CHAPTER 6

Education as Activism: Sexual Dissidence and Schooling in Spain

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Introduction

Spain has come a long way in terms of rights for sexual minorities in the past few decades. In the second half of the twentieth century, while much of Europe and the USA were experiencing some of the early stirrings of homophile and gay rights movements (Armstrong, 2002; Rupp, 2011), Spain was still immersed in the Franco dictatorship (1939–1975). Activists who worked to ensure basic human rights for sexual minorities in Spain were persecuted by the Franco regime, forcing these social movements to go underground and severely limited their capacity to effect real legal change. The work of these early civil rights pioneers took decades to eventually culminate in legislation providing for same-sex marriage (Ley 13/2005), and access to identity documentation that accurately reflect one's gender identity (Ley 3/2007). Currently, Spain ranks 12th out of all 49 European countries on a scale based on laws and policies that directly

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impact on LGBTI people's human rights (ILGA Europe, 2019), suggesting that Spain, despite its recent troubled history and late start, has caught up with its European neighbors on the legal and policy level.

At the same time, sexual diversity increasingly protected by Spanish legislation has not been explicitly supported in educational policy. Spanish education legislation has been rewritten many times since the Franco dictatorship ended in 1973. A review of the preambles of the four laws passed since 1990 (Bejerano Franco & García Fernández, 2016) has revealed that these documents not only fail to recognize the diversity recognized and protected by the state, but also fail to establish a relationship between the emotional and the sexual, that might support more comprehensive sex and relationship education. In this way the institution of schooling, which is best equipped, in principle, for preparing a critical, informed, and socially conscious citizenry, is complicit in erasing past injustice and taking for granted that legislation automatically equals social justice. It is therefore not surprising that there is scarce evidence of school or classroom-based work that might provide children the tools to critically process the sex education they receive on a massive scale through popular media (Francisco & Moliner, 2012).

Spain's rich and powerful history of sexual dissidence has operated largely outside of and parallel to the school sector. Yet as the chapters in this volume illustrate, Queer Social Movements (QSM) play an essential role in disrupting gender and sexual normativities—an educational project aimed at undoing the narrow, restrictive, and inaccurate understandings that fuel social injustice. Spanish schooling lacks an explicit policy and curricular framework for teaching gender and sexual diversity in schools. On the one hand, this leaves it up to the teachers to decide to address this particular area of equality, and to find ways to do it. One the other hand, activist organizations have begun to develop resources and materials, and seem more than willing to provide teachers with the guidance and support they need.

Given the particularities of the Spanish historical context, I will explore in this chapter several lines of activism related to gender and sexual diversity, along with the impact they have had, and continue to have, in school contexts. The institution of schooling plays a key role in disseminating inaccurate and harmful social ideologies, as well as in their resistance. This review includes some of the efforts of activist collectives to educate about gender and sexual diversity, both within and beyond spaces of formal schooling.

Spain: The Long Road to Recognition and Representation for Sexual Minorities

Spain has come a long way in terms of rights for gender and sexual minorities in a relatively short time, and an analysis of this rapid social progress may help to explain the disconnect between legislative advances and school policy and practice. In Europe, advances toward legal recognition of gender and sexual minorities were being made as early as 1951, when the first International Congress for Sexual Equality, held in Amsterdam, resulted in a petition to the UN by participating countries, including Denmark, West Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, and Switzerland, and the subsequent formation of the International Commission for Sexual Equality (ICSE). The petition demanded the extension of human rights to what was then referred to as "homosexual minorities" in accordance with "the findings of modern psychological, biological and medical research" and "mankind's greater awareness of social justice,"—this last argument referring to the Nazi atrocities during World War II (Rupp, 2011, p. 1014). The ICSE serves as a rallying point for the incipient homophile movement, also active in the US as early as the 1950s, which eventually gave way to the more explicit and directed activism that characterized the gay power movement, galvanized by the Compton Cafeteria (San Francisco, 1966) and Stonewall (New York, 1969) riots (Armstrong, 2002).

