

Estudios sobre innovación e investigación educativa

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ÍNDICE

CAPÍTULO 1 ¿QUÉ PROPONEN LOS LIBROS DE TEXTO ESPAÑOLES PARA SOLUCIONAR EL CAMBIO CLIMÁTICO? UN ANÁLISIS DESDE LAS CIENCIAS SOCIALES (EDUCACIÓN PRIMARIA)

ÁLVARO-FRANCISCO MOROTE SEGUIDO 14

CAPÍTULO 2 IMPLEMENTACIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN PARA EL DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE EN EL CONTEXTO UNIVERSITARIO: UNA INDAGACIÓN SISTEMÁTICA

MARÍA JOSÉ ALCALÁ DEL OLMO FERNÁNDEZ Y MARÍA JESÚS SANTOS VILLALBA 26

CAPÍTULO 3 LAS MUJERES EN LA UNIVERSIDAD. REPRESENTACIÓN DE GÉNERO EN LOS NIVELES EDUCATIVOS UNIVERSITARIOS EN ESPAÑA.

JUAN LÓPEZ-MORALES, SALVADOR BAENA-MORALES Y CARMEN RUÍZ-REPULLO 39

CAPÍTULO 4 EFECTOS DE LOS EJERCICIOS FÍSICOS EN ESTUDIANTES CON SÍNDROME DE BURNOUT

YURY ROSALES-RICARDO Y JOSÉ PEDRO FERREIRA 47

CAPÍTULO 5 A PARTICIPAÇÃO PORTUGUESA NO INQUÉRITO INTERNACIONAL PIRLS (2011-2016)

VÍTOR ROSA 55

CAPÍTULO 6 LIMITACIONES MACRO Y MICROSISTÉMICAS QUE GIRAN EN TORNO A PRÁCTICAS INCLUSIVAS. UN CASO DE ESTUDIO.

BLAS GONZÁLEZ ALBA, MOISÉS MAÑAS OLMO Y PABLO CORTÉS GONZÁLEZ 68

CAPÍTULO 7 ACTUACIONES DE CENTROS Y FORMACIÓN DEL PROFESORADO PARA PROMOVER LA EDUCACIÓN INCLUSIVA

M^a JOSÉ NAVARRO-MONTAÑO, PAULA JIMÉNEZ NAVARRO Y VÍCTOR MATEO NAVARRO 81

CAPÍTULO 8 LA IMPORTANCIA DE LAS HERRAMIENTAS INFORMATIVAS PARA EL CAMBIO SOCIAL Y DESDE LA SOCIEDAD CIVIL EN CUESTIONES DE MIGRACIÓN Y MEDIOS DE COMUNICACIÓN. REALIZAR CAMBIOS DESDE LOS CAMBIOS. REPENSANDO EL CASO DEL PROYECTO RESPECT WORDS

ARIET CASTILLO FERNÁNDEZ 95

CAPÍTULO 9 ¿DIVIDIDOS EN DOS BANDOS? SOCIALIZACIÓN DIFERENCIAL POR GÉNERO EN LOS CONTENIDOS ESCOLARES

ANA MARÍA DE LA TORRE-SIERRA Y VIRGINIA GUICHOT-REINA 102

CAPÍTULO 10 ACCIONES ARTÍSTICAS PARA FOMENTAR LA CREATIVIDAD, LA MEDIACIÓN Y LA INCLUSIÓN EN LA EDUCACIÓN SUPERIOR

MARÍA DOLORES LÓPEZ-MARTÍNEZ Y EVA CRISTINA MESAS-ESCOBAR 115

CAPÍTULO 11 LOS BENEFICIOS DE LA ARTETERAPIA PARA EL DESARROLLO DE LAS HABILIDADES SOCIALES EN NIÑOS CON TEA

SANDRA GARCÍA MARTÍN Y VICTORIA EUGENIA LAMAS ÁLVAREZ..... 125

CAPÍTULO 12 DIFICULTADES EN LA ARTICULACIÓN DE LOS NIÑOS CON RETRASO DE LENGUAJE O TRASTORNO DEL DESARROLLO DEL LENGUAJE

ALBA AYUSO LANCHARES, ROSA BELÉN SANTIAGO PARDO E INÉS RUÍZ REQUIES 139

CAPÍTULO 13 ALUMNOS DE ALTAS CAPACIDADES VS ALUMNOS COMUNES. DIFERENCIAS EN MOTIVACIÓN HACIA LA PRACTICA MOTRIZ

ARKAITZ ZUBIZARRETA CORTADI Y ODEI ETXEBERRIA DELGADO 150

CAPÍTULO 14 CARACTERIZACIÓN DEL AUTISMO Y SU PROBLEMÁTICA EN LA ESCOLARIZACIÓN ACTUAL

ALMA MARÍA IÑIGO MARTÍNEZ Y JOSÉ QUINTANAL DÍAZ 164

CAPÍTULO 15 INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA Y ROLES DE GÉNERO: UN ESTUDIO DE SEXISMO AMBIVALENTE HACIA LAS MUJERES EN JÓVENES PERTENECIENTES A MINORÍAS ÉTNICAS

ROBERTO MORENO LÓPEZ, ROSA MARIA MARÍ Y TARTE Y MARTA VENCESLAO PUEYO..... 177

CAPÍTULO 16 FACTORS PROMOTING ROUTES TOWARDS ACADEMIC SUCCESS FOR TRANS PEOPLE. ANALYSIS FROM AN INCLUSIVE EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE.

MELANI PENNA TOSSO, MERCEDES SÁNCHEZ SÁINZ Y RAÚL GARCÍA MEDINA..... 195

CAPÍTULO 17 INDICADOR DE CALIDAD EDUCATIVA A TRAVÉS DEL ANÁLISIS DE PREMIOS NACIONALES VICENTE FERRER

MARÍA JESÚS PÉREZ CUIEL, DUNIA MARTÍN RIVAS Y ALEJANDRINO FRANCISCO FERNÁNDEZ 209

CAPÍTULO 18 LA INTERVENCIÓN ASISTIDA CON ANIMALES Y LA EXPRESIÓN ARTÍSTICA EN PERSONAS CON DIVERSIDAD FUNCIONAL Y TIEMPOS DE COVID-19

CRISTINA MARÍN PERABÁ, CARMEN FLORES MELERO Y LUCÍA MELERO GARCÍA 220

CAPÍTULO 19 PERSONALIDAD EFICAZ EN PERSONAS CON DISCAPACIDAD FÍSICA Y CONTEXTOS PSICOLÓGICOS, EDUCATIVOS Y DE LA SALUD

JESÚS MANUEL CEDEIRA COSTALES. 230

CAPÍTULO 20 RELACIÓN ENTRE MOVIMIENTOS SACÁDICOS Y PROCESO LECTOR

ANDRÉS ALEXIS RAMÍREZ-CORONEL, PEDRO C. MARTÍNEZ-SUÁREZ, MARÍA LUISA MONTÁNCHÉZ-TORRES Y FABIÁN LEONARDO CASTRO-OCHOA 242

CAPÍTULO 21 EL APRENDIZAJE BASADO EN SERVICIOS (APS) COMO VÍA PARA ALCANZAR EL DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE SOCIAL: PROYECTO SUD

