and coordination of this immense collection of abstractions in its developed form, in conversation with conventions and historical assimilation form ideology[26]. If we disregard the specificities of each player in this network of concepts and only focus on the result of their interaction, we will find that ideology's ultimate output is the very production of ideas regarding the world. As Louis Althusser lucidly states, "ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser, 1971, p. 162).

To observe critically the construction of reality through discourse we will consider the following proposals:

i. Discourse has a constitutive power to recreate the world that surrounds us; even in the sciences discourse plays an important role in validating, organizing and communicating knowledge.

ii. The constitutive power of discourse forces us to acknowledge the role of the observer in every event. It is only our awareness of phenomena that makes them possible. In other words, the world lacks relevance, applicability and purpose in the absence of the observer who imposes such a criteria upon reality.

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[26] Terry Eagleton (1991) concludes that there is no single and adequate definition of ideology. He instead circulates through several definitions, such as a process of meaning production, a body of ideas of a particular social group, a collection of ideas which legitimizes the dominant power and the process "whereby social life is converted to a natural reality" (Eagleton, 1991, pp. 1-2).

iii.   Discourse happens. It is in permanent social production and no matter how it resonates, it has an effect in the formation of opinions.

iv.   This creation of opinion is part of the social discursive production of reality, whose materialization is expressed in power relations, dominant traditions and the reproduction of beliefs, concepts, conclusions, interpretations, meanings, objectives, opinions, perceptions, suggestions, theories, biases and points of view about the world.

These proposals on discourse lead me to understand recent social mobilizations supporting rights for gays, lesbian and transgender people in Chile as an expression of social change, due to actors and organizations involved in this social movement seeking to transform the dominant public discourse and institutionalized power relations (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, pp. 20,165). Around this production of discourse we can identify two apparently irreconcilable positions: being "against" or "in favor" of any modification to the social *status quo.* We may say that the process of structural change is founded on social conflicts in which two or more forces are opposed, and which thereby introduce modifications in the social core in the attempt to create a "new order" (Crossley, 2002, p. 3). In almost all cases these structural changes can involve social life, traditions, modifications to the law and institutional shifts. These changes create a new symbolic reality in which cultural production is affected. That is to say, the very nature of any structural change relies upon culture as a "cognitive apparatus" (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 73).

Although any attempt to analyze discursive production as a whole would be almost impossible given the sheer immensity of such a project's scope, every study of discourse identifies and creates categories in a way that illuminates a portion of reality vast in itself. As

beings immersed in language, we are constantly producing, recreating, repeating and referring to a universe of meaning in which the signifier and signified are always in permanent movement, creating new contexts, new points of view, and new scenarios for understanding. In the case of this dissertation, my focus is sexuality as a political signified. Accordingly, this entire chapter is an attempt to analyze the social conflict underlying homosexuality, a phenomenon I identify as being based on the historical gender duality of man/woman and, more specifically, on the disputed concept of "woman" itself.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Power, Domination and Knowledge

Teun van Dijk defines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a multidisciplinary method to analyze critically the social relations of power (van Dijk, 1993, p. 249; 2001, p. 354). Indeed, this discipline studies the "relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 249). In this sense, social inequality—in its political, economic, sexual, class, ethnic and gender forms—may involve, according to Van Dijk, the legitimation and denial of some groups over others. Accordingly, van Dijk wishes to pay attention to top-down dominance instead of bottom up relations of resistance, since the very fact that there are modes of relations "when dominated groups are persuaded, by whatever means, that dominance is 'natural' or otherwise legitimate" (ibid., p.250). Persuasion will be, accordingly, a key-word in CDA studies, since social movements seek to affect audiences creating a new pervasive and meaningful discourse against the established way of thinking by tradition, while every institutionalized discourse will try to naturalize its cultural forms of conception of life.

Even though I share van Dijk's concerns regarding injustice, to frame the meaning of CDA as simply a way of denouncing power abuse is somewhat risky, because in so doing, we

restrict the possibilities of expanding our knowledge. Although the denunciation of inequality and injustice might seem an altruistic motivation for conducting a research, the production of scientific knowledge is not exclusive to this matter. Put differently, if we were to forget our empirical obligation to investigate phenomena, acquire new knowledge, correct and integrate prior knowledge based on the evidence obtained and, most importantly, understand our own complicity within discursive production, me may end up with what I term "the propaganda of outraged indignation." With this in mind, CDA functions in this study as a method to observe the nature of the discursive representations of reality, power struggles, public opinion, cognitive praxis and emotional and rational approaches to the construction of democracy in Chile. Within this context, I see the LGBT social movement as an example of this complex reality.

Consequently, insofar as the exercise of power represents an important concern in CDA, I agree with van Dijk when he asserts that discourse represents a cognitive process that he calls "social cognition" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 257; van Dijk, 2013). This approach assumes that "the exercise of power usually presupposes mind management, involving the influence of knowledge, beliefs, understanding, plans, attitudes ideologies, norms and values" (van Dijk T., 1993, p. 257). However, before relating cognition to the exercise of power, I consider it necessary to determine what cognition means beyond the debates held between different schools of discourse analysis. We will understand it here as forming part of a long tradition which involves "thinking and awareness" (Dubin, 2002, pp. 97-102). Here cognition implies the knowledge achieved through the ability of a living being to process information. Cognition also involves processes such as learning, reasoning, attention, memory, problem solving, decision-making and language processing (Arbeláez, 1999).

Cognition is often used to mean the act of knowing itself, or knowledge, and can be defined in a cultural or social sense, as the emergent development of knowledge within a group, culminating in the synergy of thought and action. Similarly, cognition involves a set of resources for living in society; social cognition in this way condenses a series of interpersonal actions where social perceptions, group experiences, social rules and habits are typically understood as social learning. All these involve the development of emotional skills, sensitivity and empathy towards social relations (Eslinger, Moore , Anderson, & Grossman , 2011, pp. 74–82).

Accordingly, we shall assume that every study in CDA is interested in cognition, because every production and reproduction of ideas implies a specific knowledge or understanding of reality. "Hence the relevance of a critical analysis of those form of texts and talk, e.g. in the media and education that essentially aim to construct such knowledge" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 258). In accordance with van Dijk, Sidney Tarrow, who analyses social movements, states that cognition is strongly attached to ideology because preconceptions, emotions, and interests that move people to collective action are framed by this selective and complex process of creation and communication of ideas. Tarrow identifies "cognitive frames", "ideological packages", and "cultural discourses" to describe these shared meanings that inspire any collectivity (Tarrow, 2011, p. 31).

If reality is constructed by discourse, therefore reality is the process of interaction between persons that produces a specific type of knowledge and meaning (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Persons interact and produce concepts and mental representations; these concepts become habituated and represent a constellation of meanings organized by language that produces a specific "order of discourse" and beliefs. When these meanings are available to other members of the community and those meanings are embedded in society, this reciprocal interaction is

institutionalized as knowledge. In other words, knowledge can be understood as a crystallized set of conceptions and beliefs that produce a particular definition of what reality is.

In this sense, knowledge is a convention that results from communicative practice. It can be understood in the same way as the natural and social world, inhabited by members of an epistemic community, sharing values, beliefs, assumptions, presuppositions and so on. As Michel Foucault explains: "knowledge is that of which one can speak in a discursive practice, and which is specified by that fact" (Foucault, 1972, p.201).

If knowledge is deployed in social practices, it implies the way in we decide to create and inhabit the space determining our relation with objects, as Foucault says: "knowledge is also the space in which the subject may take up a position and speak of the objects with which he deals in his discourse" (ibid., p.201). In this sense, Foucault determines that knowledge is a set of modes and discursive sites where it is possible to incorporate what we have already said. "Knowledge is also the field of coordination and subordination of statements in which concepts appear, and are defined, applied and transformed" (ibid., p.183). Accordingly, what Foucault highlights is that each discursive practice can be defined by knowledge, and each kind of knowledge determines, regulates, and legitimizes every discursive practice.

Since here acting and knowing are inseparable things, and discourse does refer not simply to the linguistic dimension of referring to things, but also to the relations that the linguistic dimension can produce with other human practices (Austin, 1962; Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Bourdieu, 1989; Foucault, 1972; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Lefebvre, 1974). In addition, discourse reflects not only the sum of events that take place in the world, but also the meanings that are infused by discourse into social relations and form social reality.

I will introduce here the questions of knowledge and its link with discourse analysis in my research. According to Adam Hodges (2011): "Truth is not simply an object external to social interaction; but rather, a form of knowledge emergent from that interaction" (p.4). This proposition of Hodges examines the notion of discourse in the same vein as Foucault, pointing out that knowledge represents "a specific topic at a particular historical moment" (ibid.). It is therefore important to observe not only discourse's linguistic character, but also its textual and intertextual nature.

The social organizations I will study not only perform specific tasks to obtain certain results from antagonistic agencies, but they also participate in a community in an educational capacity. From here, we can observe the links between power, domination, politics, culture and pedagogy (Buenfil, 1994; Giroux, 2001) because every hegemonic practice will seek to materialize systems of domination using knowledge. Thus, any study of discourse must pay particular attention to the manner in which any social movement has designed their discourse to train individuals to understand their demands. Likewise, CDA may illuminate the challenges and difficulties that these organizations have faced in this regard.

Not everyone has access to the same intensity, quality and amplification of speech; however, we all experience a certain kind of everyday reality produced by the media (political speeches, television shows, radio and press), which allows us to crystallize certain collective emotions and preconceptions. This means that a specific speech will have greater or lesser reverberations depending on the relative positions of the speaker and listener. For example, the speech of a teacher does not have the same scope and impact as parents who send their children to school; in turn, the speech of a teacher does not have the same scope and impact as a politician that heads a political party. This observation leads us to the realization that discourse

not only constructs reality, but also functions as a powerful tool of power and domination. It also offers a reason as to why a hegemonic process seeking civil rights for gays and lesbians took place, first of all, in the arena of language. We can never be sure of what will arise, but we can be certain that what results will regulate an entire society's emotions, actions and ways of thinking.

In this regard, a study using CDA can visualize the abuses committed by power, and will explain how discursive practices are involved in the reproduction of poverty, gender inequality, low access to social welfare like education or health, biases and social misconceptions (Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk, 1999; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). For this, it is necessary to understand that power exists in different ways. For example, we can talk about the power wielded by force when soldiers advance on a territory and conquer what they find. Similarly, we can label the act of argumentative persuasion as power. CDA can offer tools to analyze the power achieved through the use of language. This power is more subtle, but no less overwhelming. Due to its ideological function, studies of discourse have gained prominence in contemporary studies, in parallel with the growth and expansion of the media.

It is through language that certain discourses are legitimized over others, and thus, through this medium, categories of value and authority are configured (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2). In other words, a given discourse not only has the ability to deliver a certain kind of order of reality, but also in turn, it consolidates and directs other discourses, creating "symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1984; 1989).

There are many factors that contribute to language's ideological dimension. Firstly, the huge influence that communication (in marketing, politics, and mass media) has in our times.

"We live in a linguistic time" says Fairclough (2001, p. 2). In this sense several authors have analyzed the effects of language in our reality. For Mikhail Bakhtin, the relation between language and reality can be observed in the role of discursive genres, the nature of the utterance, and in the relation among "language, ideology, and world view" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.62); for Jürgen Habermas, language serves to construct a form of "rational legitimacy" with participants of communication seeking to "validate their claims" through argument (Habermas, 1981, p.18); for Foucault, it is the way in which discourses are to create and maintain relations of knowledge, power and the control of bodies, commontly known in thinking as "biopower" (Foucault, p. 140).

Multimodality

Multimodality starts from the principle that "semiosis is not restricted to linguistic modalities but also occurs through non-linguistic, including visual, channels" (Hart, 2014, p. 71) such as photographs, film, videos, and several forms of text. Moreover, the form of address affects the way in which the spectator receives the message. In order to understand semiosis, we need to inderstand the sign as the basic principle of every mental process (van Leuwen & Kress, 2006). In Michael Halliday's words (2014), every semiotic mode, including the visual, performs three functions: firstly, the "ideational function", that is, the capacity to represent and recreate the word around us and inside us through idea; secondly, the "interpersonal" function, which concerns the pursuit and production of social interactions which in turn create networks and social relations, and lastly, the "textual function" in which language harmonizes chunk messages in a unified manner, giving to each of them a logical order which creates a wider context in which talking, writing or visuality take place (Halliday, 2014, p. 30).

The general premise here is that it does not matter in which communicative context we find ourselves—giving a talk, performing a theatre play, listening to a rock concert, observing an advertisement, reading the newspaper in the subway, decoding the complex signs in airports when searching for our departure time, persuading a client, or even reading this study—we are always involved in the process of recreating an idea of the world, interacting with others and contextualizing information in a coherent manner. Consequently, visual images or any linguistic production share the same communicative potential in the meaning-making process (Hart, 2014; van Leuwen & Kress, 1996). We will go further in the next chapter on the power of visual images and its communicative power in media, marketing, and politics —mainly focused in the LGBT political struggles in Chile—, by now I would like to highlight the reflection in John Berger's *Ways of Seeing* (1972) when he states that publicity turns consumption into a substitute for democracy, becoming a philosophical system itself. "It explains everything in its own terms. It interprets the world" (Berger J. , 1972, p. 149).

In addition to the formal definition of "multimodality" offered by CDA, which concludes that discourse is composed not only of linguistic elements but of visuals as well (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Abousnnouga & Machin, 2011; Bounegru & Forceville, 2011; Hart, 2014), we can add that multimodality offers us the opportunity to identify the production of sense in a culture saturated by an excessive amount of information. Indeed, multimodality helps us to codify and understand a world in which visual information has become a significant form of communication in several areas such as education, the press, marketing and entertainment.

The increasingly swift renewal of information and technological change make the administration of knowledge a communicative problem. Additionally, the exploitation of visual archetypes in fashion, politics, and social life via marketing have commodified visual data; each

day we are confronted with strong communicative strategies such as infographics and signs that modify our way of thinking and our behaviour. How can we deal with such an oversaturated environment?

Although it is far from perfect, a multimodal approach in Discourse Analysis represents an attempt to understand what images mean in the construction of our own identity. Indeed, it will help us to understand recent representations of homosexuality in the Chilean public arena. The palimpsest, an old form of manuscript that during ancient times was scraped clean and used again when papyrus was scarce, can be seen as a useful metaphor with which to understand the ways in which a reader faces the message. Today, protagonists of the communicative act are confronted with different mechanisms of meaning production and different modes and forms of message which often arrive simultaneously.

If discourses represent particular forms of socially constructed knowledge regarding reality, this means that they reflect and reproduce the interests of social actors and the institutionalized context in which they act. In this sense, for example, a campaign against homophobia will seek to create a specific discourse of truth using interpretations, evaluative judgments and critical arguments concerning homosexuality from a pre-existing cultural and historical platform.

It is important at this point to discuss the "order of discourse". Firstly, we will understand this to mean from the Foucauldian perspective, the control exerted over discourses which allows some of them to be visualized and others to be overlooked. Secondly, I take the linguistic definition from CDA when it is explained by Norman Fairclough:

An order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect. The

elements of the order of discourse are not things like nouns and sentences

(elements of linguistic structures), but discourses, genres and styles […] So

orders of discourse can be seen as the social organization and control of linguistic

variation. (Fairclough, 2003, p.24)

Finally, the value of using a multimodal approach to analyse discourse as a cultural and

social product that transforms the individual's perception, their values and their way of

contextualizing reality becomes all the more necessary if we consider how developed our visual

vocabularies have become. Images are everywhere, and one of the purposes of this chapter is to

recognise the mechanism by which these images relate to the viewer, and how these

configurations have had an ideological effect during the recent LGBT movement in Chile.

Genealogy and Experience in the Man/Woman Binarism

Since we do not have a great deal of information on how institutional discourse

concerning sexual diversity has been shaped in the time of emerging neoliberalism in Chile, it is

crucial that we examine how civil rights for lesbians, gays and transgender people have been

recognized by the institutionality and the entire society in recent times. To do this I will review

briefly the discursive production of homosexuality over the last twenty years in Chile. This will

enable me to develop a theoretical frame for my subsequent analysis.[27] This is not simply a

question of recognizing discourse as a starting point, cognitive tool and a significant part of our

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[27] The history of homosexuality in Chile has been compiled mainly by two journalists: Victor Hugo Roles in

Bandera Hueca (2008)*,* an attempt to compile the history of the homosexual movement from the 1970s to the

1990s; and Oscar Contardo in *Raro.Una historia gay de Chile* (2011), a historical essay which recounts the history

of homosexuality from the time of Spanish colonial rule to the beginning of the 2000s.

problem, but it will also help us to understand the genealogy of certain concepts or ideas that relate to power and its reproduction.

We will understand "genealogy", here, in much the same way as Michel Foucault does. For Foucault, power has several social, political, cultural anthropological and historical implications in the construction of knowledge, and consequently in what we understand by what is "true". In this regard, a genealogy implies a way of interpreting time, space and the self, and thus offers a critique of Enlightenment rationality, which supposes that it is possible to possess absolute knowledge. Consequently, a genealogy of ideas is opposed to searching for origins because the belief in the possibility of an absolute starting point implies an essentiality to things, a linear conception of history, and a supreme *telos* that organises historical events (Foucault, 1971/1994, p. 138). With Foucault in mind, I propose to use a genealogical approach for the remainder of this chapter so as to determine the relationship between historical events concerning the LGBT movement, its discursive representations and strategies of legitimation. This is particularly important to this research, if we understand that LGBT civil rights struggles introduced in Chile a new perspective for conceptualizing social life and relations with others. In other words, with the approval of the antidiscrimination law in 2012 and the civil union agreement in 2015, Chileans have been witness to cognitive defiance of the old paradigm of the modernity since it was introduced during 19th century.

To expand on this, in this section we will see how the modern Chilean state is rooted in the project of modernity and its configuration of a heteronormative duality of man/woman. It is important to note that —as I mentioned in the Literature Review— recent publications that cover

the history of social movements in Chile fail to mention the homosexual movement.[28] This omission not only justifies my research, but also provides a good opportunity to understand how social movements have been read, that is, most often through the lens of labor disputes.

The Man/Woman Binary in Latin American Culture

The man/woman binary has perpetuated a rigorous moral system with economic implications in many Latin American countries, giving a peculiar feature to the modernity found inside their territories (Fuller, 1995, p. 241-264). Under this principle of the polarization of sexual roles, the traditional familial heterosexual model was developed as an economic engine during both the colonial period and the subsequent creation of independent Latin American countries. This economic and administrative model perpetuated a system of patriarchal, monogamous relationships—mainly introduced into the white and mestizo populations—which supported private property, and a gender-based division of labor (Vitale, 1987). This was, then, a structured set of traditions and principles that organize and shape social life according to the man/woman binary.

Indeed, institutions of modern democracy such as schools, hospitals, governments, public places, and the law have reinforced the prejudicial treatment of women in the public sphere in Latin America. In the book *La política y el espíritu* (1940) written by Eduardo Frei Montalva—president of Chile between 1964-1970—his friend Gabriela Mistral, the first Chilean Nobel prizewinner in Literature, writes with heartfelt reflection in the prologue about the debates concerning women's right to vote:

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[28] For example, see "*Movimientos Sociales en Chile*" (Salazar Vergara, 2012), or "*Historia de la Vida Privada en Chile*" (Sagredo & Gazmuri, 2008).

The old dispute between whether to grant, to deny, or to delay women's right to vote

seems more comical than clever. The left has always accepted it in theory and while they

were the minority they campaigned for women's suffrage; Conservatives always rejected

it in principle, because of their traditionalist spirit, but today they soften their stance

against the reform…[to approve the woman's vote]…because they think our votes may

well help them at the crossroads where they find themselves (Mistral, 1940, p. 17).

By highlighting the impediments to women's political participation, Mistral

demonstrates both the feeling that, historically, men have used women in a whimsical manner,

and the larger historical distrust in womankind. Consequently, this letter is an historical

testimony to the denial of women's rights in the public sphere.

What are the roots of this historical distrust of women? In *Labyrinth of Solitude* (1961),

Octavio Paz, the Mexican Nobel Prize winner, dedicates a full chapter to an analysis of the roots

of the relationship between the image of woman and a culture of failure in Mexico. According to

Paz, *La Malinche*, the female indigenous intermediary, interpreter and mistress of the Spanish

conquerer of Mexico Hernán Cortés, represents a mythic female figure and mother who was

raped by the Europeans and thus left her offspring with the mark of a bastard destiny. The

expression *chingado/a* means the act of being raped, sexually assaulted and socially denigrated,

but also refers to offspring of the first "*chingada*", the *Malinche*[29]. Nowadays, the Mexican

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[29] *La Malinche* was a Nahua woman from the Mexican Gulf Coast, who played an important role in the Spanish

conquest of the Aztec Empire, acting as an interpreter, advisor, lover, and intermediary for the Spanish conquer

Hernán Cortés (Hugh, 1993, pp. 171-172). In contemporary México her image has become an archetype of the

feeling of admiration of Mexicans towards foreign people. The myth of her legacy is mixed with opposite opinions

that consider her as both a betrayer and the founding image of the Mexican Nation. Her icon crossed Mexican

expression *Malinchista* or *Malinchismo* (Malinchist or Malinchism) refers to a form of attraction

to foreigners (mainly *gringo*s, or white people and English speakers). This appeal is understood

in the Mexican popular imaginary as a way of betraying one's native culture, producing in the

accused individuals a profound inferiority complex. In this sense, *La Malinche* serves as the

female scapegoat for Mexican society (Schneider, 2010, p. 26). To highlight this point, the

feminist Mexican poet Rosario Castellanos provides us with a representation of how this might

feel, by describing the image of someone who hates his/her own image in front of an imaginary

mirror.

> Cast out, expelled
>
> from the kingdom, the palace, and the warm belly
>
> of the woman who bore me in legitimate marriage bed
>
> who hated me because I was her equal
>
> in stature and in rank,
>
> who saw herself in me and hating her image
>
> dashed the mirror against the ground. (Castellanos, 1972, p. 295)[30]

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borders after the publication of *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (1961), becoming a referent of the self-hate identification

of Latinos toward their own indigenous roots. The emerging feminism during 60s was particularly significant in

reconsidering her image as victim of Spanish colonization.

[30] In the original Spanish:

Arrojada, expulsada

del reino, del palacio y de la entraña tibia

The act of contemplating one's own image is also fairly common in other Latin American countries because the process of conquest and colonization were experienced largely in a similar manner. This also holds for the social position of woman devoted mainly to private life. Historically, women have been dominated and oppressed by men, and this relationship represents a social and economic component of patriarchy. This hegemony of men over women embodies the identity of mestizo culture (Palma, 1990, pp. 13-38; Fuller, 1995, pp. 242-299; 2012, pp. 114-133). It was Evelyn Stevens (1977) who introduced the term *Marianismo* in the Latin American context to describe the cult of the spiritual superiority of women grounded in the image of the Virgin Mary. The worship of the Virgin Mary provides a pattern of beliefs and practices which promote the idea of a spiritual strength of woman, patience with sinner man and respect for the holy figure of the mother (Fuller, 1995, p. 243). Accordingly, this dualism of *machismo*/*marianismo* suggests that the male image, or *machismo* represents virility and significance in public life, whilst *marianismo*, on the other hand, reduces the notion of woman to her private family life and the moral values she develops from her capacity to mother (Fuller, 1995). Consequently, activities such as politics, business and mundane life were men's domain: in this way, the Latin American social system was organized according to a strict gendered hierarchy.

---

de la que me dio a luz en tálamo legítimo

y que me aborreció porque yo era su igual

en figura y rango

y se contempló en mí y odió su imagen

y destrozó el espejo contra el suelo.

Man/Woman in Chilean Society

Within the Chilean context, this gender binary represents the base of the social and economic system during the 90s and the early 2000s.[31] In this respect, the table below—created by the National Direction of Women (*Servicio Nacional de la Mujer*), an institution founded in 1991 to promote equality between women and men—investigates the historical role assigned to women in Chilean society. This opinion survey conducted in 2001 concludes that a woman's professional development is not questioned as long as it does not interfere with her role as mother or wife. This survey therefore reflects a set of interesting moral values concerning the role of women in Chilean society in the early 2000s. Table 2 is a selection of responses from the survey, which asked men and women the same question and polled their response.

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[31] In 1990, the Chilean rock band *Los Prisioneros* released their album *Corazones Rojos* which became a commercial success. The album's title track portrays Chilean machismo in a society that accepts those practices without question. Consequently, the lyrics represent an analysis of the role of women in a patriarchal culture that denies her rights and dignity. For example, a section of the lyrics read: "You are a second class citizen, without privilege and without honor. 'Cause I bring the money you are obliged to honor me and follow my humour. Look for a job, study something, half of the salary and double work. And if you complain, there's the door, you are not approved to give your opinion" (González, 1989).

Table 2. How men and women see their role in Chilean society		
Proposition	**Men % of agreement**	**Women % of agreement**
1. A woman is a better wife and mother if she spends most of her time with her family and shows few interests outside home.	56.0	47.2
2. It is more important for a woman than a man to be a virgin on her wedding day.	54.7	52.2
3. If a child gets sick and both parents work, it should be the mother who requests time off work to take care of him/her.	48.3	63.9
4. Wives who have no need to work should not do it.	66.5	55.0
5. Motherhood is the greatest source of satisfaction that a woman can have in her life.	94.0	93.3
6. In our society women who lead men are teases and obstacles.	59.9	56.5
7. Women do not have original ideas at work because they are too worried about keeping their job.	41.2	34.7
8. A woman dedicated to her profession tends to adopt masculine modes and behaviors.	35.7	24.7
9. The husband must be the person responsible for family decisions such as buying a house or a car.	42.2	21.0
10. The marginalization of woman has its origins in the traditional structure of the family.	70.1	80.0
11. More women in directors of companies are needed.	71.0	85.5
Source: *Hombres y mujeres: como ven hoy su rol en la sociedad y en la familia.* Santiago, December 2002 (Gobierno de Chile, 2002, p. 26).		