Where was Spain in the midst of this new awareness of gender and sexual diversity? Under Francisco Franco's fascist military regime (1939–1975), strongly supported by Catholic authorities, homosexuality was outlawed, along with other practices such as divorce and contraception that were seen to violate the tenets of the Church. In 1954 an existing law meant to control and incarcerate indigents and miscreants was modified to include homosexuals, placing them in the same category of illegality as "ruffians and pimps," "professional panhandlers" and "those who lived off others through begging" (Ley de Vagos y Maleantes, 1954).

Sixteen years later, penalization was, at least in theory, replaced by a radical form of pathologization with the introduction of *The Law of Dangerousness and Social Rehabilitation*, which set out to cure and reform homosexuals (Ley de Peligrosidad y Rehabilitación Social, 1970). Just one year after the famous and ground-breaking Stonewall riots, Spanish legislation continued to consider gender and sexual minorities to be

on a par with prostitution, human trafficking, delinquency, and drug-addiction, constituting a danger to society, "They will be declared to be in a state of danger, and the corresponding security and rehabilitation measures will be applied to those whose engage in homosexual acts." Those who were accused of such acts were considered to be potential social contagions, and as such were subject to internment in re-education camps, placed under vigilance, and prohibited from living in certain designated areas and visiting certain public places. In practice, the law resulted in a large number of incarcerations in mental asylums and prisons, with close to a million documented cases of people serving such sentences during the nine years the law was in force (Conde, 2016).

It's not surprising, given this repressive regime and the specific legal tools that targeted gender and sexual minorities, that much of Spain's early sexual rights movement took place behind closed doors. Only after many years of secret meetings did the Gay Liberation Front (*Front d'Alliberament Gai*) organize the first public demonstration in Catalonia on the 26th of June, 1977, with some 4000 taking to Barcelona's popular *Ramblas* pedestrian thoroughfare, shouting "We are not afraid, we ARE[1]" and demanding both the repeal of the infamous law and immediate amnesty for those imprisoned under its mandate (Bernardo, 2015). This landmark protest took place two years after the death of General Francisco Franco and the end of his 36-year dictatorship, and just one year after the introduction of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, which established democracy and officially separated Spain from the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, change was slow: it was nearly a year and a half before the article referring to homosexual acts was eliminated (Álvarez, 2017). Many of those imprisoned under the law were not released until 1979, four years after the dictator's death, and their prison sentences were not erased from their legal records until 2001. Since these incarcerations and persecutions took place in recent history, many of those who suffered them are still relatively young, living with these memories that are hard to reconcile with Spain's more recent standing in the international community. For 46-year-old Antonio Ruíz, who was 17 when he was imprisoned upon coming out to his family, silence is not an acceptable response:

> Of course I am happy about the new freedoms in Spain … But we don't want to forget about the repression. We want to reclaim our dignity. The old police files, with their lists of homosexuals and discriminatory laws and

punitive sentences, should be preserved and archived for the public. We can't forget. (Loewenberg, 2005)

From Human Rights Legislation to Schools: A Controversial Step

Despite Spain's significant recent advances in human rights legislation a number of worrying negative trends have been identified, including several incidences of hate speech on behalf of prominent church officials. These include a particularly inflammatory speech made by the Archbishop of Valencia in 2016, in which he declared that Spain supports "legislation contrary to the family, the acts of political and social forces, to which are added movements and acts by the gay empire, by ideologies such as radical feminism – or the most insidious of all – gender ideology" (ILGA Europe, 2017, p. 216).

The notion of "gender ideology" has emerged as a relatively recent and quite controversial discourse on the part of the Spanish ultra-conservative Catholic sector, in response to what they consider to be a threat to their religious values. These threats are concentrated, it seems, where young children and schooling are concerned. A recent initiative in the form of a bright orange campaign bus received a great deal of media attention as it paraded through several major Spanish cities, brandishing the following message painted on the side, accompanied by normative boy and girl figures, "Boys have a penis. Girls have a vulva. Don't let them fool you. If you are born a man, you're a man. If you are a woman, you will always be one" (Jiménez Gálvez & Constantini, 2017). Dubbed "the Liberty Bus" by its organizers, and re-named "The Hatred Bus" by detractors, it was designed as a reaction to a public educational campaign led by an association of families of trans* children.[2] Over the course of six days at the beginning of January 2017, posters appearing on bus and metro stations throughout the Basque Country and Navarran regions declared, "There are girls with penises and boys with vulvas. It's that simple" ("Hay niñas con pene y niños con vulva," 2017).

