Epistemic Injustice Exacerbating Trauma in Christian Theological Treatments of Trans People and People with Intersex Characteristics

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<u>Introduction</u>

In this chapter we focus on the trauma caused to trans people, and people with intersex characteristics, by theological and church responses which do not accord them autonomy and legitimacy as "first-person knowers". Attention to trauma in theologies of the last two decades has moved beyond war and conflict as vectors of traumatization and moral injury, noting how trauma continues to affect bodies experiencing sexual abuse and rape, reproductive loss, natural disasters, and terrorist events. The Covid-19 pandemic in 2020-21 catalysed further work, especially on how churches could help their local communities through trauma when people could not gather, clergy could not conduct in-person funerals, and many established coping strategies were unavailable.¹

In the intersex activism movement's mid-1990s early days, testimonies about intersex medical treatment made clear that many individuals had experienced such interventions as traumatic. On top of the trauma of invasive non-consensual medical treatment itself, many commentators noted trauma caused by secrecy and lies, having learned that they had been misled (or simply not told) by their doctors and parents about the nature of their conditions². More recently, trauma has continued to be an important lens through which intersex characteristics are figured in legal texts, notably via the recognition of non-consensual medical interventions as human rights violations and forms of torture.³

Many trans and gender-diverse people also experience trauma in connection with their bodies and identities, whether prompted by gender dysphoria (trauma connected with the physical body itself or social perceptions of oneself) or by literal and conceptual violence inflicted via social and medical treatment. Risk factors for trans people include trans-specific hate crime (such as rape and sexual assault, non-sexual physical violence, and murder)⁴, emotional abuse by relatives, self-harm, inadequate access to appropriate healthcare, and institutional discrimination.⁵ Trauma as a result of victimization is common among trans people,⁶ and many suffer from minority stress.⁷

In both cases, despite their evident differences, we suggest here that trauma is inflicted and exacerbated when sex- and gender-variant people are not understood as legitimate knowing and speaking subjects. As we discuss below, Miranda Fricker's concept of epistemic injustice⁸ has been built upon by those, such as Talia Mae Bettcher, 9 who show that first-person authority is frequently

undermined in contexts where sex- and gender-variant people are assumed not to be reliable judges or arbiters of their own realities.

Foundational work on theology and trauma includes that by Shelly Rambo, who points to the importance of Christian communities' witnessing to the reality of the horror of suffering, abiding with those who are traumatized, rather than jumping ahead to a triumphalist resurrection story; ¹⁰ Dirk Lange, who reminds readers that proper reflection on trauma cannot be an optional add-on for a tradition which has violent, traumatising events at the heart of its doctrine and continues to commemorate them in liturgy; ¹¹ and Jennifer Beste, who interrogates the implications of trauma theory for theologies of grace and human free will, noting that trauma can entirely disrupt individuals' agency and capacity to respond in relationships, and that Christianity must therefore have a robust account of ameliorative neighbour-love at its heart. ¹² Jennifer Baldwin ¹³ and Meg Warner et al ¹⁴ have woven theologically-rich accounts of trauma into their practitioner-facing resources for those working therapeutically, in churches and beyond, with trauma survivors. Karen O'Donnell and Katie Cross showcase work by both established and emerging scholars on feminist trauma theologies, with attention on domestic abuse/intimate partner violence, violent crime, and the dually traumatizing and therapeutic potential of church communities. ¹⁵

Trauma is, these accounts show, profoundly embodied. It entails "a specific and automatic collection of physiological responses to an event, which are triggered when an individual's or community's adaptive capacity is overwhelmed". Trauma which arises because of responses to bodily difference – as for trans people and people with intersex characteristics – is therefore particularly potent. In this chapter we suggest that this trauma may be heightened even further in religious contexts where the truth about physical embodiment and identity is said to rest outside individual experience, but in ways that call only variant identity into question and do not adequately disrupt the contingent and contested nature of all identity. Conservative Christian theologies of sex and gender have tended to erase diversity, inflicting epistemic injustice by claims rooted in the assumption that sex- and gender-variant people's identities rest in peculiarly unreliable knowledge.