While 56% of men supported the idea that a "better wife and mother" is someone who

demonstrates insignificant interest in public affairs, only 47% of women felt the same way.

Another noteworthy result can be seen if we turn to question 5, where both men and women agreed that a woman's *raison d'être* was the act of childbirth and the rearing of offspring. As this research demonstrates, the over-determination of women's roles by Marianist moral values in Chile does not just involve women, it is also functions as way of controlling bodies, organizing them according to their capabilities for working and creating hierarchies of power around labor.

It is crucial to note that this table also testifies to the coexistence of two opposing views on the place of women in contemporary Chilean society: part of the population is in favor of recognizing more social rights for women, and the other one still thinks that social position of women is related to her "natural" role of being mother and caretaker of home and children. We are witness, here, to the unstable nature of Chilean social change following the arrival of democracy. Questions 10 and 11 recognize Chilean women's wish to escape the traditional roles of the family and to be incorporated into public life more substantially (expressed in "directive seats"). In this regard, social change is a contradictory phenomenon in which two or more different ideas are fighting for mastery of the *habitus* (Bourdieu, Distinction, 1984), tradition, conventions, and ways of acting in the realm of discourse. My understanding of this conflict is, of course, Foucauldian in nature given that Foucault conceived of society "as a network…[of] interlocking dominant discourses, all having to do with the production of selves" (Foote & Frank, 1999). Every dominant mode of organizing knowledge, ideas, or experience is reproduced by language and embodies social organizations and institutions which determine the manner of conducting ourselves, particularly in the regulation of the human body. As I proposed in chapter one, discourse is more than a set of ideas expressed via written or oral expression; it represents a

specific voice of knowledge with enough power to regulate bodies, gender, and our symbolic world.

Place, Time and Identity

The phenomenologist umbrella described in chapter one helps us to understand that all perceptions and mental constructions are grounded in a specific place and time (Heidegger, 1927/003). This understanding of mental processes invokes, consequently, a particular theory of mind that considers "mind" to be the integrated part of cognitive activity with other humans. In other words, mind is not a physical object located in the brain, but it is the phenomenon of interaction with others through language. Consequently, its most tangible output is the organized production of ideas expressed in discourse.

If reality is the result of this integrated relationship between consciousness and the environment, then the ideas we have of physical space are also determined by our perceptions, previous experiences, environments and ways of being in space. In *The Production of Space* (1974), Henry Lefebvre proposes that we understand spatiality as a social production; that is, a combination of perception, ideality, symbolic productions, representations, and memory which is determined by geography. As Lefebvre explains:

> (Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products:
> rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their
> coexistence and simultaneity—their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the
> outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a
> simple object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or 'ideal' about it as
> compared, for example, with science, representations, ideas or dreams. Itself, the

outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. Among these actions, some serve production, others consumptions (i.e. the enjoyment of the fruits of production). Social space implies a great diversity of knowledge (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 73).

The word in brackets, "(social)", is not an accident: space and sociality are inseparable things, and our actions, manners of production and consumption affect not only our lives, but also space in an incessant flow of production of meanings, concepts, and ways of inhabiting the space. This is the case because every act of knowing is the result of an epistemic process of "realization" of what we call "the world"; and, additionally, Social Sciences, as a major academic discipline concerned with society, cannot separate itself from a deep ecological epistemology[32]. To paraphrase Varela and Maturana: "all knowing is doing, and all doing is knowing" (Maturana & Varela, 1992, p. 26). Or, put differently, perception, cognition, language, discourse are all part of our spontaneous way of acting, regulating what we roughly understand as the dividing border between our inner reality and the exterior world.

One example of how knowledge intervenes in physical space to create a social order is provided by Michel Foucault. In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Foucault describes the

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[32] "Ecological epistemology" is grounded in the phenomenological tradition, which includes philosophers such as Martin Heidegger (1927/2003) and Kitaro Nishida (1970). This perspective opposes the separation of mind and physical environment, proposing instead that there is not an internal realm different in kind from the external one. For ecological epistemology, knowledge is the result of our perception and is strongly linked with our physical conditions and opportunities to interact with the environment. An ecologically oriented epistemology offers a reconceptualization of humankind, culture, language and the role of science and technology in favor of social life. See also Gregory Bateson, *Pasos Hacia una Ecología de la Mente* (1972), and *Mind and Nature* (1979).

Panopticon as an architectonic device for controlling and correcting bodies. This architectonic model has greatly influenced Latin American cities after the French Revolution creating avenues, public buildings, hospitals, schools, universities, prisons, all with the aim of imposing the social project of Modernity (León, 2010, pp. 127-146). In the same way, Beatriz Preciado develops an interesting thesis about the masculinization of the public place and the need to recover architecture from the heterosexist constitution of space established during modernity. Preciado states:

> What characterizes public space in Western modernity is that it is a space of the production of heterosexual masculinity. [...] At the same time, public space is characterized by the exclusion of femininity and homosexuality, and by the pleasure derived from these types of segregation. The public aspect of this space is, therefore, a de-sexualizing eroticism of male separatism. Hence, one can conclude that not just homosexual, but generic, *sexualized femininity* [my italics] is actually a type of peripheral sexuality, as its production is realized by excluding it from public space (Preciado, 2010, p. 337-367).

Both Foucault and Preciado's ideas regarding the influence of architectural space on bodies have informed several works concerning queerness and public space. Marcia Ochoa (2011), for example, analyzes the transformational role of certain public spaces taking the *Avenida Libertador* in Caracas, Venezuela, as an example. This avenue was built under the administration of president Rómulo Betancourt during the 1960s, and became a landmark of the modern concept of Venezuelan democracy. Ochoa tries to answer two questions: why is it so easy to find transsexual sex workers on *Avenida Libertador*? How did they become part of the natural fauna of this urban landscape? She realized that the transsexual occupation of this public

126

space revealed the ideological construction of the place itself providing the following arguments: a) the concept of a big avenue that crosses the core of the cities in Latin America is grounded in the modern principle of organizing urban spaces inspired by the human body, in which a core avenue represents the main of the city. This example can be also observed in *Avenida 9 de Julio* in Buenos Aires, Argentina; *Avenida Paulista*, in Sao Paulo, Brazil; *Avenida Paseo de la Reforma*, in Mexico City; and *Avenida Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins* in Santiago de Chile; b) Transsexuals occupy this place to increase their public visibility as a marketing strategy; c) to Arboleda, this new way of using the *Avenida Libertador* as a sexual market by transsexuals means a reconceptualization of a long tradition of Venezuela as a producer of miss universes; d) in this sense this example of sex-workers occupying the main avenue of Caracas is the result of a resignification of modern democracies influenced by the power of mass media.

Authoritarianism and the Control of Bodies

This definition of space as a social experience is crucial if we are to understand how the control of bodies is linked to tradition in the Chilean context. I argue, here, that Chile's particular geographical condition—based on the colonial model—created a society strongly attached to the notions of order and respect for authority. As Larraín explains:

> An important cultural feature which has survived from the colonial period, sometimes rather attenuated, sometimes rather emphasized, is authoritarianism. This form of conduct is a tendency that still remains in the political sphere, in public and private administration, in family life, and in general in a Chilean culture
> which places extraordinary importance and respect toward authority and its role in society (Larraín J. , 2001, p. 226).

What lies behind this strong social structure based on the respect of authority described by Larraín? For the author, the Chilean concept of authority is linked to the country's three-century history under colonization, in which a powerful cultural monopoly—centered mainly on the image of the King and the Catholic Church—ruled a social system based on class. According to the historians Gabriel Salazar and Julio Pinto (2002), public space during the colonial occupation in Latin America was ruled exclusively by two patriarchal traditions, which created a powerful symbolic universe in which women were relegated to the private sphere: the monarchy and the Catholic Church (Salazar & Pinto, 2002, p. 110). In this context, the figure of the patriarch ruled the private sphere as well, making the concept of "home", "family" and "wife" an appendage of "man". Women of the lowest classes were subjugated and often worked as servants; consequently, they couldn't acquire or accumulate any capital.

Accordingly, Latin American countries—following the colonial period and the subsequent creation of independent republics—were configured as vanishing points, always missing a core/center that was not to be found on the American continent. In this sense, if there is something missing from postcolonial discourse concerning Latin America, it is the study of the impossible desire that these countries had for a "real" model of modernity, and the deep feeling of nostalgia they felt for not being part of the original project. As León Donoso explains:

> This unattainable center produced both a psychologically and physically abnormal morphology, which developed of a strong sense of nostalgia. [...] If the colony was marked by the overlapped institutionality pivoting between respect for the authority of the king and the Church, in the same way these principles of centralized authority would remain for a long time after Chile became independent from Spain (León Donoso 2009, 71-72).

128

The harsh natural barriers to accessing Chile, such as the Atacama desert in the North and the Andes mountain range which extends the length of the territory, reinforced this social feeling of nostalgia. Since the beginning of the colonial period, these features of the landscape made Chile seem very remote, and produced from the outset the feeling that conquest of the country was not worth the time or money. Additionally, the consistent *Mapuche* indigenous resistance during the Arauco War, lasting nearly three centuries, increased the perception of Chile as an expensive province for the Spanish crown (Góngora, 1986, pp. 66-67). Consequently, historians agree that Chilean society developed a feeling of being apart from the rest of the Spanish colonies, and also far away from centres of culture (Gazmuri 2002, p.130; Sagredo, 2014, p.65). Historian Cristian Gazmuri describes these feelings of distance and isolation produced a "remoteness syndrome" concluding as it follows: "Arriving in or leaving Chile was a real adventure and the journey took many months (Gazmuri, 2002, p. 130).

The Chilean colloquialism "*estamos en el culo del mundo*" (we are in the ass of the world) is a modern articulation of this notion of *Finis Terrae,* in which "Chile…[is] a periphery where nothing works and where the presence of Spain in America vanished, with all the potential risks and threats that this reality meant to the Spanish Crown" (Sagredo, 2014, p.65). If we put this in historical perspective, we will see that the geographical and social fact of being separate from the rest of the world created both the country's sense of tradition and psychological features within Chilean society that are expressed at a discursive level (León, 2009, p. 69).

The conquest of the Chilean territories required perseverance, determination and, above all, a spirit strongly attached to the idea of never returning home. In this sense, the first religious missions played an important role in pursuing the conquest of Chile during the Arauco War as well. In the same sense, the Catholic Church played an outstanding role in exerting control of

colonial society (Larraín J. , 2001, p. 217). Once Chile was declared an independent nation in the early 19th century, the extraordinary power of the Church became an unavoidable fact: Christian ideology was already part of the social fabric of Chilean society and consequently it modeled the consciousness, behaviour, and values of the Chilean people. In this sense the introduction of modernity to Chile as a political and social project acquired a very specific character, intersecting as it did with the religious traditions of the colony (Góngora, 1986, p. 72). I consider it necessary to highlight the fact that in Latin American countries modernity has been taken as "the official ideology" (Fuller, 1995, p. 247) since it defines the objectives and public institutions which also coexist with tradition. Consequently, modernity in Chile refers to a long process of expansion by the Spanish empire during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, which created a deep feeling of social order and respect for authority:

> This is a trend or way of behaving which remains in political action, in public and private administration, in family life and, in general, in Chilean culture, which gives an extraordinary relevance to the role of authority and to the respect for authority. (Larraín, 2001, p. 226)

Within the Chilean context, this respect for authority is related to the long colonial period in which Spain embodied a powerful cultural center based upon religious values and the monarchy. Beyond its religious role, the Catholic Church was an important component of the colonial hierarchy. Consequently, the administration of the Spanish Crown saw in the clergy effective agents of the State who imbued Chilean society with notions of loyalty and obedience to the Spanish monarch (Collier & Sater, 2004, pp. 22-23). This relationship between the Catholic Church and the absolutist government of the Spanish Crown gave Chile's colonial administration a stable method of control and domination of its subjects for three centuries.

According to the historian Luis Larraín in *Identidad chilena* (2002), the church's significant social influence explains the remarkable respect (or fear) that politicians have demonstrated towards the Catholic church during the 19th and 20th century (Larraín J. , 2001, p. 217).[33] The effects of a traditional and conservative society mainly influenced by Catholic Church created a particular feeling of respect to the authority and rigid frames of social values. Accordingly, the construction of a Chilean national identity was based upon a fear of the "otherness" as the different one, mainly represented by indigenous peoples, foreigners, the poor, etc. This construction of an otherness created a social enemy which transcended social spheres, institutions and the state. This entire social structure stayed in place throughout the introduction of finance capital during the late years of Pinochet's dictatorship, and was reinforced by the reign of subsequent democratic governments, where the role of men and women fell into a crisis of identity, economic insecurity, and labor competition (Salazar & Pinto, 2002, p. 196).

Chile, the Anus, the last Terra Australis

We have, here, mainly two overlapping scenarios: firstly, a society strongly attached to a conservative tradition and reluctant to change its opinions on such topics as divorce (only approved in 2004 [Sepúlveda, 2014]), gay marriage, adoption by same-sex couples, abortion and

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[33] This strong influence has, of course, been seriously diminished by the numerous sexual abuse scandals the church has faced in the last decade of the present century. Two important cases have impacted public opinion in this regard. In 2003, José Andrés Aguirre Ovalle, a Chilean priest best known as "Cura Tato" was condemned to 12 years in prison after being convicted of nine cases of child molestation and rape (Gonzalez & Ulloa, 2013). The second case is more recent, and involves an important spiritual leader of one of the most influential catholic families in Chilean society: the priest Fernando Karadima. The case involved both the Chilean Church and the Vatican, and raised questions about the role of civil justice in the country. On June 21th 2011 the Vatican rejected the last appeal of Fernando Karadima, and confirmed his guilt under the charges of *ephebophilia* (La Tercera, 2011).

euthanasia; secondly, as previously discussed, the emergence of a set of new paradigms mainly

introduced by *la generación sin miedo* (the fearless generation), the expansion of social

networks and the social effects of a country recently opened to the world. These two ideological

forces have been in more direct conflict since the first large student protests in 2006, which

introduced a new set of values concerning marriage, democratic participation and the roles of

men and women.

Up until now we have seen that the domination of the private world by the public

world—embodied by the figure of the patriarch described by Pinto and Salazar (2002)—didn't

represent a balanced relation between men and women but an excuse to maintain a culture of

male domination. The cultural disavowal of the feminine image of the homosexual is rooted in

this cultural subservience of women to male domination. The emergence of disciplines dedicated

to organizing the growth of urban societies and controlling certain mental diseases such as

psychiatry, eugenics or even education, all functioned with the powerful belief that it was

possible to "cure" the homosexual mind and to redirect it towards the binarism of man/woman.

In his research *Una rama torcida de la vida sexual: la homosexualidad en Chile 1900-*

1954 (Guevara Valenzuela, 2010), Diego Guevara Valenzuela describes a dark side to the

history of Chilean medicine. Valenzuela discusses the doctor and professor Federico Puga Borne,

lecturer of Legal Medicine and Social Hygiene in the School of Medicine at the University of

Chile*,* who in 1883 was tasked with helping his students to recognize and "cure" the "inverted"

person. This is how doctor Puga instructed his students to provide a treatment to homosexuals:

With few exceptions, all of the accused are part of the scum of society: they are subjects

equipped with all the techniques to induce a medical error. They allege, for instance, the

existence of diseases that deformed their anus such as fistulas or hemorrhoids. They will

argue their advanced age, their marital status, the existence of venereal diseases […] The

specialist has to be constantly aware, seeking to recognize these tricks either by an

accurate observation, or by an extended medical test until the accused becomes tired

(Guevara Valenzuela, 2010, p. 28).

In this sense, medical science since the 19th century has contributed to a meticulous

control over human bodies with the aim of avoiding any "deviation". Secondly, as we discussed

in the second chapter, recognition of the constitutive power of language implies at the same time

the acknowledgement of the role of the observer in every described event.

This constitutive power of language is the result of a logical or natural relation between

two or more individuals in the communicative process, which we defined in chapter two as the

behavioral coordination between two or more autopoietic units proposed by Maturana and

Varela. Even though Michel Foucault never observed biological relations as Maturana and

Varela did, it is possible to identify ways in which their research and Foucault's work on

biopolitics coincide. More specifically, the way in which Foucault describes power as a form of

embodied materiality. In this regard Foucault explains:

The disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population constituted the two

poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed. The setting up, in

the course of the classical age, of this great bipolar technology —anatomic and biological,

individualizing and specifying, directed toward the performances of the body, with

attention to the processes of life— characterized a power whose highest function was

perhaps no longer to kill, but to invest life through and through (Foucault, 1978, p. 139).

This notion is reinforced by my own fieldwork conducted in January of 2015 in Chile. For about 20 years Leonardo Fernández was part of the Chilean LGBT movement, first as one of the co-founders of MOVILH (*Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual*) and then, once the first MOVILH disappeared, in MUMS (*Movimiento Unificado de Minorías Sexuales*). Today, both organizations squabble over who began the contemporary movement to demand rights for sexual minorities.

Disappointed by the socio-political changes that occurred in Chile in the 1990s and during the first decade of the 21st century, Fernández left his post as director of the archive of MUMS, a silent room on the third floor of an old house located in the Matucana neighborhood in downtown Santiago. I visited that room several times during the summer of 2015, in which the history of the LGBT movement sleeps in thousands of hours of cassettes and video tapes, pictures, unedited documents, press clippings and posters. Fernández, of course, no longer worked there—to find him I had to travel from Santiago to Rancagua, a city located 100 miles to the south. Once in Rancagua, I took a low-profile minibus to the mountains, and, more specifically, a little old mining town called Coya located 16 miles from Rancagua. It was difficult to understand how a person strongly involved with the LGBT social movement decided to leave everything and move away to a place where the Andes mountain range begins. As old Chileans like to say in cases like this, Leonardo took refuge from the noise and distraction of city life where "*el diablo perdió el poncho*" (the devil lost his *poncho*).

Once in Leonardo's house, around a cup of coffee and scrambled eggs, we began a long dialogue. The conversation was full of memories, reflections and perspectives concerning not only changes in the LGBT movement up until the present day, but also the entirety of Chilean society, i.e. the introduction of the neoliberal economic model based on Milton Friedman and his

"Chicago Boys'" theory of shock; our disappointment at how Chile had transitioned to democracy; the HIV crisis during the 1990s, and the emergence of new social identities following the student uprisings in 2006. We analyzed deeply all of these points as we sat looking out at the copper-colored mountains of the Andes. One of Leonardo Fernández's reflections really caught my attention, and prompted me to dedicate a chapter of my dissertation to the relationship between space, time and identity:

> The main problem closely associated with all of this [discussion regarding homosexuality] is the female. […] Effeminate men, homosexuals, are punished due to the very fact that they denigrate their manly nature. From the patriarchal point of view homosexuals are feminizing their bodies and their nature. Each time that tradition considers that a man denigrates his masculinity by feminizing himself, woman is symbolically punished. […] If we solve our relationship with femininity, we will as a consequence, also resolve femininity in men. […] Because women are at a lower level in our society, even lower than sodomy (Fernández, 2015).

In the context of this research we will understand that both "man" and "woman" are metaphorical themes which structure the historical discourse of identity. In this regard, my central argument is that the binary of man/woman invests the subjects with specific cultural templates which are expressed and reproduced into language. Consequently, Fernández's provides an interesting reading of homosexuality through his assertion that the masculine body is denigrated during penetration. Indeed, this reflection reminds us of Leo Bersani's classic essay *Is the Rectum a Grave* (1987). According to the author, the AIDS crisis tragically exposed the crisis of masculinity as an ideology as well. In the eyes of this research, both Leonardo Fernández and Leo Bersani are talking about the same thing: the male penetration phantasy

"introduced" not only the idea of the deterioration of the human body in relation to the trying conditions of AIDS, but also the historical conceptualization of the dominant patriarchal figure.

Up until now, what we have observed is a long conquest of the body under the binary tradition of man/woman. This tradition constituted the heart of the Chilean institution from colonial times up until late into the 20th century. However, the beginning of the 21st century saw a series of paradigm shifts catalyzed by the student spring of 2006, a movement associated with the demand for a better education. Disappointment at how the transition to democracy unfolded, the death of Pinochet without trial, the overxploitation and machinization of the everyday, the increase in mental illness and an oligarchical political model have been the breeding grounds for social discontent. Up until recently, Chile was considered one of the most conservative countries in Latin America—it was, for example, the last country to legalize divorce in 2004. However, this is no longer the case; In 2015, the web site World Values Survey, using an Inglehart–Welzel Cultural Map, recognized Chilean society as the least conservative in Latin America (World Values Survey, 2015). How is this possible? Certain facts suggest that generational change catalyzed this shift. If the last decade of the 20th century saw political action target the remnants of the Pinochet regime hidden within Chilean democracy, and claims for justice focused upon the abuses committed during those years, the 21st century switched toward the recognition and demand from different social agencies for the revision of a strict social structure based traditionally upon the binary of man/woman. Consequently, the erosion of the image of the patriarch by the legal recognition of homosexuality meant at the same time a new conquest of the body—the *Terra Australis* of recent times[34].

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[34] *Terra Australis* or *Terra Australis Incognita* was an imaginary continent proposed by classic Greeks which was popular in European maps from 15th to 18th centuries. In 1520 Hernándo de Magallanes crossed the *Estrecho de*

Transitivity, Graduation and Connotation in Discourse

This overview of the arrival of modernity in Chile has served to orient our analysis toward the emergence of homosexuality as a discursive identity—a subject position that was marginalized historically by the interaction between the two opposite and apparently irreducible principles of man and woman. In this sense, I will focus on the cultural production of homosexuality during the process of democratic consolidation. There are two central concepts that guide the visual analysis in this chapter: TRANSITIVITY and GRADUATION. Transitivity in CDA refers "to the type of process designated in the clause and the consequences of this for the types of participants that can occur in the clause" (Hart, 2014, p. 22). In linguistics, transitivity is understood as a relationship of semantic determination where the direct object determines what the verb guides—in other words, it gives precision to the verbal action. Thus, transitive verbs are those verbs that need semantic accuracy because their meaning is very broad, vague or general. In contrast, intransitive verbs are those which, being semantically self-sufficient, do not require further determination. In other words, when no direct object follows an action verb, the verb is intransitive. In English, verbs can often be both transitive and intransitive, depending on how they are used in a sentence. The examples in the table 3 will help us to clarify the difference between these properties in grammar.

Todos los Santos (Called today *Estrecho de Magallanes*), travelled across the coast and registered the south of the big island of *Tierra del Fuego* with the belief that this land was part of the Terra *Australis Incognita*. In 1539 the Spanish crown gave the administration of the Terra Australis to Pedro Sanchez de Hoz, are that nowadays encompasses Magallanes province, the southern Chilean administrative region (Silva, 1983, p. 26).

Table 3. Transitive and intransitive verb examples	
TRANSITIVE VERB EXAMPLES	**INTRANSITIVE VERB EXAMPLES**
María sent **a postcard from Chile.**	The letter arrived.
The plane took off **half an hour later**.	Every single person voted.
My mother took me **to the movies for my birthday**.	Mel walks for miles.

Accordingly, transitivity refers to the resources that relate entities to actions, situations, events, or certain types of subjects; in conclusion, talking about transitivity refers to the production of a certain type of result or output following the specific influence of "material, mental or verbal processes" (Hart, 2014, p. 23). Much like transitivity within the field of lexicogrammar, visual images produce specific messages that reveal an idea about reality. The visual image can be understood in the same way as oral or written discourses, as something that enables the creation of imaginary relations, expectations, motivations and dreams about the future in a normative, comprehensive and motivational manner. In other words, images are specific products of ideology with enough power to recreate a new vision of the world.

Let's take, for instance, the oldest press image depicting a homosexual march (following the arrival of democracy). Figure 7 shows a commemoration march on the second anniversary of the publication of the Rettig Report, a document which details human rights abuses that led to death or disappearance during the Pinochet dictatorship. The image was published in the now defunct leftist journal *La Época* on March 5th 1993. The text accompanying the image states the following:

Homosexuales en marcha

Por primera vez en Chile, los homosexuales y lesbianas del país realizaron una marcha solidarizando con la conmemoración de segundo aniversario del Informe Rettig en la Alameda.

La manifestación fue convocada por diversas organizaciones de derechos humanos y partidos políticos, que marcharon por la Alameda desde Plaza Italia hasta calle Dieciocho, realizando rondas en la calles y exhibiendo un carnaval alegórico.

Los homosexuales llegaron a la manifestaci;on desdeConcepción, Calama y otras zonas del país para acompañar a las minorías sexuales capitalinas. Durante la marcha reclamaron seriamente por la violación a los derechos humanos y la discriminación social de la que han sido objeto durante largo tiempo. Sin embargo, no hubo incidentes.

Plantearon la necesidad de abolir del Código Penal el delito de sodomía, el cual prohíbe ''las relaciones sexuales entre hombres en público''.

En el marco de dicho aniversario, dirigentes de la Federación de Estudiantes de Chile (FECh), encabezados por Alvaro Elizalde, intentaron entregar una carta en el edificio de las Fuerzas Armadas. Tras hacerlo, fueron reprimidos por Carabineros, con un saldo de seis detenidos y varios estudiantes golpeados.

Figure 7. Commemoration march on the second anniversary of the publication of the Rettig Report, Santiago de Chile. (Source La Época, March 5th 1993).

Of course, given the relative ambiguity of an image's meaning taken in isolation, we must understand the press photograph in relation to the text above. In short, the article highlights that for the first time in Chilean history homosexuals protested the violation of human rights during the dictatorship (within the context of commemorating the second anniversary of the release of the Rettig Report) and the social discrimination they lived as individuals. Translation of the press report is observed on table 4.