MANUEL GIL-GARCÍA, MARÍA DEL MAR CARO-GARCÍA Y CLOTILDE LECHUGA-JIMÉNEZ	257
CAPÍTULO 22 INCLUSIÓN O EXCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA DE NIÑOS Y NIÑAS CON DISCAPACIDAD Y NECESIDADES EDUCATIVAS ESPECIALES EN LAS INSTITUCIONES EDUCATIVAS DEL NIVEL INICIAL EN LA CIUDAD DE PUNO-PERU	
HAYDEE CLADY TICONA ARAPA, ZENOVIA QUISPE MARCA Y YAQUELINE REQUENA MORALES	270
CAPÍTULO 23 PERCEPCIÓN DE IGUALDAD Y DISCRIMINACIÓN DEL ALUMNADO MUSULMÁN EN EDUCACIÓN FÍSICA	
RAUL GUERRERO MORILLA, EVA ORANTES-GONZALEZ, JOSÉ HEREDIA-JIMENEZ Y M ^a DOLORES MURILLO JIMÉNEZ.....	283
CAPÍTULO 24 HACIA UN CURRÍCULO DE CULTURA INCLUSIVA EN EDUCACIÓN PRIMARIA EN ESPAÑA Y PORTUGAL A TRAVÉS DE LA ENSEÑANZA DE LAS CIENCIAS SOCIALES	
ESTHER JIMÉNEZ PABLO Y GEMMA MUÑOZ GARCÍA	293
CAPÍTULO 25 APLICAR LA RESPONSABILIDAD SOCIAL PARA MEDIR LOS OBJETIVOS DE DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE EN CENTROS EDUCATIVOS	
MARÍA JESÚS BENLLOCH SANCHÍS, DARLLYN ISMEY MUÑOZ RODRÍGUEZ, NEREA HERNALIZ-AGREDA E INMACULADA LÓPEZ-FRANCÉS	306
CAPÍTULO 26 LAS RELACIONES INTERGENERACIONALES EN EL AULA. UN ENCUENTRO EDUCATIVO	
M ^a TERESA MUÑOZ ALARCÓN	319
CAPÍTULO 27 NIVEL DE SATISFACCIÓN DE PADRES EN LA INTEGRACIÓN DE ESTUDIANTES CON NECESIDADES EDUCATIVAS ESPECIALES PERMANENTES	
PAOLA AHUMADA CONTRERAS Y TATIANA CISTERNAS TORRES	329
CAPÍTULO 28 NIVEL DE SATISFACCIÓN DE PADRES Y APODERADOS DE ESTUDIANTES CON TRASTORNO DEL ESPECTRO AUTISTA SOBRE LA GESTIÓN DEL PROGRAMA DE INTEGRACIÓN ESCOLAR EN EL TALLER DE EQUINOTERAPIA.	
PABLO LOBOS ZENTENO, NICOLE NILO BECERRA Y PAOLA AHUMADA CONTRERAS.....	337
CAPÍTULO 29 ALUMNADO CON ALTAS CAPACIDADES INTELECTUALES Y SU INCLUSIÓN EN EL AULA: CONCEPTUALIZACIÓN, REALIDAD Y RESPUESTA EDUCATIVA	
AUGUSTO JIMÉNEZ DE LA FUENTE Y SANDRA MACÍAS CABALLERO	349
CAPÍTULO 30 LA ACCIÓN TUTORIAL EN LA EDUCACIÓN INCLUSIVA	
M ^a GLORIA GALLEGUO-JIMÉNEZ.....	362

CAPÍTULO 31 PRÁCTICAS DOCENTES TRANSCULTURALES

CLAUDIA DE BARROS CAMARGO369

CAPÍTULO 32 NANOTECNOLOGÍA Y EDUCACIÓN INCLUSIVA

ANTONIO HERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ380

CAPÍTULO 33 LOS ODS Y LA ENSEÑANZA/APRENDIZAJE DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS EN FILOSOFÍA DE 1º DE BACHILLERATO: UNA PROPUESTA DIDÁCTICA A TRAVÉS DEL CINE

DANIEL PERES DÍAZ387

CAPÍTULO 34 LA GESTIÓN DE LAS COMISIONES DE HETEROIDENTIFICACIÓN PARA EL ACCESO A LAS UNIVERSIDADES PÚBLICAS A PARTIR DE LAS POLÍTICAS DE CUOTAS: EL CASO DE LA UNIVERSIDAD FEDERAL DE CEARÁ (UFC)

ISABELA AGUIAR DA SILVA401

CAPÍTULO 35 AUSENCIAS Y GAZAPOS SOBRE LAS MUJERES MEDIEVALES EN LAS ILUSTRACIONES DE LOS MATERIALES DIDÁCTICOS

JANIRE CASTRILLO, IRATXE GILLATE Y TERESA CAMPOS-LÓPEZ415

CAPÍTULO 36 REVISIÓN NARRATIVA DE LA NORMATIVA REFERENTE A LA FP DUAL EN ESPAÑA

ROCÍO LORENTE GARCÍA, CARMINA MARTÍN Y LAURA GUERRERO-PUERTA427

CAPÍTULO 37 SITUACIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN INCLUSIVA EN LAS PRINCIPALES UNIVERSIDADES ESPAÑOLAS

JAVIER CIFUENTES-FAURA441

CAPÍTULO 38 DESCRIBIENDO A PROFESORES Y COMPAÑEROS IDEALES DE LA ESCUELA. PERSPECTIVA DE ADULTOS CON DISCAPACIDAD INTELECTUAL

CRISTINA NIETO CARMONA452

CAPÍTULO 40 ABORDAJE INTERDISCIPLINAR DE LOS OBJETIVOS DE DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE EN LA UNIVERSIDAD

ANTONIA LOZANO-DÍAZ, VICTORIA FIGUEREDO CANOSA, JUAN FRANCISCO VELASCO MUÑOZ Y BELÉN LÓPEZ FELICES460

CAPÍTULO 41 LA ADAPTACIÓN A LA UNIVERSIDAD COMO FACTOR EXPLICATIVO DEL ÉXITO ACADÉMICO EN ESTUDIANTES DE PRIMER CURSO

JOSÉ RAMÓN RODRÍGUEZ TRIVIÑO, BEATRIZ DELGADO DOMÉNECH, DAVID APARISI SIERRA Y MARÍA C. MARTÍNEZ MONTEAGUDO472

CAPÍTULO 42 INCLUSIÓN DEL ALUMNADO CON DIFICULTADES ESPECÍFICAS DE APREDIZAJE

FÁTIMA TRILLO VÍLCHEZ Y JOSÉ RAMÓN TRILLO VÍLCHEZ.....	485
CAPÍTULO 43 ADAPTATION AND VALIDATION OF THE SOCIAL SKILLS SCALE FOR THE PREVENTION OF INTERCULTURAL CYBERBULLYING IN SPANISH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS	
JOSÉ MANUEL ORTIZ-MARCOS, CHRISTIAN FERNÁNDEZ-LEYVA Y CRISTINA NUNES	495
CAPÍTULO 44 CUR-ARTE Y SALUD-ARTE CON LAS ARTES EN EDUCACIÓN DE PERSONAS ADULTAS DEL MEFP Y EN EL AULA PERMANENTE DE FORMACIÓN ABIERTA DE LA UGR	
ROSA MARÍA ALONSO FERNÁNDEZ	508
CAPÍTULO 45 ÁMBITOS DE DIVERSIDAD CULTURAL Y SU INCIDENCIA EN EL RENDIMIENTO ACADÉMICO	
MACARENA ESTEBAN IBÁÑEZ, FRANCISCO JAVIER OLMEDO RUIZ, FRANCISCO MATEOS CLAROS Y LUIS VICENTE AMADOR MUÑOZ	520
CAPÍTULO 46 EDUCACIÓN DEL TALENTO STEM (CIENCIA, TECNOLOGÍA, INGENIERÍA Y MATEMÁTICAS) COMO IMPULSO DE LOS OBJETIVOS DE DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE (ODS)	
M ^a PILAR HERCE PALOMARES Y MARCOS ROMÁN-GONZÁLEZ.....	537
CAPÍTULO 47 AUTOOPERCEPTICÓN Y HETEROOPERCEPCIÓN DE LA POBLACIÓN SEXUAL Y GENÉRICAMENTE DIVERSA	
YOLANDA MÁRQUEZ DOMÍNGUEZ, MARÍA DEL CARMEN RODRÍGUEZ-JIMÉNEZ Y ANA ISABEL GONZÁLEZ-CONTRERAS.....	550
CAPÍTULO 48 EDUCACIÓN INTERCULTURAL A TRAVÉS DEL APRENDIZAJE BASADO EN PROYECTOS Y LAS RUTINAS DE PENSAMIENTO	
MIRIAM BALLESTEROS SANZ.....	562
CAPÍTULO 49 LA SALIDA DE CAMPO, INSTRUMENTO PARA LA ADQUISICIÓN DE COMPETENCIAS EN LA ASIGNATURA “OBJETIVOS Y PRÁCTICAS DE LA GEOGRAFÍA” (GRADO EN GEOGRAFÍA Y GESTIÓN DEL TERRITORIO)	
LUIS MIGUEL SÁNCHEZ ESCOLANO Y AIDA PINOS NAVARRETE.....	574
CAPÍTULO 50 LA ORIENTACION Y EL PROYECTO PROFESIONAL EN LA EMPLEABILIDAD DE LOS GRADUADOS UNIVERSITARIOS	
JESÚS GARCÍA-ÁLVAREZ, OLAYA QUEIRUGA SANTAMARÍA, MARÍA DEL MAR LORENZO MOLEDO Y MARÍA DEL CARMEN SANTOS GONZÁLEZ	587
CAPÍTULO 51 POLÍTICAS DE AUSTERIDAD, DISCURSO DEL MIEDO Y REFUGIADOS AL SUR DE LA UNIÓN EUROPEA	
ADRIÁN NEUBAUER ESTEBAN.....	599