The original campaign, intended to promote social awareness and inclusion of gender diverse children[3] (Mayor, 2017), seems to have struck a sensitive spot among religious conservatives. The same organization that sponsored the gender normative bus campaign also was discovered distributing a 46-page document in primary schools (Laborde, 2016) alerting parents to "sexual indoctrination" and warning that legal protections

and inclusion of LGTB[4] realities in the curriculum would "disorient children by imposing sexual diversity on them" (Velázquez, 2016). The cover photo of this document is especially unnerving, as it depicts two small children dressed in early twentieth century garb, saluting a rainbow flag in the style characteristic of the Franco fascist dictatorship. In this way, the radical right deploys the time-honored discourse of reverse discrimination—casting sexual minorities, after decades of systematic and legal persecution, as the fascist oppressors.

It is no accident that these ultra-conservative campaigns revolve around the especially hot topic of what young children should be learning or not in schools. While the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Queer Youth and Student Organisation IGLYO has called for proactive pedagogies, arguing that "When heterosexuality is viewed as superior, individuals' behavior is restricted to rigid gender roles, resulting in stigma and discrimination towards those who deviate from such norms" (IGLYO, 2015, p. 9), initiatives designed to carry out such pedagogies have often sparked fierce resistance. These resistance campaigns often draw upon popular understandings of childhood innocence and asexuality and portray sexual minorities as deviant and unnatural. Together, these discourses combine to portray educators who incorporate gender and sexual diversity into the curriculum as biased, unprofessional, and misguided at best, and pornographers and pedophiles at worst. For example, the Australian Safe Schools Coalition program, launched in 2014 to support LGBTIQ children in schools (Law, 2017), was compared by one MP to pedophilia, "it sounds a lot like the grooming work that a sexual predator might undertake" (Butler, 2016).

Even in national contexts where rights for gender and sexual minorities are protected by law, the inclusion of gender and sexual diversity in education seems to be a controversial and difficult step to take. The public backlash, fueled by religious or conservative groups, can have the effect of weakening policy and intimidating teachers who might otherwise be willing to address what in Spain is referred to as sexual-affective diversity.

Spanish Schooling: Still a Long Way to Go Toward Explicit Curricular Inclusion

Spanish society is, as a whole, generally accepting of gender and sexual diversity, with Spaniards scoring the highest on an international tolerance survey on which 88% expressed the belief that homosexuality should be

accepted by society (Pew Research Center, 2013). As may be expected, attitudes seem to be changing over time, as demonstrated by research with different age cohorts. Interviews with elder residents of a Spanish supported-living facility revealed that the majority expressed a range of negative attitudes, from avoidance to more extreme rejection (Villar, Serrat, Fabà, & Celdrán, 2015). These results contrast with research conducted with college-aged student athletes, who exhibited generally low levels of prejudice, despite the researchers' intentional selection of a sporting context with the aim of targeting a social arena historically considered to be particularly prone to heterosexist and patriarchal attitudes and behaviors. The authors interpret the somewhat higher levels of prejudice directed toward trans* people as largely resulting from ignorance, which can best be addressed through visibility of sexual minorities and a better education in diversity, equality, and gender issues (Piedra, 2014).

A more nuanced interpretation is provided by more recent research that compares Spanish and English sports participants. The Spanish respondents demonstrated significantly less tolerant attitudes toward sexual minorities, suggesting that Spain has a "pseudo-tolerant" social climate, with levels of rejection moderated by the social undesirability of being perceived as homophobic:

> It is possible that the Spanish sample's evident pseudo-inclusivity can be identified as a "politically correct" departure from the rejection of sexual diversity (and thus the negative implication of "being homophobic") alongside a concurrent refusal of acceptance of sexual minorities, shaped perhaps by the heteronormativity of Spain's traditionally conservative political and religious history. (Piedra, García-Pérez, & Channon, 2017, p. 1035).

This research might shed some light on the ways in which Franco's ultraconservative political regime continues to haunt modern LGBTI-friendly Spain.