Table 4. Translation of the press report "commemoration march on the second anniversary of the publication of the Rettig Report, Santiago de Chile" (Source La Época, March 5th 1993).

1. Title: Homosexuals on march

2. [NEW] For the first time in Chile, the country's homosexuals and lesbians marched in harmony to commemorate the second anniversary of the Rettig Report on Alameda Avenue.

3. The demonstration was organized by various human rights organizations and political parties, who marched along Alameda Ave. from Plaza Italia to 18th Street, walking around the streets and performing an allegorical carnival.

4. Homosexuals joined the demonstration from Concepción, Calama and other cities of the country to accompany the sexual minorities of Santiago City. During the march, they protested human rights violations and the social discrimination they have faced for a long time. However, there were no incidents.

5. They [homosexuals] highlighted the need to abolish the crime of sodomy from the Criminal Code, which prohibits "sex between men in public."

6. As part of this anniversary, leaders of the Federation of Students of Chile (FECh), led by Alvaro Elizalde, delivered a letter to the building of the armed forces. After doing so, they were repressed by police, with six students being detained and several students beaten.

The first thing I would like to remark upon is the way in which the newspaper organizes the information it presents: the implication is that, primarily, homosexuals marched *in sympathy* with victims of crimes and torture, putting their own concerns as an oppressed minority second. As we shall see in further analysis, there is a strong difference between the motivation of the homosexual movement to demonstrate their demands during the 1990s and the desire to rise up after 2006.

Despite ostensibly depicting homosexuals in a considerate fashion, stating that they marched "in harmony" and that "there were no incidents", the report is somewhat condescending:

140

homosexuals are apparently inoffensive subjects who walk the streets performing an allegorical carnival. In fact, it is possible to discern a clear difference in the way that two groups in the march are represented; on the one hand, we have the pacific and childish homosexuals; on the other one, the student leaders who were repressed, detained and beaten by the police. The condescending attitude of the article towards the marching homosexuals, can also be noted in the incorrect information provided concerning article 365 of the Chilean Penal Code. Although the original code punished sodomy without any reference to the location of the act, the article above specifies that homosexuals were fighting for their right to perform this sexual act in public. By specifying the public nature of the act, the article conjures in the mind of the reader the image of something incorrect, degrading and immoral, which by its "natural" incompatibility with the everyday should remain hidden.

The homosexual in the context of the arrival of democracy in Chile represented a queer social actor, a subject ripe for public mockery whose demands could not be taken seriously. While homosexuals "make the rounds" and perform an allegorical carnival, students deliver a letter and are repressed by the police. Put differently, homosexuals act peacefully, whilst students face the military with their genuine social and political concerns. The accompanying image, here, reinforces the implications of the text by showing a group of homosexuals—most with long hair and dressed like women—holding hands. It is not my intention to suggest that the picture falsifies what happened that day, but rather that the choice to run this picture in particular constructs ideologically a certain type of homosexual subject. Moreover, by choosing to capture these homosexual subjects from a high angle that is nonetheless aligned with the horizon, the picture gives the impression that the photographer is merely a detached observer and not an

active participant in the march. In other words, the reader is not made to feel part of the world of the characters represented—put differently; he/she does not share their particular values.

Let us turn now to the concept of graduation. This refers the level of engagement, and the intensity, frequency and repetition of an element in discourse. In the words of Christopher Hart, "Graduation plays a dialogistic role in that it allows speakers to present themselves as more or less strongly aligned with the value advanced in a way that is sensitive to the anticipated (aligned or alternative) positions of the construed reader." (Hart, Discourse, Grammar and Ideology, 2014, p. 57) According to Hart, graduation operates across two axes of scalability: FORCE and FOCUS. Let's take an example from the Chilean right-wing journal *La Segunda* from August 22nd 1994. The article concerns the apparent scandal following the publication of the first storybook financed by a public institution: the *Fondo para el Desarrollo de las Artes* (FONDART).

Figure 8. Cover of the journal La Segunda

from August 22nd 1994.

This event is remembered as one of the most polemic artistic creations financed by the Chilean State (Sarrocchi, 2014). In fact, the title of the article serves both a linguistic and visual function, because the text in red and the placement of "gay" in quotation marks represents an attempt to captivate the gaze of the reader and observer. Let us first review the linguistic aspect of this article published four years after the arrival of democracy in Chile. Part of the translation is observed in table 5.

Table 5. Translation of the Cover of the journal La Segunda from August 22nd 1994.
7. Title: "Gay" storybook financed with public money
8. The "grant" was given by FONDART (during Aylwin's government). The same institution financed the "Effeminate Bolivar" by the painter Juán Dávila.
9. "I applied…[for the grant]…with my project which is an erotic biography of the city. I'm not going to get embarrassed over whether this is porno or not, but I do not think they are pornographic stories[…]the book is provocative, and that it is."
10. A storybook about the erotic adventures of gay groups in Chile and abroad will be launched next week in Santiago by Editorial Planeta. This is "Angeles Negros", the first book by Juan Pablo Sutherland (27 years old), whose project was financed by the *Fondo de Desarrollo de la Cultura y las Artes* FONDART, in the 1993 competition, and was supported by the Secretary of Education, Jorge Arrata, during Patricio Aylwin's administration,
11. Sutherland actively participates in the *Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual Internacional*, and acts as the Chilean branch's spokesman and leader.
12. After being questioned by "La Segunda", the coordinator of the Fondo de Desarrollo de la Cultura y las Artes FONDART, Nivia Palma, explained that this Project was chosen by specialist Ana María Larraín from the commission of literature of 1993. The entire team was formed of Executive Director of Estación Mapocho Arturo Navarro ; Hernán Poblete Varas; editor José Cayuelas; Antonio Gil and the Dean of Philosophy of the University of Chile, Lucía Invernizze.
13. Nivia Palma, coordinator of FONDART, a commissioner of eminent personalities, considered that the project was positive. "The Secretary of education is not responsible for the contents [of the book]", she said. "This committee considered that Sutherland's project is interesting, sober, of high quality, independent of the sexual, political, or religious orientation of the author and the opinions that some people have concerning different sexual orientations."

At that time, homosexuality was associated with public disrepute, and was used as a tool to undermine one's political adversary no matter what their political affiliation. In this sense, then, *La Segunda* emphasized FONDART's role in the publication of the book, expressing that it

144

was financed with public money like the "Effeminate Bolivar" by painter Juán Dávila.[35] The emphasis placed upon the role of public funds in the creation of the book seeks to directly involve the reader in the debate, and thus collective admonition; this is reaffirmed by the statement that the book was supported by the Secretary of Education during Patricio Aylwin administration. In this sense, the FORCE and FOCUS of this journalistic discourse is based on the assumption that financing a gay novel is a moral concern. Motivated by the principle that moral transgressions like this need to be punished, the narrative voice takes the place of the audience, actively demanding "reasonable" answers: "After being questioned by "La Segunda", the coordinator of the Fondo de Desarrollo de la Cultura y las Artes FONDART, Nivia Palma, explained that this Project was chosen by specialists".

This textual excerpt from *La Segunda* is visually reinforced by the picture of Juan Pablo Sutherland—the author of the book—above the title. In this sense, the notion that in linguistic examples "visio-grammatical choices may serve ideological strategies in representation and evaluation" (Hart, Discourse, Grammar and Ideology, 2014, p. 71), is especially important in the context of visual depictions of oppressed social groups which lack the means to represent themselves. This is the case of the book called into question, the picture of the author at the top of the title "*Libro 'Gay' con platas fiscales*" ("Gay" storybook financed with public money)

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[35] In 1994, Chile was living under the effects of a cultural blackout following 17 years of the Pinochet dictatorship. Within the context of the country's difficult transition to democracy, the painter Juan Domingo Dávila painted an image of Venezuelan liberator Simón Bolivar (1783-1830), an iconic representative of the dream for a united America (*el sueño de una América unida*). In the painting, Bolivar is seen riding his horse, looking colorfully made-up, possessing large breasts and making an obscene gesture with his left hand. The painting had a powerful impact on Chile's relationship with Venezuela and Colombia, and on the country itself, as it effectively feminized the traditionally virile image of one of the most important leaders of the Americas (Masiello, 2001).

places FORCES and FOCUS on the scandalous and reproachable decision taken by public servants, of financing this book with the money of all Chileans.

In the figure 9, an extreme case of homophobia can be observed in the Chilean tabloid *La Cuarta*, from February 28th 1999.[36] In general, this tabloid represents a very interesting example of the discursive reproduction of prejudices and their dissemination in Chilean society. At the same time, reading *La Cuarta* is a useful way of understanding how connotation can function as a communicative resource for the discourse-producer, serving as it does to contextualize certain cultural models, make associations and suggest additional or different meanings of particular words and phrases. In other words, connotation produces meanings that go beyond the literal use of language. Images, too, have the power to produce meaning and perpetuate certain normative ideologies using connotation. Indeed, as Hart (2014) points out: "Images […] do not simply capture reality but, like language, contribute to constructing it as images come with different ideological connotations which have the power to persuade." (Hart, Discourse, 2014, p. 14). Given that *La Cuarta* is written in Spanish, my translation here serves to provide a rough idea of how connotation is used and consequently how homosexuality is represented.

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[36] For years there has been an unchallenged media duopoly in Chile: El Mercurio and Copesa. The two companies own the most read newspapers in circulation in Chile. One of those is *La Cuarta*, a newspaper inspired by the old-fashioned British tabloids, with a notable portion of its audience coming from the middle and lowest socioeconomic strata. Since the newspaper's creation in 1984, it has been known for its informal use of Spanish, slang, colloquialisms and pejorative and sarcastic words directed towards women, gays, lesbians, trans people, and foreigners (mainly Peruvians and Bolivians). *La Cuarta* is also very well known for addressing issues such as crime, and producing sensationalist and bawdy articles. During the 1990s, it became one of the most popular newspapers due to its price.

Figure 9. Headline Chilean Journal La Cuarta, February 28 of 1999.

In *Reading Images* (2006) Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen emphasize how interesting it is to study the kinds of participants represented in a given context (in this case, a press report), how they are depicted and whether they demand an "imaginary social response of some kind from the viewer" (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, p. 119). If we turn to the title of the report, we can see that its main intention is to parody the social demands of gays, lesbians and transgender people, by representing them as only interested in wanting a place to "loosen up" and have a "dodgy party". In this case, the original word used in the tabloid is "*fiestuza*", a derogative Spanish word meaning "party"—indeed, the word connotes an event in which drugs, sex or some form of illicit behaviour is involved. Tranlation can be observed in table 6.

Table 6. Translation of the press report Journal La Cuarta, February 28 of 1999.
14. TITLE: Gays claim more Internet space to loosen up, and celebrate with a dodgy party.

15. Cock jockey buddies and cunt-licker lesbos are jumping like Bambis because yesterday they launched their first mega-web site from "*Chilito*" on the awesome Internet.

16. The e-address to fly as a butterfly to this web page for *chilensis* lesbos and fags is XXXX. On this site there are a bunch of organizations related to faggots who wear yellow t-shirts, red shoes, and drive pink cars, and who in total represent 10 per cent of Chilean population.

17. On this web page—which is absolutely free and has been visited by 35,000 barbies —is the entire fag scene, such as magazines, contacts to make friends and more with fags from other countries, lesbo chats, poetry, jokes, stories, practical advice to prevent AIDS, gay friend lists and a many interviews with sympathetic national and foreign artists, [many of whom are reknown for demonstrating feminine traits in their public personas].[37]

18. To celebrate the launch of this gay mega-web site, fags will loosen up in a dodgy party this Thursday at the Disco Blondie located on *Alameda* St., in front of the *Unión Latinoamericana* metro station. A place where they will give away thousands of condoms, t-shirts, free dinner-passes for two, clothes and one or two bottles of Vaseline.

19. DJs Poullet and Camile will spin vinyls in techno-house, trance and techno; while a pack of nude dancers will leave regular customers astonished. Attendees can enter as a couple for just 3 bucks.

Picture: The Capo of the Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual, Rolando Jiménez and Denis Js, invited everybody to destroy themselves in this wild party this Thursday. ¡Nails, nails, nails…! |

As it is no doubt clear, the subject of *La Cuarta's* press report is a social event celebrating the launch of website promoting the creation of new LGBT networks. Instead of impartially reporting on the event, however, the newspaper imagines a ridiculous scenario in

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[37] Due to the difficulty to make an apropiate translation from Spanish into English some words have been replaced in this study providing an explanation of the original concept.

which people (cock jockey buddies and cunt-licker lesbos) are jumping like Bambis and flying like butterflies whilst wearing yellow t-shirts, red shoes, and driving pink cars. After this mockery, the report presents a warning caption with comic academic pretentions, stating that the friends of Dorothy compose 10 per cent of Chilean population and the web page has been visited by 35,000 "Marys". By assuming that the site's 35,000 visitors are all homosexuals, the tabloid suggests that homosexuality is a significant, silent and widespread phenomenon. Hyperbole is used in several expressions to give the idea of a "wild party" where organizers will give away "thousands of condoms" and "one or two bottles of Vaseline" to the attendees, celebrating a "mega website" where friends of Dorothy will destroy themselves, leaving regular astonished. This sensationalist mode of address also reinforces the stereotype that homosexuals and lesbians are persons free of responsibilities, libertine in nature, and consequently promiscuous. In a decade strongly marked by the HIV/AIDS crisis, practical advice to prevent AIDS is shown here to be an inherent component of a homosexual lifestyle.

Moreover, the picture attached to the article reinforces the feminization of the organizers of the event. Both Rolando Jiménez, Director of the *Movimiento de Liberación Homosexual*, MOVILH (the oldest LGBT organization in Chile) and Denis JS are depicted from a low angle with their hands caught in an expressive gesture as they check their nails ("¡Nails, nails, nails…!"). The implication, here, is that both men are, in a stereotypical sense, "womanly".

Transitivity in Organized LGBT Discourse

The first evidence of an organized debate concerning queer ideas in Chile —strongly inspired as we shall see by Marxist theory—embraced primarily the question of the subject produced by modernity— more specifically, it fought against the economic and hetero-patriarchal frame inherited from this historical moment. This is how Luis Gauthier, the Chilean

queer theorist and one of the co-founders of MOVILH, summarized in 1993 homosexuality as a political category:

> The Gay Liberation Movement proposes the abolition of sexual categories which condemn men and women to unhappiness, and that only serve to sustain the dominant patriarchal power. To our movement the concept "homosexual" is understood as a political category, and as such is a way to promote a society whose aims arise from the people themselves. We certainly support our discourse over our common specific oppression, which possibly is not substantially different from any other living man or woman of our people. (Gauthier & Bustos, 1993, p. 15)

In the text above we can recognize transitivity in the actions displayed. Verbs such as "proposes", "promotes" and "sustain" summarizes the action of the organization during the early years after the reestablishment of democracy in Chile. The paragraph identifies those targets upon which the action wants to create an effect: a) sexual categories, b) dominant patriarchal power and, c) the common oppression that condemns people to unhappiness. Accordingly, the structure of the paragraph provides an ideological Marxist influence, strongly influenced by a materialist conceptualization of history in which human beings establish social relations of production and constitute the base of the labour force in order to transform "the materials of nature" (Marx, 1867/1990, p. 283). According to the testimony provided by Leonardo Fernández (Fernández L. , 2015), the main proposal of the gay movement in the early 90's was inspired by the Marxist critique on the relation of production. Part of its members studied at the *Instituto de Ciencias Alejandro Lipschutz*, a Marxist studies centre founded in 1983 with the purpose of making a contribution to the development of the culture and critical thought during the dictatorship. It was in that context that some of its members left their political

150

militancy for building their rights as a homosexual community, historically oppressed by

capitalism. Henceforth, its main assumption as a homosexual collectivity was that dominant

hegemony of patriarchy is not just a question of gender roles; the very matter which lies at the

bottom of all is the division of labor to make societies more economically effective for the

purposes of capitalist societies. Thus, division of labor according to gender roles becomes a

practical purpose to increase productivity under a capitalist model of production; in this sense

issues such as the nuclear heterosexual family model, the birth control pill, procreation as a

fundamental commodification of social life intensified this binary man/woman, and denies the

homosexual identity.

Table 7 summarizes the transitive relation between verbs and the object (the direct

complement) upon which the action is carried out, providing a good example of the purposes of

the emerging homosexual movement, its political inspiration, and its opposite ideological force.

Table 7. Transitive relation between verbs and the object (the direct complement).
The Gay Liberation Movement…
Proposes ⟹ the abolition of sexual categories
The concept "homosexual"…
is ⟹ a political category
We…
sustain our discourse ⟹ over our common oppression

I said before that transitivity in CDA describes the resources that relate entities to actions. In this sense, the chart above clarifies the elements that empower the identity of the group. In this case "the proposal" is led by "the abolition"; "homosexuality" is identified as a political category which is opposed to the "common oppression". Accordingly, it is important to note that social demands for civil rights in Latin America have been influenced traditionally by the idea that every process of liberation should aspire to remove hegemonic power. Here, the articulation of homosexual, lesbian and transgender identities within academia proceeds from the influence of thinkers such as Harry Hay, Michel Foucault, Judith Butler or Beatriz Preciado. They shed light upon historical oppression realized via the hegemonic imposition of a traditional binary heteronormative concept of society.

Paola Arboleda declares that erotic practices in Latin America between same-sex subjects have been lived mostly in solitude and under violence and social repudiation, thus reinforcing feelings of rejection and domination (Arboleda Ríos, 2011). This attitude towards homosexuality was inherited from the white heteropatriarchal tradition of the colonial period, which not only condemned homosexuals but also indigenous peoples, the poor and women. Arboleda, however, encourages us to avoid the temptation to adopt theories and expressions such as "gay" and "queer" that try to define Chilean reality beyond the limits of the country's culture and language—instead, she offers a set of theoretical tools to question the hegemonic ideology of patriarchy within the Chilean context. Accordingly, Arboleda emphasizes the importance of challenging Anglo-European queer scholars, separating her proposal into three sections. Firstly, she offers her own political definition of queerness, which differs from those provided by feminist and queer theorists (particularly from North America):

If American and European feminists of the sixties and seventies "revealed" that the personal is political, Latin American LGBT intellectuals accentuated an inverse relationship: politics pervades everything, it decides everything, and sets all kind of limits. (Arboleda Ríos, 2011, p.113).

Arboleda points out that the queer *devenir* is inspired by Simone de Beauvoir's quote: "one is not born, but rather becomes a woman" (Beauvoir, 1949/2010). In this sense, Arboleda defines Latin American queer identity as a form of subjectivity always under construction, a mode of being antagonistic to any imported and thus colonial notions of Latin American queerness, where the subject's dissident claims cover a wide range of intersecting issues such as race and class. To make her point, Arboleda quotes Chilean writer Pedro Lemebel's critique of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990): "we're so poor that we do not even have a closet" (Better, 2015). With Lemebel's statement in mind, Arboleda points out that the writer is perpetually confronted with the message from the Anglo world, but also with the Chilean gay middle class which remained (and still remains) indifferent to the evidence of repression and violence against marginalized homosexuals (Arboleda Ríos, 2011, p.115). Arboleda points out that her notion of queer *devenir* creates a social collectivity less overhelmed by guilt and marginalization and more defined by love. Indeed, she sees it as a Latin American reaction against the more structured queer Anglophone theorists. In this regard, Arboleda takes Lemebel's poem "Manifiesto" as an example of Latin American literature that imagines this idea of queer *devenir* based on the ideal of love:

[…] Are you afraid of life becoming homosexual?

And I'm not talking about putting in and taking it out

And only taking it out and putting it back in

I'm talking about tenderness, *compañero*

You don't know

How hard it is to find love

Under these conditions

You don't know

What it is to deal with this leprosy

People keep their distance

People understand and say:

He's a fag, but he writes well

He's a fag, but a good friend […] (Lemebel, 1997, pp. 83-90)[38]

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[38] *"¿Tiene miedo que se homosexualice la vida?*

Y no hablo de meterlo y sacarlo

Y sacarlo y meterlo solamente

Hablo de ternura compañero

Usted no sabe

Cómo cuesta encontrar el amor

En estas condiciones

If queer Anglophone authors such as Judith Butler provide the starting point to reclaim the derogatory concept of the word "queer" (Butler, 1990), then in the same way Latin American authors such as Giancarlo Cornejo (2011), Fernando Sancho Ordoñez (2011) and Paola Arboleda (2011) have reclaimed the power of language in Spanish, reusing and prioritizing expressions such as "*loca*", "*maricón*", "*mari-macho*", "*raro*", etc. In the process, these theorists warn us that if we do not consider the place where ideas, concepts and words are enunciated every analysis regarding queer discussion remains empty, perpetuating the idea that the North-South American relationship is imperialist and colonialist in nature (Cornejo, G. 2011, pp. 109-136).[39]

Usted no sabe

Qué es cargar con esta lepra

La gente guarda las distancias

La gente comprende y dice:

Es marica pero escribe bien

Es marica pero es buen amigo" (Lemebel, 1997, pp. 82-86)

[39] In his description of homosexual subjects in the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador, Fernando Sancho Ordoñez (Sancho Ordoñez, 2011) offers an interesting discussion of the concept "loca fuerte". He reads it as an example of how we perform gender and outlines the severe consequences those subjects that do not fit into traditional heteronormative sexual frameworks face. In the same sense, Giancarlo Cornejo supports the defiance of not just heteronormativity, but also the homosexual panic of being identified by his/her visible queer manners.

Given this, the singularity of queerness in Latin America is that the construction of queer identity involves categories such as class and ethnicity, categories particularly determined by the Spanish legacy of heteronormativity and patriarchy, and reinforced more recently by the neo-liberal economic system (Vega Suriaga, 2011, pp. 47-60). Within this context, the historical claims of emerging homosexual movements in Latin America and Chile share pretty much the same context: a) they survived not only the abuses of a conservative tradition, but also the disdain of left wing parties and human rights organizations; b) they give a central importance to the concept of love and hence may be far from the queer rights tradition of Europe and Noth America. Love does not mean an objective theory, however it leads aesthetic and political expressions in social transformation (Arboleda, 2011). In this case the emotional dimension becomes a key issue; love means the empathetic move toward collectivity in a context of poverty and class exclusion.

It is a true that countries beyond the limits of Anglophone North America share in common a language, a colonial past revolving around the Spanish, Portuguese and French crowns and similar struggles for independence. It is also true that these countries inherited their conceptions of the modern state from post-French Revolution Europe, were deeply influenced by the Catholic church, and, latterly, have been dominated by corporatized post-colonial hegemonic powers. In a similar sense, it is also true that large economic, linguistic, ethnic, political and social differences create a complex universe sometimes impossible to grasp in a single viewing. Consequently, I propose here that although it is possible to identify some theoretical influences that have grounded this discussion in the Latin world, my interest is moving back and forth between the big picture called Latin America and the specificities of the Chilean case.

It is undeniable that interest in queer theory and civil rights for the LGBT community in Latin America is very recent. Buenos Aires was the first province to approve marriage for same-sex couples in 2003. This was followed by the Federal District and the state of Coahuila in Mexico in 2009. The first country in Latin America to approve a civil union for same-sex couples was Uruguay in 2007. Following this milestone, we have seen a proliferation of changes in the civil codes of several Latin American countries; Chile, for example, ratified civil unions in February 2015. It is important to note that discussing the legalization of same-sex civil unions means nothing if we do not acknowledge that this has been a long and hard process of cultural change.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we have used Critical Discourse Analysis as a multidisciplinary method to analyse the emergence of the homosexual movement in Chile following the recovery of democracy in the early 1990s. Next, we moved beyond the Chilean border and traced the genealogy of the man/woman binarism in Latin America. We concluded that the geographical and economic conditions of Chile created a psychological disposition characterized by reverence for order, nostalgia and respect toward authority—a mindset that endured well into the 21st century. Within this context, the subordination of bodies based upon traditional gender roles not only affected social values, beliefs and traditions in Chile, but also placed male authority at the top of a hierarchy that regulated behavior and public policy. Consequently, if Chile was historically founded as the last frontier of the Spanish Crown, the control of bodies, the subjugation of women and LGBT civil rights grievances represent the remaining *Terra Australis* in the struggle to challenge tradition in one of the most conservative countries in Latin America.

We have observed how discourse creates reality. In all of the examples provided from the early years of the homosexual movement in Chile, we have observed the relationship between the subject and their emotions using two methodological strategies in CDA: transitivity and graduation. We have observed how specific social groups control certain paradigms, and thus perpetuate certain public attitudes, values, knowledge and even common sense (van Dijk 2008). In this sense ideology, as a social phenomenon, can be understood as forming part of the symbolic process that produces reality, and as part of our cognitive system that assembles perception, emotions, memory, and structures of learning (Heath 2014).

Our main conclusion in this regard is that heteronormative discourse has dominated the public image of woman, and by consequence, the rejection of homosexuality by macho-latino culture reflects part of this feeling of hate toward the female world. This process is also an attempt to control women's bodies by the dominant male discourse, thus legitimizing masculinity. In this sense, "woman" is a significant concept within the context of this research, since it is the object of domination by heteronormativity and the object of rejection in homosexuality. All of these conclusions will be useful in helping us understand the new actors involved in the student spring of 2006 and the dramatic cultural change that followed. Indeed, this analysis provides the foundations with which to understand the process of public policy creation under the new paradigms associated with the LGBT movement. This we will term "*Homomercracia*".