CAPÍTULO 52 NO ME QUIERAS TANTO, QUIÉREME MEJOR: EDUCACIÓN IGUALITARIA Y SEXUAL FRENTE A LA VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO	
YOLANDA RODRÍGUEZ CASTRO Y ROSANA MARTÍNEZ ROMÁN	606
CAPÍTULO 53 LA NUEVA IDENTIDAD CIVICA Y EMPRENDEDORA DE LA INFANCIA: UNA OPORTUNIDAD PARA LA HUMANIDAD Y EL DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE	
NOMBRE SILVIA ISABEL VALLEJO JIMÉNEZ	617
CAPÍTULO 54 UNDERSTANDING HIDDEN GENDER CURRICULUM IN EFL TEXTBOOKS AS CISHETEROSEXISM	
ESTEBAN FRANCISCO LÓPEZ MEDINA	629
CAPÍTULO 55 ESTUDIO BIBLIOMÉTRICO SOBRE PROBLEMAS DE ASISTENCIA ESCOLAR: INDICADORES DE PRODUCTIVIDAD Y LÍNEAS DE INVESTIGACIÓN	
MARIOLA GIMÉNEZ-MIRALLES, CAROLINA GONZÁLVEZ Y JOSÉ MANUEL GARCÍA-FERNÁNDEZ	643
CAPÍTULO 56 DIFICULTADES DE APRENDIZAJE Y NECESIDADES EDUCATIVAS ESPECIALES: UNA APROXIMACIÓN A TRAVÉS DE CORTOS COMO RECURSO DE INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVO EN EL AULA	
PABLO USÁN SUPERVÍA	656
CAPÍTULO 57 LA PROFESIÓN DOCENTE EN PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO	
MARÍA MATARRANZ GARCÍA	664
CAPÍTULO 58 ALUMNADO INDÍGENA BRASILEÑO: RELATOS DE VIDA SOBRE UNA EXPERIENCIA DE INTERNACIONALIZACIÓN UNIVERSITARIA	
SONIA GARCÍA-SEGURA, SILVIA ABAD-MERINO Y BLAS SEGOVIA-AGUILAR	676
CAPÍTULO 59 CONTRIBUCIONES DE LA ENSEÑANZA RELIGIOSA ESCOLAR AL DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE. UNA PROPUESTA EDUCATIVA BASADA EN EL ECUMENISMO	
EMILIO JIMÉNEZ PÉREZ Y JUAN JOSÉ GONZÁLEZ ORTIZ	690
CAPÍTULO 60 EXPERIENCIAS SOBRE MÚSICA EN LENGUA DE SIGNOS EN ESPAÑA	
ICÍAR NADAL-GARCÍA, LUCÍA PÉREZ-PENALVA, M. BELÉN LÓPEZ CASANOVA Y BORJA JUAN-MORERA	704
CAPÍTULO 61 NEURODIDÁCTICA PARA LA INCLUSIÓN BAJO LA EDUCACIÓN INTERCULTURAL ANTE EL COVID-19: ESTRATEGIAS PARA LA EDUCACIÓN SOSTENIBLE	
DAVID MORENO MOLINA, MARÍA DEL CARMEN MARTÍNEZ NIETO Y CRISTINA PINTO DÍAZ	715

CAPÍTULO 62 PUPILS WITH MILD INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM: THE CASE OF AN ANDALUSIAN SCHOOL

LEOPOLDO MEDINA SÁNCHEZ Y MANUEL JESÚS CARDOSO-PULIDO..... 725

CAPÍTULO 63 _MÉTODOS Y RECURSOS UTILIZADOS PARA LA ENSEÑANZA DE LA LECTURA EN ESTUDIANTES CON DISCAPACIDAD INTELECTUAL EN INSTITUCIONES DE EDUCACIÓN ESPECIAL DE ECUADOR

IRLANDA M. ARMIJOS POROZO, MARÍA L. BERNABÉ LILLO Y SARA REAL CASTELAO ...739

CAPÍTULO 64 _LOS ODS EN LA PROGRAMACIÓN DIDÁCTICA: OBJETIVO EN EL MÁSTER DE PROFESORADO DE SECUNDARIA

MARIO LLUSAR VICENT, GUILLERMO MONRÓS TOMÁS Y JOSÉ ANTONIO BADENES MARCH 752

CAPÍTULO 65 _PROCESAMIENTO DEL RIESGO-BENEFICIO EN NIÑOS CON TDAH

MARÍA JESÚS CARDOSO MORENO Y SONIA VAL BLASCO 765

CAPÍTULO 66_ LA IDENTIFICACIÓN DE LA DIVERSIDAD EN EL ÁMBITO EDUCATIVO

CARMEN CLARA BRAVO TORRES Y MARÍA RUBIO GÓMEZ..... 774

CAPÍTULO 67 _PERFILES DE RECURSOS PERSONALES Y SU RELACIÓN CON EL DOMINIO DEL ENTORNO EN ESTUDIANTES UNIVERSITARIOS

CARLOS FREIRE RODRÍGUEZ, MARÍA DEL MAR FERRADÁS CANEDO, LAURA DELGADO-LOBETE Y REBECA MONTES-MONTES 786

CAPÍTULO 68 EXPERIENCIAS DE UN ALUMNO CON DISCAPACIDAD INTELECTUAL EN EDUCACIÓN FÍSICA

MARÍA MARTÍNEZ DÍAZ, JORGE ABELLÁN Y NIEVES MARÍA SÁEZ GALLEGO 799

CAPÍTULO 69 INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA DE ESCOLARES CON TRASTORNOS EN LA COMUNICACIÓN CON APOYO DE LA TECNOLOGÍA

DAINURY VÁZQUEZ COLL 810

CAPÍTULO 70 LA TECNOLOGÍA EN LAS AULAS DE EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA Y EL ALUMNADO CON DISCAPACIDAD. REVISIÓN SISTEMÁTICA.

