Do adults listen? A qualitative analysis of the narratives of LGBTQI adolescents in Madrid

Irene Blanco-Fuente [a,*], Ruth A. Ancín [b], Pilar Albertín-Carbó [c], Yolanda Pastor [b]

[a] *Rey Juan Carlos University, C/ Quintana, 2 2nd floor URJC, 28008 Madrid, Spain*
[b] *Rey Juan Carlos University, Av. de Atenas, s/n, 28922 Alcorcón, Madrid, Spain*
[c] *University of Girona, Pl. Sant Domenec, 9 17071 Girona, Spain*

A B S T R A C T

This article explores the experiences of LGBTQI adolescents related to the listening they receive, based on a qualitative focus group study conducted between 2022 and 2023 in Madrid, Spain. After the transcription of the conversations, a thematic analysis was carried out following the systematic procedure designed by Nowell et al. (2017), in order to extract the meanings that the adolescents gave to their experiences. The main thematic axes around which the group discussions revolved were the existence of homophobic ideologies and adultists societies, the experience of not feeling listened to, the safe spaces in which they do feel listened to, the reaffirmation of their identity and satisfaction with their own bodies. Attention was also paid to the processes of subjectivation and agency in relation to listening. The conclusions highlight the importance of role models, the requirement that listening be supported by an intention to learn and recognize others, as well as the urgent need to create safe listening spaces for LGBTQI adolescents.

1. Introduction

LGBTQI adolescence is characterized by cisheteronormativity in hegemonic cultural and social practices. This framework of beliefs and behaviours holds as normal and natural that heterosexuality, being cisgender and endosex the only conceivable characteristics of sexuality, gender and sex[1] (Butler, 2004). Such assumptions define social norms that exclude and invisibilise those who do not fit into them (Sándor, 2021). The cisheterosexual logic is particularly discouraging in the case of children and adolescents. They are among the members of society most denied agency and autonomy over their own bodies and decisions (Langarita et al., 2023). This represents an essentialist paradigm, articulated through an adult and developmental view of the life cycle, in which both childhood and adolescence are characterised by innocence and naivety, thus homogeneously attributing to them the impossibility of articulating complex thoughts (Robinson, 2013).

Alongside this normative framework, in the experiences of adolescents, the impact of an adult and hypervigilant gaze can also be glimpsed, especially in the process of exploring their sexuality and gender (Langarita et al., 2023). Hannah Dyer (2016) points to the challenge for adults to undo normative and homogenous constructions of childhood, to listen to the perspectives of children and adolescents, especially on issues of sex and sexuality, taboos commonly excluded in early childhood education. Tisdall and Punch (2012) from a child studies perspective suggest the potential of notions of relationships and reciprocity in communicating with adolescence and childhood. The recognition of children and adolescents' social agency and their proactive involvement in investigation has significantly changed the position of children and adolescents in the human and social sciences. This has led to a weakening of taken-for-granted assumptions found in more conventional approaches to child and youth research. It is crucial to use analysis practices like reflexivity and dialogue in order to listen to children's voices in the portrayal of their own lives. This allows researchers to enter into children's 'cultures of communication' (Christensen, 2004).

In Spain, there is some research that has addressed these issues around adultism and LGBTQI adolescence (Platero & López-Sáez, 2020; Montenegro et al., 2020; Langarita et al., 2023). These studies highlight

[1] Cissexism will be used in relation to the assumption that all people identify with the gender that corresponds to their sexual characteristics (i.e. the gender they were assigned at birth), while endonormativity or endosexism when referring to the assumption that all bodies can be clearly classified as male or female.

the need to continue exploring the situations of vulnerability of LGBTQI adolescents, where the adult gaze and sexual normativity, among other issues, converge, configuring a specific scenario to which it is advisable to pay attention. In a polarised political context where certain LGBTQI rights are in danger, it is important to know whether the needs of the youngest are being listened to so that, if not, new forms of support for LGBTQI children and adolescents can be articulated.

The aim of this study was to capture and describe the subjective and intersubjective experiences of LGBTQI adolescents in the Community of Madrid about their experiences of being listening (or not) in their daily lives in different contexts. This article tries to understand the normative and cultural framework conditions in which LGBTQI adolescents are listened to. Specifically, the specific objectives are: 1) to analyse the link between being listened and the social structure based on the social representations of sex and gender diversity that emerge in the experiences reported by adolescents; 2) to study the adolescents' experiences being listened or not in their daily interactions and 3) to show the impact of these experiences on their subjectivities, corporeality, transformation and agency.

1.1. Regulatory framework for LGTBIQ children and adolescents

In Spain, the history of LGBTQI children's and teenagers' rights is quite new. In 2007, a state law was passed to modify the sex assigned at birth in the Civil Registry. This norm was subject to a series of pathologizing requirements, such as having a diagnosis of gender dysphoria and compulsory hormone therapy for a minimum of two years (Law 3/2007; Platero, 2020). Furthermore, the measure was limited to those with Spanish nationality, with the 'capacity' to make this decision and of legal age, which added a racist, ableist and adultist approach to the legislation. Years later, in 2019, the Constitutional Court (2019) declared this age limitation unconstitutional, which allowed trans children to modify their legal documents, a provision already included in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which Spain ratified in 1990.

Since March 2023, Law 4/2023 has allowed for the recognition of new rights for LGBTQI children and adolescents, such as the modification of their legal sex in their documents without a medical diagnosis or compulsory hormone therapy. This legislation also alters the terms of the provisions depending on the age group. Adolescents aged 16 and 17 do not need parental consent or documentary requirements; those aged 14 and 15 may apply on their own, but supported by their legal guardians; 12 and 13 year olds need judicial authorization and documents proving a degree of stability in the non-conformity with their sex/gender; and children under the age of 12 do not have access to this right, although name changes on identity documents are assured regardless of age (Law 4/2023; López Trujillo, 2023a). As far as intersex children are concerned, the law bans genital modification practices on 12 year olds, except when medically necessary. Likewise, these practices can be performed on adolescents between 12 and 16 if they themselves request it and have all the important information. Conversion therapies are banned in order to ensure the protection of all non-normative identities (Law 4/2023; López Trujillo, 2023a).

Despite these notable advances, the law leaves out some important issues, such as the recognition of gender self-determination for trans migrants in an irregular situation and the legal recognition of non-binary individuals. The process of passing this legislation stirred up a great deal of controversy amongst the sectors opposed to the recognition of these rights, such as far-right political parties and *trans*-exclusionary radical feminists (Willem et al., 2022). This far-right reactionary challenges to relatively progressive laws protecting transgender youth recently resulted in a partial derogation of the the regional LGBTQI laws in the Community of Madrid in 2016, which is currently governed by a conservative party that supports many of the proposals of the Spanish far-right (Argyrou et al., 2024 forthcoming). These law reforms bring about a return to a pathologizing reading of LGBTQI identities and a regression in terms of rights in the regional framework (López Trujillo, 2023b).