CHAPTER FOUR: HOMOMERCRACIA

"El que tiene el poder va a proclamarnos"

(Javiera Mena, *La Fuerza*, 2014)

Introduction

The demand for sexual diversity is "sex" itself. If we consider the very nature of social demands, we come to realize that the two opposing forces that shape an argument, in principle, are fighting for the same purpose: to survive with their own identity in the contentious relation among several collectivities. In this sense, life and death permeate this investigation, even if they are clothed in language, discourse, the notion of human rights, culture, ideology, hegemony, history, power, contingency and truth. In many cases, the question of sex determines the mobilization of people, creates a collectivity and, in some unfortunate cases, leads to murder.[40] Sex, Michel Foucault states, "is placed on the agenda for the future" (Foucault, 1978, p.6). Instead of bearing the burden of the past (the hard mark of culture and tradition), sex perpetuates the discourse of a "possible future" as an escape from the present and its conflicts. This is where sex, discourse and power converge; since there is no bloodier race than that of taking tomorrow; this is in the very nature of every social movement.

This final chapter, then, is devoted to the analysis of this race to gain public support for the LGBT civil rights movement in Chile over the last decade. I support the argument that, in politics, conflicting forces fight to gain symbolic supremacy in defining social problems,

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[40] I wrote this introduction a few days after the mass shooting at Pulse, a gay nightclub in Florida, on June 12th 2016. The international LGBT community was deeply shocked by this incident, and it has renewed the debate on hate against sexual diversity.

organizing collectivities around their demands, mobilizing people, articulating several groups, and creating a specific discourse (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, pp. 64-88); consequently, the production of signifieds lies at the centre of every social movement which aims to create a network of meanings. In the words of Alberto Melucci: "since collective action is focused on cultural codes, the form of the movement is itself a message, a symbolic challenge to the dominant code" (Melucci, 1989, p. 60).

Why and how did this production take place within the context of the LGBT community's demand for civil rights in Chile? The answer lies in the relationship between individual identity and collectivity; in other words, the very nature of human existence is based, apparently, on the paradoxical notion that we define ourselves as individuals and as part of a community. How is this paradox possible? In principle, it relates to our condition as *autopoietic* organisms, a topic we discussed in greater detail in chapter two.[41] Secondly, as we will see throughout this chapter, a new communicative strategy produced in the very heart of the LGBT movement in recent times has created a new relationship with the people. It is grounded in an appeal to "empathy" as a political key to promote and create sensitivity in the population. In table 8, I have extracted certain testimonies on empathy from the MOVILH annual reports between the years 2013 and 2016. These documents demonstrate the increasing interest in the elicitation of empathy as a political tool.

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[41] A very brief outline: as multicellular organisms, we humans—like every organism—are capable of reproducing and maintaining our own structure in our interactions with the environment. In this sense, the basic principle of human life is defined by our chemical interaction with the environment and the capability we have to maintain our structural organization despite this interaction. Accordingly, every biological organism—whether unicellular or multicellular—is a unity thanks to what we call an operational structure; that is, "their identity is specified by a network of dynamic process whose effects do not leave that network" (Varela and Maturana, 1987, p.89).

Table 8. Empathy as used in MOVILH annual reports between the years 2013 and 2016
In order to tackle discrimination, we do not need cases with global impact, such as what happened in 2012 [the Daniel Zamudio murder]. All we need is sensitivity, empathy and genuine commitment to the principles of equality and justice, which means implementing anti-discrimination discourse in a short period of time (MOVILH 2013, p.10).
The Survey of 2013 conducted by the National Human Rights Institute (INDH) also showed that 56% of people believe that human rights for "gays and lesbians" are not being respected, while 40% believe the same for transsexuals. These are outstanding numbers that reflect a greater empathy and sensitivity toward sexual diversity (MOVILH, 2014a, p.25).
In March 2014, we noticed that the new government was more open to dialogue, and was able to sit at the table to listen to the proposals and needs of the LGBT movement, showing interest in being part of and collaborating in the anti-discrimination activities organized by civil society. The empathy and availability of most of the ministers was, generally speaking, a valuable sign (MOVILH 2015, p.221).
Interpreting as homophobic or transphobic some expressions that in the past were perceived as normal, such as advertising campaigns targeting only heterosexual couples, or educational policies banning transgendered people from gaining access to studies based on their gender identity, is a symptom of greater sensitivity and empathy by the citizenry (MOVILH 2016, p.18).

In chapter one, we discussed broadly the increasing sensitivity toward the civil and sexual rights for gays, lesbians and transgender people in Chile. I also highlighted the fact that

this social change can be explained by the strategies employed by Chilean LGBT organizations. Indeed, these organizations have been thematically consistent in their targeting of specific populations who are likely to support them as a social movement. All of this implies the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values, beliefs, and habits, transforming LGBT organizations into effective conduits for learning about New Social Movements (NSM), (Crossley, 2002, pp. 4-5,10-14; Scott, 1990, pp. 16-27; Goodwin & Jasper, 2004, pp. 65,66,67; Salazar Vergara, 2012, pp. 403-406).

Moreover, in chapters two and three I argued that the emergence of the student movement in 2006 encouraged other social agencies such as LGBT organizations to demand greater rights. However, it was not until the government of Sebastián Piñera took office in 2010 that important steps were taken in favor of the LGBT community.

The aim of the present chapter is to understand this political moment as the effect of a new relationship between homosexuality and liberal democracy under the concept *Homomercracia*, a portmanteau coined from the Spanish words for homosexuality, market and democracy. The word can also be deciphered according to its components' etymological roots: *homo* (same), *merx* (commodity) and *krátos* (power, government). I created this concept after drawing certain conclusions concerning recent changes to the image of homosexuality—as a discursive concept of citizenship—in times of emergent neoliberalism and the Chilean free market.[42] In this social context, homosexuals represent not only a convenient economic niche but

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[42] Alberto Mayol describes this change as "one of the more radical known in the history of the economy" (Mayol, 2013, p. 30). This "radicalism" is based upon the abrupt social change of Chile during the Dictatorship of Pinochet which introduced a free market economy and a private social security model.

also good consumers and obedient citizens who are seeking recognition as "equals." The argument I will develop in this chapter is that under these economic and political conditions, the commodification of homosexuality leads to the emergence of a regulated pattern of homosexuality; that of, a white, male, socially successful professional, which, though widely accepted in Chilean society, is strongly marked by racial and economic biases.

Metaphor, Lifeworld, Discourse

In order to analyse the production of the political signified, we shall use the basic scheme proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure in which the nature of sign is separated into two dimensions: the signifier and the signified. The image below is an adaptation of the original diagram proposed by de Saussure (Saussure, 1945, p. 92). This understanding of sign production is the foundation of our entire discussion in this chapter on the recent history of the LGBT social movement, that is, their expectations and successful battles during difficult times.

Figure 10: Model of sign based upon the proposed model by Ferdinand de Saussure (Saussure 1945, 92).
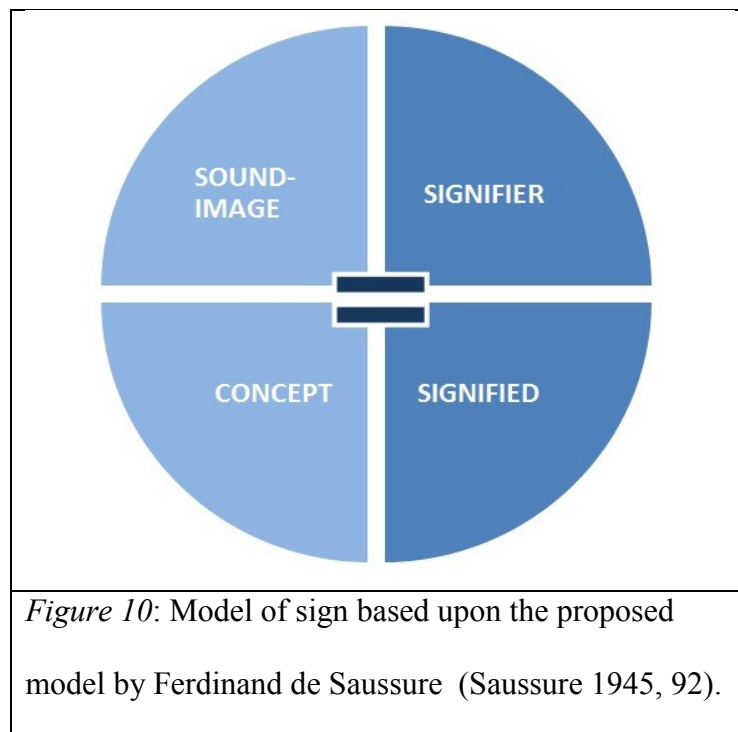
While the signified relates to the dimension of the idea triggered by an encounter with things and our cognitive abilities to perceive them and recognize them as concepts, the signifier relates to the dimension of expression and our ability to create representations (visual or oral) of that concept. The basic argument is that the production of signifieds is crucial to the cohesion of every collectivity— it gives them a reason for fighting, unifies them around their shared beliefs, values and goals, creates a culture, knowledge, plan and strategy of contention, mobilizes, organizes, and finally, creates a repertoire of "cultural codes" (Melucci, 1989, p. 60).

Accordingly, metaphor plays a crucial role in the symbolic production of reality. As a figure of discourse, it enables the mastery of complex concepts, values and ideas. If metaphor suggests the resemblance between two different objects, this analogy will be important to introduce here the Habermasian expression "lifeworld" (Crossley, 2002). This concept suggests that the physic existence of things only acquire meaning when we identify them using words, names, or even images. Thus, realization of the world would involve a complex interaction between perception, reasoning, learning and communicative skills. Every time we refer to things, emotions, or abstract concepts we need a medium to make those elements more meaningful; thus a "rose" means nothing if we lack a meaning to make it appears in our symbolic dimension. The process of analogy between the physical thing "rose" and the word "rose" is highly arbitrary. Thus, the concept of lifeworld appears in all its splendour. In accordance, "ideology" as a collection of concepts, ideas or feelings can be also understood as an expression of "lifeworld", in which metaphor is a very powerful mechanism of communication and persuasion.

It is also important to note that the "life world" as proposed by Habermas can be strongly attached to "interaction" (Crossley, 2002, p. 154). The basic tool for this interaction is based

upon our natural ability to communicate. We have to remember, here, turning back to chapter two, that communication does not mean simply the transmission of something from someone who delivers a specific message to a receptor. On the contrary, my observation—based as it on those of Varela and Maturana—argues the opposite: communication is not the transference of contents from one thing to another, but an intersubjective creation of sense. In this way, the process of communication implies a number of alterations triggered by external stimuli (Rodríguez & Torres, 2003, p. 116). According to Crossley, Habermas' "Lifeworld" concept "consist[s] in direct 'symbolic' interactions which are coordinated by way of the mutual understanding achieved between agents and their common orientation toward shared norms and values" (Crossley, 2002, p. 154). In this sense, as Donatella de la Porta and Mario Diani put it, "culture in collective action has been subsumed under the heading of ideology" (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, p. 66).

For the purposes of this research, I will define metaphor in the traditional sense taken from Aristotle in his *Poetics* as the act of "giving the thing a name that belongs to something else" (Aristotle, 1962, p. 23). In this sense, the transference of some specific properties of a given thing to another via analogy, comparison or association is one of the oldest forms of expression in speech. We can conclude that it is as a result of this ability of association—or the creation of abstract spaces in the mind—that we survived as a species; language, therefore, represents the highest form of interaction with others; as W. Tecumseh Fitch states "language, more than anything else, is what makes us human" (Fitch, 2010, p. 1):. Accordingly, I will provide some advanced features of metaphor that will guide my examination of LGBT discursive production:

- Metaphor is a figure in speech which creates associations between unrelated things.

- Metaphor is not a form of comparison but an act of analogy.

- Metaphor is a vehicle to create knowledge. In other words, it produces heuristic insight.

- Metaphor is not simply a word that replaces a different word; it is more properly an expression whose scope lies in the semantic dimension with which we build reality.

I understand language to be a biological ability that coexists with other aptitudes, allowing us not only to interact with others, but also to create the "self" and a self-narrative. In this sense, the most important aspect of language does not concern the controversy surrounding whether it is restrictive to humans or not, but the ability in higher primates to interpret emotions, desires and the beliefs of others through the body and facial expressions (Provinelli & Preuss, 1995). This final consideration offers us a rich opportunity to explore how LGBT communities have contributed to the creation of new fields of cognition, the expansion of language and the creation of new mental spaces to conceptualize civil rights—as I understand it, these changes have led to new possibilities for the experience of life, because the LGBT community's demands have led to the modification of Chilean legislation at a national level.

With this in mind, I understand metaphor as a way of visualizing and disregarding specific ways of comprehending reality. According to Christopher Hart, metaphorical expressions can persist in the long-term memory, producing a cognitive effect in institutionalized discourse (Hart, 2014, p. 142). I will now provide a brief example of how metaphor can be analysed in oral, written or visual discourse. The selection below (Table 9) corresponds to an extract from a speech made by the former president of Chile, Sebastian Piñera, during the enactment of Anti-Discrimination Law No. 20,609 on July 12th 2012, in reaction to the public indignation caused by the attack and subsequent death of Daniel Zamudio.

Table 9. Words the President Sebastián Piñera, during the enactment of the Anti-Discrimination Law No. 20,609. July 12th 2012 (Source: Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2012).

1. Today I have mixed feelings.

2. On the one hand, I feel happy, proud to be able to, after seven long years, finally enact a law that will allow us to prevent, punish and correct in a much more effective and timely manner, all forms of arbitrary discrimination that still exist and live within our society.

3. I said before I had mixed feelings, because we cannot forget that it was only after the cruel murder of Daniel Zamudio, who died precisely at the hands of discrimination, intolerance, hatred and prejudice that Chile has finally decided to take this fundamental step to build a more inclusive society, more inclusive, more and more welcoming to each of our compatriots, no matter his/her age, ethnicity, economic status, political ideas, religious beliefs or sexual orientation.

4. I know, and you know, that in this matter Chile has an old and valuable tradition, which has always been a source of pride for us, and is also admired in many parts of the world. Just remember that at the dawn of our independence we dictated a law on the freedom of wombs in 1811, and just after Haiti, we were the second country in the world to abolish slavery in 1823.

5. However, despite this history and tradition, we know that discrimination based on prejudice still exists, and that from time to time it emerges with great force. Therefore, alertness, an attitude of firmness and perseverance is required to ensure that outbreaks of discrimination will be finally eradicated from our society. And this is what this anti-discrimination law is pursuing.

6. Discrimination, according to the dictionary, means to separate, distinguish, and differentiate one thing from another. From that standpoint, discrimination is an act of freedom and reason. However, arbitrary discrimination is that which is against reason and justice, and in the background it reflects only a whim.

7. So the law does not sanction any form of discrimination, but sanctions arbitrary discrimination. That is, one that is contrary to justice, contrary to reason and that is made without any basis.

8. It is very important to properly appreciate what the nature of discrimination is. The step we are taking today is of extraordinary historical, political and legal significance, not only for

the many Chileans or people living in our country who have felt and have suffered from discrimination, but it is also an important and historic step for the whole of society.

9. So we need to realize that we share with all human beings our human nature, our human condition, for those who are believers, we are created in the image and likeness of God, but we all share the dignity of human nature, which is, of course, full of defects, but also full of virtues.

10. The ultimate cause of discrimination should not only be sought in evil, to which all humans are prone, but also within primitive, unconscious and even involuntary drives, by virtue of which are equally or more difficult to recognize, to assume and to face. I'm thinking of the myriad of discriminations or prejudices based on fear and ignorance, the ignorance of our neighbors and our compatriots.

11. But I'm also sure that this law allows us to take a big step forward towards building a freer Chile, more humane, more tolerant, more welcoming, which respects the dignity that is essential to all human beings, by the mere fact of being a person, which many times in our country we have not been able to or we have not had the will to recognize and enforce such rights.

Piñera's conception of Chilean society is modelled on the confrontation between the unconscious and reason. In table 10 the upper left box named WILD NATURE shows how his speech is populated by words that suggest involuntary and wild action—this is meant to represent the parts of ourselves that are wild in nature. On the other hand, the right box, synthesizes a series of elements that REPRESENT CULTURE AND SOCIETY, associated with tradition, reason and culture. These two sets of terms come together in the third box located at the bottom, which sees law —in this case the Antidiscrimination Law—as the highest expression of tradition and culture ("Chile has an old and valuable tradition, which has always been a source of pride for us").

Table 10: Piñera's conception of Chilean society is modelled on the confrontation between the unconscious and reason.

Wild Nature		Culture and Society
a: the hands of discrimination	------------------------------	a': full of virtues
b: force, fear, ignorance	------------------------------	b': welcoming
c: the nature of discrimination	------------------------------	c': valuable tradition
d: primitive, unconscious, involuntary	------------------------------	d': reason

a": body/soul
b": irrational force/reposeful, homey
c": nature/tradition
d": primitive/modern
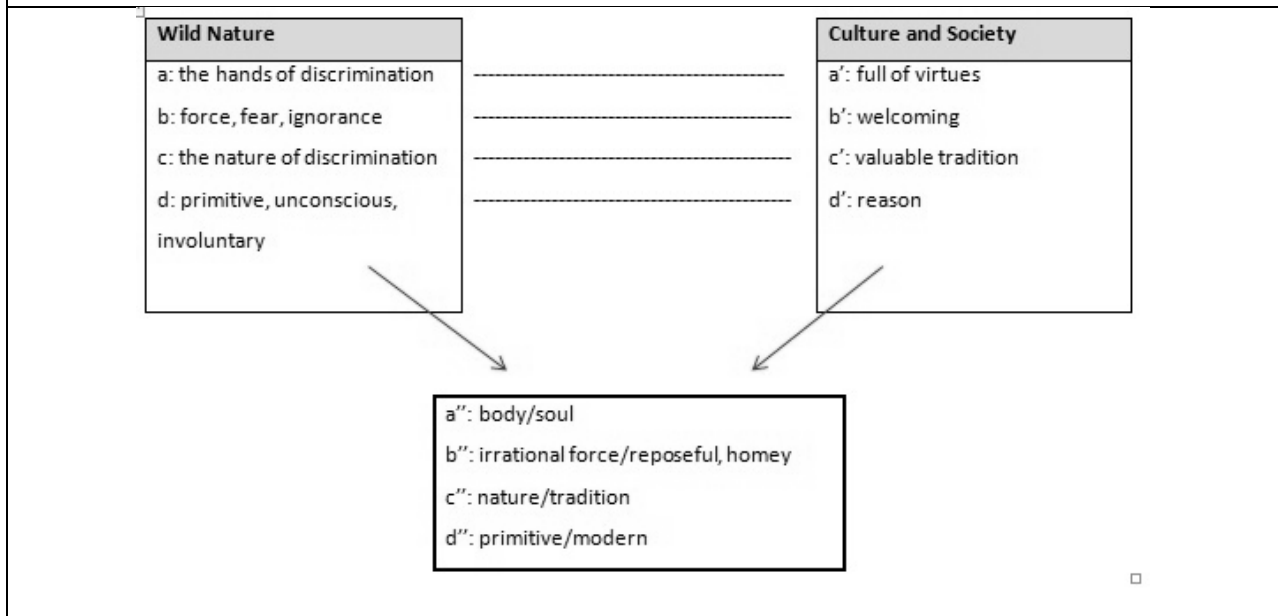
Accordingly, Piñera's speech invokes the traditional epistemic ideal of nature versus culture and tradition. On one side we find nature, represented as a collection of involuntary reactions and untamed forces, in which metaphor is used to sensitize the audience —"the hands of discrimination," for instance— and on the other side we find culture and society as the highest expression of reason represented in law.

Visuality

Visuality is considered as a dimension of discourse since it uses representations of reality in an ideographical way. My argument is based upon the contention of many authors in CDA and aesthetics such as Christopher Hart (2010), Günther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2006) and Erwing Panofky (1955) who see visual texts such as photographs as possessing meaning-

making potential. As an example of this, I have taken two press clippings detailing Daniel Zamudio's agony and subsequent funeral.[43]

In order to analyse these two examples of visuality in discourse, I will borrow from certain principles in neoteny and marketing. The former term refers to a phenomenon studied in developmental biology, which postulates that some organisms retain their juvenile features in the adult stage of their existence. Stephen Jay Gould (1980) defends the evolutionary thesis that humans also possess neotenous features—more specifically, in their relation to the chimpanzee. The examples he gives include our rounded and raised skull, our proportionally smaller face and the lack of a protruding snout. In marketing and advertising, neoteny has inspired "the puppy principle" or "*el principio del cachorro*" in Spanish (Klaric, 2012). This principle is used to create a branded character or pet for companies. The idea is to make the mascot using this principle, i.e., to draw or select a character with big eyes, a wide forefront, and, more generally, rounded shapes. The theory is that the more the character possesses these characteristics, the more connection they will have with consumers. As Klaric explains:

> This biological effect has a noble purpose for survival. The adult feels moved by the offspring to not eat them, but rather to stay beside them and to feed them. Therefore it is very important to use this knowledge not only to draw cartoon characters, but also to become commercial best sellers[...] this is a biological principle that creates offspring born with big eyes and large foreheads, which makes you connect emotionally with them (Klaric, 2012, pp. 120-121).[44]

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[43] See chapter one for a longer discussion of the Zamudio incident.

[44] Additionally, Jürgen Klaric states an interesting reflection as follows: "Many car designers have understood and used this principle to achieve a deep emotional connection: for example, the large round lights and broad fronts of

Visual cues such as the gaze of a puppy are used in marketing to guide the eye of the observer to key areas of an advertising image. The basic assumption supports the contention that humans have a natural tendency to detect and follow the other's gaze (Galfano, et al., 2012, p. 1895-1910; Tatler, Kirtley, Macdonald, Mitchell, & Savage, 2014, p. 7). Indeed, from almost the moment of birth, we are trained to follow arrows directing our gaze to where we should look (Usaddict, 2011). As Jürgen Klaric states: "our brain is fascinated with eyes" (Klaric, 2013).

Let's consider the experiment conducted by James Breeze using Eye Tracking Software (Dooley, 2012, pp., 87-88) comparing two pictures of an advertizing for baby diapers. In the first image a baby is looking at us and there is text promoting the brand of diapers with a description of the product. In the second image, on the contrary, the baby is observing the text beside him. Nothing really substantial has changed, it is the same baby, same text, same colors, but the position of the baby's face has changed: in the first image he is looking at the observer; in the second one he is looking at the text. The study using Eye Tracking Software shows how often the retina observes particular points in the image such as the gaze of the baby, the diaper brand, and the description of the product. In the first image, the retina stops several times to contemplate the baby's gaze. In this sense, The Principle of the Puppy's face is an effective way to attract the attention of the observer; however, the gaze of the baby in the first image demands the eyes of the observer, and thus prevents their attention from being drawn to the text. From a marketing standpoint, this is a problem, since the purpose of the image is to convince to the viewer to buy a specific brand of diapers. However in the second image the

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the Mini Cooper, the Beetle and the Renault Twingo. They are very effective in achieving that emotional connection with the consumer! Might it not be for that reason that we call those cars my Mini, my Beetle and my Twingo?" (Klaric, 2012, pp. 120-121)

retina of the observer flows from the gaze of the baby toward what he is looking at to his right: a catchy title relating to the product being promoted.

Another's gaze, particularly the gaze of young people or animals, has been used for a long time by publicists to persuade consumers to buy some product. However, its effectiveness has quite recently been confirmed after the introduction of technology to track the movement of the retina or fMRI to observe the blood flow in the brain to understand the emotions produced by advertising. All of this suggests that the resort to excessive use of Daniel Zamudio's selfies, such as those I analyse in the next section, was an effective strategy for promoting his image as an icon of the homosexual cause in Chile.

The Construction of a Martyr

All of this research suggests that the repeated use by the media of Daniel Zamudio's selfies during his agonizing descent into death had a strong effect on public opinion. Indeed, this was an effective marketing strategy for the LGBT civil rights debate. In figure 11, taken from the journal *La Tercera*, we can see one of the selfies taken and used by Zamudio in several social networking profiles. In the picture, Daniel is looking at the camera, resting his chin on one arm and holding the camera with the other. Light is falling directly on Zamudio's face and separates it from the gray background, highlighting the gleam in his pupils, his brown eyes and his green and white striped t-shirt. All of these elements create a moving effect. Zamudio's big eyes, the round shape of his face and the sheer size of the image—occupying more than a quarter of the page of the newspaper—produce a visual intensity from which the observer can hardly remove themselves. With great effort we can scan the details of the news, but it is almost impossible not to return to the soulful eyes of the victim.

In contrast, none of Daniel's attackers are looking at the camera. In addition, their faces—tiny in comparison to Zamudio's—are located on the right hand side at the top of the page. The reader's gaze therefore circulates among these three visual points in circular fashion: Zamudio's eyes, the attackers' pictures, and the summary outlining Zamudio's brain damage.

Figure 11. La Tercera article outlining Zamudio's worsening condition and the current state of

his attackers (Source: La Tercera Journal, March 21th, 2012).

The title of the report ("Daniel Zamudio falls into critical condition as new leads rise up against two of the suspects") is divided into three parts. These sections lead the reader to ponder three questions: Who is Daniel Zamudio? How is he healing? Who were his attackers? Accordingly, the written text reinforces the story of a young man in critical condition following a violent attack. I do not want to go further into the details and consequences of Zamudio's attack, since this has been repeated a number of times in this chapter. Instead, my analysis will focus on the way that written information is structured so as to appeal to a shared imaginary, which consists of a plethora of feelings, emotions, fears and concepts representing the stages of a martyr's agony. Although the testimonies, press reports, and reflections collected during my fieldwork read Zamudio as a victim-martyr of homophobic hate, it is important to point out certain structural differences from the original definition of "martyr." The term derives from the Greek word for "witness," and was coined in the Occident at the beginning of Christianity to refer those people who suffered or were murdered for their religious beliefs during the Roman Empire's rule (Wallace & Rusk, 2011). The meaning has widened over time, and is now used to describe persons who are imprisoned or executed for political reasons. This has led to the development of a new category that is relatively unexplored in the field of New Social Movements: the martyrdom effect (Olivolar & Shafir, 2011, pp. 91-105).