Research conducted by the Spanish Government into youth attitudes toward gender and sexual diversity reveal the weak nature of such (pseudo) tolerant attitudes. Discussion-groups with adolescents (15–18 years) in various Spanish cities showed overall high levels of tolerance and openness to sexual diversity, but were accompanied by more specific trends that bear closer examination, given their relevance to schooling. First, many of the opinions expressed were described by the researchers

as "liberal homophobia," with counter-normative manifestations of gender and sexual identity relegated to the private arena, and less likely to be tolerated in public spaces. Second, these young people did report witnessing incidents of homophobia and, what seems more worrying, tended to blame less violent cases on the victims themselves. Third, male homosexuality was generally more accepted, while lesbianism was rendered invisible, and bisexual and transsexual experiences remained the subject of incomprehension and even rejection. Finally, respondents were largely unaware of sexual diversity in real life and historical contexts, and very few had encountered these topics in family or school contexts:

> A weak role was detected for the schooling context and teachers, as well as for dialog in the family context. There, in the face of relative "silence" on the part of these key actors for young people, television appeared to be the main source of information about sexual diversity. Therefore, the principal models and referents for LGTB people come from the television, while there is an extremely limited knowledge of historic, literary, cultural, etc. LGTB figures. For the young men and women who participated in the study, and especially for those inhabitants of smaller residential areas - LGTB visibility was an eminently televised issue. (CIMOP, 2011, p. 4)

Research in school contexts seems to bear out this characterization of Spanish youth as passively or liberally tolerant, but with shallow understandings of sexuality and gender, and of related discrimination they experience in their social circles. A survey conducted by the Spanish National Federation of Lesbians, Gays, Transsexuals and Bisexuals (FELGTB) survey found that 43% of Spanish secondary students who experienced homophobic bullying considered suicide, while 35% went on to plan it, and 17% attempted suicide (2012). Further research has revealed that eight out of every ten secondary students had witnessed insults relating to perceived sexual orientation or gender identity. While most deemed these incidents to be unacceptable and worthy of intervention, one out of five students considered them to be unimportant, and argued that (1) you hear these kinds of comments all the time, so they don't matter so much, (2) they are not ill-intentioned, or (3) they are inevitable, because some people deserve them (Pichardo Galán & de Stéfano Barbero, 2015). According to guidelines published by Spain's Ministry of Health, Social

Services and Equality, exercising one's right to freedom of sexual orientation or gender identity is still the leading cause of bullying and stigmatization, both at the European and Spanish national level, with 25% of students between 15 and 19 years of age witnessing homophobic violence in their schools. While the majority express respect toward LGTB people, their failure to intervene renders them accomplices in maintaining a regime of silence and invisibilization (Pichardo Galán, de Stéfano Barbero, Faure, Saénz, & Williams Ramos, 2015).

A campaign led by FELGTB has brought national attention to the lack of representation of sexual diversity in school textbooks and other classroom materials (Hidalgo & Barcala, 2011). While some secondary school literature textbooks include a few of the important authors who contributed to the gay and lesbian rights movement, they usually do so without contextualizing their work within the broader sexual dissidence movement or even mentioning their sexuality (Santamaría-García & Echauri Galván, 2018). García Cabeza and Sánchez Bello's analysis of Spanish secondary science textbooks revealed superficial and incomplete approaches to sex education and sexuality, leading the authors to conclude that Spanish educators have:

> (…) gone from the censorship imposed on textbooks by a dictatorship to a "self-imposed" censorship based on the existence of contents that are visible and others that are hidden, in accordance with a socially constructed reality that attaches greater value to some themes than to others. (2013, p. 1728)

A wide-scale teacher survey has revealed that among the obstacles identified by teachers to providing quality sex education, respondents identified lack of preparation and institutional support—just under 12% had received no undergraduate training, while 50% indicated that their school did not consider sex education to be a priority and 60% argued that their schools lacked the necessary resources (Martínez et al., 2012). In the Spanish context, where curricular inclusion is permitted and supported by the nation's broader legal context, partnerships with social activist organizations can help fill the gap left by laissez-faire educational policy.

The Spanish National Federation of Lesbians, Gays, Transexuals and Bisexuals (FELGTB) and Schooling

The gap in school policy and lack of textbook representation of sexual diversity leaves it up to teachers to take the initiative for finding ways to introduce sexual diversity into their everyday classroom practice. Depending on their willingness, preparation, and sensitivity, individual teachers might incorporate such themes into related curriculum-specific content. Such teachers can at least turn to some activist organizations for support and guidance, and even some ideas for practice.