1.2. Epistemology of listening

The concept of listening has multiple dimensions that we will address in this section with the intention of explaining what we understand by listening and why we consider it relevant in our approach to LGBTQI youth. Given that sound expands the possibilities of the gaze by making the apparently invisible visible (Labelle, 2018), the theoretical works on listening that consider this dimension and delve into the link between the subjectivities involved in the process of listening are essential for this study. Chadwick explored the 'refusal to theorise voice as a 'thing', essence or stability and a shift toward a conceptualization of *voicing* as an embodied, sociomaterial, sensual and relational process' (Chadwick, 2020, p. 91). When someone tells something, listening to what that person is saying involves building a relationship that is not limited to the verbal, but is multisensory and includes a physical dimension, as it is a sound vibration that is transmitted between bodies, known as resonance. Sound has this bisensory condition because it is transmitted by auditory and tactile means (Chion, 1999), which is why deaf people can perceive certain sounds with low frequencies (Domínguez Ruiz, 2019). This article understands listening as an 'embodied, situated and mediated phenomenon' (Domínguez Ruiz, 2019, p. 94), characterised as an intentional approach to what others have to tell us (Cavarero, 2005; Rozas, 2022). People rely on the distinction between hearing as the act of perceiving a given sound and listening as 'an act of engaging with the world' (Voegelin, 2010, p. 3) that intersects with intentionality.

What does this reflection on sound and listening bring to research processes? Firstly, it highlights the relevance of knowledge that is built from a relational perspective to advocate for an epistemology of listening that underlines that 'our perception and our word (…) are mediated by the presence of the other and only exist in resonance with the other' (García Castilla, 2019, p. 146). It also emphasises the power of synaesthesia in research, where listening is also a way for others to touch us through sound (Ruiz Trejo & García Dauder, 2018; Ruffo, 2019). This means assuming that in research processes a series of displacements also take place in those doing the research. The contexts in which research is constructed are intertwined by different emotions that also affect the agents involved (Ahmed, 2017), so that the sound condition of the voice is added to its tactile condition from a physical point of view (Ruffo, 2019). This condition configures contexts of socialisation where what is said and what is not said, what is heard and what is left unheard has an implication on the orientation of bodies in space and on the emotions that circulate and affect the different subjects (Ahmed, 2017; 2019).

Listening is a political issue insofar as its presence or absence conditions the scenarios of social interaction. If power is everywhere, listening or not listening, being listened to or not being listened to, are actions that take place on non-neutral grounds that can contribute to reinforcing the social order or to questioning it. Listening is also 'regulated by culture and reproduced by social institutions' (Domínguez Ruiz, 2019, p. 99), which implies that, just as listening makes recognition possible, its absence also reinforces difference. Focusing on the experiences of LGBTQI adolescents, cisheteronormativity as a regulatory system of gender and sexuality – along with other axes such as racism, classism and ableism – intersects with adultism, 'a relational approach based on an asymmetry of power that places the adult experience above that of young people in a hierarchical relationship' (de Cordova et al., 2023, p. 120). Therefore, normativity also encompasses a worldview generated by adults, where the youngest voices do not have the same legitimacy. Adolescents in general, and LGBTQI adolescents in particular, live in a complex situation in which, on the one hand, they remain dependent on adults and, on the other hand, their autonomy is in the process of developing (Bagattini, 2019). What is specific to LGBTQI adolescence is that their non-normative gender and sexuality are often being constructed within narrow margins imposed by adults. This adult

hypervigilance can lead to difficulty in understanding gender and sex ruptures in childhood (Castañeda, 2014).

Erica Burman (2018) alerts us that thinking about the child–adult relationship allows us to take the position of infant-adolescent as a way to break the power imbalance creating inequality between childhood-adolescence and adults. The centrality of adolescent voice requires attention to epistemologies of point of view (Hill Collins, 2000) and also of listening (García Castilla, 2019), in the sense that both adults and researchers have to consider three conditions in listening and in any relational process: a) the matrix of domination and its intersecting systems of oppression; b) the creation of social spaces where the subjects (adolescents) speak and are heard; and c) the self-identification in these spaces and subsequent empowerment of the discriminated subjects. At the same time, it raises questions about the privileges of adults, and in our case, of the researchers themselves who establish a connection with these adolescents.

2. Methodology

2.1. Setting and study design

This article is part of a research project funded by the European Union to analyse the experiences of vulnerability for LGBTQI children and adolescents in six different countries and presents the results of the qualitative research carried out in the Community of Madrid (Spain). The technique used to collect the subjective and intersubjective experiences of LGBTQI adolescents has been the focus group. Three focus groups with different characteristics were held between June 2022 and July 2023. In them, a semi-structured script of topics to be discussed was presented, aimed at finding out the perceptions, emotions, opinions, experiences and knowledge of LGBTQI children.

The focus groups, aligned with the main project's objectives, explored three key areas: 1) knowledge of LGBTQI concepts, encompassing gender, identity, orientation, and LGBTQIphobia; 2) experiences of violence and resistance during the pandemic, delving into the impact on social connections, instances of insults or isolation, and coping strategies; and 3) beliefs and assessment of adultism and professional practices/services, addressing whether participants felt heard by adults, the role of adults in addressing LGBTQI young people's issues, and strategies for creating inclusive environments in schools. The division into these axes aimed to assess awareness of LGBTQI acronyms, understand the pandemic's impact on violence against LGBTQI children, and enhance strategies for protection, detection, and prevention of violence in this vulnerable population.

The approach to focus groups development as researchers is based on the concept of 'strong reflexivity' (Harding, 1996) as an exercise of responsibility towards the research participants. This involves a critical and situated exercise (Haraway, 1995) of the role of adults in an authoritative role. This question has been taken into account in the specific situations shared with the participants, trying to scrutinize the adultist view. Likewise, the researchers were aware of their emotions and bodies, in the conviction that they are also significant when researching (Ruiz Trejo and García Dauder, 2018), which includes being involved with these young people beyond the academic framework.

2.2. Participants

A total of 22 adolescents aged 12–19 participated in the focus groups

(mean age = 15.14, SD = 2.14). Of the total sample, 45.47 % considered themselves cis and 54.53 % trans, including non binaries; according to their gender identity, 45.46 % were female, 36.36 % were male and 18.18 % were non-binary. Regarding their sexual orientation, most of them were bisexual or pansexual (40.92 %), 27.28 % doesn't define their sexuality, 22.73 % were homosexual (13.64 % were gays and 9.06 % were lesbians), 4.55 % were heterosexual and 4.55 % were asexual and arromantic.[2] Concerning participants' ethnicity, 59.09 % were caucasian, 22.73 % were latino, 13.64 % were roma, and 4.55 % were arabic.

Some attended public high schools, at least 6 participants, and others in charter schools, at least 3 participants. This information was collected during discussion groups, when talking about settings where they felt listened to or not listened to, so not all participants said what kind of institution they went to. Tables 1 to 3 provide a description of the 3 focus groups.

2.3. Recruitment and procedures

The research team that carried out the fieldwork were 4 researchers between 25 and 52 years old. They are known activists, which facilitated entry into the field, and they identified themselves as LGBTQI, so this issue added to their experience in facilitating groups with young people and their specific training in sexual diversity issues allowed for a safer and more trusting approach in the different encounters.