Whether they are ancient icons such as Socrates (399 B.C.E), Saint Sebastian (288 B.C.E) and Saint Agnes (304 B.C.E) or more recent figures in world history such as the German anti-Nazi political activist Sophie Scholl (1943), Malcolm X (1965), Martin Luther King, Jr., (1968), Ernesto Guevara (1967) and Salvador Allende (1973), what all martyrs share in common is the following: 1) they are perceived as heroes, that is, persons who become known for supporting an admirable, just and good cause; 2) they face some sort of "opposition" from a group of

adversaries, especially a rival political faction or way of thinking; 3) they face significant physical and/or mental danger; 4) they have the mental or moral strength to venture, persevere, and withstand danger, fear, or difficulty to realize their purpose or ideal; 5) they eventually die whilst fighting for their cause (this is the transcendental effect of their legacy: they create a collective feeling/an emotional and affective tie); 6) "audience response"; people react to the death of a hero, some of them will proclaim him/her as a martyr and others will take up the same cause (Wallace & Rusk, 2011, p. 219). Points 5 and 6 are particularly significant in the construction of a martyr because they are the representation of a complex collection of meanings and "floating signifiers" (Laclau, 2005, pp. 123-124). These signifiers are condensed after the martyr dies or suffers great bodily pain for a faith, belief, or cause. On a sociological level, martyrdom is a "prosocial contribution" (Olivolar & Shafir, 2011, pp. 91-105) since it moves and brings back deep altruistic and moral feelings that survive the destruction of the body.

If we carefully observe the selected quotations from the press report written during Zamudio's slow descent to death, we can see that they summarize the six stages proposed by Wallace & Rusk in the social construction of a martyr. Let's look, for instance, at the following selected paragraphs in table 11:

Table 11. Selected paragraphs from *La Tercera* article outlining Zamudio's worsening condition and the current state of his attackers (Source: *La Tercera* Journal, March 21th, 2012).
The young man was struck in the head with a stone, one leg was fractured by applying leverage, and his body was burned with cigarettes and marked with swastika symbols using the broken neck of a bottle. The body was then abandoned in the Parque San Borja district of Santiago.
Alejandro Angulo Tapia (26) has been convicted of theft and arrested for xenophobic attacks [on Peruvian migrants]. Lopez accuses Angulo of striking the young man's head with a stone.
Patricio Ahumada Garay (25) was tried for violent robbery. According to the prosecuting attorney he [Ahumada Garay] marked the body of the victim with swastikas using the broken neck of a bottle.

In the selection the victim is defined as "young man" exposed to a long and hard torture in which was "marked with swastika". In the second and third paragraphs both, Alejandro Angulo Tapia and Patricio Ahumada are identified as xenophopic and responsible for marking the Nazi symbol on the body of the victim. Both represent "opossition", the point TWO, and point FIVE, the martyrdom of the Hero. Finally, a more substantial paragraph is stated as it follows represented the medical point of view.

> It is impossible to anticipate whether he is going to regain consciousness. He is going to have neurological damage that could affect his speech and memory, comprehension or more severe impairments such as motor skills [Dr. Emilio Villalon] (López & Guzmán, 2012).

Earlier, we discussed Sebastián Piñera's ideal of a Chilean society which was modelled on a confrontation between the unconscious and reason. We observed how his speech involved

the biological conception of nature versus culture and tradition expressed in the anti-discrimination law. Using the same pattern, we can identify certain characteristics of the text quoted above. In the first paragraph, Zamudio is described as being "struck in the head", his head was fractured, and he was burned and marked. The use of passive voice is important—both in Spanish and in translation—as it allows the writer to "hide" the true subject of the action.

In this way, the action is presented as impersonal, and it is not far from saying "yesterday it rained". This contrasts with the emphatic voice of Zamudio's doctor, who explains the possible consequences following the attack—"He is going to have neurological damage"—and demonstrates certainty with reference to the attacks: "[*he*] was sentenced for violent robbery", or "he marked the body of the victim with swastikas."

It is easy to understand why the passive voice would be used to ensure that no direct accusations were levelled against defendants whose trial, at the time of publication, was still ongoing. Moreover, the passive voice reproduces a well-worn narrative in which dark forces attack in the twilight hours—in other words, when the day dies and the good people sleep, wild forces take to the abandoned and dimly lit places of the city. In 1832, Diego Portales, a prominent minister recognized as the man responsible for "structuring[…] Chilean institutionality" wrote something of strange relevance to this discussion: "The social order in Chile is maintained by the weight of the night and because we have no subtle, skillful and picky men: the general tendency of the masses to remain immobile is the guarantee for public peace" (De La Cruz & Feliu, 1941, p. 70; Leon, 2009, pp. 74-75). This cryptic phrase has for years provoked broad debate on its meaning. For the purposes of this investigation, the "weight of the night" refers to a key aspect of Chilean society, namely its immobile tendency, and its fear of rising up against institutions stemming from a deep respect for social order. Where does this

respect come from? Further, what is there in the discursive structure that calls for modesty and moderation? The answer lies in Portales' words above: the general tendency of the masses to remains immobile ensures public peace.

The absence of rebellious men and women, reluctant to accept the law imposed by oligarchical authoritarian institutions behind the back of common people, did the rest. Fear and distrust of the other were also fertile grounds for introducing values such as competitiveness and individualism during the Pinochet dictatorship's turn towards neoliberal policy. Henceforth, the politics of fear spread, separating virtuous men and women from the shadows of the night. In accordance with Portales' words over one hundred years ago, in 1990 (the year democracy returned to Chile), Los prisioneros, the popular Chilean rock band, released an album entitled *Corazones*. One of the band's most popular songs, "Noche en la ciudad" (Night and the City), portrays ironically this conservative dislike of the other, the stranger that lurks in the shadows of the night. In table 12 a brief section of its lyrics.

Table 12. Los prisioneros (1990) *Noche en la ciudad* (Night in town). Source: *Corazones*. EMI music. Santiago de Chile.

¡Fuera de la ciudad! toda esa gente que está mal.	Get out of the city! all those wrong people.
Orden y tranquilidad! para poder progresar.	Order and tranquility! to progress
Hombres honrados y sin vicios, mujeres castas y piadosas.	Honored men without vices, chaste and pious women.
Fuera de la ciudad! los que no son de fiar.	Get out the city! those that are not trustful.

Orden! moral! orden!	Order! Morals! Order!
Noches en la ciudad! sin drogadictos ni alcohol	Nights in town! Without junkies or alcohol.
¡Los borrachos huelen mal! los inmorales peor.	Drunkards stink! The Immorals worse!
Hombres honrados y sin vicios mujeres castas y piadosas.	Honored men without vices, chaste and pious women.
noches en la ciudad! como tarjetas de navidad	Nights in the city like Christmas cards.
Noche en la ciudad todo el mundo a descansar.	Night in the city everyone to rest.
Noche en la ciudad y mañana a trabajar.	Night in the city and tomorrow to work.
Todos sueñen con el cielo,	All dream of the sky,
todos cuiden sus ovejas,	all care for his sheep,
perdonando al que ha pecado	forgiving the one who has sinned
pero apartando al descarriado.	but erring away.
Noches en la ciudad! como tarjetas de navidad	Nights in the city! Like Christmas cards.

As aforementioned, on the morning of March 3rd 2012, Daniel Zamudio was found by a municipal guard in *San Borja* park—located next to Alameda Avenue, on of Santiago's main streets—at around 4:00 am, unconscious and without documents, (Fluxá, 2014, p. 30). As Fluxa explains:

The guard of the park [Ramón Merino] called his colleage Felipe Zambrano, who after

seeing him [Daniel Zamudio] on the ground took four pictures of the body for his own

records, to have a story to tell. The images were shocking; Daniel was on the ground,

devastated. Zambrano forwarded the pictures to Merino by Bluetooth. Merino's wife saw

them that night and in turn forwarded them to more people, including a television

journalist. Daniel Zamudio finally became famous (Fluxá, 2014, p. 30).

Zamudio was taken to the Central Hospital in the early hours of Saturday and was put into an

artifically-induced coma by the medical team. Zamudio lay in agony for 25 days and died on

March 27th 2012 at 7:45pm. His funeral was attended by more than 2000 people, as stated in the

picture below. This picture, taken from the journal *La Tercera* on 31st March 2012, uses, once

again, the same visual strategy as the one described above—the only difference is that a new

selfie of Daniel Zamudio is used, in which he is looking towards the observer. Further, a picture

of his funeral is located at the top of the page, and there is a set of statements from prominent

funeral attendees outlined at the bottom of the page. The table 13 corresponds to a selection of

these statements:

Table 13. Selected statements from *La Tercera* article outlining Zamudio's worsening condition and the current state of his attackers (Source: *La Tercera* Journal, March 21th, 2012).	
Name/Relation to Daniel Zamudio	**Statement**
Diego Zamudio, Brother	"He was always happy and proud of the person that he was. He was not afraid to show what he felt"
Jeannette Morales, Aunt	"Until we are able to accept ourselves as we are, we will not advance as a society"
Jacqueline Vera, Mother.	"Thank you very much to all of you for joining us, we will go forward with strength"
Shai Agosin, President of Jewish community.	"I would like to ask Chileans whether this is the beginning or the end of all these discriminatory acts"
Rolando Jiménez, President of MOVILH	"Discrimination and human rights are an issue that concerns not only homosexuals"
All Attendees	"Daniel, friend, the people are with you!"

The statements selected above concludes the process for the discursive construction of the martyrdom of Daniel Zamudio. Accordingly, his "happiness and pride" inspire collective feelings of concern related to any kind of discrimination. At this level of public representation, the presence of a Jewish community leader and the president of MOVILH intensifies the message which concludes with the now-legendary mass outburst: "the people are with you!" The image of Daniel Zamudio as a young victim, his selfies, the long period of his suffering, followed by intense media coverage, increased collective emotional ties to the victim. For Ernesto Laclau (2005) these kinds of love drives directed toward the image of a leader or a martyr produce collective identification, transfering the narcissistic libido onto an object (Laclau, *On populist reason*, 2005). As Laclau explains: "This can take various forms or show various

degrees, their common denominator being the *idealization* of the object, which thus becomes

inmune to criticism" (Laclau, 2005, p. 78).

After Zamudio's death, the Chilean president Sebastián Piñera urged parliament to speed up the adoption of the law on hate crimes, which had been on the shelf for over seven years. The images below correspond to a set of several press releases published during Zamudio's time in hospital. In my analysis, I will describe these graphic representations as forming part of the mystification and construction of a martyr.

With regards to the press clipping in figure 12, it is important to analyse point of view in relation to the construction of a popular victim. In this case, the relation between text and images semantically codes the narrative of discriminatory acts and their consequences, producing an increased sense of vulnerability. In order to elicit this response in the observer, the popular selfie of Daniel Zamudio, which looked the observer in the eye, became an exploited visual resource, accelerating the approval of the antidiscrimination law four months after Zamudio died.

Figure 12. *La Tercera* article from 31 March 2012 describing Daniel Zamudio's funeral

The truth is that Daniel Zamudio never wanted to become an icon in the Chilean homosexual fight for civil rights. His interests in fame were, in fact, more closely related to

patterns of pop cultural success—the story of Shakira or Britney Spears, for example—and his dream was to succeed in television as a dancer or an actor. Journalist Rodrigo Fluxá's (2014) conclusion in this regard is emphatic: none of Daniel Zamudio's personality traits made him worthy of being the icon which he now is, much less the bearer of an ideological legacy that justified the anti-discrimination law which was approved a few months after his death in July 2012 (popularly known as "Zamudio's Law"):

> He liked to party; he didn't have any other interests in life beyond parties. One couldn't have deep conversations with him, he didn't care for it. He never was interested, not one bit, in the homosexual movement, for instance. He would have been upset to see himself as the face of something like this (pp.102-103).

Fluxá's book *Solos en la noche. Zamudio y sus asesinos* (2014) reaches an even more controversial verdict: the death of Daniel Zamudio was not an homophobic crime, and there are no differences between Daniel's life and his aggressors' (MOVILH, 2014). The 2014 MOVILH annual report offers this as a response to Fluxá's claims:

> It is unfortunate that Fluxá fails the truth when he says that 'all people who were involved in the case know that Daniel was not killed for being gay'. Since it is public knowledge that those who denied the hypothesis of a hate crime were Daniel's murderers and their defense lawyers. The movement [MOVILH] particularly has taken offense to the idea that this journalist is raising the thesis, idea or suspicion that
> Daniel was almost predestined to be tortured, to be marked with swastikas, urinated on, kicked, stoned and killed because of his riotous lifestyle, which in his view [the view of Fluxá] was similar to that of the murderers.'(MOVILH, 2014)

Whatever Fluxá's conclusions are, it does not matter whether Daniel Zamudio's attackers were equally victims of a social and economic system based on the separation of class, racism, xenophobia, etc., or whether Zamudio was ever interested in homosexual civil rights, or even if the dark motives of his murder were part of a "hate crime" under the name of homophobia—all that matters is that these meanings circulated. This circulation of meanings in its purest form represents a significant step in the transformation of Daniel Zamudio into the political currency with which Chilean LGBT organizations bought legitimacy.

La Pedra de Chile: The Funeral of the Last Fairies

Visual representations often involve intertextuality (Hart, 2014, p. 97). Intertextuality is the relation that a text—oral, written or visual— has with other texts, whether they are made contemporary to or earlier than the piece in question. In other words, the set of texts that a given text can be linked with (explicitly or implicitly) provides a special kind of context that influences both the production and comprehension of discourse. One important element in intertextuality and the use of metaphor is their powerful capacity for creating, condensing and demonstrating social feelings. In other words, the power of intertextuality is rooted largely in its ability to produce new ways of seeing the world around us. In this section we will briefly analyse in Pedro Lemebel, the performer, writer, poet and provocative subject a new way of conceiving homosexuality in Chile.

In July 1990, the artistic collective *Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis*—made up of writer Pedro Lemebel and film director Francisco Casas—put on their first and only public exhibition entitled *Las dos Fridas* in a small alternative art gallery near downtown Santiago. The exhibition consisted of a live performance of Frida Kahlo's famous painting of the same name; the men sat for more than three hours, dressed and made up like the figures in Kahlo's painting with bare

chests and visible "hearts." Pedro's heart looks complete while Francisco's is cut and torn open. In short, they represented a reformative sexual movement that targeted the traditional system that ruled Chilean society until the early 1990s. Figure 13.

Figure 13. A photograph of *Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis'* exhibition: *Las dos Fridas*. © Pedro Marinello.
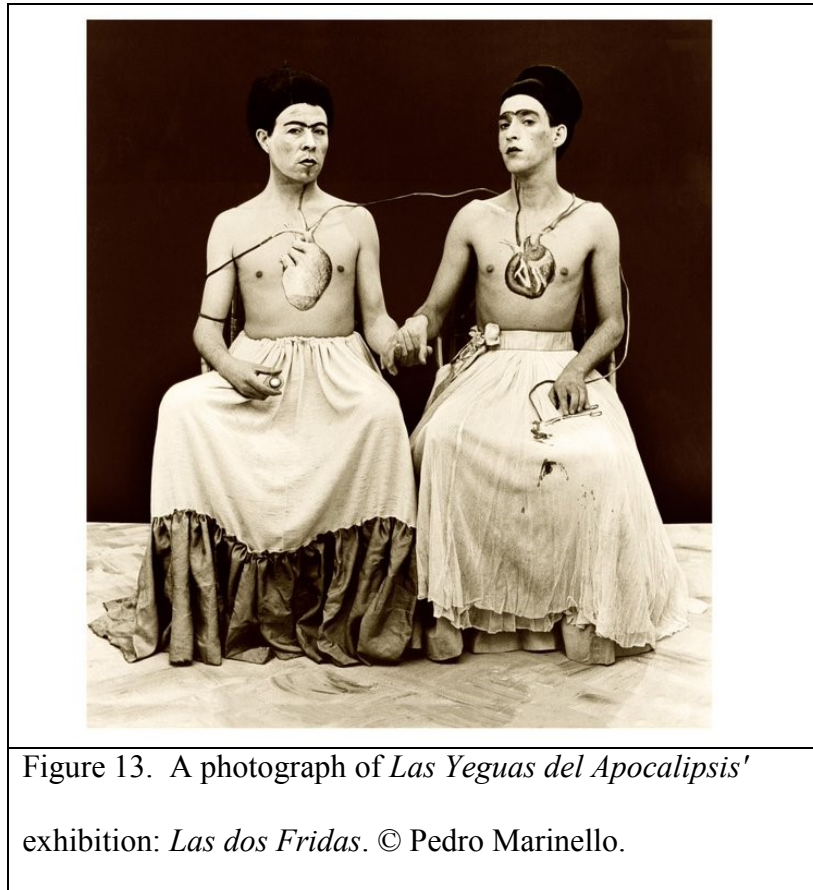
The performance was photographed and reproduced in postal cards that visitors could take home as a souvenir of the event. Over time, this image became one of the most representative and challenging depictions of homosexuality in Chile. The Chilean underground magazine *Cause* interviewed the collective in May of 1989, describing them with these words:

They have adopted the job of transvestite performers to raise a political platform that integrates sexual minorities into future democracy. They also propose to transgress the

frame imposed by marginality, and are willing to climb up the avant-garde Perestroika

proposing a homosexual candidate, all unified and designed by the basic resource of

delirium (Salas, 1989, pp. 26-29).

Even though this interview was conducted in 1989, a year before the performance of *Las*

dos Fridas and democracy arrived in Chile, the excerpt identifies specific ideological features

which would be visually expressed in the performance one year later. Francisco's main artery,

which leads from his broken heart and ends in the right hand of Pedro, has been cut off by the

surgical pincers held in Francisco's lap. Blood drops on his white dress, suggesting that he is

bleeding to death. Both subjects look to the right of the viewer, defying him/her with a serious

and dismissive gaze reinforced by their thickly painted eyebrows. Although the metaphor of

womanhood is evident, the reference to the HIV/AIDS crisis is even more apparent. The latter

displaces the original sense given by Frida Kahlo onto the suffering produced by the pink plague.

The two cross-dressed men, representing the exchange of blood in times of the HIV crisis in

Chile, shook not only the strong Chilean tradition of gender but also put on the table a denied

issue concerning people dying by HIV.

This is not the first time that Pedro Lemebel referred to HIV/AIDS crisis. Using a crown

of syringes filled with blood and holding a sign with the inscription "Chile return AIDS,"

Lemebel marched during New York Gay Pride in 1994 (Figure 14). In Lemebel's words: "I

wanted to say that I give them back AIDS, but I did not know English so I wrote it as it came to

me. I walked with syringes around my head while 'gringos' opened the way for me fearing they

would get pricked" (Contardo, 2015). Using HIV/AIDS as a metaphor of the USA's political

intervention into Chile during the coup in 1973, Lemebel saw AIDS as more than a health issue

attacking the gay world. For him, AIDS represented a symptom of capitalism, the culture of

consumption, the American style of life and a result of years of political intervention and colonialism. In his words, "[t]he plague came to us as a new form of colonization by contagion. It replaced our feathers by syringes and the sun by the frozen drop of the moon in a *sidario"* (Lemebel, 1997, p. 7)

Figure 14. A photograph of Pedro Lemebel taken during 1994's Gay Pride in New York (monstruotextual, 2014).

On January 23rd 2015, the day that Lemebel died, I was in Santiago conducting fieldwork for this research. It was not AIDS that killed Pedro Lemebel, but cancer. His sarcastic attitude towards his illness can be observed in his own words: "Such is life... always running away from AIDS and cancer caught me up. Doctors left me just one vocal cord and half of the larynx[…]

They also removed my Adam's apple, the dream of every transvestite" (Bahamondes, 2015). Lemebel's work portrays the fierce social inequality in Chile, and the social stratification in class that has existed since the country was a Spanish colony. Lemebel was also well known for his acidic critique of authoritarianism during the Pinochet regime and the democracy that followed, as well as for his humorous depictions of Chilean popular culture from a queer perspective. On the day of his funeral I crossed the Central Square of Santiago towards the *Iglesia de la Recoleta Franciscana*, the only Catholic Church that accepted the body of the communist writer. I stopped at a newsstand to take a look at the front pages of the newspapers, imagining—perhaps naively—his face would be displayed on the covers. To my surprise, news of Lemebel's death was almost nowhere to be found. One exception could be found in *La Tercera,* but the rest of the newspapers closed ranks, offering their final contempt for the writer.

The Chilean journal *The Clinic* wrote a piece a couple of days after Lemebel's funeral criticizing the conservative press' unwillingness to confront either the writer or his disease: "Even dead, *El Mercurio* didn't have the courage to look at his eyes". At that time, I wrote in my fieldwork notes:

> It is not that this fact matters to me or hurts me, after all *La Pedra*[45] has already left this
>
> material world (or returned to it). What really worries me is that in my country, in this
>
> territory that Pablo Neruda described as 'isolated from the others by its sharp geography'
>
> (1971) a certain social segment remains invisible, and this is a form of domination. Thus
>
> the disobedient *yegua* Lemebel, who used to spit at anyone who reminded him of the
>
> classism that has separated this country into the advantaged and the screwed, knew very

---

[45] In the Spanish language context, gay men often feminize the names of their gay comrades. In this case, I switched *Pedro* to *Pedra*, the name by which Pedro Lemebel referred regularly to himself in an ironic way.

well that he was never well seen by the capricious and sensitive eyes of power (León,

Personal notes from my fieldwork, 2015)

The Chilean press's partial omission (El Mercurio) of Pedro Lemebel's funeral also represents an interesting social phenomenon, since public discourse is built not just by what has been said but also by that which has been omitted. To a certain extent, it is an omission that demonstrates where the very forces of discourse are displayed—that is, we can see the ways in which "inappropriate" voices are relegated, mitigated or made to disappear. It is also important to observe how this omission provokes the opinion of other voices, creating an organic subsystem of ideas which serves to revitalize the image of a Chilean visual artist and queer writer.

In this sense it is important to identify the relation between image and text, and Lemebel's death offers a useful opportunity for this analysis. The media depiction of Lemebel after his death alludes to a certain intertextual relation. Consider, for example, the way Lemebel is portrayed in *The Clinic* editorial in Figure 15. The title of the editorial "La Pedra de Chile" possesses several allusions: firstly, it is a deformation of the original expression "La Piedra de Chile" (The Stone of Chile), which suggests the idea of foundation, since the Spanish word "piedra" (stone) derives from Latin "petra" with the same meaning; secondly, the quotation attached to the title—"you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church"—is an excerpt taken from the "rock dialogue" between Jesus and his disciple Peter narrated in *Matthew 16:13-19.*

Figure 15. The front page of The Clinic's article "La

Pedra de Chile" (Fernández P. , 2015, p. 5).

By invoking a set of intertexts concerning the name "Pedro," *The Clinic* depicts Lemebel

as a foundational figure in Chilean queer history. Indeed, as one of the most popular Chilean

queer writers, he opened the path to visualizing a different kind of poverty—he described, for

example, the HIV-crisis within the context of 1990s Santiago with a florid, sharp and

homosexual style of writing, in a conservative country grounded in the Iberian and Catholic

tradition. There is also a third visual metaphor—by mixing the figure of Lemebel with the

Chilean version of Virgin Mary— the "*Virgen del Carmen*" (Lady of Mount Carmel) or Patron

Saint of Chile whose image played a role in Chile's struggle for independence.[46]

Hegemony. El que tiene el poder va a proclamarnos

In chapter three I emphazised that the order of discourse was one of the most important

aspects in the construction of social life. Indeed, my basic supposition was that social practices

are organized in a specific and different manner or order. Signified concepts organized in

particular positions define what we will understand as semiosis (Fairclough, 2003, p. 182).

People differ in social class, gender identity, cultural origin, ethnicity, feelings of belonging and

nationality. This means that all of these forms of identification produce a specific semiosis or, in

other words, a different way to realize our position in the world. According to Wodak & Meyer

"semiosis" comprises "discursive varieties" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 182). Some examples of these

varieties are as follows: everyday conversations, meetings within organizations, academic

lectures, interviews surrounding different issues and a variety of written disourses. As

Fairclough writes, "[s]emiosis in the representation and self-representation of social practices

constitutes discourses" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 182).

Social practices built in a specific way constitute a social order. For example, the

emerging neoliberal policy of recent Chilean governments such as Sebastián Piñera's

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[46] In December 1811, General Carrera and General O'Higgins asked the Vicar of Santiago to give mass for success

in the struggle for independence against Spain. During the battles for independence, the liberator José de San Martín

gave the Lady of Mount Carmel the title of "Patron Saint of the *Ejército de los Andes,*" and General Bernardo

O'Higgins proclaimed her the "Patron Saint of the Chilean Army" during the Battle of Chacabuco in February 1817.

In 1923, at the request of the Chilean bishops, the Vatican proclaimed the Virgin of Carmel to be the patron saint of

all Chileans, not just the armed forces.

administration (2010-2014) and the second administration of Michel Bachelet (2014-2018) or the social order of students and LGBT organizations in Chile constitute different social orders, and consequently, different orders of discourse. As Fairclough states: "an order of discourse is a social structuring of semiotic difference—a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning, that is different discourses and genres" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 183).

One aspect of the order of discourse is dominance. The basic idea, here, is that some forms of meaning-making are dominant over others. For example, during the resistance to the Pinochet Dictatorship, some human rights organizations established a precise definition of human rights abuses associated with the experiences of torture, killing, forced exile and the disappearance of people. This particular definition excluded for decades the recognition of human rights' abuses upon homosexuals, lesbians and transgender people. As we have repeated several times in this dissertation, one of the Chilean LGBT organizations' core struggles over the last two decades was to be recognized for their legitimate and particular capability of making meaning.