Sex and Gender Diversity and Epistemic Injustice

One irony of the early corrective surgery paradigm for intersex characteristics is that most medics who promoted its protocols believed that by doing so they would eliminate psychosocial trauma resulting from growing up with an unusual body. However, as is now well-attested, "The surgical treatments and the secrecy surrounding them may have actually amplified difficulties they intended to solve. In some cases, rather than eliminating trauma, they may have unintentionally created it".¹⁷ Iain Morland suggests that the project of medically assigning gender to children with

intersex characteristics has trauma as an inevitable concomitant, because it hastens a process of gender development that should have been allowed to unfold over time. Thus, he holds, "traumatization has happened not by omission but by design".¹⁸

Doctors have often claimed intersex patients who experienced interventions as traumatizing "were the disgruntled minority, the few who suffered bad outcomes". Onsequently, those who protested their treatment were frequently dismissed or erased. Arlene Baratz and Katrina Karkazis suggest that speaking about one's treatment might in itself be retraumatizing if it forces one to relive one's pain, as well as inviting further trauma via social stigma. Thus, they hold, the relatively few publicly vocal protestors at medical protocols for the treatment of people with intersex characteristics "may not be the bad outcomes, as they have so often been characterized, but the better outcomes because they have somehow healed enough to share their pain without threat of dissolution". Narratives by intersex survivors have, they hold, showed a capacity to adapt and grow even in the face of trauma and ongoing struggle.

We note here the importance of distinguishing between experience that may entail suffering but is nonetheless primarily experienced as ameliorative (re-telling one's story, and being listened to and validated); experience that entails trauma (re-telling one's story, but being challenged by hearers as to its truth and accuracy); and experience that is re-traumatizing. Sara Gillingham comments further on these distinctions below.

Trans People and Epistemic Injustice

Trans people frequently experience transphobia and repudiation. Repudiation occurs via multiple systems which assume a binary model of gender; particularly relevant here is the contention that trans people are repudiated when they are not considered the primary experts on their own lives.²¹ Repudiation is opposed to theologies emphasizing the importance of mutual recognition, and the endorsement of full personhood, through social communication.²² Repudiation may, therefore, be experienced as denial of trans people's very personhood. Injustice is done when someone is not recognized as a legitimate speaking subject and allowed to self-define.

For philosopher Talia Mae Bettcher, first-person authority is part of a set of social and philosophical understandings of the credence we tend to give certain claims. It is not *impossible* for someone to be mistaken about a belief about themselves, but without compelling evidence to the contrary, we tend give weight to what people tell us and to assume that they "retain some epistemic authority"²³ due to the privileged first-person knowledge they have about themselves.

By contrast, in many theological treatments of both trans people and people with intersex characteristics, others' assessments of what these persons' bodies and identities mean and signify

are privileged over their own. Conservative evangelical Christian writings on trans people tend to claim that trans people's self-identification denies "the biological realities that the Creator has embedded into every cell in our bodies" and reject any notion that "a person's self-awareness is different than and more important than [their] physical body". Such theologies often assume that, by definition, all who experience trans or gender-variant identity are mentally ill (despite the fact that the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems no longer classifies gender incongruence as a mental health disorder), and their self-assessment therefore unreliable. In other words, in these accounts, trans people cannot be granted first-person authority, trusted to know the truth about themselves. Trans identity is, for many conservative evangelicals, in itself a signal that something has gone wrong with someone's self-knowledge, because people who *really* know themselves understand that healthy gender identity cannot be at odds with physical sex. There is little evidence here of trans people's first-person authority, but plenty of appeal to first-person authority by the authors – albeit camouflaged behind claims that this is simply God's plan, what the Bible says, and not up for debate.

Thus, trans people's first-person authority is undermined by basic denial of their authenticity. This chimes with Miranda Fricker's account of "testimonial injustice", wherein someone's speech is predetermined as dubious or dismissible because an aspect of their identity renders them an unreliable witness. Such judgement in advance, holds Fricker, injures and wrongs people epistemically, as knowers. Trans people whose testimony, including their self-understanding, is deemed in advance to be suspect *because* they are trans are therefore, we suggest, left in an unwinnable situation.