The Spanish FELGTB remains the driving force at the national level for promoting anti-homophobia work in schools, through educational campaigns and the dissemination of relevant research, news and other information. The group was formed in 1992 as the National Federation of Gays and Lesbians, and its name change reflects the organization's progress in terms of inclusivity and representation of a broader range of sexual diversity. As a federation, many of its approximately 50 affiliate groups represent more specific collectives, such as the Daniela Foundation, which aims to recognize and address lack of information regarding trans* children's needs on the part of professionals, "whether in the field of medical psychological, social, legal, or educational intervention."[5]

Despite their diversity, the federation's affiliated organizations share and coordinate three major lines of action, as described on the FELGTB website[6]:

- A demand for legal equality and social respect toward sexual-affective diversity,
- Awareness-raising and protest, a part of which is formed by the yearly National LGTB Pride celebration, and
- Training of activists and their member associations.

The Federation's website includes an area dedicated to "combat LGTB-phobia in classrooms" which revolves around two main axes of intervention: the support and defense of students who are at risk of being a victim of school bullying, and a proactive approach to sexual-affective diversity education as a preventive strategy. One specific initiative is the "Back-to-school" campaign—a website with separate sections aimed at students,

families, or professionals that provides a wide range of resources, from contacts and advice for students who have suffered LGTB-phobic harassment to educational resources that can be used in the classroom to familiarize children with sexual diversity.

Similar to the UK organization Stonewall's No Bystanders campaign,[7] FELGTB considers bystanders to be key actors in school bullying, and there is a section of the website specifically dedicated to children who witness such incidents, encouraging them to get involved with the statement "Take action, your silence makes you an accomplice." Perhaps most striking is the section aimed at those who might consider themselves to have perpetrated acts of homophobic bullying, under the heading "Do I bully? – Stop doing so immediately by following these steps." The information provided for self-identified bullies highlights the suffering produced in those targeted by their abuse, as well as the possible legal consequences of perpetrators' actions.

In summary, a great deal of FELGTB's educational work is focused on research in educational settings and the publication of teaching proposals and guides to good practice that are designed to raise teachers' awareness of the issues and provide them with some guidance on how to respond to bullying incidents and to minimize them by proactively incorporating sexual diversity into their teaching. They also have resources designed for families and children themselves. While it might seem optimistic to expect children to self-identify as bullies and access the FELGTB to find ways to avoid such behaviors, the organization's inclusive strategy does symbolically convey the important message that reduction of school-based violence toward children who do not conform to heteronormative expectations should be a collective effort involving not just bullies and victims, but teachers, families, and peers.

Nevertheless, the direct intervention of the Federation in school contexts seems to be relatively limited; the advice and guidance available on the website depend on the initiative of those who seek to redress the lack of information in educational contexts. One of the services provided by the Federation is a network of affiliated activist organizations (*Red Educa*) available upon request to provide educational workshops in schools. The six participating organizations in 2016 increased to nine during the following school year, indicating a great deal of initiative on the part of this activist network. According to the most recent data available from the Federation's website, during the 2016–2017 school year they provided 780 workshops in 90 schools throughout Spain, aimed at primary

and secondary students, teachers, and families. The FELGTB seems well aware that the demand for such collaborations is largely driven by government policy, and expresses the hope that future legislation will "approve effective and urgent measures for the introduction of Sexual and Gender Diversity in the educational system, as well as for the prevention of bullying on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity."[8]

Voices from the Margins of the Margins: Trans and Feminist Activism

There are voices of sexual minorities that might get lost in generalized social movements such as FELGTB movements; these include lesbians (Trujillo Barbadillo, 2016) and bisexuals (Moreno Sánchez & Pichardo Galán, 2006, p. 149):

> Bisexuality becomes an even more subaltern sexuality that homosexuality, despised by heterosexuals who consider them to be depraved, and by homosexuals who see them as gays or lesbians who have not yet accepted or who don't dare accept their true identity.