IRENE GALLEGO MARTÍNEZ* M^a. DEL CARMEN ROMERO LÓPEZ Y M^a. PILAR JIMÉNEZ TEJADA..... 822

CAPÍTULO 71 PROBLEMAS DE ASISTENCIA A LA ESCUELA: REVISIÓN BIBLIOMÉTRICA DEL SIGLO XX AL SIGLO XXI

MIRIAM MARTÍN, CAROLINA GONZÁLVEZ Y JOSÉ MANUEL GARCÍA-FERNÁNDEZ 831

CAPÍTULO 72 TENDENCIAS EN LA FORMACIÓN DEL PROFESORADO SOBRE LOS ODS

ADELINA CALVO SALVADOR Y ANA CASTRO ZUBIZARRETA 844

CAPÍTULO 73 DEPORTE Y UNIVERSIDAD: UN BINOMIO PARA EL LOGRO DE LOS OBJETIVOS DE DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE (ODS)

ENEKO SÁNCHEZ MENCIA Y YOLANDA LÁZARO FERNÁNDEZ 856

CAPÍTULO 74 COOPERAÇÃO VIRTUAL E ODS NAS UNIVERSIDADES DO ESPAÇO IBERO-AMERICANO. FERRAMENTAS DE INOVAÇÃO NO ENSINO DO CIBERJORNALISMO

AINARA LARRONDO-URETA, FERNANDO ZAMITH, KOLDO MESO-AYERDI Y SIMÓN PEÑA-FERNÁNDEZ 866

CAPÍTULO 75 DISEÑO DE RECURSOS DIGITALES A TRAVÉS DE VIDEOS 360° PARA LA ADQUISICIÓN DE COMPETENCIAS EN ORGANIZACIÓN Y PROGRAMACIÓN DE OBRAS

ANTONIO JESÚS AGUILAR AGUILERA Y MARÍA LUISA DE LA HOZ TORRES 878

CAPÍTULO 76 LENGUAJE LITERARIO Y DISCURSO NARRATIVO EN NIÑOS SORDOS

BERTHA ESPERANZA MONROY MARTÍN, ANDREA JULIANA HERRERA PLATA Y CAROLINA HERNÁNDEZ-VALBUENA 889

CAPÍTULO 77 HABILIDADES BLANDAS PARA LA FORMACIÓN DE PROFESIONALES .901 EN TORNO A LA CUARTA REVOLUCIÓN INDUSTRIAL

LUIS ALBERTO CRUZ SALAZAR Y LUZ STELLA ALGARRA LÓPEZ 901

CAPÍTULO 78 A FORMAÇÃO DO PROFESSOR PARA EDUCAÇÃO INCLUSIVA: UM DESAFIO NAS ESCOLAS QUE ALBERGAM TURMAS DE EDUCAÇÃO ESPECIAL DA PROVÍNCIA DE CABINDA 2019. ANGOLA.

MARIA AUGUSTA CÉSAR NOBRE GOMES, CIPRIANO ANTONIETA CAZO, VITA TOMÁS E ANA PAULA SARMENTO DOS SANTOS 914

CAPÍTULO 79 INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA

MARÍA DEL ROCÍO LEÓN LUJÁN 927

CAPÍTULO 80 INTERVENCIÓN SOBRE LA ESTRUCTURA FORMAL DEL DISCURSO NARRATIVO EN ALUMNADO CON TRASTORNO ESPECÍFICO DEL LENGUAJE (TEL)

ATTENERI DELGADO CRUZ 936

CAPÍTULO 82 DIVERSIDAD SEXUAL Y ESCUELA

MARTA MARÍA PÉREZ QUERO 948

CAPÍTULO 83 CLASSROOM DIALOGICITY TO PROMOTE INCLUSION IN DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

ANDREA MIRALDA-BANDA, JOSE LUNA LUJÁN, Y MERCE GARCIA-MILA 960

CAPÍTULO 84 CONECTANDO EDUCACIÓN ESTADÍSTICA Y EDUCACIÓN PARA LA SOSTENIBILIDAD: UN MARCO PARA PROMOVER EL DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE EN LA FORMACIÓN DEL PROFESORADO

CLAUDIA VÁSQUEZ Y ÁNGEL ALSINA.....	973
CAPÍTULO 85 LA EDUCACIÓN COMO HERRAMIENTA DE TRANSFORMACIÓN SOCIAL	
IRENE HERNÁNDEZ MELGUIZO	986
CAPÍTULO 86 APRENDIZAJE-SERVICIO POR LA INCLUSIÓN EN TIEMPOS DEL COVID-19	
BEGOÑA SÁNCHEZ TORREJÓN, ANA ÁLVAREZ BALBUENA Y MARÍA ESCRIBANO VERDE.....	999
CAPÍTULO 87 LAS IMPLICATURAS CONVERSACIONALES GENERALIZADAS Y EL TEA: REVISIÓN DE LA INTERVENCIÓN DEL LENGUAJE IMPLÍCITO EN UN CONTEXTO INCLUSIVO	
JUAN CARLOS TORDERA YLLESCAS	1010
CAPÍTULO 88 CÓMO GOBERNAR LA INSTITUCIÓN EDUCATIVA CON RESPONSABILIDAD SOCIAL EDUCATIVA DESDE UN ENFOQUE DE SOSTENIBILIDAD	
LUIS MANUEL MARTÍNEZ DOMÍNGUEZ Y LETICIA PORTO PEDROSA	1023
CAPÍTULO 89 ANÁLISIS DE LA EDUCACIÓN PARA EL EMPRENDIMIENTO EN LA ETAPA PRIMARIA EN EUROPA	
CARMEN MARÍA SEPÚLVEDA DURÁN	1035
CAPÍTULO 90 INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA MEDIANTE HERRAMIENTAS TIC	
JULIA ZARANDIETA MARTÍN.....	1044
CAPÍTULO 91 DISEÑO DE UN PROGRAMA DE DESARROLLO DE COMPETENCIAS EN SOSTENIBILIDAD EN ESTUDIANTES DE MAGISTERIO DESDE UNA EXPERIENCIA FORMATIVA EXTRACURRICULAR	
LORENTE-ECHEVERRÍA, S., BUSTAMANTE, J.C. Y MURILLO-PARDO, B.	1056
CAPÍTULO 92 ANÁLISIS DE LA CONSTITUCIÓN CHILENA Y LA EDUCACIÓN INCLUSIVA EN CHILE	
BERNARDITA HADDAD	1070
CAPÍTULO 93 PROPUESTA DE ACTIVIDADES ENTORNO A LOS ODS: ACERCANDO LAS PRÁCTICAS CIENTÍFICAS A LOS MAESTROS EN ACTIVO	
BEATRIZ MAZAS GIL Y ESTHER CASCAROSA SALILLAS	1083
CAPÍTULO 94 APRENDAMOS A MIRAR. ESTUDIO DE CASO DESDE UN AULA HOSPITALARIA.	
JAVIER RODRÍGUEZ VELASCO, MARÍA ELISA ANTOLÍN MARTÍN Y VANESA SAINZ LÓPEZ	1095
CAPÍTULO 95 LOS RETOS DE LA EDUCACIÓN ANTE UN FUTURO AMENAZADO. TERAPIAS EMERGENTES O EL RIESGO DE NEGLIGENCIA.	