However, there are other more subtle forms of domination in which the social order imposes its understanding of "reality" through mass media and publicity. This kind of imposition does not require any physical force to convince people and establish a social order: consumption habits, aesthetic models and ways of being are—in general—gently introduced into social practices through slogans, visual signs and advertising, creating ideology. As van Dijk states: "One major function of dominant discourse is precisely to manufacture such consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance" (van Dijk T., 1993, p. 255).

The study of hegemony can be useful for analyzing the order of discourse (Fairclough, 2003, p. 183) since hegemony represents a way to address the construction of power groups (Fairclough, 1992, p. 86; Fairclough, 2003, p. 183; van Dijk, 1993, p.255; van Dijk, 2009, p. 37; Mayr, 2008, pp. 10-13-15). The origins of the modern history of hegemony lie in the attempt by Russian social democracy to provide a sense of unity to the class struggle throughout the industrial world, beyond the limits of unions and countries (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, p.6). The concept of hegemony was fundamental for Leninism at a time when it was necessary to understand the processes of class struggle, following the era of European and Russian imperialism. Gramsci defined hegemony not only as a part of the claims process of the working class, but also as a crucial part of every "war of position" (ibid., p.68). For Gramsci, hegemony is the key to understand any social process that moves using a concept as a common signifier. However, orders of discourse are not closed systems, but are instead open and exposed, and they can therefore be influenced by the discursive practices of others. As is the case with biological organisms, social discourses are in permanent relation and coordination with other orders, which claim hegemony and dominance of ideas.

In this sense I support the position of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985), who argue that the vagueness of political discourse does not mean that it is defective—on the contrary, this is the way that particular social groups create hegemony. Speeches are mobile and inconsistent, and are filled with "floating signifiers". All aspirations to create a large and coherent discourse lead to the crystallization of meaning, forcing it to fall into disuse because of its inflexibility. I support the idea that no matter what the topic, empty signifiers are important in politics, and political discourses adapt their own expectations as much as possible to the social currents of the time.

In Chapter One I discussed the adaptation of causes for political ends in certain discourses, providing one of the most dramatic examples: Michelle Bachelet's shifting position on LGBT civil rights during her two presidential campaigns (2005 and 2013). During her 2006 campaign, Bachelet argued against same-sex marriage, claiming that the Chilean Civil Code conceived of marriage as "a union between a man and a woman" (Te Pasaste, 2013). However, times change, and Sebastián Piñera's 2009 campaign—which used the image of a gay couple holding hands in its television advertisements—was successful. Piñera won the election in 2010, Daniel Zamudio passed away in March 2012, and the latter's death catalyzed the approval of an antidiscrimination law a few months later. In this context, Bachelet's position on same-sex marriage during her second presidential campaign required some modification: indeed, she expressed in 2013 that her first administration worked in favor of the civil union agreement (Te Pasaste, 2013).

At first glance we could argue that there is a certain ambiguity in recent governments' propaganda. However, there is nothing ambiguous in the propaganda insofar as the discourse aims to unequivocally promote a certain cause. In other words, there is no ambiguity in the speech itself, either in its symbols or in its slogans, but in the vagueness of the signifiers—or "floating signifiers" as Ernesto Laclau calls them—that constitute all political populist discourse. The latter represents the epiphenomenal constitutive side of political discourse.

In accordance with Laclau, Michel Foucault emphasizes that discourses are important "tactical elements" in the balance of power (Foucault, 1978). Similarly, Foucault argues that discourses can move without any change between various moral or theoretical postulates:

We must not expect the discourses on sex to tell us, above all, what strategy they derive

from, or what moral divisions they accompany, or what ideology—dominant or

dominated—they represent; rather we must question them on the two levels of their

tactical productivity (what reciprocal effects of power and knowledge they ensure) and

their strategical integration (what conjunction and what force relationship make their

utilization necessary in a given episode of the various confrontations that occur)

(Foucault, 1978, p. 102).

If Foucault recognizes the definition of sexuality as a cultural and political construction

that dominates bodies, it is important to understand that the measure of success for civil LGBT

rights is partly dependent on this "tactical productivity" and on its "strategic integration." The

problem this research intends to highlight is that this process of incorporating the homosexual

subject into mainstream discourse has entailed the creation of a public image based on

conservative historical, political, social and aesthetic values. In other words, this process has

meant the adaptation, interpretation and representation of homosexuality by the official

discourse of heteronormativity.

The New Narrative of "Homosexuality"

Part of this research seeks to demonstrate how certain factors enabled Sebastian Piñera's

right wing conservative discourse to adopt the LGBT civil rights cause. The question becomes:

why did Piñera's campaign win the presidential election in 2010 by adopting a homosexual

agenda, while Michelle Bachelet's campaign four years prior had denied any possible space in

the government agenda for such an issue? Finally, how did the success of Piñera's campaign

force Bachelet to change her public position, and to incorporate the homosexual cause into her

2014 presidential campaign?

The assumption of a "truth" behind official discourses concerning LGBT civil rights is central to this matter. Gianni Vattimo states that all that we have had throughout human history is "the illusion of truth" (Pavon, 2011). In this history of truth, the Inquisition burned heretics without bringing personal charges against them—all the "perpetrators" had done is violate the principle of truth. Vattimo adds that Aristotle would have said: if Plato states philosophical errors, I argue against them. If Plato persists in error, I might even kill him, in Honour of the Truth (Pavon, 2011). What Vattimo finally concludes is that truth is never a theoretical act, but a principle executed by force. In this sense truth is, fundamentally, an interpretation imposed by those who have power (Vattimo, 2009, pp. 51-54). Accordingly, if sex—as I said at the beginning of this chapter—is the mechanism that propels us forward, and if this path is saturated by power conflicts, then discourse is the means to achieve it and make this future as a visible truth. Maybe it was fortune that led me during my fieldwork to a recent song by the Chilean singer Javiera Mena. Mena is currently one of the most popular young Chilean singers and is recognized publically as lesbian. As an avid reader of Vattimo, she reiterates some of the Italian philosopher's key points in her song "*Esa Fuerza*" (That Force) when she states: "*El que tiene el poder va a proclamarnos*" (He who has the power will proclaim us).

In this sense, the new discursive strategies of the LGBT social movement in Chile introduced new cultural conceptualizations regarding homosexuality, same-sex marriage, HIV prevention, human rights, and so on. As Adam Hodges points out "[…] the knowledge that it spawns serves as the truth in the sense that it produces real effects in the world" (Hodges, 2011, p. 5) This argument can be reinforced by Foucault's observation in the *History of Sexuality* that "the homosexual" is a specific kind of social subject produced by modernity in order to study the personality and certain human behaviors during the 19th century. In Foucault's words, discourse
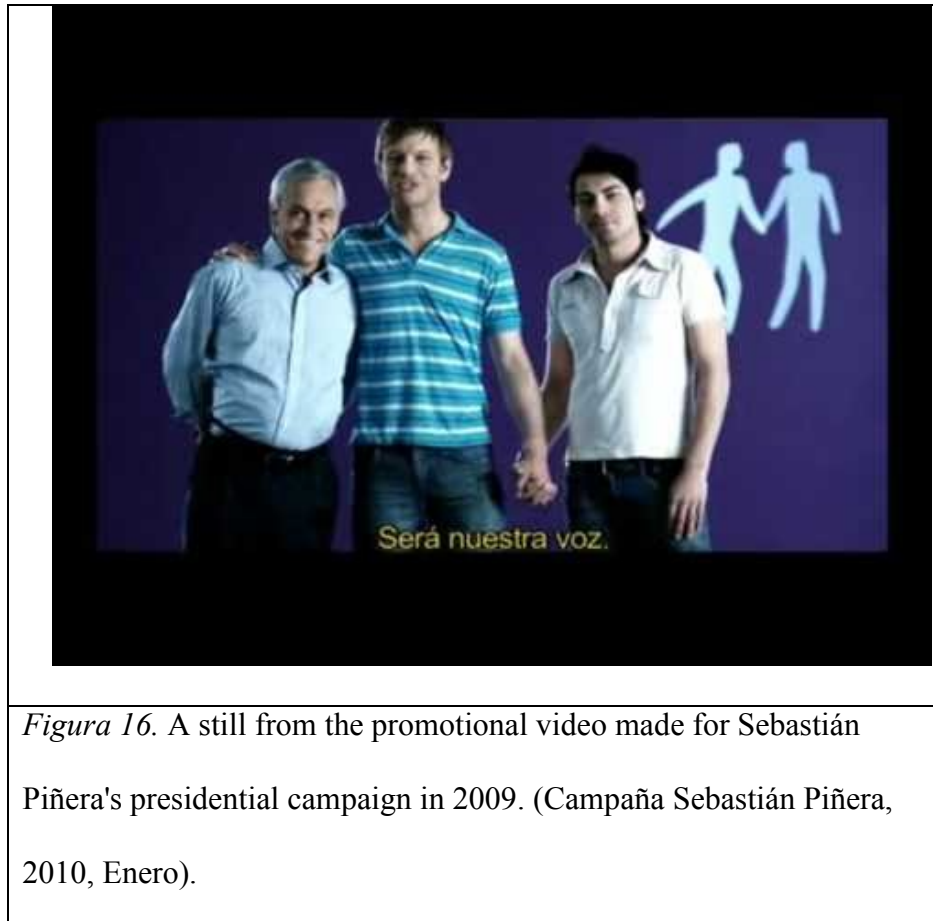
198

on sexuality not only refers to the objects of knowledge, but constitutes those objects of knowledge as well:

> We must not forget that the psychological, psychiatric, medical category of homosexuality was constituted from the moment it was characterized[…] Homosexuality appeared as one of the forms of sexuality when it was transposed from the practice of sodomy onto a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphrodism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species (Foucault, 1978, p. 42-44)

I have previously stated that CDA is a useful way to understand the discursive productions of the LGBT organizations that, since the advent of democracy in Chile, have fought for their civil rights. In this sense, I argue here that changes observed during recent years coincide with the election of the right wing government of Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014). Piñera's victory broke two-decades of center-left political leadership and becoming the first elected right-wing leader in 50 years (Barrionuevo, 2010). His surprising presidential campaign in 2009 included a gay couple in its advertisements. In other words, Piñera's campaign identified the discourse of civil rights for the LGBT community as one of the social struggles of the right-wing; accordingly, the most important LGBT organizations—such as MOVILH or Fundación Iguales—articulated themselves in line with official government policy, with the expectation of gaining approval for the civil union agreement.

In the picture below (Figure 16), taken from a promotional video produced during Piñera's presidential campaign, a young gay couple holds hands next to the presidential candidate. This was the first time that a presidential candidate referred to a homosexual couple

using the inclusive pronoun "we" to refer to minorities (the poor, the elderly, the sick or

homosexuals), a word neglected for decades by the economic and political system.

Figura 16. A still from the promotional video made for Sebastián

Piñera's presidential campaign in 2009. (Campaña Sebastián Piñera,

2010, Enero).

In the video, homosexual demands are articulated by a young, white, professional male couple.

Piñera first states, "Today people accept us, now we need a country that respects us," before one

of the men adds: "And Sebastian will be our voice" (Campaña Sebastián Piñera, 2010).

Six years after the creation of this propaganda, I met Luis Larrain, who is now the

president of Fundación Iguales. I made contact with him by phone from Montreal, a few months

before traveling to Chile in November 2014. We agreed that our meeting would take place at the

Iguales office a few days after my arrival in Chile from Montreal. My first impression of Luis

was that although distant, thin, tall and silent, he was a nice guy. Once inside the building

located at 250 General Bustamante Avenue in the commune of Providencia, the conversation

covered several topics: the reasons why Fundación Iguales was created, LGBT activism in Chile,

the civil union agreement, same-sex couple marriage and the role of the Church. Here is part of

the interview (Table 14):

Table 14. Interview of Pablo Larraín, Director of *Fundación Iguales* (Larraín L. , 2014).
AL: I wonder if you have thought about differences and points of agreement that may exist between the authorities and the rest of Chilean society? LL: I think that the way Chilean society thinks is actually different from the thinking of the political class. On the one hand society is continuously evolving. However, the authorities do not remain in place for a long time—they alternate. So, it depends on who is governing at a particular time[…] These political dynamics in elections have much to do with some of the advances. I will give you an example: under the binomial system we used to have candidates who supposedly had the same political opinion competing against each other rather than competing against their opponents. In the majority of districts one candidate from the right side and one from the left is chosen. So you when talk with members of Congress they tell you: "I'm in favor of equal marriage, but if I express my opinion too strongly during the electoral campaign, my running mate will gain the conservative votes and it will leave me out of the electoral run". Then there are electoral logics that do not reflect the feelings of society, because candidates gain numbers using different perspectives. The other reason is the nature of the cycle of alternation, meaning that governments do not bring forward the same goals if they remain in office for one year, two years, or if they are just beginning their administration[…] or if they will have enough support during government. All

these logics of alternation of power make it so that politics does not necessarily represent the feelings of the voters. As another example, we could point out that president Piñera was elected because, well, the opposition was weakened, and also because the right wing was closer to the center than to the extreme right. However at the time he took office he governed with the coalition that brought him into power. At that time the electoral logic often altered the popular feeling.

What else I can tell you, I think that Chilean society has changed very quickly and that the political authorities think they know it, but given that political authorities are of a certain age, change has not necessarily permeated them. So for example, surveys show that support for same-sex marriage in Chilean society has risen dramatically in recent years. It didn't reach 30% three years ago and today we see surveys reaching 51% approval of same-sex marriage. In three years society has changed, but politicians who have fixed ideas, who are elected by a party with certain ideas, in three years do not change their ideology or their positions to address these issues. Then it is necessary for more than three years to pass before they have to go to an election, lose it, and be replaced by new candidates to refresh and renew politics. Society is much more dynamic, much faster, however the political class, institutions, and laws are slower to adapt to change.

AL: Does it have to do with changes in the concept of human rights?

LL: Well, one of our goals has been to position our demands in the context of human rights. I understand that what we are asking for are not privileges, are not the interests of a single group, they are human rights. And so we have done campaigns like "coming out of the closet" in which, for example, most of the protagonists of the campaign were straight people, were "X" people coming out of a closet simply as a symbol of leaving behind discrimination, and making their

differences visible. We want a disabled person out of the closet, a Mapuche out of the closet, well[...] anyone who feels fear of discrimination, so that they can leave it behind. I think that people who are into the world of human rights, must now clearly know that human rights of sexual diversity are today one of the most violated, and these cases at the UN or OAS are very present in the dialogue of human rights. But I think that we still lack in the population a broader view of human rights, and still they are conceptualized as political victims of the dictatorship. There is still a powerful link to that.

AL: That's a point that seems to me very important. As you mentioned, MOVILH, for example, founded in the early 90s precisely handled the abuses committed during Pinochet's dictatorship. Oscar Contardo mentions in his book that during the 90s MOVILH used to march at the end of the line, and was a bit like...

LL: Masked, almost!

AL: Sure, they were camouflaged and a bit ashamed also within the same pro-human rights march. Do you feel that this has changed? Why has it changed? Why do you think there is such a need for a different discourse in the people?

LL: I think to obtain more visibility and standardization. Maybe there are people who do not like it, but I think this strategy is very important.

AL: Standardization, how do you define it, how do you work on it?

LL: We understand it as a strategy to position sexual diversity as part of everyday life. That gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered people are visible, that we can discuss the topic, that we can show that we have our own families, which are different but which are nonetheless families, that in all areas—politics, labor, religion—people speak about family without *trench*, as I said before. Other organizations have more the logic of the *trench*.*
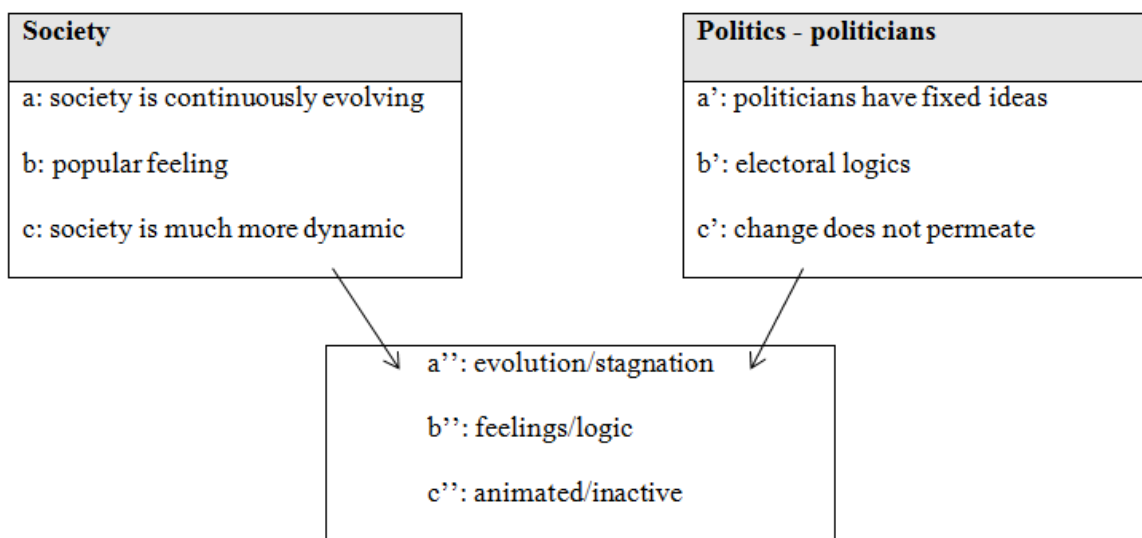
AL: Which one?

LL: Organizations that use a much more aggressive language, a much more confrontational language. I call them "logics of trench." That is, when a politician or a public person does not support our demands then he/she is accused of being homophobic, or classist or insulted[...] and these are things with which I agree—yes they are homophobic people, yes I think they are discriminatory—but I think to take this issue as a fighting issue is a poor strategy—I think this is not our strategy in 2014. I think the right language has to do with influence, has to do with visibility, but[...] if I dislike a senator from UDI [a conservative party] and accuse him of being homophobic, he will strongly react against me with more energy. And he won't listen to me. However if I say, "Senator, I invite you to reflect", "I'll show you", "this is my family", "what do you think?", which is going to sound a little more spoilt sometimes, I think it is more effective. That is why I think it's important not to position ourselves in opposition—the same goes with churches.

 * The original word used by Larraín is "*trinchera*" –trench- although it does not make sense in the English text I kept the original word since it refers to the combative attitude which Larraín criticises in the rest of LGBT organizations.

Larraín's words express two opposed concepts: SOCIETY and POLITICS. Society represents an organism in permanent evolution mobilized by feelings, whereas politics is a stagnant human practice, where ideas are inactive if they are not motivated by the drive of the community. However, we can observe the paradox of Larrain's speech in the last section. While he motivates people to leave the closet: "we want a disabled person out of the closet, a Mapuche out of the closet, well[...] anyone who feels fear of discrimination, so that they can leave it

behind". Larraín's expectations are to "obtain more visibility and standardization" with the assumption that one day sexual diversity can be part of everyday life. He also criticizes heavily other LGBT organizations who, in his mind, maintain an out-dated political belligerence that was more appropriate in the 1990s than it is today. (Table 15)

Table 15. Larraín's conception of Chilean society is modelled on the confrontation between Society and Politics.

Society	Politics - politicians
a: society is continuously evolving	a': politicians have fixed ideas
b: popular feeling	b': electoral logics
c: society is much more dynamic	c': change does not permeate

a'': evolution/stagnation

b'': feelings/logic

c'': animated/inactive

Then, Iguales?

Fundación Iguales is located in Providencia, a traditional and prosperous municipality of Santiago. [47] Of all the LGBT organizations in Chile, Fundación Iguales is located in one of the

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[47] The word "providencia" derives from the Latin verb "providere," which means "seeing at a certain distance." It is related to the Spanish word "proveer" (to provide) which means "to prepare for," or to "take precautions against something." In Christian theology, "providence" reflects God's care and preservation of the world, man and all

most promising neighborhoods of Santiago, close to public services, subway stations, libraries, coffee shops, parks and spaces for social encounters. At first glance, there is one thing that Iguales shares with its sister organizations such as MUMS and MOVILH: the modest image it presents of itself to those walking past its offices on the street, making it difficult to find. Although this seemingly minor detail could be seen as a measure of austerity and discretion, it is not consistent with the enormous visual presence that other organizations and private companies usually have. In this regard, when I interviewed the spokesman of MOVILH I asked him why the sign of MOVILH is almost unnoticeable from street perspective. He responded: "This is not because we fear homophobia, this is mostly because we feel we already surpassed those times in which our organization sought to visualize LGBT demands" (Gomez, 2015). In a country where the acceptance of sexual diversity has quietly increased in recent years, the discretion of the Iguales, MOVILH, and MUMS façades is not merely a coincidence but is directly proportional to the discretion with which homosexual individuals have learned to overcome homophobic and conservative Chilean culture.

For example, whilst in Santiago I visited gaychat.cl, a web site for gays and lesbians encounters, several times. The web site is still popular, despite the emergence of smartphone applications like Grindr or SCRUFF. In Chile it is very unlikely that homosexual or lesbian individuals openly show their face on these applications; instead, pictures profiles show naked torsos, legs, or blurred profiles hiding the identity of the account owner. Some of these pofile pictures verge on the absurd, others teeter on the edge of pornography.

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things (Garret, 1996, p. 339). For many years, the Providencia district represented the border that separated the rich people located towards the mountains and the lower classes who lived in the more downtown area of Santiago.

Being openly gay on these applications has two directly negative consequences: the first threatens an individual's participation in work, friend groups, or even their family. The second entails the label of sexual promiscuity. Indeed, I heard the following phrase many times in conversations between gay friends during my fieldwork: "On Grindr, if you acknowledge yourself as openly gay, you agree that, consequently, you can be labelled as promiscuous." Maintaining "discretion" is the unwritten rule, and those who transgress this apparent law by showing their face are socially punished.

Therefore, if we were to compare the profiles of people looking for same-sex encounters in Santiago and Montreal, we would find that the biggest difference is the anonymity and discretion of users in Chile who, unlike their Canadian counterparts, do not show their faces in profile pictures. This suggests that sexual freedom was won in Canada a long time before these applications emerged. In Chile, the "body" acts as a way to communicate a highly moralized existence, a fearful desire, a passion jealously hidden, faceless across cyberspace, waiting impatiently to find another body, to find love or just to satisfy a sexual drive. Thus homosexual subjects in Chile chat, fantasize about their physical conditions, eroticize and fall in love with doubly distorted images; firstly, by the conditions of size, color and composition offered by an image on a smartphone screen, and secondly, by the distorted narratives presented by the users.

If this happens on Grindr, then "real" life is even more complex. In this regard, data suggests that the task of putting a face to homosexuality has been, if not the most important part of *Fundación Iguales's work*, but also a powerful symbolic law for structuring the public discourse. The undeclared task of *Fundación Iguales*, says the founder of the organization and writer Pablo Simonetti, is to break the symbolic web that separates the openly gay from the hidden subject in the shadows of the closet. The strategy is to build a new model of subjectivity

207

separate from the common homosexual stereotypes that existed prior to the late 1990s. If the tactics of the oldest organizations like MOVILH, MUMS, or Acción Gay revolved around the HIV crisis and the struggle for recognition of the human rights abuses suffered during the Pinochet dictatorship, then in the 21st century the student spring in 2006 demonstrated a paradigm shift toward concerns more closely related with gay culture. The influence of the media and social networks, the inclusion of new technologies, the changing perception of HIV/AIDS as a chronic disease, and the success of the neoliberal model as a breeding ground for values such as consumerism, success-oriented ideologies and individualism joined democracy and homosexuality under a new concept which I call *Homomercracia*.

This is a new narrative that enchants people with a certain kind of masculinity, which moves them with its testimony of abuse (mainly related to the Catholic Church), and finally promises a range of political benefits within the context of economic liberalism. The neoliberalized homosexual subject, as Cabello argues, not only wants to avoid projecting a pornographic image but also wishes to stay away from all that characterized the image of gay leaders in the 1990s. In these times of liberalism, sex, as a practice and as a form of identity, only exists in denial. If we turn to an interview given by Pablo Simonetti in 2011, we can observe how this notion plays out:

> The writer is a tall man, about 6ft3 of elegance, and is therefore a recognized sex symbol of the cultural elite. However, he says men do not harass him. They do not make dirty proposals to him in clubs. They do not court him. He does not perceive that other men undress him with their eyes while he is walking on the street. And he, for his part, does not undress anyone in his imagination. He does not imagine other persons being naked.

"- I do not imagine anyone screwing, I swear. Nor I would like that anyone imagines me screwing".

Describing what things he finds erotic, Pablo, for some reason, uses the tone of a priest. In his opinion intellectual virtues are very exciting to him. He is turned on by good conversation. And he usually does not go further. Suddenly "he closes his bedroom door" and settles again in his social role (*El Mercurio de Valparaiso*, 2011).

On May 29th, 2011, Pablo Simonetti, founder of Fundación Iguales, participated in a public television program called "Tolerancia Cero." It was the first time that a high-class gay man, publicly acknowledged as an intellectual and writer, broke the silence, accepting his homosexuality (El Mercurio Valparaíso, 2011) . This was a very important event, marking a significant turning point in the minds of many Chilean gays and lesbians who were attracted by the image of Pablo Simonetti and Luis Larraín. This becomes clear if we turn to the testimony extracted from a focus group of young activists from Fundación Iguales (Table 16):

Table 16. Focus Group Fundación Iguales, 2015.
Cristian: We do not realize the impact we can have on others when we become visible. When I heard Pablo Simonetti's interview in "Toleracia Cero" in 2011, talking about sexual diversity, hey, I fell in love! I loved it! Things happened to me, moved me, he touched me. I said: "I can do something".
Marcela: I also found that interview good.
Pedro: It touched many people, too!
Cristian: Yes, did you watch it? And, I think, my re-enchantment with politics came from that moment. New ways to collaborate, but back to the topic, I insist that we must recognize the work

of other [LGBT] organizations, and we have to understand, to inform ourselves why we are a different story.