Invisibility is one of the principal routes to subordination, and those who do not declare a clear and exclusive sexuality are especially prone to this kind of marginalization, both within and beyond activist circles. In the schooling context, especially in the early years, it may be especially difficult to address aspects of sexual diversity that are not easily represented by concrete models (Epstein, 2013). The practice of including same-sex parents in family diversity lessons, for example, might erase experiences such as bisexuality, which is difficult to represent within the remit of a single (parental) relationship. Those who might opt not to have children or to form a stable monogamous relationship are also excluded from these representations.

Trans* experience also tends to be erased in collective sexual dissident movements (Stryker, 2008), and trans* people have been even more forcibly excluded from some feminist circles (Riddell, 2006). In Spain, trans* women have been active in the women's rights movements since 1993, when a national feminist conference in Cordoba first incorporated a round table discussion on trans* issues (Espineira & Bourcier, 2016); in 2000 the term transfeminism was included in the official program of the Madrid national feminist conference (Platero & Ortega-Arjonilla, 2016).

Since its relatively early collaboration in the Spanish women's movement, transfeminism "resists such feminist practices of exclusion and objectification by appropriating the term feminism itself, and by using the prefix trans- to signify a feminist trans subject or identity subject or identity" (Espineira & Bourcier, 2016, p. 88). The more positive relationship between cis- and trans- feminists in Spain is largely due to two factors: the incorporation of trans* women's demands in the broader feminist agenda, and the delay of trans incorporation into the burgeoning 1980s gay rights movement that was concerned with normalizing homosexuality in the face of the concurrent HIV crisis (Platero & Ortega-Arjonilla, 2016).

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the modern FELGTB has come a long way from the homonormative origins of early sexual minority activism in Spain, as is evidenced by the scope of the Federation's activism, the variety of its affiliated collectives, and its concern to use inclusive language (for example, the use of LGTB-phobia rather than homophobia in their anti-school bullying campaign). For example, a resource created in 2011 by the affiliate organization COGAM entitled "Teaching guide on transsexuality for youth and adolescents" used a simple and attractive cartoon format to introduce trans* experience to school children. The resource has some important limitations, including the use of the outdated term transsexuality. The use of this term has been common in Spain until quite recently, when Lucas Platero introduced term in a book designed to provide teachers with understanding and resources to address trans* issues in the classroom, "what the asterisk adds is to point out the heterogeneity when we conceptualize a body, an identity, and experiences that go beyond imposed binary social norms" (Platero Méndez, 2014, p. 16). The COGAM resource also affirms the notion of being trapped in the wrong body, which has been openly rejected by trans* activists. At the same time, this teaching guide does provide engaging and clear descriptions of important concepts such as gender identity and society's complicity in potentially misgendering the other:

> Immediately, and almost by instinct, without being conscious of it, the first thing we determine is the sex that [each person] belongs to, among other things to address him/her or to describe the person in masculine or feminine terms…and how do we do that? By looking to see how the

person's appearance corresponds to what we understand as being man or woman. (COGAM, 2011, p. 10)

This guide explicitly disengages sexual identity from genitalia, and defines notions such as psychological sex ("how we identify ourselves," p. 7), and *sexation*, a term used by Spanish sexologists to describe the ways in which we identify and classify ourselves as well as others (Landarroitajauregi Garai, 2000). Spanish sexology has embraced and recognized trans* experience as part of what is referred to as "human sexual diversity," a phenomenon which incorporates sexuality as well as gender identity. This academic field has had some impact on the production of educational materials. The association of families of trans* children Naizen (formerly a local branch of the national organization Chrysalis) is an especially clear example of collaboration between sexologists and activists, as evidenced by their conceptual and terminological framework, as well as the availability of sexological articles on their website. Key concepts include (1) genitalia do not determine one's identity; (2) neither the minds nor the bodies of trans* children are wrong, and (3) trans* is just one aspect of human sexual diversity, where children's (psychological) sexual identity does not coincide with that attributed by society (doctors, teachers, peers, etc.). So for example, among their protocols for school practice, we find universal toilet access, so that "all girls, whether they have a penis or vulva, can use the girl's toilet."

It is also worth noting that activist organizations such as Chrysalis and Naizen have had a particularly strong impact in pressuring regional governments[9] and providing specialist consultation to establish protocols for addressing gender non-conformity in schools, starting with the Andalusian autonomous government's *Protocol for intervention concerning gender identity* (Junta de Andalucía, 2015). This pioneering guidance recommends specific actions, such as using the child's chosen name, positive education about sexual diversity for all children, and collaboration with activist and support groups.