The basic requirement for recruiting participants for the focus groups was that they were LGBTQI-identifying adolescents aged 12–19. The groups were formed on the basis of the researchers' network of contacts

Table 1
Focus Group 1 with teenagers from *trans*-allied[1] families association.

Anonymous name		Age	Gender Identity[2]	Sexual orientation[3]	Ethnicity
Laura	Participant1	14	Trans female	—	Caucasian
Sam	Participant2	15	Non-binary	Bisexual	Latino
Noa	Participant3	16	Non-binary	Asexual and aromantic	Caucasian
Jorge	Participant4	12	Trans male	—	Caucasian
Juan	Participant5	12	Trans male	Heterosexual	Caucasian
Pablo	Participant6	17	Cis male	Gay	Caucasian
Alex	Participant7	15	Non-binary	—	Caucasian

[1] This term refers to the alliance between cis people, those who identify with the gender assigned at birth, and trans people, who do not identify with the gender assigned at birth.

[2] Gender identity is 'a person's internal, individual experience of the gender to which they belong'. Cis are those whose gender identity coincides with the sex assigned at birth. Trans are those whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from the sex assigned at birth. Non-binary are those who identify outside of gender binarism (Platero et al., 2023b).

[3] Sexual orientation is 'a person's ability to be emotionally and sexually attracted to someone'. It defines whether a person is attracted to the same sex/gender (gay, lesbian), to a different gender (heterosexual) or to multiple sexes/genders (bisexual, pansexual), or is not sexually attracted to other people (asexual) (Platero et al., 2023b).

---

[2] As researchers we recruited adolescents based on their self-identification as LGBTQI. We did not ask about their specific sexual orientation or gender identity beforehand, but it emerged during the course of the focus group. In the same way, we did not analyse the results based on sexual categories, but starting from a fluid or non-binary view, and identifying sexual categories, when the adolescent showed it in his or her story.

Table 2
Focus group 2 with adolescents from public high school.

Anonymous name		Age	Gender identity	Sexual orientation	Ethnicity
Cris	Participant1	13	Non-binary	Bisexual/pansexual	Latino
Edu	Participant2	14	Trans male	—	Caucasian
Alba	Participant3	13	Cis female	Pansexual	Caucasian
Marta	Participant4	16	Cis female	Bisexual	Caucasian
Lara	Participant5	15	Cis female	Bisexual	Latino
Carmen	Participant6	16	Cis female	Bisexual	Caucasian

Table 3
Focus group 3 with teenagers participating in a diversity programme at a Civic Centre.

Anonymous name		Age	Gender identity	Sexual orientation	Ethnicity
Ada	Participant1	11	Cis female	Bisexual	Arabic
Cleo	Participant2	19	Trans female	—	Caucasian
Andrea	Participant3	19	Cis female	Lesbian	Roma
Laia	Participant4	18	Trans female	—	Latin
Axel	Participant5	15	Trans male	Bisexual	Caucasian
Dani	Participant6	15	Trans male	Bisexual	Caucasian
Carlos	Participant7	15	Cis male	Gay	Roma
Javier	Participant8	16	Cis male	Gay	Latino
Elia	Participant9	17	Cis female	Lesbian	Roma

with NGOs and schools. At the time the researchers contacted the professionals working with adolescents or families, they were sent information about the project and the aim of the meeting. The researchers agreed with the families or professionals on the day and location of the meeting.

Significantly, although the search for participants focused on young people who identified as LGBTQI, the analysis was conducted from an intersectional perspective. Beyond theory and methodology, this meant bearing in mind the particular situations of the interactions (Viveros Vigoya, 2016; Yuval-Davis, 2017). Accordingly, during each of the encounters, different axes emerged that accounted for the heterogeneity of experiences represented by the LGBTQI acronym.

Regarding the formation of each focus group, Group 1 was formed through WhatsApp group contacts with several families who are members of an NGO for trans and non-binary children and adolescents or were from families that were publicly active in support of LGBTQI rights, which facilitated their participation; sons and daughters of families who had connections with the researchers also joined this group, which is why most of the adolescents knew each other. The meeting took place in the inner courtyard of a bookshop in the centre of Madrid.

Group 2 was formed thanks to the collaboration of a teacher from a public secondary school in the city. Teacher knew the adolescents' gender orientations and identities, and had a good relationship with them, as this school works with sexual and gender diversity and has been recognized as a safe space for the LGBTQI population. Some of the members knew each other. The meeting was held in a classroom at the school.

For group 3, contact was made with a public youth centre that ran a public community programme addressing sexual and gender diversity in

a working class neighbourhood with emigration on the outskirts of Madrid. The contact was with the social worker and most of the young people knew each other. In some cases, families of these young people were not aware of their LGBTQI identities, because they came from homes where hostility had been expressed regarding their gender expression and sexuality. In this group, compared to the two previous ones, there was a greater presence of non-white people as can be seen in Table 3, compared to Table 1 and Table 2. The meeting took place in one of the rooms of the centre.

This study categorized participants into three groups based on their family backgrounds and exposure to LGBTQI-related environments, as can be seen in tables 1–3. Anticipated differences among groups include heightened awareness of challenges in Group 1 due to activism involvement, potential increased support for Group 2 within an LGBTQI-friendly school environment, and potential greater difficulties for Group 3, considering the socioeconomic context of their working-class neighbourhood in Madrid.

The groups and participants were chosen based on convenience, aiming to enhance diversity. Meetings averaged 1 h and 12 min, ranging from 45 min to 2 h. Prior to topic-focused discussions, an ice-breaker required participants to share their name, age, pronouns, orientation, and hobbies – all optional. Some did not know their sexual orientation, and others chose not to disclose their sexual orientation, and this was respected. Race background was noted during participant interactions. It's crucial to highlight that attendees were aware of the LGBTQI focus, and voluntary self-identification was encouraged.

2.4. Ethical questions and approval

The research project on which this article is based was granted ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the University of Girona (Reference: CEBRU00022-22). At the time of the researchers' contact with professionals and relatives, information about the project was sent. Parents of children under 14 years of age, in accordance with the regulations in force in Spain, were sent an informed consent form (email or message) to sign before attending the meeting. In those cases where parents had not been able to sign it, they signed it when they attended the meeting with their children.

All participants, including children under 14 years, read and signed an informed consent form adapted to their age, before discussion began, which also explained the procedure and subject matter of the project. Time was allowed for any doubts and they were resolved on the spot. In this process, it was explained to them that they were free to respond to whatever they wanted, as well as the possibility of leaving the project and/or the group at any time. No member of the group refused to participate. Likewise, both the families and the young people were assured that the information and data of the participants would be anonymized. The information provided by each participant with regard to pronouns, gender identity and sexual orientation has been respected in this article, with the exception of the names, which were anonymized for data protection reasons.