M ^a LOURDES GONZÁLEZ-LUIS Y M ^a DANIELA MARTÍN-HURTADO	1107
CAPÍTULO 96 ANÁLISIS DE LOS APOYOS DENTRO DESDE LA VISIÓN DE LOS DOCENTES	
LUCIA GAYOL RODRÍGUEZ Y MARTA SANDOVAL MENA	1119
CAPÍTULO 97 ROMPIENDO BARRERAS: INNOVACIÓN DOCENTE EN EL GRADO DE PSICOLOGÍA PARA LA ELIMINACIÓN DEL ESTIGMA EN SALUD MENTAL	
CARLA LÓPEZ-NUÑEZ Y SUSANA AL-HALABÍ.....	1133
CAPÍTULO 98 EL DESARROLLO DE LA INTELIGENCIA EMOCIONAL EN NIÑOS Y NIÑAS CON TRASTORNO DEL ESEPECTRO AUTISTA	
BEATRIZ MARTÍNEZ PARRA, CRISTINA PINEL MARTÍNEZ, MARÍA DOLORES PÉREZ ESTEBAN Y MARÍA DEL MAR FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ	1146
CAPÍTULO 99 INTERDISCIPLINARIEDAD Y OBJETIVOS DE DESARROLLO SOSTENIBLE: NUEVO ENFOQUE PARA LA INNOVACIÓN EDUCATIVA	
ANTONIO MIÑÁN ESPIGARES Y CLAUDIA AMANDA JUÁREZ ROMERO	1159
CAPÍTULO 100 LA INTELIGENCIA EMOCIONAL PERCIBIDA (PEI): DIFERENCIAS ASOCIADAS AL SEXO Y A LA EDAD	
LOREA AZPIAZU IZAGUIRRE, ARANTZA FERNÁNDEZ ZABALA, ESTÍBALIZ RAMOS DÍAZ Y NAIARA ESCALANTE MATEOS.....	1169
CAPÍTULO 101 ANÁLISIS DEL NIVEL DE INCLUSIÓN DE LAS PERSONAS CON ALBINISMO EN EL ÁMBITO EDUCATIVO Y DEPORTIVO A NIVEL NACIONAL E INTERNACIONAL.	
MARÍA DE LAS MERCEDES BISQUERT MARTÍNEZ Y JUDIT TORNERO DELGADO DE MOLINA.....	1182
CAPÍTULO 102 LA EDUCACIÓN COMO FACTOR RELEVANTE EN EL DESENMASCARAMIENTO DEL HOMO CONSUMANS Y LA PROMOCIÓN DE UN CONSUMO RESPONSABLE	
JUAN ALEXIS PARADA SILVA Y DARWIN ARTURO MUÑOZ BUITRAGO	1192
CAPÍTULO 103 CAMBIAR EL CUENTO: INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA E IGUALDAD DE GÉNERO EN LA LITERATURA INFANTIL Y JUVENIL CONTEMPORÁNEA	
BELÉN MATEOS BLANCO, EVA ÁLVAREZ RAMOS, LEYRE ALEJALDRE BIEL Y CLAUDIA YLLERA RAMOS	1204
CAPÍTULO 104 EL ABANDONO ESCOLAR DEL ALUMNADO GITANO.	
MARÍA MUÑOZ MARTÍNEZ Y NURIA MÁRQUEZ SOTOS	1213
CAPÍTULO 105 ALUMNADO CON TDAH: DE LA SINTOMATOLOGÍA Y DIAGNÓSTICO A LA INTERVENCIÓN EDUCATIVA	

MARTA PINILLA ESPAÑA, MARÍA DOLORES PÉREZ ESTEBAN, CRISTINA PINEL MARTÍNEZ Y JOSÉ JUAN CARRIÓN MARTÍNEZ	1226
CAPÍTULO 107 HACIA LA TRANSFORMACIÓN DEL SISTEMA EDUCATIVO COLOMBIANO A LA LUZ DE LA FILOSOFIA DE LA INCLUSIÓN	
LUZ DARY SIERRA PUERTO	1238
CAPÍTULO 108 HERRAMIENTAS PARA EL ACCESO A LA EDUCACIÓN SUPERIOR ONLINE PARA LOS ALUMNOS CIEGOS Y CON BAJA VISIÓN	
M OLALLA LUQUE COLMENERO	1250
CAPÍTULO 109 PASAPORTE EMOCIONAL: EXPERIENCIA DE INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA	
Mª LUISA RIVERO MORENO Y BELÉN SUÁREZ LANTARÓN.....	1257
CAPÍTULO 110 LA RESPUESTA A LA DIVERSIDAD EN LA FORMACIÓN SUPERIOR. EL PAPEL DE LOS PROGRAMAS DE APOYO A LA INTEGRACIÓN	
LAURA MARÍA MÁRQUEZ-GONZÁLEZ Y ANA ISABEL GONZÁLEZ-HERRERA.....	1270
CAPÍTULO 111 CONCEPCIONES DEL PROFESORADO DE SECUNDARIA OBLIGATORIA ANTE LOS PROCESOS DE INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA	
NURIA GONZÁLEZ CASTELLANO, DOLORES GARCÍA LÓPEZ, Y Mª JESÚS COLMENERO RUIZ.....	1283
CAPÍTULO 112 REDES SOCIALES Y AUTISMO: LA INFLUENCIA DE LAS RRSS EN LA SOCIALIZACIÓN DE LOS ADOLESCENTES CON TRASTORNO DEL ESPECTRO AUTISTA	
IDOIA LEGORBURU FERNÁNDEZ.....	1296
CAPÍTULO 113 PRESENTACIÓN DEL PROYECTO DE TESIS DOCTORAL: VALIDACIÓN DEL PROGRAMA “TOCA FUSTA, EL BENESTAR A TRAVÉS DE LA MADERA”	
RAFEL ARGEMÍ I BALDICH.....	1304
CAPÍTULO 114 LA GESTIÓN DE LA DIVERSIDAD SEXUAL EN LOS CENTROS PARA MAYORES: UNA TAREA PENDIENTE DE LAS ADMINISTRACIONES PÚBLICAS	
NAZARET BLANCO-PARDO Y MARÍA VICTORIA CARRERA-FERNÁNDEZ.....	1313
CAPÍTULO 115 A PROMOÇÃO DA INTERAÇÃO SOCIAL NUM ALUNO COM SÍNDROME DE ANGELMAN, ATRAVÉS DO TREINO DE PARES	
AUGUSTO CERDEIRA E ANABELA PANÃO RAMALHO	1327
CAPÍTULO 116 COMUNICACIÓN Y ACTIVISMO EN EL AULA. APLICACIÓN DE UN PROYECTO DE INNOVACIÓN DOCENTE PARA FOMENTAR LA SOSTENIBILIDAD Y LA PARTICIPACIÓN CIUDADANA.	
SALVADOR REYES-DE-CÓZAR Y PABLO NAVAZO-OSTÚA	1335

CAPÍTULO 117 COEDUCACIÓN Y ROLES DE GÉNERO: EXPERIENCIA DOCENTE EN EL CEIP PRINCIPE FELIPE

ANTÍA RIVERA NIETO..... 1350

CAPÍTULO 118 EDUCANDO A TRAVÉS DE LA VISIÓN Y LA MIRADA

MIRIAM IZQUIERDO LÓPEZ Y AROA RUBIO CARVAJAL 1362

CAPÍTULO 119 FORMACIÓN DOCENTE EN SOSTENIBILIDAD, INNOVACIÓN Y COOPERACIÓN DESDE UN ENFOQUE INTERDISCIPLINAR VERTEBRADO EN EL HUERTO Y EL PAISAJE

AMPARO HURTADO SOLER Y ANA MARÍA BOTELLA NICOLÁS 1373

CAPÍTULO 120 DISEÑO DE PACKAGING SUSTENTABLE, APRENDIZAJE BASADO EN LA EXPERIENCIA METODOLÓGICA DEL ORIGAMI.

ANDREA LLORENS VARGAS Y JIMENA ALARCÓN CASTRO 1385

CAPÍTULO 121 EDUCACIÓN Y DIVERSIDAD: EL MODELO DE INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA COMO HERRAMIENTA PARA PREVENIR Y RESPONDER AL ACOSO HOMOFÓBICO EN LOS CENTROS ESCOLARES

ESTIBALIZ CEPA RODRÍGUEZ..... 1398

CAPÍTULO 122 PERCEPCIÓN DE LOS DOCENTES DE EDUCACIÓN PRIMARIA ACERCA DEL DISEÑO UNIVERSAL PARA EL APRENDIZAJE

ANA ISABEL CALLEJAS ALBIÑANA, RICARDO GARCÍA MÁRQUEZ, CELESTE SOBRINO SÁNCHEZ, MARIA STAVRAKI 1411

CAPÍTULO 123 EDUCACIÓN MUTICULTURAL E INCLUSIVA EN LAS AULAS

DRA. EVA ORTIZ CERMEÑO Y MASTERANDA MARÍA ROSARIO CERDÁ ESPÍN..... 1420

CAPÍTULO 124 LAS DEPORTISTAS DURANTE EL ÚLTIMO AÑO OLÍMPICO EN TWITTER: @ELPAIS_DEPORTES

ALBA ADÁ LAMEIRAS 1433

CAPÍTULO 125 CRISIS SOCIO-AMBIENTAL Y COMUNIDADES SOSTENIBLES. ANALISIS DE LOS CONOCIMIENTOS TEORICOS Y PRACTICOS SOBRE EL ENFOQUE ECO-CRITICO EN ESTUDIANTES DEL GRADO DE TRABAJO SOCIAL