Another educational strategy has been to incorporate gender and sexual diversity into the Spanish tradition of anti-sexist education (Fumero, Llaneza Moreno, & Ruíz Repullo, 2016). Coauthor Kika Fumero is a secondary teacher who also identifies as an LGBTI activist and has argued that gender violence and homophobic or transphobic violence share a common basis in sexism, and therefore must be addressed together, "We

cannot separate a gender perspective from an LGBTI perspective, we cannot separate gender equality from diversity. Macho culture permeates it all, and it all has the same root”[10] Along these lines, the autonomous government of Navarra has published an anti-sexist teaching plan to be implemented in schools from 2017 to 2021, which is described as “revolving around various concepts that intersect all areas of schooling: the prevention of violence against women and girls, the visibility of women and their contributions, respect for identities, cultures, sexualities and their diversity, social participation and the shared commitment to make equality a reality” (Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación, 2017, p. 9). As part of the backlash tendencies already described in this chapter, the plan has received virulent opposition from an association of Catholic parents[11] as well as conservative political parties, who have accused the Navarran government of indoctrination of young children into what they refer to, predictably, as “gender ideology” (Doria, 2018).

Conclusion

In Spain, the recent past of systematic oppression of sexual minorities continues to shape a modern society that is ostensibly supportive of sexual diversity, but still prone to conservative backlash movements and prejudices born of ignorance. Research within and beyond schools shows underlying homophobic and transphobic attitudes that are fueled by misconceptions and lack of experience. At the same time, schools, the institution entrusted to fomenting values of citizenship and equality, are strangely silent on these issues when they relate to sexual minorities.

While social movements in defense of rights for sexual minorities were slow to make advances in the Spanish context, impeded by an oppressive dictatorship, they have been quite successful in ensuring certain basic rights at the legislative level, particularly in recent years. This work is ongoing: for example, there is currently a draft law proposal to revise the current law, so that people who wish to adapt their identity documentation to their gender identity will not have to present psychological verification. Activist groups have contributed much to education in terms of promoting and participating in the development of educational protocols, research on bullying, and the preparation of teaching materials and guides. Some of these have been the product of a collaboration between anti-sexist and sexual diversity initiatives, which might reflect a historical affinity among different groups of women in social movements.

We have also seen the emergence in recent years of initiatives specifically designed to support young children who transgress gender expectations and/or may identify as trans*, and these organizations have taken a particularly proactive stance in the design of resources designed to expand and improve concepts related to sex, gender, and sexuality.

However, what is largely missing in the Spanish context is the direct participation of these activist organizations in teaching activities and teacher preparation. This lack of collaboration does not seem to stem from the activist groups themselves, who appear motivated and prepared for this level of involvement. It is more likely to result from the institutional school culture, which is generally prone to isolationism and a focus on covering the explicit required curriculum. Furthermore, teachers might well be reluctant to draw attention from small but vocal (highly mediatized) conservative movements that have begun to respond critically to sexual diversity education initiatives.

Notes

1. Translated from the original Catalan—*Nosaltres no tenim por, nosaltres som.*
2. Chrysallis Euskal Herria, available at http://chrysalliseh.eus/2017/05/02/material-didactico-audiovisual-sobre-transexualidad-infantil/.
3. The campaign was careful, for example, to use positive language instead of negative, i.e. "boys without a penis…" in order to promote positive body image and gender equality.
4. I have chosen to use this acronym, which stands for Lesbian, Gay, Trans, and Bisexual, because it is that used in most Spanish activist circles. In referring to specific campaigns or activists, I will use the term they use.
5. www.fundaciondaniela.org/.
6. http://www.felgtb.org/.
7. https://www.stonewall.org.uk/our-work/campaigns/nobystanders.
8. http://www.felgtb.org/temas/educacion/red-educa.
9. Spanish education policy is devolved to the local autonomous community level in Spain, rendering this the most appropriate level to develop such policies.
10. See the author's website: http://kikafumero.com/portfolio-item/observatorio-coeducativo-lgbti/.
11. Or fathers, the Spanish word *padres* is ambiguous.

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