2.5. Qualitative data analysis

The focus groups were recorded and transcribed in their original language (Spanish) to preserve linguistic nuances. Thematic analysis, known for its openness and flexibility, was employed to identify, analyze, and report on emerging themes in the dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Following Nowell et al.'s (2017) procedure, researchers independently familiarized themselves with the data, identified key themes, and collaboratively established initial codes in a team meeting. Inductive and deductive thematic coding, considering LGBTQI adolescents' perspectives, was then applied by two researchers. The coded excerpts were reviewed for consistency, and thematic meanings were discussed among researchers. Verbatims were grouped by topic for detailed analysis. The construction of main thematic categories was

done inductively, with sub-sections reflecting expressions used by young people themselves, such as "There are quite homophobic ideas and societies," "I don't feel I am listened to," "Safe spaces," "I am like this," and "I am happy with my body." Triangulation of researchers' perspectives and consensus-seeking played a crucial role throughout the coding and interpretation process.

3. Results

3.1. 'There are quite homophobic ideas and societies'

The social representation of sexual and gender diversity is dominated by cisheteronormativity and adultism (Langarita et al., 2023; Platero et al., 2023a). Hence, any conception and practice that distances itself from this paradigm is seen as abnormal or is ignored because it is not part of the hegemonic social framework. Quite often, when a behaviour is considered abnormal, it is omitted from relationships and is not recognized, with listening being eliminated or reduced, giving way to stigmatization or exclusion. For instance, as one adolescent commented:

> The people, for example, in my class, there are many people who really don't know about the subject; it's that they don't want to know about it and they continue with their ideas and societies that are quite homophobic. And these are ideas that leave out a lot of people and are ideas that only benefit them as the cisheteros that they are. (Cris)

The use of language also makes this process of naming what is outside the sex and gender norm with stigmatizing terms, such as 'queer' or 'deviant', one of the impediments to listening as mentioned by Javier: 'It's not that they don't listen. It's just that they have a special mentality'. This cisheteronormative social representation prevents the acceptance of other forms of sexuality and gender identity, either actively or through silencing and non-recognition. This framework of representation is deeply rooted in gender stereotypes and discriminatory behaviours when gender mandates are not complied with, as Cris noted: 'It's that the word gender is very much embedded in stereotypes and so if you physically have the biological body of a woman and your gender is male, people never end up accepting it'. Gender stereotypes are, thus, visible elements that help to maintain cisheteronormativity.

Sexual and gender diversity is experienced as a threat by some sectors of the population. In the following excerpt, one adolescent comments that some people he knows cried when he said he identified as trans, or asked him if he was going to have surgery to conform to the gender standard:

> And those awkward questions they always ask. For example, when I came out as trans with certain people, I won't say who, some of them started crying. Others were almost in tears. Others, the first thing they asked me was "are you going to have an operation?" And that's something that I can't, that I can't stand, because it's not their life. I mean, it is my life. (Edu)

The pressure to comply with cisheteronormativity can be very strong and is found in a variety of social environments, including the family. In one case, a mother questioned her daughter without listening or understanding:

> And first my mother said to me: "So what are you, a lesbian?" And I said: "No". "And then, if you're not a lesbian, what are you?" "Well, I'm bisexual". "And what is that?" I explained to her, and she said: "But I want to have grandchildren". And I'm like, "Well…" And I kept quiet for a while and I remember that I cried, and then she said: "But you're not straight", and I said: "No"…….Every time a boy came over to our house… I mean, one time a boy came over and my mother was like: "Well, what about that boy…" (Carmen)

On the other hand, many adults choose not to accept the decisions and motivations of adolescents, downplaying their importance, ignoring

or questioning whether they are beings capable of desiring, feeling and making decisions, of having agency. In these cases, the sexual orientation or gender identity manifested by an adolescent was ignored by the adult:

> There are older people who get involved and what they do is make it worse, because since they don't understand you, they don't understand the problem and they make it worse for you. Because imagine that it doesn't seem like a big deal to them either. It's like, let's see, well, it's just a joke, I don't know, *it's just childish nonsense* or whatever. (Carmen, emphasis added)

However, the situation can worsen, as adults refuse to listen to the needs of these adolescents, something manifested by the fact that some young people hide their sexual identity out of fear of rejection or insult, as in the case of Elia, here referring to her father:

> He didn't know I was going to cut my hair. He basically doesn't know what I do with my life. So, of course, he saw me with short hair, he looks at me like this and says: "What have you done to your hair?" And I said: "I've put… ha ha ha ha". Because I could already see what he was going to say. And he says to me: "It's because it's very tomboyish". And I said: "Here we go". And he said: "No, it's just that I like women with long hair".

The burden of cisheteronormativity and adultist positions create an almost insurmountable difficulty in learning about and opening up to new ways of understanding sexuality and gender. It is not only a question of ideology, but also at a cognitive level, they impede people from imagining other ways of being in the world, as this teenager mentioned in her definition of a non-binary or fluid person:

> When I came out as non-binary, well, as gender fluid, I thought that to be non-binary I had to dress super masculine, so stereotypical. So a lot of times I was mistaken for a trans guy. Cis people got really annoyed because, as I was trying to come out, I changed my name and everything, and I started to dress more like that, stereotypically masculine or androgynous, so everyone asked me: "But now you're a boy or whatever?" And I was never a boy and it was hard for me to be a bit more feminine again, being non-binary. So now I'm not, now I'm not a boy, they say I'm a chick, but I'm not. (Laura)

3.2. 'I don't feel I am being listened to'

Adolescents feel that they are not listened to in various situations, such as in the family environment, friendships or at school. However, as misunderstandings arise in conversations in these settings, opportunities for listening and resilience also emerge, as seen below.

3.2.1. Family

Some of the interviewees referred to a lack of credibility on the part of family members, of a form of listening that distorted the meaning of what the adolescent was saying, or ignored what lay behind his or her words. One such case is Carmen when she said to her mother: 'So I told her: "I think I like girls". She said: "No"'. Or when Javier mentioned the discomfort he felt about his identity and his parents not understanding him: 'I didn't go to school today because I woke up at death's door'.

Other forms of listening pathologize the adolescent, as when Carlos was told by his father: 'I'm going to have to take you to a psychologist to see if your head is OK'. On other occasions, adults tried to silence their children through aggression of different forms, from ridicule, as in the case of Elia who, when she told her mother and her boyfriend's mother, was met with jokes about LGBTQI, to punishment, as Ada, whose family is Muslim, explained:

> I can't tell anyone in my family because I won't live through it. In other words, you will never see my face again. Because in my religion

(Islam), you can't do anything like that. You will never see my face again, basically because they will punish me, lock me up, everything

3.2.2. Friendships

Friendships are crucial for LGBTQI adolescents as an important source of support that helps them to cope with stress and the potential rejection due to their gender or sexual identity. Cris discussed the difficulty of interacting with people who, for ideological reasons, do not recognize the existence of LGBTQI identities:

It's very difficult to have friends with different ideologies and on those kinds of terms, because you always end up clashing and if someone doesn't respect you, you can't have a real friendship, or so I think. In other words, if you don't respect what I am, you won't respect me. So there is no friendship.

Cris sets a clear limit to the development of a bond, of a friendship relationship that harms him. This action allows her to build resilience in the face of situations of rejection or discrimination.