Trauma, Epistemic Injustice, and Communities of Faith

How far do communities of faith have potential to be therapeutic sites for those trans people, and people with intersex characteristics, who have experienced the trauma of (and/or the exacerbation of suffering caused by) such epistemic violence? Some clearly find involvement with religion to affirm their worth, as research from contexts including Britain and Germany shows.²⁸ Based on research with people with intersex characteristics in Australia, Stephen Kerry remarks,

If, as the intersex literature suggests, intersex individuals are comparing their experiences with mainstream discourses of sexual abuse ... it is of little surprise that intersex individuals are also turning to methods of coping that are also found within mainstream communities. That intersex individuals are not alone in their trauma marks intersex as yet another site of human suffering that may drive people to religiosity for (among other things) 'answers'.²⁹

However, where communities of faith hold theological anthropologies and doctrinal claims which are non-affirming of trans people or those with intersex characteristics, further spiritual damage may be done beyond even the social trauma which many already experience. Theological anthropologies grounded in the assumption that God intended biological sex to be solely binary and dimorphic in nature, and that healthy gender identity may only "match" biological sex (for trans people) or the gender pragmatically assigned (for people with intersex characteristics), inflict harm. They have been used to tell sex- and gender-variant people, implicitly and explicitly, that they, their bodies and identities, are particularly compelling evidence of a spiritual fall, and further from God's intent than those of non-trans (cisgender) and non-intersex (endosex) people. Trans identity and variant sex characteristics have been held up as particular instances of creation gone wrong, to be redeemed at the eschaton.

Such characterizations may be particularly excluding and traumatizing because they cut right to the heart of someone's personhood. Variant sex characteristics and trans identity are not a matter of choice but concern a person's very ontology. The message that these unchosen aspects of the self are particularly marked by sin therefore communicates that there is something wrong with an individual's substantial being. Where trans people and people with intersex characteristics have hoped to find messages of acceptance and love in churches and are instead met with suspicion, their social trauma is repeated and exacerbated spiritually.

Furthermore, argues Rob Clucas, the specific microaggressions trans people face within some religious institutions, like inadequate recognition of themselves and their relationships, may exacerbate their psychological distress.³² Building on work by Nadal, Skolnik and Wong,³³ Clucas identifies microaggressive triggers including denial that transphobia exists; endorsement of solely-binary and gender-normative behaviour and identity; and systemic and environmental factors (such as, in the Church of England, the fact that clergy may conscientiously opt out of presiding at marriages where one partner has transitioned gender, and faith-based exemptions from the Equality Act 2010 which mean religious groups may lawfully discriminate against people who have the protected characteristic of gender reassignment) leading to institutional hostility to trans people.

As the experiences of some sex- and gender-variant Christians make clear, attempts to "include" them in church discussions about sex and gender may be traumatizing or retraumatizing if there is not adequate recognition that conversations on church "turf" – whether literal or conceptual – may be triggering.³⁴ The act of "inviting someone in" to a church discussion can be traumatizing for them if the church seeks to retain the power to set the terms of the conversation, or police participants' tone. In work on trauma and restorative justice, Stephanie Arel suggests

there are likely to be continued barriers to truly transformative practice when restorative justice efforts take place within prisons, since, she holds, especially in the US context, these are frequently sites of disempowerment, diminishment, and shame.³⁵ Churches and prisons are clearly not the same, but churches' power structures and dynamics may also hinder attempts at reconciliation. Church authorities might have what Arel calls "affective responsibility", ³⁶ that is the responsibility to be aware of how the affective power of the space they curate and control is likely to impact on the emotional and spiritual state of those "invited in". Even where conversations are well-meant, they might reinscribe inequality, especially where there is little acknowledgement that even if everyone in the conversation is ostensibly equal, they have not been equally traumatized and that the outcomes of the conversations are therefore unlikely to impact equally on their future experiences. Furthermore, as Sara Ahmed remarks,

When something is wearing, you do not always feel worn down. Feeling worn down can be a retrospective realization that you have been or are being worn down. It might be that in order to inhabit certain spaces we have to block recognition of just how wearing they are: when the feeling catches us, it might be at the point when it is just too much. You are shattered. ³⁷