FRANCISCO-XABIER AGUIAR FERNÁNDEZ, XOÁN LOMBARDEO POSADA Y EVELIA MURCIA ALVAREZ 1445

CAPÍTULO 126 LA METODOLOGÍA DE TRABAJO POR RINCONES EN EDUCACIÓN INFANTIL PARA PROMOVER UNA EDUCACIÓN INCLUSIVA, EQUITATIVA Y DE CALIDAD

PAULA GONZÁLEZ AGAR Y ENRIQUE ALASTOR..... 1457

CAPÍTULO 127 ESTUDIO DE CASO: PERCEPCIÓN DE LA IMAGEN CORPORAL EN TRES ADOLESCENTES DE ETNIA GITANA

IRENE GONZÁLEZ-MARTÍ, MARÍA PILAR LEÓN, ÁLVARO INFANTES-PANIAGUA Y LUCÍA REYES 1467

CAPÍTULO 128 PERCEPCIÓN DEL PROFESORADO SOBRE LA INCLUSIÓN EDUCATIVA DEL ALUMNADO CON AUTISMO EN EDUCACIÓN INFANTIL

CARMEN FLÓREZ GEIJO Y ÁNGELA ZAMORA MENÉNDEZ..... 1476

CAPÍTULO 129 SOCIAL SCIENCES STUDENTS AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

XOSE PICATOSTE, ASUNCIÓN LÓPEZ-ARRANZ Y ISABEL NOVO-CORTI 1488

CAPÍTULO 130 RELACIÓN ENTRE LA COMPETENCIA EMOCIONAL Y LA RESILIENCIA DE LOS DOCENTES: ACTITUD HACIA LA EDUCACIÓN INCLUSIVA. REVISIÓN SISTEMÁTICA

M.^a DEL PILAR DÍAZ-LÓPEZ, NURIA TORRES LÓPEZ Y CRISTINA MÉNDEZ-AGUADO..... 1500

CAPÍTULO 131 PERCEÇÃO DO CORPO NA PESSOA IDOSA INSTITUCIONALIZADA

ANA FRIAS Y FILOMENA TEIXEIRA 1512

CAPÍTULO 132 LA VIOLENCIA EN LAS PAREJAS: ANÁLISIS EN EL CONTEXTO UNIVERSITARIO DESDE LA PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO

CAROLINA HAMODI GALÁN, ALBERTO SOTO SÁNCHEZ Y ANA FERNÁNDEZ-ARAQUE 1525

CAPÍTULO 133 LA INNOVACIÓN DIGITAL SOSTENIBLE EN EL CONTEXTO UNIVERSITARIO: ANÁLISIS DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN GLOBAL

EMILIO ABAD SEGURA Y MARIANA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ ZAMAR 154040

CAPÍTULO 134 LA REALIDAD AUMENTADA COMO HERRAMIENTA DE INTERVENCIÓN EDUCATIVA EN PERSONAS CON TRASTORNO DEL ESPECTRO AUTISTA: ESTUDIO DE CASO

ALBA GILABERT CERDÁ 1553

CAPÍTULO 54

UNDERSTANDING HIDDEN GENDER CURRICULUM IN EFL TEXTBOOKS AS CISHETEROSEXISM

Esteban Francisco López Medina

1. INTRODUCTION

Spanish society has undeniably changed in recent decades. A landmark, fifteen years ago, was the Act 13/2005, which legalised same-sex marriages. Later, some other local laws aiming to prevent discrimination on grounds of gender identity or sexual orientation have also been passed.

In this time, it has been suggested that LGBTIQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersexual and queer) realities should be explicitly represented in textbooks of subjects like PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education). Though a valuable proposal, it doesn't seem to be enough to include such contents in just one subject, which explains why it is important to unveil and condemn the invisibilisation of a significant proportion of the population, both young and adult, as a means towards the effective application of the current Spanish legislation.

2. LEGAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Education has been defined in different ways throughout history, highlighting each era's most sensitive interests. As a result, it would be possible to compile a list of terms related to education which, if they were considered as its synonyms, would immediately reduce it. Following García, Ruiz & García (2009), we could think of words such as teaching, learning, instruction or training, among others. As these authors claim, education can be understood as "any permanent process aimed at perfecting the person in their being, knowing, doing and coexisting" (p. 39, my own translation).

In a nutshell, education should be understood as a holistic process in a person's life, affecting every possible aspect. This stance about education is also present in ample legislation at all levels: worldwide, national and regional, from the UN's Universal

Declaration of Human Rights (1948) to the Spanish Constitution (1978) or Spain's current Education Act (LOMCE, 2013).

Accordingly with this spirit, the present laws remark that fundamental rights, education among them, should be exercised “without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” (UN General Assembly 1948: article 2). Similar expressions can be read in the laws already mentioned.

Focusing on Spain's current Education Act, LOMCE, it lists the following principles as those which must guide educational practices: equal opportunities and rights, inclusion, freedom, tolerance, respect, justice, overcoming discriminations, prevention of conflicts and their peaceful solving, as well as the prevention of bullying and gender violence (Act 8/2013).

It is relevant that LOMCE only modified the previous Education Act, LOE, in its articles but not in its preamble, which is still valid today and states “the awareness of affective-sexual diversity” as one of the education system's targets (Act 2/2006: Preamble, p. 10). This statement being in the law's preamble, despite being legal nowadays, it is only a recommendation rather than mandatory as the articles are. However, it allows us to correctly interpret expressions present in the articles such as this one: the need to prevent and punish the violence any member of the school community could suffer because of their “sexual orientation or identity” (Act 8/2013: article 124, my own translation).

In light of the above, it seems clear that affective-sexgeneric diversity must be an integral part of the education process, not only because of its aim, self-fulfilment, but also to abide by both international and national laws. Besides, as education does not take place exclusively at schools and other formal contexts, but also in non-formal and informal sceneries (García et al., 2009), it is vital that affective-sexgeneric diversity be visible in all possible educational environments and their teaching resources.

Arguably, in Spain, one of the most popular teaching resources in both formal and non-formal education is the textbook. According to Martínez Pose (2019), although they are commonly regarded as “written witnesses of a society's mindset at a specific moment in History” (p. 136, my own translation), they are far from being purely objective and eventually perform five simultaneous functions: symbolic, pedagogic, ideological, social and political. In fact, as long as they are “strategies to materialise the curriculum” (Alves

& Martínez, 2009, p. 87), they are at the intersection of mechanisms of production and reproduction as well as power struggles and politics which take place at schools as a social phenomenon (Torres, 1998).

The most important myth which underpins the planning and working of the education system in capitalist countries is the neutrality and objectivity of the education system, thus of schooling. [...] However, we often forget that the education system and, consequently, education institutions are a social and historical construct. (Torres, 1998, p. 14, my own translation)

If it is true that the school is a historical-social construct, so must be textbooks, which can then be subjected to critical studies. Schoolbooks are one of the several realisations of curricula or, in other words, “the cultural content which educational institutions try to instil among those who interact at them, as well as the effects such content may cause in its receptors” (Gimeno Sacristán, 2010, p. 12, my own translation). Following Escribano (2004), it is possible to understand the curriculum contents realised in textbooks as imposed by the way society and the person is understood by the dominant ideology. This is how the close link between ideology, curriculum, school and textbooks becomes evident.