3.2.3. School

School is a particularly important space in terms of not feeling listened to. Adolescents affirmed that some of the students their age tended to be homophobic: 'Almost all of them are homophobic', even though one of the secondary schools where we conducted a focus group has implemented projects to raise awareness about diversity. However, despite existing policies to support LGBTQI people and the involvement of many professionals, some teachers and students were passive in the face of LGBTQIphobic violence in the school:

In my case, teachers have never done anything for me. My teachers have literally seen me having panic attacks because of the things they were saying to me in class, and they didn't do anything! (Noa)

Some teachers refused to recognize that school performance is related to the negative state of mind produced by this violence, as noted by Laura:

I've had a problem with some girls and this year I've been getting bad marks. He (the teacher) came up to me and said: "We understand your situation, but you just worry about studying and you'll get your grades. Don't think about other people. You just think about the fact that you have to get good marks, because if you don't, you're going to negatively affect the school's reputation".

Here, maintaining and promoting a positive image of the school prevailed over other emotional, educational and health issues. Some adolescents also mentioned that the school did not want to hold workshops or talks on sex education for fear that families would complain. To some extent, this hostility about sex education reflects the conservative climate in Madrid, where the city government is currently in the process of repealing the legislation that included protocols and educational measures to respond to LGBTQIphobia.

Young people have different experiences of not being listened to at school, including not being named or recognized by their identity or being deadnamed, as Laura noted: 'The teacher told me: "I'm sorry, I understand that you are trans and that you are in protest mode, but this is not accepted by the Spanish Royal Language Academy"'. Others are not recognized as experienced agents: 'I offered to give a talk (on hormones) and they said no, that an expert, a sexologist, would do it' (Laia). On many occasions, the peers do not want to listen: 'I have tried to explain everything, the gender spectrum, what non-binary people are. They never listened to me', said Noa. Teenagers also expressed the need for more 'safe spaces at school', spaces of trust where they could talk about these vital issues, spaces of trust with some teachers or trust when using spaces such as toilets. In the words of Edu: 'I always went into the disabled toilet because there was never anyone in there'.

3.3. 'Safe spaces'

On occasion, the social framework around relationships can foster the recognition of sexual and gender identities on the margins of cisheteronormativity. Here, empathy and recognition of the other prevails, that a person can freely express themselves without encountering obstacles in the configuration of the relationship (Santos, 2006). In this context, the participants stressed that an active listening process is more likely if the interlocutors belong to the LGBTQI community. On the margins of cisheteronormativity, the mutual recognition of these experiences is also configured as a strategy of resistance: 'I mean, it is true that if you are in the group, they understand you a little more. But if you are completely cishetero…' (Javier); 'It's like they do understand, clearly they are from the community, who else am I going to get together with?' (Elia); 'Mainly, the people who ask for pronouns are trans people, unfortunately' (Sam). These socialization situations create "safer spaces" for the expression of LGBTIQ identities.

LGBTQI adolescents also find safe spaces where they are listening to in some family relationships, friendships, school environments and leisure spaces.

3.3.1. Family

Many adolescents said that they went to different people who provided them with a space for active and empathic listening, noting that the family members they usually felt listened most were their mothers and grandmothers. Some young people also mentioned the support of their fathers, but to a lesser extent. The following excerpt shows how one teenager felt supported by their parents, although their mother took the active role in helping them in a specific case of bullying:

It's not that they don't care, but well, my father doesn't have two brain cells to rub together, but this year my mother went straight to report my classmates because they were bullying me. So at least I'm lucky that I have a mother who supports me a lot and helps me a lot with these things, which is a privilege that many people do not have, sadly (Noa).

Some participants also emphasized that creating a space where they felt listened to and supported is easier if they already had LGBTQI family members to whom they could express their doubts and fears. These people became reference points for the adolescents and the rest of the family:

I Felt listened to when I told my uncle that I was trans and, well, he supported me. I didn't start out as trans, I started out as a man, like, "I'm gay, a gay man". So, since my uncle is gay, I got that support too. My uncle talked to my mother and told her he was gay. And my mother already assumed that. Well, it came out little by little and recently, well, I don't know how long ago, I told my uncle, "Hey, I don't feel like a man, I'm a woman" and so on. (Cleo)

These examples highlight the sense of freedom, satisfaction and joy that comes from sharing one's reality with the respective families and receiving their acceptance and support. However, these conditions of listening and equality are not common for many participants. One spoke about how she did not usually feel listened to by her mother. However, when her mother needed help to understand the LGBTQI community, she turned to her daughter for an explanation:

But she (her mother) didn't listen to me, until she had to study the Constitution to keep her job. There was a gender equality law, and then she asked me about things and that was one of the few times she listened to me and said "Ah, yes, there's a lot of this law around" and she realised that she was wrong about some things. (Carmen)

In this specific case, the daughter's knowledge of her own LGBTQI identity was recognized by her mother. Even through this recognition occurs when her mother linked her sexuality to an institution legitimized by her own interpretative framework, this anecdote demonstrates

the importance of this type of legal recognition in everyday situations.

3.3.2. Friendships

During adolescence, spaces with peers are essential for the healthy development of social skills, identity and many other expressions of self. For this reason, the participants identified their friendships as safe spaces where listening takes place:

> I Felt listened to when I told my friends that I was trans and, well, they respected me, they supported me (…) I asked them to start calling me by my real name and, well, they also treated me like a boy and so on (Dani); I always tell my friends, as soon as something happens, I tell them. (Edu)

As with family members, the listening spaces for many teenagers are found with people who have experiences similar to their own, such as other LGBTQI adolescents:

> It's very good to have friends of all kinds, who are trans (Marta); Because she is the same (talking about her bisexual friend). (Andrea); Let's see, it's not a group, I've got, like, faggots in different places. Here's one of them… I recently started testosterone. Well, what do I know, I talk to (…) my boyfriend. My boyfriend is also trans, obviously. And so that's it. The people who know, who I trust and who, who know me and will understand me and will share my happiness. (Noa)

3.3.3. School

In the educational sphere, the adolescents agreed that there are two keys to feeling closer to and listened to by the school and their teachers. The first pertains to the rules and operation of the school, where the recognition of the demands of transgender people makes them feel more relaxed about expressing their identity:

> It's just that my school is more or less known for being LGBTQI-friendly. I mean, there are assholes out there, but come on, it's known for being very accepting of trans people's name changes. And it welcomes trans people who weren't allowed to change their names in other schools. And I have had teachers like that, LGBTQI, a lot. (Alex)

The second key feature concerns the characteristics of the teaching staff that allow them to empathize with the realities of these adolescents. Here, it is most important for teenagers to see and know that there are LGBTQI or LGBTQI-friendly teachers in their schools and, particularly, that they are young. In both cases, the adolescents perceive that the experience of these adults is similar to their own, which makes them feel more comfortable about talking and feeling listened to:

> The thing is that my teachers, that is, the teachers I have, one who I think (…) is non-binary. Okay, and he goes around with his nails painted. There are times when I have literally heard him. I don't know if it's my imagination or not, using non-gendered language, and he's super non-normative. Okay, just, almost all of them are super young… So almost, I mean, half of my teachers and, therefore, they aren't so ignorant. (Sam); On 8 M (8 March, the day of a feminist strike for gender equality in Spain), I ran into my teachers in my mothers' butch coalition. (Alex)