David: That is true! Iguales was born in a context that made dialogue possible. That is the preparation that Pablo, Luis and all who are a part of this organization have made. This allows us to get together with an authority or have the ability to have a calm conversation concerning such things.

Cristian: Hey David, you are in luck—Pablo Simonetti, Luis Larraín, and David Palma can walk in peace with their sexuality. A gay person who works in a supermarket as a cashier wouldn't be able to talk casually about his or her homosexuality—they would be fired.

David: That's what I say. It happened to me too when I started working as a volunteer on HIV issues. I had to deal with MUMS, Acción Gay and with all these people, who have their own history, and you know that everything they did to be here, and you look back and you see how they picked up young people from the streets who were at medical centers, asking if anyone [with HIV] needed treatment? HIV laws, and the laws of many things, have been approved because they claimed and demanded those rights 20 years ago.

The interviewee ages ranged from 20 to 30 years old. This suggests, as is highlighted in the dialogue between David and Cristian, that there is a story, a memory of events that dates back to the recovery of democracy in 1990 and whose origins are not in *Iguales*, but in MOVILH, MUMS, or Acción Gay, as all of these older organizations possess longer archives and records concerning homosexual activism in Chile. Similarly, it is possible to observe a shared awareness of privilege in Fundación Iguales, as David highlights when he faces one of his partners directly in the interview and states: "you are privileged". In this case, the use of the

pronoun "you" demonstrates an awareness of the other resulting in a perceived diversity of biographies within this organization, including among the multiple profiles of people working there as volunteers.
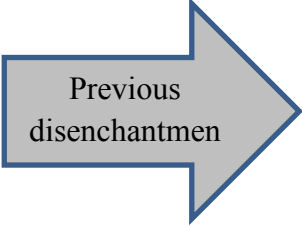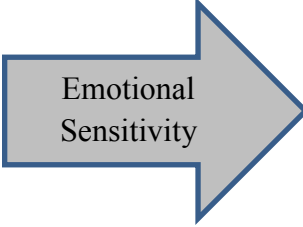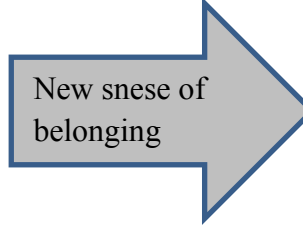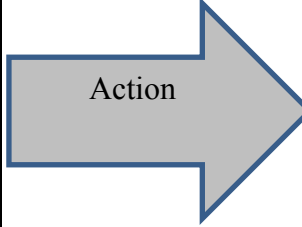
The conversation between David and Cristian suggests that LGBT activist identity is formed after a long process of trying several organizations before choosing one of them. As David states, "It happened to me too when I started working as a volunteer on HIV issues, I had to deal with MUMS, Acción Gay." This data suggests that the symbolic relationship between the subject and the organization is a process of identification where multiple elements converge, as well as different ways of interpreting reality and inhabiting the world. Or, in Habermas' words: it is a way to make a lifeworld. The speech of the interviewed activists strongly emphasizes this emotional relation. Expressions such as: "I fell in love! I loved it! Things happened to me, moved me, he touched me" mobilize people's desires to participate in activism. In this regard, Cristian's comments stand out: "I said: I can do something." An important final aspect can be observed in David's words. His conclusion is that thanks to Iguales and the new image of a "well prepared" homosexual subject—that is, someone with enough education to discuss issues relating to the LGBT community's demands—he understood that there was a new way of doing politics and a new way of dealing with authority (represented by politicians, or people working in the government). This coincides with the conclusions of Cristian Cabello when he states:

> "Charm is a characteristic of the illustrated heroes, well educated men,
> who seduce with words—a quality which is also highlighted among the
> directors of the Fundación Iguales, who are characters of aristocratic
> lineage and with an academic background. They portray themselves as

heroes who also strive for the betterment of the rest of the population"

(Castillo, 2014, p. 126).

To summarize, Figure 17 shows Iguales' discursive strategy represented by a chain of signifiers in four stages: i) interviewees' discourse emphazised their disenchantment with the political scenario; ii) in a second stage the interviewees concurred that Fundación Iguales, and particularly the image of Pablo Simonetti, appealed to their emotional sensitivities; iii) this created a new sense of belonging and reenchantement built partly upon a differenciation from other organizations. They also emphazised that the calm environment allowed them to feel able to make a contribution; iv) finally, they agreed that this new experience of reenchantement propelled them into action, that is, it mobilized them around the project of *Fundación Iguales*. The testimony provided by members of the focus group coincides with the official discourse of Iguales in relation to its own history. Iguales was born as a result of the impotence and disappointment with politics and seeks to respond to social demands in recent times (Iguales, 2014, p. 19).

Previous disenchantmen	Emotional Sensitivity	New snese of belonging	Action
"My re-enchantment with politics comes from that moment."	"I fell in love! I loved it! Things happened to me, moved me, he touched me."	"The ability to have a calm conversation". "We are a different story." "Iguales was born in a context that made." dialogue possible".	"I can do something."

Figure 17. Iguales' discursive strategy represented by a chain of signifiers in four stages.

Gay Charm

In his MA thesis "Ciudadano gay. Visualidades y plusvalía sexual en tiempos liberales," Cristian Cabello (2014) discusses Jack Halberstam's concept of "charming" in relation to gay culture (2013). Cabello establishes a conceptual frame with which to analyse the public image of Pablo Simonetti, reading him as a new image of the homosexual individual. In this regard, Cabello explains:

Seduction is part of the construction of a liberal image of what being gay means, it is a dimension of a desire in the aesthetic order that politics silences. Seduction is part of an erotic process of neoliberal policy, which seeks to produce pleasure in citizens; an erotic dimension of political sexuality. Not pornographic but fear of becoming pornographic. The manly pose of Simonetti, classy and educated (a man with sexual surplus-value)

makes it a desirable object and possible for a liberal policy where in charm, i.e. the

possibility of enchantment, becomes very necessary (Cabello, 2014, p. 119).

What Cabello describes as a need for an image of a gay citizen who is male, liberal, high-class,

charming and who betrays a "fear of becoming pornographic," echoes the way in which we

described Chilean society in chapter three: that is, the country's excessive attachment to social

order, its sense of nostalgia for a distant authority on the other side of the sea, the legalism of its

inhabitants who are radically attached to Marianism, and the subjugation of women in the public

sphere. All of this is, in Cabello's work, is projected onto this new image of a non-effeminate,

circumspect and cautious homosexual:

> It is paradoxical, but revealing, that a prototype of hegemonic masculinity is be
>
> applicable to…[understanding] the bodies of liberal gay politics, as in the case of the gay
>
> activist, the writer Pablo Simonetti. This would explain the absence of lesbian or
>
> transgender leaders in Chilean homosexual movements, this is an option that seems more
>
> suitable for a political marketing that seeks to seduce a community rather than to
>
> confront it, to question their ideologies or to promote his expression (Cabello, 2014, p.
>
> 121).

What is described by Cabello as a paradox is understood, here, as part of a continuity in the

chain of "floating signifiers" described by Ernesto Laclau (Laclau, 2005). The premise of this

theory is that the ideological dimension is made by unbound and untied elements, whose identity

is open, and articulated in a string with other elements, i.e., its "literal" meaning depends on its

metaphorical surplus of meaning. It is undeniable that "masculinity" in this case constitutes an

hegemonic tradition. However, if we try to identify its actual meaning, the concept itself

vanishes; the only way to understand "masculinity" is to consult the history of actions, traditions, beliefs, relationships and way of performing associated with the term. Thus, given the very fact that every complex concept invokes its opposite, contradiction is unavoidable.

In October 2015, Luis Larraín was interviewed in the popular Chilean journal *LUN*. With the title "Many People Still Believe that Homosexuality is Contagious," the interview focuses on three main issues: the civil union agreement (recently approved at that time), Larraín's personal story concerning homosexuality and his hereditary disease, polycystic kidney disease, which produced several serious troubles in his personal life. The picture below (Figure 18) is one of the two pages of Larraín's interview.

Figure 18. The second page of Luis Larrain's interview in the Journal *LUN* (Montalva, 2015).

In the image, Larraín is looking into the lens of the camera, wearing an unbuttoned shirt and performing what might be described as a "gay magazine cover pose." He is also showing one of his surgery scars. The image is disturbing; although Larraín's body is not strictly what we could call "well-trained", his physical features are far from the Chilean demographic average. He thus represents the white male European prototype that can seduce with his "gay charm."

We identified three major themes in Larraín's interview: the civil union agreement, homosexual stereotypes and Larrain's disease. However, the important thing here is not the

issues in themselves, but the way that these issues are addressed—in other words, what swims underneath the surface of this discourse. In this sense, the interview highlights elements of the male tradition, which I have been describing throughout this research (Table 17).

Table 17. Larraín's interview selected paragraphs: the civil union agreement, homosexual stereotypes and Larrain's disease.
Stereotypes Luis Larrain: [...] clearly it was a problem of stereotypes. Many gays didn't want to leave the closet because they did not feel comfortable with what at that time was understood as a gay and a certain attitude, a certain dress, type of work or ways of being. Reporter: That stereotype has nothing to do with being gay? Luis: A gay is anyone who is attracted to a person of the same-sex. When I realized the existence of this taboo that caused many to feel the need to remain invisible, to be unrelated to that stereotype, I considered it personally important to come out in public and show that this stereotype was false.
Civil union agreement Reporter: Are there any outstanding issues outside the civil union agreement to bring forward? Luis Larrain: There are many outstanding issues. We need comprehensive reforms that consider the various kinds of families and that include equal marriage**.** There is also the issue with parental relationships, where there is a tremendous void with same-sex couples who currently have children.
The kidney from his brother Narration: Luis Larraín suffers from a genetic disorder called polycystic kidney disease, a disorder which impedes the normal function of kidneys and that has affected him since he was

25 years old. After several years on dialysis three times a week, Luis Larrain Stieb reached the

top of the waiting list for a donor and qualified for a transplant in 2010. This allowed him to

return to a more or less normal life. The problem was that in the past few months, his new

kidney began to fail. On June 30th of last year, Luis Larraín (34 years) had a second transplant,

but this time the kidney came from his brother Pedro, a Schoenstatt seminarian.

Reporter: How is life with a piece of your brother?

Luis Larraín: Day-to-day one does not think about it, you don't feel it and don't realize. One

forgets it. But the fact itself is very nice and touching. You are always tied to a relative; anyway

in my family we are very close and always keep in touch.

The confidence with which Larraín states that some stereotypes of male homosexuality—

and here he is subtly referring to the feminization of men—are false, his defense of the diversity

of families, the solidarity expressed by his brother in donating one of his kidneys and finally, the

proximity to his family group describes an ideal culture in which the model of the patriarchal

family remains intact—ideally unpolluted. These elements of Larraín's discourse are no

coincidence; family underpins the homosexual world as a value, as it does the rest of Chilean

society.

Nicolás has Two Dads

Michael Halliday (2007) identifies three functions in language expressed simultaneously

in any utterance: the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual functions. These functions are

built into the grammar of language (Hart, 2010, p. 7) and make possible the constitution of social

identities, social relations, and systems of belief (Fairclough, 1995, pp. 21-70). The ideational

function corresponds to the "content function of language" (Halliday, 2007, p. 183). Under our

218

frame of analysis this represents the symbolic dimension of language expressed in representation, which takes form in the discourse. The second is the interpersonal function, which is participatory in nature and in which, according to Michael Hart, speakers "[…] comment on reality by expressing attitudes and opinions" (Hart, 2010, p. 7). Finally, we have the textual function in which the representation and interpersonal function are organized into coherent strands of discourse (Halliday, 2007, p. 184).

Following these assessments, and strongly influenced by the vision of Maturana and Varela (1987), I understand language as neither an "externality" of our own constitution as living organisms nor a unique ability solely reserved for human beings. In previous chapters we have asserted that we are "into" language and that all forms of knowledge are only possible as a result of our ability to flow and coordinate with others our own experiences of knowing the world. From here the main difference that I see between language and discourse is that while the former is a natural condition that determines our existence under phonic and cognitive conditions, discourse refers to intentionality, intensity, order and ways of identifying reality, giving coherence to what we communicate. In this sense, both the ideational function and interpersonal function are interpreted here as elements in language that take form in the textual function, or the discourse materialized. Accordingly, what discourse produces is not conditions of possibility but possibilities of existence.

With this in mind, I will analyze the first book on sexual diversity and the family published in Chile, called "*Nicolás tiene dos papás*" (MOVILH, 2014b). Sponsored by the European community and the Dutch embassy, this book had the public support of the *Junta Nacional de Jardines Infantiles* (JUNJI), a governmental institution in charge of public preschool education in Chile, and the School of Social Sciences at the University of Chile, this

book constitutes a milestone in the history of the LGBT Chilean civil rights. As expected, the book provoked a wide range of reactions from different sectors of Chilean society. This happened for several reasons: firstly, this was the first book designed especially to children as its public target; secondly, these are not previous experiences officially supported by governmental institutions; and lastly, the book was launched in the middle of the debate concerning the civil union agreement.

With this in mind, let us return to the statement of Rolando Jiménez (President of MOVILH). In his description of the book *Nicolás tiene dos papás* we can observe the appraisal process expressed in judgments, opinions, attitudes toward the story, and the way in which Jiménez identifies social change. According to Martin and White cited in Hart (Hart, 2010), the term APPRAISAL is understood here as one of the most important "semantic resources, constructing interpersonal meaning" (Martin & White, 2007, p. 34). APPRAISAL includes attitude, engagement and graduation related to our feelings and emotional reactions, behaviors, judgments, beliefs and evaluation of things. The basic appraisal system is presented in table 18 from Hart (2014) and this in turn was adapted from Martin & White (2007).

Table 18. APPRAISAL by Martin and White's Model. Reprinted from Hart, 2010, p. 45.
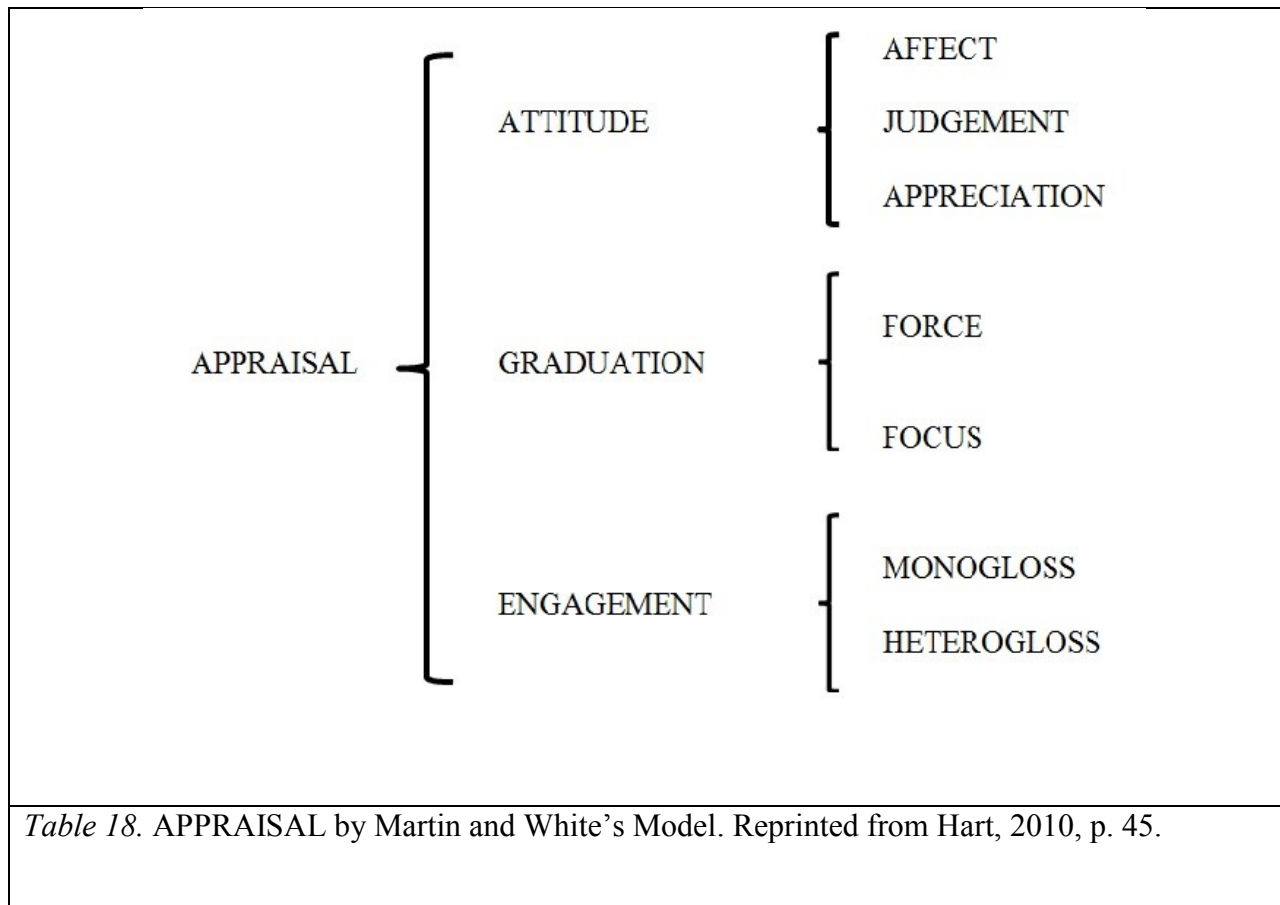
The three subsystems of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement can be also subdivided as the graphic shows. In this section devoted to analysing *Nicolás* as a cultural and discursive product, we will focus on these three subsystems in order identify the process of validation in discourse. In figure 19, the illustration on the left-hand side represents the cover of the book used as the official image during its launch and the promotional campaign. The little boy, Nicolás, is in the center of the image holding hands with his two fathers representing a colorful family portrait; the name of MOVILH is located at the bottom of the picture.

The second image on the right-hand side represents an ordinary day in the life of Nicolás, who is talking with his friend Florencia. The picture is attached to the following paragraph:

My classmate Florencia asked me why I had two dads. I told her that all children are

given birth by a mother, but some of us live with different families. Some children live

only with one mom or one dad, some others with a mom and a dad, and there are others

that live with two moms or with their grandparents or uncles. I live with my two dads

(MOVILH, 2014b, p. 12).

In the following analysis, our emphasis is both on the visual structure used to create a

narrative reality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 47) and the multimodality of discourse (Kress

& van Leeuwen, 2001). In the first case, we will understand visual structuring not only as an

emulation of the structures of reality (Metz, 1974, pp. 3-16) but rather as a way of reading

images as the structure itself (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 47).

Figure 19. The cover of the book *Nicolás tiene dos papás* (© MOVILH, Nicolas tiene dos papás, 2014).

With this definition each image is a proposal of thought, ideologies, ways of living,

history, spatial notions, social and environmental relations that by means such as visual syntax

produce a new reality in visual language. This is not a twisted use of language but the very recognition of its constitutive power over reality. Accordingly, for Kress and van Leeuwen, visual structures "are bound up with the interest of the social institutions within which the images are produced, circulated and read. They are ideological. Visual Structures are never merely formal: they have a deeply important semantic dimension" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 47). My position on this matter goes further than the proposal above, and is closely identified with what Francisco Varela and Humberto Maturana call the "phenomenon of knowing" (Varela & Maturana, 1987, p. 24). This is because the very fact of realizing each phenomenon does not imply that there are "facts" or "objects" out there that we store in our head. The only way to understand the "thing" out there is by validating it using our human structures of understanding, which makes it possible for "the thing" to emerge (Varela & Maturana, 1987, p. 25). In this sense, the way that we describe reality, and most importantly, the way that reality takes place in language determines our own criteria of validation. It seems, here, that there is no great distance between the phenomenological conclusions of neurobiologists Varela and Maturana and the philosopher Jacques Derrida when he states: *il n'y a pas de hors-texte* (there is no outside-text). (Derrida, 1967, p. 227).

The second way that we can analyse the book is using multimodality. Answering the question as to why he has two dads, Nicolás provides an answer that summarizes the central message of the book: "some of us live with different families". In this sense, *Nicolás tiene dos papás* represents LGBT organizations' efforts to modify the social perception of homosexuality in Chilean society, assuming that it is necessary to recognize the change in the traditional concept of the family as it is understood in dominant discourse.

223

In this regard, recent studies have shown deep changes in the configuration of the Chilean family structure both in its conceptualization and in the increasing number of single parent families. With regards to the former, a study conducted in 2010 revealed that 95.5% of the Chileans surveyed consider "family" to be those situations where people live with grandparents, cousins or relatives, 86.5% when groups of men pair with younger women, 85% when a single mother lives with her child and 74% when separated parents live with their children. Thus, the concept of family is associated with the notion of community, that is, a feeling of being united by common goals and sharing, generating a sense of unity and affection. (Tapia, 2010).

With regards to the latter—that is, the increase in single-parent families— table 19 shows these kinds of changes in Chilean families between the years 1990 and 2011. In this case it is possible to observe an increase in single person homes as well as a decrease in two parents homes and an increase in single parent homes.

Table 19. Changes in Chilean families between the years 1990 and 2011 (Observatorio del Ministerio de Desarrollo Social del Gobierno de Chile, 2011).
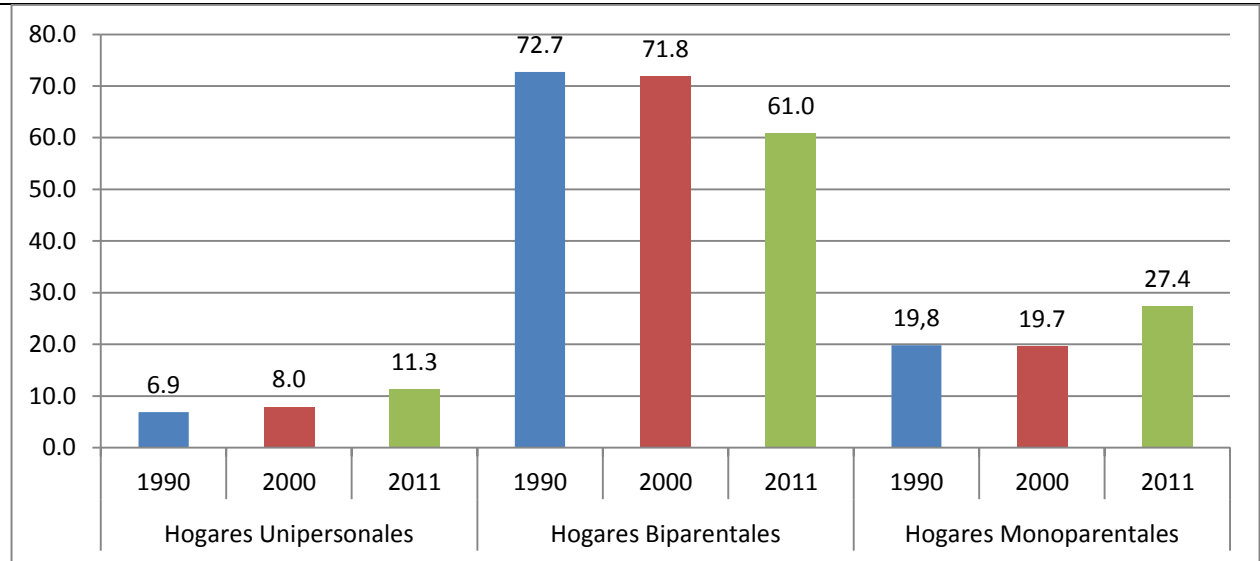
Why is this data important to our analysis of *Nicolás tiene dos papás*? As we concluded previously, visual structures represent ways to create reality and therefore I conclude that this book is a discursive device that creates and addresses a collective meaning regarding the public position of homosexuality.

Despite mainstream social acceptance, on social networking sites, ultra-religious and homophobic groups rejected the book. During its launch, a woman holding her child in her arms demonstrated against the initiative, while other sectors sent letters of repudiation to the authorities that supported the book (MOVILH, 2014b). During my fieldwork I interviewed Rolando Jiménez, the president of MOVILH, in February 2015. I asked him about the criticism that the book received. His conclusions were as follows in Table 20:

Table 20. Interview with Rolando Jiménez (2015).

Criticism against this book comes from a misinterpretation of what it really means. It is related to the prejudicial notion that whatever homosexuals do is related to sexuality, that we are hypersexualized and promiscuous. The perceived problem with this book is the audience to whom it is addressed: "children." And hence the panicked thought that homosexuals are dangerous to children is invigorated[...] What pleasantly surprised me and confirms the recent cultural change in Chile is the enormous support of the book. In less than a week we had 200,000 visits. In a week and a half we had more than 4,000 email requests from people, libraries, kindergartens, and public services asking us for a copy of the book[...] Publishing the story was successful and generated discussion in political, cultural, ethics, and the field of justice[...] which has been beneficial because it placed the discussion in houses, throughout the country, in justice courts, and in political parties. At the same time it…[the book]…met a need for skills and tools available to children, teachers, and parents, regarding more diversity and the different forms of family in Chile. At the same time this story of a child who has two parents makes visible to students, teachers, parents, and other kinds of families which live among our society: immigrant families, or indigenous families. This creates a virtuous circle of discussion that seems to be very positive.

In the first case, "attitude" includes "emotional reactions, social judgments and aesthetic evaluations" (Hart, 2010, p. 47) and can be observed in the following statements:

What pleasantly surprised me and confirms the recent cultural change in Chile is the enormous support of the book.