Living with Moral Injury

Moral injury occurs when someone's sense of their own grasp on the rightness of the world is disrupted.³⁸ This can happen in wartime when people witness or are made to enact violence, but might also occur, for example, when someone they had considered a moral exemplar is shown to be anything but, or indeed when something happens to disturb their capacity to believe that other people are generally trustworthy. In the cases we have been discussing, churches have not always admitted how they have perpetuated and reinscribed trauma on trans people and those with intersex characteristics – even when they were attempting to include them. We are not suggesting that churches should not take seriously the reality of sex- and gender-diverse people's lives and testimonies. Yet discussions in which churches continue to hold all the power to direct and manage the conversation can be problematic.

This is the case even where churches are trying to atone for former inadequate responses to sex- and gender-diverse people, since the latter groups may carry with them the ongoing effects of their earlier treatment. Eleonore Stump holds that, in order to be a sufficient response to the reality of the depth of suffering and alienation, Christian atonement theory needs to take seriously and deal adequately with the reality of both human guilt and human shame; existing atonement theories do not do this because they do not give adequate weight to the power of divine love.³⁹ Churches have not yet, we suggest here, adequately recognized their own culpability in inflicting

shame on intersex and trans people, leading to intersex and trans people's diminution⁴⁰ and perpetuating moral injury – as Alex's and Sara's own stories show. It is to these that we turn next.

Alex's story

As a transmasculine person, I have experienced trauma that I feel it is important for theologians and church bodies to understand. These traumas include sexual violence and repudiation/rejection by churches and members thereof, by family and friends, and by medical bodies.

I am a survivor of sexual violence. In 2009, as I was beginning to explore my gender identity, I was raped by a "Christian" man. This was preceded by the statement, "I will show you how to be a real woman". I have since reflected upon the theological grounding of this statement. This man had been taught, by both church and society, that people are either male or female and that femaleness is defined by sexual biology, function and role.

Surviving sexual violence is, of course, traumatic. I feel, however, that the repudiation and rejection of my identity by many is a trauma that continues to affect me even more greatly. When I was 15 I was asked to leave a church because I had begun to express my gender nonconformity. My rejection by that church was predicated on an assumption that I was attracted to people of the same gender, and a lack of understanding of my gender nonconformity. As an ordained minister, I am aware that there are churches that will not allow me to lead worship, and who reject my calling, due to my gender identity. I regularly read articles by theologians repudiating my identity. I also receive hate-mail, suggesting that I am leading my congregations astray and am a danger to Christians. These letters often state that I am not a real Christian. My religious identity is rejected alongside my gender identity.

When I began to disclose my gender identity, many friends rejected me. Further, I had a period of familial rejection. All of the friends that I lost identified as Christian. My parents were influenced by Christian theology and, even more greatly, by the opinions of church members. As such, I believe that the rejection of my identity by family and friends had a theological root. My parents have since come to accept my gender identity through facilitated conversations over a prolonged period. If churches were equipped to support the families and friends of trans people, perhaps our experiences would be very different.

Repudiation and rejection also occur when trans people dare to tell our stories or attempt to participate in ecclesial conversations about trans people. When I took part in the construction of the Church of England's *Living in Love and Faith* resources,⁴¹ I expected to be part of some difficult conversations, which I am very able to contribute to as a theologian, minister, and

facilitator. I did not expect to be the target of misgendering, hate speech and threats co-ordinated by a Christian charity and viewed by tens of thousands. This traumatic experience has been largely ignored by the denomination concerned. There is a clear need for further conversations around safeguarding trans people from trauma when we participate in ecclesial processes.

Finally, I have suffered repudiation by medical professionals, always on the basis of faith. When I first came out as trans to a male doctor, he insisted on examining my genitalia. He then "explained" to me that I had female genitalia and, therefore, my "God-given" gender was female. Later, a gender identity specialist suggested that I could not be trans, as it was not in keeping with my Christian faith. This delayed my transition by several years. Later still, a nurse refused to administer my testosterone injections, citing her faith as the reason.