3.3.4. Leisure

Leisure spaces play an important role at all ages. However, in childhood and adolescence they are key to healthy mental development, as well as to fostering spaces for self-care and fun. In this respect, many teenagers who go to leisure spaces such as youth centres, camps or meetings find a place where they feel safe and can escape from the adultism that they usually find in other spaces, as one of the participants related when talking about the workers at the youth centre he attends:

> Well look, for example, here at the centre, the educators don't put themselves above you in the sense that they don't abuse their power and don't treat you as if you were an 11-year-old-child, that they tell you that you have to do this, this, this, this, like I know, they don't come down to my level, but……. I'm explaining myself terribly. (Javier)

3.4. 'I am like this' 'I am happy with my body'

This section addresses the effects of listening or not listening on young people and how this produces transformations in their subjectivity. It also highlights mechanisms of agency (Ema, 2004), as well as the forms of empowerment and self-recognition towards oneself and others, revealing how listening relationships are embodied.

The participants in this study reported different emotions as a consequence of not listening: loneliness: 'I have had to learn to deal with all that on my own' (Noa), 'if I have a problem, I just lock myself in the bathroom, I start crying and I have no one to talk to about my class' (Alba); misunderstanding: 'in my religion [Islam] you can't do anything like that' (Ada), 'in places where they don't understand us they make us invisible' (Ada); loss of trust: 'I used to trust her, but now I don't' (Ada); fear: 'when my father came to talk to me I denied it, I'm afraid' (Carlos); and pain and exclusion: 'my brother asked me if I liked girls and I told him no because I lied to him. And then he told me 'I am homophobic', that he respected them, but that queers made him very nervous (…….), he said that being LGBTQI was disgusting' (Ada), 'I feel that nobody will respect me, because I cannot respect myself' (Alba).

In the analysis of 'not listening', some processes operate through the construction of fragile subjectivities in these young people. One is the continuous questioning of their sexual orientation or identity: 'I remember that I was harassed with questions, like, 'But you like girls, don't you? But are you bisexual? You're not straight, you're bisexual' (Carmen). Another is the process of pathologization, as Carmen commented: 'I had a lot of problems at school, so……. I was never diagnosed with anything, but my paediatrician said that I might need to go to a psychiatrist when I was ten years old'. Processes of infantilization also come into play, as if young people could not be aware of and able to make decisions according to their wishes and needs, i.e. have agency. Cris explained:

> At my school I did seem like a very gay boy, because people always took it very badly and people always said things like 'You are still very young' or "You don't know what you like" or 'You can't know if you like women when you are in 5th grade'.

Silencing processes emerged:

> The teacher told me that I couldn't talk about it because it was a very sensitive subject and that many parents might not like it. And I said to her: 'In biology, you talk about cancers, shit and so on, and I can't talk about operations that help psychological well-being?'(Cris)

However, there are some experiences where young people show their agency, their capacity to know and decide, as well as to resist attempts to silence their voices and their embodied expressions, where they demonstrate ways of being that subvert cisheteronormative and adultist social mandates. 'And what do you care' is an example of an expression that reflects this subversion, as Carlos mentioned:

> But if someone comes out like that, they don't have to care about the others, if their mother accepts it, the others don't have to care. I always say it, sorry for the words, ok? It's just that I express myself like that. For example, if I'm going to fuck someone, who's going to fuck him, you or me? Me. If a girl is going to scissor someone, who's going to do it, you or her? Her. What do you care?

'I am like this, different' is another expression that indicates self-acceptance, self-esteem, self-recognition and, therefore, the capacity to

empower oneself in the face of a world that appears hostile. Andrea engaged in this exchange:

> Social educator (S.E.): Do adults listen to you like people your age?
> Andrea: No.
> S.E.: Do you want to talk about why your family doesn't listen to you?
> Andrea: Because I'm like that, that's why.
> S.E: Like what?
> Andrea: Different.

Another is the statement, 'I am happy with my body'. In the words of two teenagers:

> Well, I remember that, in September 2020, just after starting high school, well, before starting high school, I cut my hair so that they would mistake me for a boy, which was the thing that made me happiest. (Alba)
> They just don't get it. They would ask you: 'But are you going to have an operation, are you going to get a penis?' And I told them: 'I am not going to, I am happy with my body'. (Jorge)

Furthermore, these respondents argue that sexual and gender orientation or identity is not everything; it does not make up the totality of a subject. Rather, it is a dimension that acquires greater relevance due to its social marking, but it is not the only one. Laura remarked: '… because I had a problem with some girls, like, it has nothing to do with trans, okay? It's something else'.

One of the periods explored in this study was characterized by the COVID-19 pandemic, when the lockdown in Spain had a variety of repercussions (López-Sáez and Platero, 2022). In the case of many LGBTQI adolescents, the consequences were experienced as positive, in that they had the possibility to confine themselves to their homes and explore their orientation and identity, as well as to protect themselves from the aggression of other people. For other young people, however, it meant greater isolation and the development of fears about re-entering the public environment.

> It was in my room locked up without anyone bothering me. And being in complete control of people talking to me and not talking to me, because it was like "I don't want anyone to talk to me". Silence. WhatsApp. Goodbye. So that was quite reassuring. (Javier); Well it was very unpleasant. I was talking to five people at that time and I had a lot of problems with those people. So I was completely alone. I didn't get along with my parents at that time. (Alba)

In a period like adolescence, when personal and social changes are extremely evident, the pandemic lockdown was significant for these young people because it suspended everyday life. Usual tasks and plans, as well as roles and positions, were frozen while these young people were in the stage of transition to the adult world. This had different consequences, some positive, in terms of reaffirming their identity, while others were negative. However, the information provided by the young people stressed that it was, indeed, during the lockdown, during this temporary state of being 'in suspension', that they found time and room for significant intimate experiences of 'self-discovery' and 'listening to oneself'. A number of participants referred to what could be considered liminal spaces of transformation of the subject:

> For me at least, it was like a time that I invested in very well, because it was a time when I did not interact with people and a time that I spent focusing on what I wanted to know for myself, that is, discovering it for myself and from different places and things like that. At least that's how I discovered a lot of things about LGBTIQ. (Cris)
> And I had, you could call it, a kind of gender crisis in which I rethought everything and said "Well, this is the second time this has happened to me and I don't really think I identify as a girl", so I

started looking for a name and my dream was to shave my hair during the lockdown. (Alba)

4. Discussion

The results presented indicate that the intersection of cisheteronormative and adultist system have an impact on the experiences of LGBTQI adolescents (Platero et al., 2023a). Moreover, the axes in this system create specific situations where asymmetries occur in listening to adolescents. Although listening is an intersubjective space where it is necessary to be listened to in order to listen, and vice-versa (Barthes, 1986; Chion, 1999), some situations make it particularly difficult in certain spaces. This is the case of the family, where the results show that LGBTQI youngsters have reported an absence of legitimacy in the home regarding their forms of identification. In this respect, adolescence is considered an incomplete period when the experiences of teenagers do not seem to be as significant as those of adults (Gill-Peterson, 2018). At the same time, from an adultist point of view, there seems to be a need to understand adolescent sexuality in the same terms as that of adults. This implies, also in the field of research, an urgency to classify their gender and sexuality and find consistency in their definitions, with difficulties in understanding that they may be in a period of exploration. In this study, this is particularly evident in sexual orientation, where some trans and non-binary adolescents do not define themselves yet. This may indicate that questioning gender binarism also involves breaking down the limits of a more constrained sexuality and that they are still in that process of exploration. Added to this are situations in which not only is there no recognition of their gender identities and sexual orientations, but there may also be a criminalization or pathologization that has repercussions on the well-being of these young people. In schools, teachers and students are often reluctant to work with these issues, which make them feel uncomfortable, and the institutes themselves may have inadequate facilities, as is the case with the persistence of binary bathrooms.