Publishing the story was successful…[it]…has been beneficial because it placed the discussion in houses, throughout the country, in justice courts, and in political parties. This creates a virtuous circle of discussion that seems to be very positive (Jiménez , 2015).

GRADUATION refers to how strongly feelings are expressed. It represents the attitude of the discursive voice and the degree to which the reader is involved. In the words of Hart (2014) "The system has as its natural domain inherently scalar categories which can be graded according to, for example, strength of feeling and speaker commitment, as well as size, strength, amount, speed, extent, proximity, volume and so on" (pp. 56-57). In the case of Jiménez's perception of *Nicolás*, GRADUATION plays an important role because it represents the commitment of people ("very positive reception") and the volume of the population ("more than 4,000 email[s]") that is open to modifying changes in the law in order to approve same-sex marriage (Table 21).

Table 21. GRADUATION observed in the Interview with Rolando Jiménez (2015).
The prejudicial notion that whatever homosexuals do is related to sexuality, that we are hypersexualized and promiscuous.
And hence the panicked thought that homosexuals are dangerous to children is invigorated.
In a week and a half we had more than 4,000 email requests from people
[I]mmigrant families, or indigenous families. This creates a virtuous circle of discussion that seems to be very positive.

Finally, ENGAGEMENT concerns the notion that texts exist in a chain of intertextuality (Hart, 2010, p. 52). This means that behind texts there are several voices that respond to a

specific tradition, habits, beliefs etc. In other words, the text responds to a specific nature in which it can be possible to recognize not only alignment with other textual material, but also antagonism or neutrality. In this case, this is represented in the nature of the criticism that the book *Nicolás tiene dos papás* received—that is, the previous structures of thought and the complex forms that frame the concept of family in Chilean society (Table 22).

Table 21. ENGAGEMENT observed in the Interview to Rolando Jiménez (2015).
Criticism against this book comes from a misinterpretation of what it really means. It is related to the prejudice that whatever homosexuals do is related to sexuality, that we are hypersexualized and promiscuous.
And hence the panicked thought that homosexuals are dangerous to children is invigorated.
…regarding more diversity and the different forms of families in Chile. […] families which live among our society.

Social movements need to spread their voices in order to command their audiences—however, advertising and marketing are not sufficient to accomplish this task. Throughout the history of the homosexual movement in Chile during the country's transition to democracy, and in recent times, a great deal of material has been produced to promote LGBT demands, such as posters, brochures, flyers, radio programs, annual reports, etc. All of this audio-visual material has contributed both to the increasing visibility of several sensitive issues such as HIV and STI prevention, and also to the accessibility of psychological and social support to educate the population and build a collective identity as a social agent.

Accordingly, during my fieldwork I noticed how important it has been for LGBT organizations in Chile to record their own history. In this sense the collection of emotions,

feelings, fears and expectations for the future is a fundamental issue. However, this topic has been developed in scholarly research mostly in fields such as communication or studies of discourse analysis, constituting a novel and relatively unexplored within the social sciences.[48] It is my understanding in this regard that the written history of a collectivity serves several purposes, such as a) the creation of a unique public voice or memory to share with the movement's members; b) the reproduction of a feeling of existence in social reality; c) the reproduction of empathy which promotes values regarding achieved objectives, social triumphs and respect for rights earned; and lastly, d) keeping current issues concerning the political actions and demands of the collectivity visible.

Conclusions

This chapter analyzed the actors, emotions and ideas expressed in LGBT discourse in times of emergent neoliberalism in Chile, and it has been underpinned by the proposed concept of *Homomercracia*. This concept represents an effort to provide a specific frame with which to understand recent public discourse, and how it has adopted certain attitudes towards sexual diversity as a result of modern liberal democracy's close relation to the market. In this sense, the analysis of marketing strategies presents an interesting approach to understanding how political

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[48] Literature review and my own experience teaching the history of social movements suggest authors such as: *Tarrow, 2011; Della Porta & Diani, 2006; Tilly & Tarrow, 2007; Buecher, 2011; Salazar Vergara, 2012;* however, studies regarding the historical and political role of propaganda in social movements are more specific and small in number. The coterminous expansion of the Internet and New Social Movements suggests that studies of the representation of social movements in advertising have been ignored in favor of the study of the relation between New Social Movements and New Social Media (Castells, 1996) or "Digital Activism" (Rotman , Vieweg, Yardi, Chi, & Preece, 2011).

actions seek to create collectivity around their social concerns—in this case, the LGBT civil rights cause in Chile.

From this point of view, my concept of *Homomercracia* is more than a collection of words, it is the result of five years observing the behaviour of one of the most important recent social movements in Chile. This is not simply because of the creation of the antidiscrimination law (2012) and recently approved civil union agreement (2015); it represents recognition of the deep changes in ways of being, social relationships, perception of reality, values and beliefs in a society severely restricted by the Pinochet era and its conservatism. In addition, *Homomercracia* implies the assimilation of a particular discourse concerning homosexuals, lesbians, and transgender subjects into the matrix of hegemonic discourse. This adaptation is at the same time a dialectical production of new identities: whilst LGBT organizations fight for changes in society, society imposes on them certain limitations, since these organizations are inescapably part of the society that they want to change.

This chapter examined how homosexual discourse has been linked with conservative attitudes framed mainly by the concept of the traditional family. The central conclusion is that every discursive practice is in principle a social practice that seeks to create a comprehensive definition of reality, which we observed under the Habermasian concept of "lifeworld". Secondly, every discourse reproduces and reinforces a specific power and domination of one group over others. In this sense, concepts such as "hegemony" and "floating signifiers" provided certain ways with which to understand the ways in which official and public discourse displayed these relations of power.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to examine the symbolic dimension of LGBT civil rights discourse over the last 10 years, up to and including the recent approval of the Antidiscrimination Law in 2012 and the civil union agreement in 2015. It has also sought to understand changes in public identification and acceptance of homosexuals, lesbians and transgender people in Chile following the student uprising in 2006. This research was founded on the idea that the rational acceptance of what we might call "sexual diversity" is based on emotional motivations, shared paradigms and prejudices that together take place in language and build our social life. In accordance with this, empathy means a cornerstone upon which to examine the cognitive dimention of every social transformation.

Of course, we have in no way exhausted an investigation into the duality of reason and emotion and its effects on social perception; in the same way the literature reviewed in this regard by no means represents a conclusive debate. Some authors, for example, explore the reign of emotions and irrationality in our daily life, offering new perspectives with which to understand our biological nature that always struggles to adapt to the environment (Ariely, 2010) proclaiming the value of emotion in the decision-making process (Ekman, 2003); others argue that rationality and intuition work hand in hand, and that rationality is a natural complement to our nature (Heath, 2014). What emerges from all of this is that emotions, and particularly empathy, represent a key concept to understanding our human nature and the turbulent times in which democracy, the capitalist economic model, the traditional concept of humans based on male/female binarism and all of the solid truths built by modernity are —as Marx would say— melting into air.

231

Within this debate, empathy represented a key concept for LGBT organizations in recent times. My argument was that the development of empathic feelings does not end in the field of emotions. In other words, although the existence of a mirror neuron system does not, by itself, resolve our processes of identification and understanding of others' feelings, it is the starting point in the creation of meanings, knowledge and cultural conventions, which makes our life in society possible. Consequently, I argued that the transformation and success of certain Chilean LGBT organizations in post-Pinochet Chile was only possible after certain historical and social shifts: the emergence of the fearless generation, the collective expression of social discomfort with the neoliberal economic model, the emergence of social networks and the rise of a right-wing "homosexual" voice, interested in the traditional model of family and marriage.

Empirical Findings

Accordingly, this study sought to answer the following set of questions:

- What role has empathy played in the LGBT community's fight for civil rights?

- What are the main points, communicative strategies and experiences associated with this social change?

- What are the structural meanings in the relationship between democracy and the neoliberal economic model, and how might knowing them help understand this emerging social movement?

- Finally—and this is perhaps the most important concern—how have historical turning points within the LGBT movement's fight for civil rights contributed to Chilean democracy?

As aforementioned, this study is led by the notion that the symbolic dimension of social reality is produced firstly in language, as the ability to coordinate actions with others to

transform not just the external environment, but also to intervene into the social structure, our social institutions, and patterned relations between large social groups. In this sense, I find "coordination" to be one of the most useful concepts with which to modify Shannon and Weaver's traditional model of communication based upon "transmission," in which the message is seen as an unalterable package of data and the receiver as merely a passive subject. For years, this model has facilitated a misinterpretation of what happens in social communication, reproducing the idea that communication is more physical than acting itself. My interest in addressing this misunderstanding is not merely an intellectual whim, but represents an attempt to recognize in the receiver his/her role in the process of communication. At the same time, I understand communication as a continuous process of dialectical transformation.

In all of this, the methodology in this study, borrowed from Critical and Multimodal Discourse Analysis, has not only provided the theoretical frame with which to analyse the data collected, but has also helped to visualise power relations structured in language and validated by dominant traditions. In particular, it helped illuminate the case of the "homosexual" subject, largely irrelevant within the broader context of human rights during the 90s; and "sexual diversity" in current times.

The following section will synthesize the findings used to answer the research questions noted above:

1) What role has empathy played in the LGBT community's search for civil rights? This concept was first recognized in MOVILH's 2005 annual report. My findings show that use of the concept increased in a dramatic way immediately after 2011. Data collected suggests that this increasing "empathy toward empathy" coincides with several social eruptions in Chile: the increasing disappointment with the project of democracy and a larger distrust of

the political class, fuelled by the dissatisfaction that Pinochet died before he could be tried for his crimes; the emergence of "*la generación sin miedo,*" broadly influenced by the Internet that produced young public leaders intent on turning the demand for free and higher education into a broader social concern; the appeals made to homosexual voters by Sebastián Piñera's presidential campaign and his subsequent election following 50 years without conservative government in 2010; the creation of Fundación Iguales in 2011 as an alternative area of sexual diversity closer to conservative thinking; Daniel Zamudio's death, the media coverage of his agony and his subsequent martyrdom; lastly, the emergence of new homosexual leaders shaped and defined by the market as what we have called in this research "good homosexuals." In this sense, "empathy" helped LGBT discourse—and the movement as a whole—reach a meaningful milestone in the path toward the approval of same-sex marriage.

Once LGBT organizations were able to separate abuses relating to sexual identity from more general human rights abuses conducted during the Pinochet regime, a new era began, and the movement was able to strengthen and consolidate. In this sense, the increasing visibility of issues concerning homosexuality for a long time considered taboo after the dictatorship—for example, abuses committed by the Catholic Church, the recognition of new family models, the inclusion of HIV on the list of illnesses treated by the Chilean state, the election of homosexual and lesbian leaders to political positions, the political lobbying for approval of the civil union agreement (2015) and same-sex marriage (which is still in congress), the representation of homosexual concerns in the media, press and internet— contributed to modifying Chilean perceptions of homosexuality. It is within this context that empathy strengthened the communicative dimension of the LGBT organizations,

transforming them into a coherent social movement.

Indeed, all of the above helped to create conceptions, qualities, beliefs, and expressions of homosexuals, lesbians and transgender people in Chile that granted them a particular social category within a larger social group. Although part of this debate continues to focus on whether LGBT people constitute a community, a group or simply part of the population, this discussion suggests an active self-perception regarding discourse in a relational context. In this sense, empathy has been criticised in academia as a form of "moralizing selfishness" (Deglise, 2016), and as a sign of increasing individualism and consumerism. It is my belief that this criticism does not refer to empathy itself, but rather to its political use as a tool to help increase social responsibility.

My conclusion in this regard is that whether it is a drive (psychoanalysis), mirror neurons and instincts (biology) or trans-personality (psychology), there is something in us that identifies others' emotions. This concept has been discussed since Aristotle (as friendship) through Hume (as sympathy) to Decety (as empathy). Regarding this, recent questioning of empathy as a tool to understand the complexity of our political dimension is akin to quantifying emotions such as happiness, sadness or anger in the construction of our social structure. It is my belief that this discussion is not particularly important. What really matters, and what we really have to work towards is understanding our natural reactions to another's feelings.

In short, the discovery of mirror neurons has produced a dilemma: are they simply the result of our desire to prove scientifically that humans are conditioned to be moved by the suffering or happiness of others, or is it a serendipitous event that confirms Aristotle's philosophical observations? Whatever the truth may be, this discovery presents us with a

new responsibility to connect scientific findings with those of social sciences disciplines.

2) What are the main points, communicative strategies and experiences associated with this social change?

Both interviewee responses and the data collected agree that the emergence of the student movement opened a window of opportunity historically denied in Chile. Given that this is a movement that has been in development for the past ten years, it has produced several iterations of discourse. Sometimes the movement emphasizes that its most important concerns relate to free higher education for all Chileans, and, at other times, it focuses upon related issues such as the desire to reach a more inclusive society independent of sexual, ethnic or racial biases (Bellei, Contreras, & Valenzuela, 2010, p. 331) or the call for a Chilean Constituent Assembly (Peña, 2011). The data collected corroborates the fact that beyond the demand for a better education, the intention of the student movement is to produce significant social change, deconstructing a Chilean society historically grounded in conservative values. In this sense, the historical demand for a better education defies rigid class division within Chilean society, giving a new meaning to democratic life in the contemporary moment. If during the government of Patricio Aylwin (1990-1996) political efforts were placed upon recovering institutionality and delivering "justice insofar as it is possible" (Muñoz & Quezada, 2016), emerging social movements in the 21st century such as the student movement have shifted focus, and are fighting to build an inclusive model of democracy that takes into account issues like sexual diversity and ecology as well as fighting for a more just economic model.

My research also found that there is no unique and integrated communicative strategy across the LGBT movement in Chile. Indeed, the three organizations that together represent

the focus of this research employ several strategies such as marches, sensitization of the community towards activities covered by the mass media, the creation of groups to discuss bill drafts and lobbying directly in Congress to obtain support for the approval of certain laws such as the Antidiscrimination Law.

Within the context of this broad range of strategies, one of the main targets following the approval of the Antidiscrimination Law in 2011 has been the approval of same-sex marriage. This initiative has been questioned and attacked by conservatives and religious sections of the population, who consider the conservative model of the family as a natural law seriously threatened by homosexuality. In order to challenge this belief, certain LGBT organizations have put the issue of childhood on the table, arguing that what is really demonstrated by arguments against gay marriage is the prejudicial belief that homosexuality and pedophilia are connected. This is the case with *Nicolás tiene dos papás*, a book published by MOVILH in 2014 and discussed in Chapter Four. In other cases, communicative strategies have targeted the perception that the homosexual subject is social scum. This is the case with Fundación Iguales, who proposed a new model of the public homosexual that we analyzed in Chapter Four under the term "gay-charming."

3) What are the structural meanings in the relationship between democracy and the liberal economic model, and how might knowing them help understand this emerging social movement? The historical documentation I collected demonstrates that the discursive exclusion of homosexuality in Chile generated a stereotypical and prejudicial perception of homosexuality, based on classism, gender and stigma surrounding HIV. This perception was strongly reinforced by the Catholic Church, whose influence permeated the whole of Chilean society. However, the new social and economic context discussed in previous points

generated a new discursive position for homosexuality and sexual diversity. The economic boom of 1990s Chile, free-trade agreements with China, the European Union and South Korea boosted commercial ties with several markets in the world between 2002 and 2008 (Dirección General de Relaciones Económicas e Internacionales, 2016). Within this context, the structure of Chilean society shifted away from traditional class structures. On the one hand, the upper and middle classes saw poverty as the result of irresponsibility and ignorance, on the other, those within lower income brackets perceived consumerism as a way to overcome poverty (van Babel & Sell-Trujillo, 2003, pp. 343-362). Therefore, consumerism became a signifier of social status in Chile, transforming the perception of lifeworlds (van Babel & Gaskell, 2004).

Although I created the term *Homomercracia* as a way of describing the neoliberal economic model and its effects on the social perception of homosexuality in contemporary Chile, my study concludes that neoliberalism permeates the everyday life of the entire Chilean population, changing its habits, values and ways of creating community. Further, this concept produced a framework with which to understand not only the discursive relation between homosexuality, the market and democracy within the neoliberal context of Latin American countries, but also the current effects of domination based on gender and sexuality in times of globalization.

Consequently, one of this dissertation's central contributions has been the way it makes visible the relations of dominance between the economic model, liberal democracy and the perceptions, mental constructions and self-definitions of the homosexual subject. The structural meanings proposed here are strongly linked to a triangular relationship, which focuses upon empathy as a political concept with which to gain the population's acceptance

of the homosexual cause, marketing as an extended conduit of comprehension and dissemination of certain types of values and democracy as the culturally dominant ideology.

One structuring concept in this dissertation is Maturana and Varela's description of autopoiesis. My basic argument, here, is that we are defined in and through language, and this condition models the definition of our lifeworlds. Language is not something that we have or possess, nor is it an externality with a specific role that we acquire as we grow—instead, my contention is that we *are* essentially language. This is not a fanciful interpretation—recent discoveries in bacterial communities suggest that they communicate with each other via electrical impulses in the same way that neurons do (Prindle, et al., 2015, pp. 59-63). This suggests that the neuronal system of communication in animals and humans shares a common origin with that which is found in unicellular organisms (Jar Benabarre, 2015). In this sense, language is a basic attribute of interaction and transforms the network in which individuals find themselves. In other words—following Maturana and Varela's commentary on autopoiesis—every time that an external stimulus influences an organism, the effects will depend upon the inner structure of the organism itself, and the specific time at which the stimulus occurs.

Although Maturana and Varela—using the argument that what constitutes a molecular-pluricellular system is not the same as what constitutes a social system (Maturana & Varela, 1973, p. 20)—warn us not to use the concept of autopoiesis to understand social systems, this theory has inspired the search for equivalent models with which to understand the self-organization of society—particularly in difficult contexts (Luhmann, 1995, p. 219).

A lot has happened since this debate between biology and the social sciences: mirror neurons were discovered in 1999, Francisco Varela died in 2001, and a few months before

he died, he recognized the importance of mirror neurons in understanding others' emotions, considering empathy and love as pro-social skills developed after millions of years of evolution (La belleza del pensar, 2010). 17 years after the discovery of mirror neurons, Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) evidence suggests that mirror neurons are also key to the emergence of language— the neurons involved in the production of a linguistic order are the same as those implicated in the receiver of that order (Keysers, 2011, p. 78). Consequently, this relation between language and emotion suggests that we don't just share meanings and words, but that our entire capacity to create new scenarios with which to understand reality involves our emotions. From this perspective, the discursive evidence I collected in the context of this study suggests that social change is deeply affected by the constant flow of meanings and emotions, encompassing both a top-down and bottom-up influence. If we consider how Chilean society has treated discrimination after the approval of the Antidiscrimination Law in 2012, this seems to hold true: in 198 legal cases presented over the last 4 years, 32 sentences were handed down in favor of the victim, 53 ended in withdrawal or agreement between the disputing parties and 23 cases were rejected by the judge. All of this data suggests that today, Chilean society is more aware that discrimination is a serious and legal issue (Labrín & Reyes, 2016). Consequently, this study has demonstrated that social advances are not just the result of LGBT organizations' long struggle and eventual success at the highest level of political lobbying, but also the result of the younger generation's change in perception —born without direct experience of the Pinochet dictatorship, they are positioned in a more complex discursive landscape with regards to gender and sexuality. Communication has played a significant role in this process, facilitating society's receptivity—or lack of—toward new social paradigms for living not in

240

opposition, but in relation. Indeed, "sexual diversity" discourse in Chile not only implies an alteration of the social order, but also a cognitive reconstruction of social consciousness.

4) How have historical turning points within the LGBT movement's fight for civil rights contributed to Chilean democracy? My investigation into public discourse on homosexuality concluded that there is widespread recognition that the Antidiscrimination Law and civil union agreement are considered important changes within the context of the LGBT community's fight for civil rights. Moreover, they represent a significant contribution from the LGBT community to the broader human rights debate in Chile. Although these changes are very recent, LGBT organizations' evaluation of public response is positive. Generally speaking, the Antidiscrimination Law is still perceived as a law which protects the homosexual, lesbian and transgender population and not as a law which seeks to protect people from acts of discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity or social class (Labrín & Reyes, 2016). Accordingly, the recent approval of the civil union agreement does not only represent a triumph of sexual diversity, but it is also the result of a contentious political debate which developed in response to the changing structure of moral values in Chilean society. It would also be interesting to conduct a study with the aim of evaluating the impact of this law on the challenges that Chilean society is facing today regarding immigration, social integration of HIV-positive people, educational programs to combat homophobia and violence against women and social programs to understand abusive relations of power.

Recommendations for Future Researches

Although the dimensions of this research are extensive and multifaceted, there are certain limitations. The most important goal was to analyse the symbolic production of the emerging

LGBT movement in Chile. In this sense, its major contribution has been the acknowledgement that, along with "workers," there are other protagonists in the history of the social movement in Chile. The student spring in 2006 made visible hitherto unknown identities that, although always present in Chilean society were, up until recently, unrecognized as legitimate social change agents. These agents include those that comprise the feminist movement, the ecological movement, movements against racial discrimination, sexual diversity movements and anti-neoliberal movements.

Further research on the LGBT movement should focus more heavily upon its multiple dimensions, its cultural production and its impact on the social structure of Chilean society. This will help to generate achievable policy strategies and development targets, with the ultimate aim of helping people comprehend the breadth of this social movement within the contemporary context of a "network society" (Castells, 1996). In doing so, this work will help to explore relations between technology and new forms of social life and sexuality in Latin America and Chile. The following remarks represent the most significant directions of further research:

- It would be useful to analyze the LGBT movement's interaction with the conservative social mainstream in more detail, describing the process, as well as offering a deconstruction of that process into its basic causes, followed by a reorganization of those causes into a general account (Tilly & Tarrow, 2007, p. 27). This work would perhaps reinforce one of this dissertation's conclusions, which is that the LGBT movement has enabled and made visible other ways of living in the community.

- It is also important that we examine the role of the Catholic Church in the creation of prejudices and biases against homosexuals, lesbians and transgender people. It was not possible to do justice to the topic in this dissertation, since it deserves an extended analysis.

Nonetheless, I consider it necessary to evaluate the impact of Catholic discourse in Latin America and Chile on programs for HIV prevention and prophylactic use—more specifically, we must analyze how the Church has attempted to obstruct and prevent these programs from succeeding. Recent data suggests that there is an HIV epidemic in Chile (Hauka, Walters, Mothe, & Roccas, 2016). A study using scientific evidence, which intended to observe the effects of the project of colonial domination on sexuality, could contribute to the creation of educational programs. These programs could help convince our legislators of the importance of preventing the Christian church from interfering in matters of sexual health, and therefore finally preventing the spread of HIV.

- Next, future research could analyze the forms of knowledge, culture, conflicts and structural transformations that recently approved laws are helping to create. It is not only important to evaluate the effects of the Antidiscrimination Law and the civil union agreement, but also to assess two current bills in Congress: "same-sex marriage (*matrimonio igualitario*) and the Gender Law (*Ley de género*). In the words of Miriam Smith, attaining legal rights is only one part of the LGBT movement's broader policy agenda—the next step its to change social institutions such as the education and healthcare system (Smith, 2007, p. 91), and to ensure equal rights based on class, gender and ethnicity. Moreover, strategies need to be developed to stop the advance of HIV in Chilean society (Hauka , Walters, Mothe, & Roccas, 2016).

Final Words on Interdisciplinarity

This research used phenomenology as a broad conceptual umbrella, taking from the discipline the notion that the phenomenon is the constitutive principle of our experience as human beings. In the same way that Jacques Derrida states that "there is no outside-text," (1967, p. 227) I propose that there is no outside phenomenon. After five years conducting my PhD, my

243

research supports this contention; research like this was only possible thanks to interacting with interviewees, visiting places, accessing documents and receiving guidance from my advisers. Every production of knowledge is grounded in interaction and coordination with others.

In the same sense, the possibility of creating interaction between three disciplinary fields such as Discourse Analysis, Social Movements theory, and LGBT theory provided me a more critical amalysis encompassing social and natural sciences. I was thus somewhat able to escape the hurdles that divide traditional conceptualizations of the sciences and humanities. The advantage is clear: by putting aside prejudice, distrust and even fear, I was able to reach a more accurate understanding of what social change means in a society in which interdisciplinarity is one of the most common circumstances in daily life. The concept of interdisciplinarity does not end here: there is also my own intercultural experience observing the reality of a Latin American country from the North American academy. This produced an understanding of sexual diversity within the context of fighting for civil rights as a problem closely related to other phenomena, such as the traditional model of academia derived from the colonial western model and our efforts as "*gente del sur*" to decolonize those principles of truth. In this sense, if "disciplines discipline disciples" (Barry & Born, 2013, p. 1), this explorative study represents a contribution to knowledge beyond the traditional borders which define disciplines themselves.

Consequently, this study aimed to understand social change as a cognitive phenomenon in which knowledge is always acting, producing several types of discourse in a cyclical manner. We have observed how the production of knowledge has an effect on the social construction of identities insofar as it can support—or deny—the institutionalization of practices and ways of being. In this sense, the process of gaining empathy for sexual diversity and civil rights has meant dismantling the discursive structures that portrayed gay, lesbian and transgender people as

deviant subjects in Chile. Thus, the success of LGBT organizations represented in the approval of the antidiscrimination law and civil union agreement represent an effort to communicate in an effective way their own history as a stigmatized group. However, there is a paradox here: while democracy pursues the ideal of giving everyone equal consideration, some individuals are excluded and not granted discursive legitimization. In this sense, modern democracies have granted political rights to gays and lesbians, but formal rights have not always guaranteed equal consideration or democratic legitimacy; the Chilean case is an example of this since there is still a long way to go to overcome social stigma in order to advance toward a more inclusive dimention of public institutions.

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