I strongly feel that the church has a role in my trauma, both in initial cause, and in the duty to respond. I wish, I suspect in vain, that churches and theologians would cease to assert that "God made man and woman" and that only dimorphic male and female sexes and genders exist. This assertion is at the root of all of the trauma that I have suffered within and outside the church. This assertion is theologically and scientifically inaccurate, is propagated mainly by the church, and infects cultures, societies, families and individuals.

The church has a responsibility to respond to our trauma. Firstly, I feel that church bodies should publicly apologise for incorrect theological understandings of personhood, specifically relating to sex and gender, and for the harm that they have directly and indirectly caused. Secondly, churches should take seriously their duties of pastoral care to trans members and their families. This could involve churches receiving training on gender identity, so that they can offer pastoral care to trans people who have experienced trauma, and to families and friends who are wrestling with a loved one's transition. Finally, churches should reconsider safeguarding policies and practices so that they attend to trans experiences of trauma.

Sara's story

I was born with intersex traits, which I also describe as variations in sex characteristics. I underwent surgery twice, at the age of two and then at 11. I was not told of the true nature of that surgery, although I can remember the outpatient visits, the examinations in front of medical students, and being in hospital for the second round of surgery.

It is hard to say if it was the surgery in itself that left me with lifelong symptoms of trauma and depression to manage, or whether it was the secrecy. I was always aware there was something "different" about me which left me unhealthily shy and introverted, which in turn led to bullying at school and left me with an inability to socialize. It was not until I was 43 that I eventually

demanded a copy of my GP medical records, after which I truly understood all that had happened to me.

My faith has always been important, and I have been either a practising Methodist or Anglican much of my life. I always found comfort in reading the Bible, revisiting particular passages that assisted me (2 Corinthians 4:8; Romans 5:1-5). Just as Cornwall⁴² and Budwey⁴³ have observed in other Christians with intersex characteristics, my faith affirmed my sense of worth.

There are many reasons I am so passionate about telling this story in church. One is simply that church is largely made up of families, and I am conscious the stigma and embarrassment is still felt by children with intersex traits and their parents and I may be in a position to alleviate some of that. There are those amongst our congregations who are suffering in silence, and are sometimes being retraumatized like myself through ill-considered comments and preaching.

In recent years I have been working to raise awareness of intersex in the Church of England. I knew there would be lack of knowledge, even some embarrassment, but I had not expected a concerted effort to label me as "disordered". My own experience is too often dismissed, and framed by others as representing creation gone wrong.⁴⁴ My telling of my story has on occasions been rejected and I have experienced having rumours spread that I was really a man with malicious intent. It has been both wearing⁴⁵ and on occasions retraumatizing.⁴⁶

Telling my story to supportive individuals and groups does reignite some difficult memories, which can be cathartic on a good day but then cause suffering on another. What is retraumatizing is that when I tell my story, whilst I may well be listened to, I am then challenged as to the validity of my experience. To give one example, when I was invited to speak at a church, it was felt appropriate by the organizers to invite someone else to give an alternative perspective on my personal experience that I was going to share. In this case they had in mind a conservative surgeon who performed surgeries on children who had not been made in what he perceived to be the way God intended. (I need to underline that I am fully supportive of children opting for surgeries when they are old enough to give informed consent, or where there is a medical emergency.) This was unexpected and traumatic for me, and resulted in a serious episode of depression. It took many months to recover. The church remains totally oblivious to the consequences of some of its actions, as it fails to listen to those outside its usual circle of senior clergy and theologians. The continued discussions within the church around intersex are very much a cerebral exercise, where we are analysed and spoken about by others. I am cognizant that not all trauma is instantaneous and the constant flow of comment and literature labelling people like myself as disordered as a result of the Fall⁴⁷ has a long-term impact on our sense of being. This repeated message, which often is delivered in a patronising tone of pity, does induce trauma. The

constant patronisation is particularly insidious, undermining any sense I may have of first-person authority.⁴⁸ Sometimes trauma is not instantaneous, but manifests itself after a prolonged period of what may be described as suffering. Being worn down, as described by Ahmed,⁴⁹ and the remergence of trauma, are intertwined.