However, in the same spaces of socialization in which the lack of listening arises, other safe spaces for listening to adolescents are also produced. The results, for example, show the commitment of some families, who in addition to supporting their sons and daughters from an individual point of view, are also involved in activist platforms that fight for their rights, as with the participants in group 1. Likewise, young people refer to the greater recognition of their experiences by their mothers and grandmothers, which is most likely explained by the greater involvement of women in supporting LGBTQI children and adolescents compared to men, misunderstandings that in many cases lead to separations or divorce between the parents (Platero, 2014). Listening to the other with the intention of understanding their experiences, even if they are not representative of everyone, creates not only a space of recognition of their subjectivity that can be restorative, but also of reinforcement and care, protection from a sometimes harsh outside world.

On the other hand, adolescents emphasize that interaction with others who also identify with the LGBTQI acronym fosters listening. Even if they are adults, the shared experience from the margins of cisheteronormativity furthers an inclination to listen to the other, thanks to shared circumstances (Rozas, 2022; Cavarero, 2005). At the same time, proximity to the age of the adolescents – i.e., young adults as opposed to older adults – is also mentioned as a criterion that makes them feeling more listened to, because of the increased similarity of their situations. Places such as youth centres, where the workers are usually younger and the space is less rigid than in a formal educational institution, are identified by young people as socialization situations where the adultist view is not so strongly reproduced.

In this respect, it is common for the experiences expressed and heard to be those of adults, leaving children and adolescents unheard (Woodiwiss, 2018). These narratives make many LGBTQI adolescents hide due to feeling 'not real' or not worthy of expressing what they are

experiencing (Woodiwiss, 2018), even more so when this differs from sexual and gender normativity. For this reason, it is essential to build safe spaces for these adolescents where they can be allowed to express themselves.

We have seen how the configuration and participation of adolescents in the three focus groups, despite coming from different environments, reflect safe spaces and how they are constructed in the practice of research, as well as the positions from which these adolescents take centre stage and are listened to. Spaces and moments in which they can talk and have reciprocity and interdependence with other adolescents or with adults who support them and with the researchers themselves, who are careful not to reproduce adultist and cisheteronormative power relations. These spaces and moments have also allowed us not only to discover the emergence of a creative adolescent narrative for research, as some authors point out (Burman, 2018; Christensen, 2004), but also to indicate to us how to conduct our relationship as adults with these adolescents.

Finally, regarding the perception of one's own listening, for some of the young people, the COVID lockdown provided a moment of self-discovery with regard to their sexuality and gender identity (López-Sáez and Platero, 2022; Langarita et al., 2023). These young people brought up the opportunity offered by the unique experience to have time to reflect and become better acquainted with themselves (López-Sáez and Platero, 2022). Some teenagers experienced a 'gender crisis' because they were finally able to 'listen to themselves', 'recognize themselves' and 'become aware' of their identity. In some cases, a liminal space was produced that created possibilities for self-listening, transformation and agency (Albertín, 2016). In the process of getting to know themselves, they also looked for role models who had previously listened to themselves and recounted their experiences. Indeed, these developments during the pandemic suggest that the constant productivity encouraged by capitalist society makes it difficult to find spaces for listening, and that when the time and space for a reflective process manifest themselves, this produces new opportunities for learning, not just for a single person, but for the people around them as well.

5. Conclusion

This study explored the reasons, forms and effects that configure (non–)listening amongst LGBTQI adolescents. The intersection between cisheteronormativity and adultism configures a hegemonic social representation of listening, which affects the experiences of young people because this structural framework conditions their possibilities of being heard. Although adultism is a common axis that affects childhood and adolescence, in the case of those who are LGBTQI a series of particularities are configured that have to do with an explicit denial of their sexuality and gender identity, which sometimes even extends to the legal framework with an absence of recognition of their existence. The series of practices like ignoring, silencing, discrediting, rejecting or pathologizing young people negatively affect their subjectivities; at the same time, other practices of reciprocity, empathy and recognition of the other create listening spaces that facilitate the expression of sexuality and gender beyond what is considered normative. Listening to LGBTQI adolescents allows them to reveal themselves in the face of injustice, to empower themselves in front of a world that often rejects them and to accept themselves based on what they feel.

The significance of these results opens up possibilities for listening, especially to young people who feel at the margins of the imposed sexual and gender norms. It also challenges families, professionals who work with teenagers, and society in general to call for awareness and empathetic practices that challenge hegemonic cisheteronormativity and adultism. These spaces of listening and recognition foster the production of tools of collective resistance that make it possible to confront the normativity of the social framework. As seen in this study, the power of these disorientations (Ahmed, 2019) is conjugated in this collective

action, in spaces such as LGBTQI associations and youth centres, places that encourage cohesion and listening amongst peers.

The key to listening is not necessarily representativeness, i.e., that there are many different voices, and there is no assurance that they will all be heard (Voegelin, 2010). However, an active listening puts the focus on the importance of intentionality in a process that reverberates in symbolic-material terms at the social level. Therefore, although being either LGBTQI or a younger person can help to cultivate listening spaces for LGBTQI adolescents, the challenge at the political level is to listen and pay attention to structural issues that may not directly relate to each person's direct experience, but can reinforce existing inequalities.

6. Future directions and limitations

Heteronormativity and adultism intersect with other dimensions in the narratives of young people, such as race, social class and religion, amongst others, all of which were taken into account but not explored in depth in this work. Academics also need to consider other spaces to examine the experiences of young people, where they have greater autonomy in the debate and the adult presence has less of an impact, with the overall aim of ensuring the existence of safer spaces of interaction for adolescents. In this sense, our approach as researchers has included the adultist relationship that it entailed, trying to mitigate the effect by listening from the "not knowing" and to make evident in some situations of interaction our sexual orientations and gender identities to make our relationship closer, trying to facilitate those safe spaces referred to by these adolescents.

Future research could focus on getting to know in depth what are the contexts of each of the participants in school, family or peers, among others, what has been their own trajectory, as a way to know what are the resilience strategies of the participants to cope with the difficulties.

References

Ahmed, S. (2017). *La política cultural de las emociones*. Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios de Género.

Ahmed, S. (2019). *Fenomenología queer. Orientaciones, objetos, otros*. Bellaterra.