The conclusion seems clear: textbooks convey an ideology. Though tempted to think they act as if they were microscope lenses helping us to discover even the minimal details of reality, or as telescope lenses to analyse far-fetched realities, the case is they are closer to being virtual reality headsets which select and recreate reality for us.

It can be concluded that teaching resources in general and textbooks in particular do not present reality. Instead, they represent it based on a pool of choices from which they select the contents they actually transmit (Sunderland, 2015). Deepening into what such selective representation means, Sunderland & McGlashan (2015) claim this selection is the right of the powerful, which is why school resources don't just convey an ideology: they represent hegemonic ideologies. That is why these authors stress that “representation is not just ‘the icing on the cake’, something that simply reflects the world, but rather something that is also socially constitutive: certainly of ideas, perhaps of practices” (Sunderland & McGlashan, 2015, p. 24).

Unveiled how biased and contingent formal education and its resources are, given their role as effective agents of the hegemonic ideology, it can't be surprising that in schools' everyday life there are countless unforeseen elements, practices, messages and

results, which the experts usually label as “hidden curriculum”. This hidden curriculum is “a regular and effective element of school experiences” (Vallance, 1989, p.1051, my own translation).

In spite of its dark and vague character, it is also a phenomenon which can be studied by means of its indirect oral, written, visual and performative manifestations (Acaso & Nuere, 2005; Austin, 1962; López Medina, 2020). Focusing on its different thematic contents, it is possible to claim the existence of a hidden gender curriculum:

Group of thought constructs, judgements, meanings and beliefs, assimilated and non-visible, hidden to awareness, which build and determine relationships and social practices of and between men and women. (Lovering & Sierra, 1998: p. 2, my own translation)

When explaining this concept, their authors specify three fundamental components: androcentrism, essentialism and gender polarisation. Albeit constitutive factors of current societies and, as such, reflected in school contexts, these three elements can only explain part of the hidden message about human sexuality conveyed by the education system. López Medina (2020) states the need to complement these messages with the concept of “compulsory heterosexuality” posed by Rich (1996). This way, he claims, the content of the hidden gender curriculum conveyed by schools, outlined in these four ideas, can be labelled with just one word: cisheterosexism (López Medina, 2020).

To conclude, Nemi’s words, which lucidly summarise this section, should be quoted:

Current teaching methods, in general, through textbooks, start from the assumption of compulsory heteronormativity and heterosexism. That is to say, there is a certain maintenance of the hegemonic powers that are reproduced in various social situations. (Nemi, 2018, p. 7)

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodology used to unveil the cisheterosexim present in EFL textbooks has been a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques. Given its topic, the research may be qualified as educational and documentary, shedding light on the results from gender, feminist and queer standpoints.

In order to sample the books to analyse, the publishing companies to contact were selected. Provided with a market research, their different market shares during the course

2017-2018 were known, which allowed the author to choose those more relevant for the study.

Although it was necessary to commit to silence about the specific details available in this market research, eight different EFL textbook titles, published by three different companies and having the highest market share quotes during that course, were selected.

It was decided to only study the books used in the first and last years of Secondary Education -twelve and fifteen-year-old users, correspondingly-, in order to have a more comprehensive understanding of the messages conveyed by school resources in this educational stage. Similarly, it was decided to only analyse those books students have direct and frequent access to: student's book and workbook. Having all these criteria into account, the final sample was formed by eight first-year student's books, eight fourth-year student's books, eight first-year workbooks and eight fourth-year workbooks, adding up a total of 32 textbooks, distributed as follows:

Burlington Books: *English in Use*, *English World* and *Advanced Real English*.

Oxford University Press: *Mosaic and Solutions*.

MacMillan Education: *New Pulse*, *Gateway* and *Beyond*.

The sample compiled, two variables to research were identified: heterosexuality and affective-sexgeneric diversity. With these two in mind, a list of textual and visual indicators was drafted. For example, terms such as husband, wife, mother, father, woman, man, sex, gay, lesbian or homophobia, among numerous others. From a visual point of view, images such as the LGBTIQ flag or exclusively male or exclusively female interactions.

These indicators made it possible to build up a linguistic corpus made up of 58,919 words which, by means of the online tool Sketch Engine, cast light upon messages hidden in the sample textbooks. Later, the most relevant texts contained in this corpus were critically analysed from a queer discourse perspective (Motschenbacher & Stegu, 2013). Given the essential multimodality of current textbooks (Sunderland & McGlashan, 2015), the last methodological step consisted in a critical study of the most relevant images found in the sample, according to the guidelines provided by visual grammar (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

4. RESULTS

The original research extended over four years and its results were described in detail in three chapters throughout 100 pages. As a result, when reducing them to a few pages, selecting the most significant ones is a must. That is why this section focuses only on the terminological results, clear enough about the hidden cisheterosexist curriculum.

Silences sometimes are more telling than words, and this is the first significant result of the study. Although words like heterosexual, gay, lesbian or homophobia, among other labels to refer to queer people³⁹, were singled out as indicators, none of them was ever found in any of the 32 EFL textbooks analysed (López Medina, 2020).

To understand the significance of this fact, it is important to consider the estimations that around 10-20% of the world population could be considered as LGBTIQ (Allen, 1997; Patterson, 1998, cited by Menéndez, 2001). As Sunderland & McGlashan (2015) pointed out, textbooks are the result of a previous selection of contents from a wider choice pool, carried out by the powerful according to the hegemonic ideology. This idea can rightfully explain the silence in the entire sample about queer people, effectively signalling a hidden cisheterosexist curriculum.

It was stated before that textbooks are closer to being virtual reality headsets which recreate reality rather than mirrors reflecting it. The blatant silence about queer people confirms that their representation is actively censored in the process of elaboration of school resources. The question to pose now is, is it possible to come across their indirect representation? This other kind of representation, hard to discover but still true, is present in the textbooks studied and it will be described next.

The combinations of names and surnames was considered significant, as they convey a higher degree of feasibility or reality than isolated proper names, regardless of their designated people being real or fictional. Out of 1,477 such combinations, only 102 name real or fictional people who live beyond cisheteronormativity, which represents 7% of the entire sample. Again, to fully understand queer people's underrepresentation, we should bear in mind estimations about the proportion of LGBTIQ people worldwide.

If, instead of considering the number of times each combination is mentioned, we focus on the combinations themselves, the total number shrinks to just 25, unevenly

³⁹ The term queer is used inclusively, lacking all political connotations, in order to name all those people who live beyond cisheteronormativity, thus overcoming the linguistic and conceptual limitations of the acronym LGBTIQ+.

distributed: the most common names are those of the “allies” —people who are not queer, but publicly support them—, such as Brad Pitt or Johnny Depp. Contrarily, openly queer people, such as Pedro Almodóvar, Oscar Wilde or Frida Kahlo are mentioned only once in the entire sample.

Table 1.

Queer realities represented through proper names (López Medina, 2020, p. 211).

	MAN	WOMAN	GROUP	TOTAL
<i>QUEER</i>	7	2	1	10
<i>QUEER?</i>	5			5
ALILIES	3	7		10
TOTAL	15	9	1	25

When analysing representations, it is not only what is represented that matters but also how it is represented. This is of utmost importance in this case since there is not even one explicit allusion to their queer condition. This renders their representation less effective because they can't be read as people who live outside cisheteronormativity unless the readers, may they be teachers or learners, know it beforehand or, out of curiosity, read up on them (López Medina, 2020).

The analysis of the proper names in the sample allows us to approach other aspects of the hidden cisheterosexual curriculum, the different representation of men and women. 72% of all the mentions are of male combinations of name and surname, while only 28% of them are females. Even more revealing is to study how these mentions are distributed. If the sample is reduced to just the 10% most cited combinations, it is soon revealed that only 10% of such are women, which means most female names record a lower number of mentions than males'.

Accordingly with previous research, it is clear that women are less frequently represented than men (Sunderland, 2015). Moreover, they are also represented anonymously more often than men, as they are commonly referred to as “woman”, “girl”, “mother” or “sister” rather than by their own names.