The church needs to recognize the harm it causes in its misplaced desire for unity which countenances all views that remain within the church whilst ignoring views of those who have either left or do not feel welcome to join. The reality is that the current approach is one of epistemic violence. I often hide from church in all its forms, as it too often makes the task of managing episodes of depression, anxiety, flashbacks, and panic attacks harder, and I can often manage these symptoms more successfully away from church. The education of clergy and congregations is vital, in order to provide the spiritual support and fellowship needed to create a space for healing. Listening and validation of people's experiences is essential in building a church of love where the most vulnerable are able to recover from their trauma.⁵⁰ All church denominations have been found wanting when intersex Christians have suffered and been re-traumatized by ill-considered comments and preaching. Safeguarding policy and training has failed in the past in protecting the most vulnerable adults and children, for fear of upsetting the strong voices. It is encounter that changes hearts and minds, alongside education. Encounter will only happen where there are affirming and safe spaces in which people with intersex traits and their families are given the confidence to share their stories. Epistemic violence will be never-ending if this is a cerebral exercise, rather than one of bodily encounter.

This brings me finally to the Church of England and its discussions on relationships, identity and sexuality entitled *Living in Love and Faith*. I contributed to the video resources by sharing a snippet of my experience of church, challenging people to think about how they relate to others different from themselves. On the one hand it is a pivotal moment, a positive one, the first time that the church has nationally shared the story of someone with intersex traits. However, the other side is that I have found the material being used flippantly and used to harm others, with the church being shown wanton when it comes to expressing pastoral concern and safeguarding those most vulnerable in the process. Again I am having to leave the church to heal the wounds the church re-opens, as we see a church in a never-ending cycle of discernment, prayer and inaction.

Discussion

There are good reasons to be wary of assumptions that the lives of trans people, and those with intersex characteristics, are inherently or inevitably marked by dysphoria and tragedy. David

Valentine, for example, has notably argued that increased identification of trans identity with experiences of trauma, violence and threat is "useful ... for activism"⁵¹ as focus for community organization, but diminishes diverse trans narratives that do not assume harm or paint all trans people as victims.⁵² Indeed, some of the most generative theological responses to the trauma suffered by trans people and those with intersex characteristics come about via working transformatively with pain: not denying or suppressing it, nor engaging in overly-heroic narratives of overcoming it, but rather starting from a place of its reality and then working to show how its existence becomes the occasion for new epiphanies. Elsewhere one of us, Alex Clare-Young, states, "Being human is messy, complex and transformational ... Our bodies are miracles, works of art, astounding creations, and should be treated as such".⁵³ For Clare-Young, as a nonbinary trans Christian, transformation is an active, agential work of reframing their embodiment. This does not mean denying the existence of pain, but rather doing justice to their experience holistically.⁵⁴

This has implications for the ways in which sex- and gender-diverse people's difference and specificity are framed in church contexts. Rachel Mann, a Church of England priest, describes her experiences of being a "public" trans person in the church and the sacrifices attached to being part of a group of people whose legitimacy is often questioned. Despite the difficulty, Mann holds that "it is possible to experience this odd, potentially paradoxical place" as gift and well as cost. ⁵⁵ Certain experiences which create vulnerability for those understood as insider-outsiders to the church teeter, she suggests, on a knife-edge between being horrific and wounding, or mediating grace. She is quick to note that in recognizing this reality she is "not attempting to make a virtue out of trauma". ⁵⁶ Rather, she holds, the experience of being one of those whose existence is understood as liminal or what she terms "interstitial" is an experience of dwelling with Christ, whose own existence challenges norms and binaries, and that as such, reminders of one's precarity "can – in the midst of much trauma – draw one close to the company of the Living God". ⁵⁷