Beyond isolated names, the mentions of two or three people together also offer a deep insight into messages hidden in EFL textbooks. It can easily be perceived that when such naming is of heterosexual couples, such as Bill and Melinda Gates or Barack and Michelle Obama, men consistently accumulate more mentions than women. Exceptions

are women who are represented as more powerful or important than their male partners, Elizabeth II being a good example when compared to her husband, prince Philip. Occasionally, the variable reality/fiction can also determine which person is more frequently named than the other, such as Shakespeare, more usually named than his creation Hamlet.

In conclusion, the analysis of proper names enhances the understanding of the interaction of variables which condition the decision of representing one person or another. As a result, it can be claimed that the variables of gender, reality and power/prestige interact in such a way as to result in a greater representation of real men with some degree of power or prestige in EFL textbooks (López Medina, 2020). Two sets of examples can make this point clearer: Sir Arthur Conan Doyle is more frequently named (seven times) than his creation, Sherlock Holmes (four times) who, in turn, is more commonly represented than his assistant, Dr. Watson (three times). Similarly, while Walt Disney is mentioned seven times, his creation Mickey Mouse only appears two times in the sample; his female partner, Minnie Mouse, on the contrary, can only be found once in 32 textbooks.

Moving on, the words “discrimination” and “bullying” appear in nine books of the sample, approximately 25% of them. Nemi (2018) highlights that foreign language textbooks are generally written from the perspective of their intended users’ self or, as she names it, the “I”. The schoolbooks analysed here were written having teenagers in mind and, consequently, it can’t be surprising that a heated topic like bullying is present in them.

However, it is baffling that when the concept of discrimination is explained or when the phenomenon of bullying is condemned, textbooks unanimously omit sexual orientation and gender identity as some of the possible reasons why a person could be discriminated or bullied. As a result, they are not only silencing one of the most frequent reasons why some people are effectively excluded, but also legitimising it and, even more, minimising the violence these people are subjected to, eventually reinforcing the homophobia which underpins the cisheterosexist mindset which is instilled in a great number of school resources (López Medina, 2020).

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Following Sunderland & McGlashan (2015), the fact that textbooks don't present reality objectively, but rather selectively represent some of its aspects in order to favour a certain message, has been sufficiently explained before.

The fieldwork uncovered explicit and hidden messages present in the sample of EFL textbooks, thus revealing the perspective from which they represent reality. The idea that it is the privilege of the powerful to choose what to represent in school resources (Sunderland & McGlashan, 2015) together with the claims by Lovering & Sierra (1998) have made it possible to decode a range of hidden messages which these last authors named as "hidden gender curriculum".

Although Lovering & Sierra (1998) explained that this specific hidden curriculum affected the lives of men and women and how they relate to each other, this research has allowed us to enrich this idea with the realisation that there is another numerous specific group of people conditioned by it: those who defy cisheteronormativity, generically named as queer in this article.

The concept of "cisheterosexism" (López Medina, 2020) stems from both the sexist messages about women and men and those which silence queer people, thus widening and enriching the original idea of "hidden gender curriculum" (Lovering & Sierra, 1998, p. 2).

This research has unearthed some of the hidden cisheterosexist messages contained in the most popular EFL textbooks at secondary schools in Spain in recent years. These contents can be summarised in the following points (López Medina, 2020):

- They convey and strengthen chauvinist sexism.
- They convey and strengthen compulsory heterosexuality.
- They silence affective-sexgeneric diversity and contribute to its censorship.
- They hide discrimination on grounds of gender identity and sexual orientation, thus contributing to legitimise this kind of bullying.

The factual check of these characteristics, though convenient from a theoretical and descriptive point of view, is not enough. It is necessary to search for the causes they stem from. The most obvious and, probably, superficial of them all is the publishers' fear to lose market share, were their books to break socially accepted norms (Sunderland & McGlashan, 2015).

To fully understand this phenomenon, we may resort to what Generelo & Pichardo (2006, p. 35) name as “stigma infection” (*contagio del estigma*) to refer to the negative consequences those who openly support queer people may suffer.

When applied to companies rather than people, this concept enhances the understanding of publishers’ fear to explicitly represent queer realities (López Medina, 2020): those that dared to do so, would remain blotted for having broken hegemonic Western cisheterosexual norms, consequently sharing infame with the queer people represented by them and eventually facing prestige and economic hazards.

“Stigma infection” (Generelo & Pichardo, 2006, p. 35) allows us to explain these facts; however, it is possible to take one step further. Indeed, albeit less evident than the invisibilisation of queer realities, “stigma infection” remains visible and can, and must be, more deeply explained.

If publishing companies can be affected by this stigma as much or even more than individuals, it is because Western society is not just openly homophobic, it is subtly homophobic, too. To fully understand this statement, the concepts of liberal and institutional homophobia are required. None of them is an open manifestation of explicit aggressions against queer people or their allies, affected by the stigma as well. However, they are still efficient and effective when it comes to discrimination.

Liberal homophobia is, according to Borrillo (2001), the thoughts and actions which support that affective-sexgeneric diversity is a private matter whose explicit manifestations should remain exclusively in private contexts, as the public environment is the domain of normative heterosexuality. On the other hand, institutional homophobia (Pichardo, de Stéfano, Faure, Sáenz & Williams, 2015) explains that this mentality and its consequent actions are an integral part of both public and private institutions.

In short, the pervasive silence about affective-sexgeneric diversity in EFL textbooks can obviously be explained by the publishers’ fear to lose market share (Sunderland & McGlashan, 2015) but, more deeply, by the “stigma infection” (Generelo & Pichardo, 2006, p. 35) based on both liberal homophobia (Borrillo, 2001) and its institutional manifestation (Pichardo et al., 2015).

The facts checked and condemned, and their deep roots exposed, the last logical step remaining is to come up with solutions to this problem. Of course, it is the education authorities that must assess their own policies in order to discover their shortcomings and,

eventually, guarantee that all sorts of people with no distinction at all are included in education processes and their teaching resources.

From an academic point of view, we must put forward criteria and guidelines for these initiatives to be successful. Following Sánchez Sáinz (2019), the aim must be to rethink formal educational actions and their resources from a queer perspective, so that the following may come true at schools:

- Understand privileges and oppressions.
- View education from and for abnormality.
- Make sexualities and bodies visible.
- Make education an affective process in which identities are not unchangeable.

According to this spirit, it is necessary to make queer both teaching resources in general and textbooks in particular (López Medina, 2020). This way, the problems reviewed in this article could be addressed and the rich diversity of human realities represented, thus avoiding silences and their consequent legitimisations and delegitimisations.

So far, long term solutions have been presented. Until they become feasible, we can only stay attentive and look for the “vanishing points” (*puntos de fuga*) of the education system and its resources (Sánchez Sáinz, 2019, p. 97): their cracks, which are real opportunities for us to make visible and legitimate what the system itself consistently silences and minimises.

Regarding EFL coursebooks, their “queer reading” becomes a temporary but powerful tool in the short term, until “queer schoolbooks” become an effective reality.

According to McKee (2009), queer reading consists in “questioning the seemingly orthodox from a standpoint which reckons the weird can be found, hidden, anywhere” (p. 266, my own translation). This practice can be easily performed in current classrooms, but it demands teachers with appropriate training, who can discover the hidden opportunities in the current education system. As a consequence, there is no denying another solution to the problems presented in this article is, necessarily, the training of critical teachers with queer sensitivity (Penna, 2012).

This article has unearthed and condemned Western hegemonic cisheterosexism which, in a hidden but effective way, infiltrates the school system and its teaching resources. Short and long term solutions have also been posed. Proposals which aim to

change the current situation of women and queer people in educational contexts, brilliantly described by Judith Butler (2004, p. 8) in the following excerpt:

In the same way that a life for which no categories of recognition exist is not a livable life, so a life for which those categories constitute unlivable constraint is not an acceptable option.

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