But despite all this, in Heather Love's words, "Sometimes damage is just damage". ⁵⁸ As we have shown throughout this chapter, well-meant actions of church communities to discuss questions pertaining to trans and intersex people can themselves injure. A tendency to "invite in" people from "outside" to speak as "experts" on their experiences can, even while well-intended, expose them to scrutiny and retraumatization which institutions have not always been equipped (or for which they have not always taken responsibility) to help them manage. Building on Robin James' work on resilience and melancholy, ⁵⁹ Karen Bray shows that in situations of "inclusion", the problem is often assumed to be with the person "invited in" for being insufficiently resilient to deal with the conversation, rather than with the situation into which they have been brought:

"Those who cannot bounce back are not considered resilient, but rather toxic. Those who cannot flee their damaged situations have no worth ... Inclusion is conditioned on exercising the right kind of resilience: making the right kind of choices out of one's damage". 60

What, then, can mitigate the moral injury caused when a trusted person or institution perpetuates harm? If moral injury has come about as a result of betrayal by a moral authority, its reparation will surely include humility and repentance on the part of the former moral authority. Yet institutions should be attuned to the fact that their own "processing" of the impacts of their former practices is not always best done in the presence of those who have been injured by them. This is exacerbated when running alongside a church's attempts to make reparations are concerns to protect itself, carry out damage limitation on its bruised reputation, and so on.

Further work is needed to devise alternative modes of learning for churches with regard to trans people and those with intersex characteristics. Briefly, however, we recommend that these should centre on listening processes which: enable sex- and gender-variant people to explicate their trauma; enable researchers to examine the causes of trans and intersex people's trauma and their links to theology; facilitate engaged collaborative research projects in which researchers and those with lived experience contribute as equal partners; and have the resources and support they need to lead to meaningful change, in theology, praxis, pastoral care, safeguarding practices, and beyond.

A range of contributions point to the importance of churches' providing space for healing via allowing trauma to be expressed and "held", both in the practice of liturgy and the invocation of broader community practices – though, as they acknowledge, this is not an unproblematic process especially when churches themselves have perpetrated or enabled traumatic events. Indeed, it is hard for churches to hear that what seem like neutral or actively positive practices such as traumatized people's participation in communal worship can themselves be retraumatizing. Often, trauma, having "overwhelmed" the body's usual mechanisms for coping and resilience, is presented as challenge to integration, with the possibility of reintegration, "restoring trust and connections", held out as the hope. But survivors may feel that these kinds of accounts do not do enough to acknowledge that ongoing "apartness" from church communities may be a necessary response, and an important affirmation of their agency to walk away.

Conclusion

It is perhaps too easy for institutions to believe that if traumatized people are now able to speak and be present there, then the trauma (and the institution's own responsibility for perpetuating it) cannot have been as overwhelming as all that. But what seem like abstract or academic issues for some undertaking "dialogue" on the part of churches are intimate, deeply personal realities for some invited to contribute. The emotional and spiritual toll on the latter group is likely to be far greater than on those who can simply treat the question as an interesting debate. Those traumatized people who do choose to disclose their experiences may re-live their trauma in doing so.

Furthermore, if, as they share their stories, they express anger, fear or indignation at what happened, they may find themselves labelled "difficult", "troublemakers" or insufficiently "rational" or "resilient".⁶⁴ Rachel Mann describes her experience of being present for conversations at the General Synod where speakers proceeded as though trans people were not there and were entirely other to what was happening: "I was caught in the double-bind: speak up and risk being coded as a troublemaker and as an issue, or stay silent and allow others to speak as if we, trans people, are an issue or an embarrassing complication".⁶⁵ Tone policing does not adequately acknowledge that the calm, detached way in which some interlocutors may be able to approach discussions of abjected identities is not evidence of their greater virtue or rationality, but a function of the privilege that comes from being able to walk away.

As we have shown throughout this chapter, conversations about sex and gender diversity in faith communities should never start from a position of expecting trans people, and people with intersex characteristics, to justify their existence, nor to engage in apologetics-inflected processes which make them objects of others' sympathy. The capacity of sex- and gender-diverse people to know God and know themselves is no more inherently flawed or limited than that of those whose sex and gender go unremarked. Trauma created by stigmatizing theologies and inadequate pastoral responses is real and long-lasting, and all those who pronounce on the theological and anthropological significance of gender and sex should be aware that their implications for trans and intersex people are great.

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