Albertín, P. (2016). Subjetividades tejidas en historias de violencias de género y procesos migratorios: Lugares liminales de transformación. *Psicoperspectivas, 15*(1), 66–78. https://doi.org/10.5027/psicoperspectivas-Vol15-Issue1-fulltext-721

Argyrou, K., Platero, L. & Gallardo, E. (2024 forthcoming). The Ayuso Menace: The Challenges posed by the Derogation of the Madrid Anti-discrimination Policies for LGBTI citizens. Sexuality, Gender and Policy.

Bagattini, A. (2019). Children's well-being and vulnerability. *Ethics and Social Welfare, 13*(3), 211–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/17496535.2019.1647973

Barthes, R. (1986). *Lo obvio y lo obtuso. Imágenes, gestos, voces*. Paidós.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Burman, E. (2018). Child as method: Implications for decolonising educational research. *International Studies in Sociology of Education, 28*(1), 4–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/09620214.2017.1412266

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. Routledge.

Castañeda, C. (2014). Childhood. *Transgender Studies Quarterly, 1*(1–2), 59–61. https://doi.org/10.1215/23289252-2399605

Cavarero, A. (2005). *For More than One Voice. Toward a Philosophy of Vocal Expression*. Standford University Press.

Chadwick, R. (2020). Theorizing voice: Toward working otherwise with voices. *Qualitative Research, 21*(1), 76–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794120917533

Chion, M. (1999). *El sonido. Música, cine, literatura…* Paidós.

Christensen, P. H. (2004). Children's Participation in Ethnographic Research: Issues of Power and Representation. *Children & Society, 18*(2), 165–176. https://doi.org/10.1002/chi.823

de Cordova, F., Selmi, G., & Sità, C. (2023). The rhetoric of child well being in the Italian public debate on same-sex parenting and gender equality education. In J. A. Langarita, A. C. Santos, M. Montenegro, & M. Urek (Eds.), *Child Friendly Perspectives on Gender and Sexual Diversity* (pp. 11–134). Routledge.

Domínguez Ruiz, A. L. (2019). El oído: Un sentido, múltiples escuchas. *El oído pensante, 7*(1), 92–110.

Dyer, H. (2016). Queer futurity and childhood innocence: Beyond the injury of development. *Global Studies of Childhood, 7*(3), 290–302. https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610616671056

Ema, J. E. (2004). Del sujeto a la agencia (a través de lo político). *Athenea Digital, 6*, 1–24.

García Castilla, J. D. (2019). Conocimientos en resonancia: Hacia una epistemología de la escucha. *El oído pensante, 7*(2), 135–154.

Gill-Peterson, J. (2018). *Histories of the transgender child*. University of Minnesota Press.

Haraway, D. (1995). *Ciencia*. Cátedra: Cyborgs y Mujeres. La reinvención de la naturaleza.

Harding, S. (1996). Ciencia y Feminismo. *Morata*.

Hill Collins, P. (2000). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. Routledge.

Labelle, B. (2018). *Sonic Agency*. Goldsmiths Press.

Langarita, J.A., Santos, A.C., Montenegro, M. & Urek, M. (eds.) (2023). *Child Friendly Perspectives on Gender and Sexual Diversity: Beyond Adultcentrism*. Routledge. DOi: 10.4324/9781003294719.

Ley 3/2007, de 15 de marzo, reguladora de la rectificación registral de la mención relativa al sexo de las personas [disposición derogada]. *Boletín Oficial del Estado, 65*, 11251-11253, de 16 de marzo de 2007. https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/2007/03/15/3.

Ley 4/2023, de 28 de febrero, para la igualdad real y efectiva de las personas trans y para la garantía de los derechos de las personas LGBTIQ. *Boletín Oficial del Estado, 51*, de 01 de marzo de 2023. https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/2023/02/28/4/con.

López-Sáez, M. A., & Platero, L. (2022). Spanish youth at the crossroads of gender and sexuality during the COVID-19 pandemic. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 29*(1_suppl), 90S–104S. https://doi.org/10.1177/13505068221076319

López Trujillo, N. (2023a). Aprobada definitivamente la ley trans y LGTBI que permitirá cambiar el sexo legal sin requisitos a partir de los 14 años. Newtral. Retrieved from https://www.newtral.es/aprobada-ley-trans-lgtbi/20230216/.

López Trujillo, N. (2023b). Así afectaría el recorte que propone el PP de las leyes trans y LGTBI madrileñas. Newtral. Retrieved from https://www.newtral.es/recorte-ley-trans-madrid-ley-lgtbi/20231117/.

Montenegro, M., Pujol, J. & San Román, B. (2020). *Guidelines for Facilitators Workshop with Children on LGBTI+ and gender diversity. A participatory approach to prevent gender-based violence and promote a diversity welcoming environment. Diversity and Childhoods*. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Retrieved from https://dugi-doc.udg.edu/handle/10256/21385.

Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 16*, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691773384

Platero, L., Sanromán, B., Montenegro, M., & Pujol, J. (2023). Discourses on trans children: Adult-centric and narratives and youth fluid identities. In J. A. Langarita, A. C. Santos, M. Montenegro, & M. Urek (Eds.), *Child Friendly Perspectives on Gender and Sexual Diversity: Beyond Adultcentrism* (1st ed., pp. 9–25). Routledge.

Platero, L., Sarduní, N., & Kutassy, D. (eds.) (2023b). Infancias de colores - Colourful Childhoods. Recomendaciones para la elaboración de protocolos con los que prevenir y combatir la violencia contra las infancias y adolescencias LGBTIQ en contextos vulnerables. Servicio de Publicaciones de la URJC .DOi: 10.5281/zenodo.8212826.

Platero, L., & López-Sáez, M. A. (2020). Support, cohabitation and burden perception correlations among LGBTQA+ youth in Spain in times of COVID-19. *Journal of Children's Services, 15*(4), 221–228. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCS-07-2020-0037

Platero, L. (2020). Recognition and Distribution of Trans Rights in Spain. *Politics and Governance, 8*(3), 253–265. https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v8i3.2856

Platero, L. (2014). Trans*exualidades. *Bellaterra*.

Robinson, K. H. (2013). Innocence, Knowledge and the Construction of Childhood. The Contradictory Nature of Sexuality and Censorship in Children's Contemporary Lives. *Routledge*.

Rozas, I. (2022). Sonar la voz. 9 ensayos y 9 partituras. *Consonni Ediciones*.

Ruffo, J. (2019). *El sonido de las manifestaciones: una escucha táctil*. Centro de Producciones Radiofónicas (CPR). Retrieved from https://cpr.lat/el-sonido-de-las-manifestaciones-una-escucha-tactil/.

Ruiz Trejo, M., & García Dauder, D. (2018). Los talleres "epistémico-corporales" como herramientas reflexivas sobre la práctica etnográfica. *Universitas Humanística, 86*, 55–82. https://doi.org/10.11144/Javeriana.uh86.tech

Sándor, B. (2021). *Prevenir y combatir los diferentes tipos de violencia contra la infancia y adolescencia. Guía para profesionales*. Universitat de Girona. Retrieved from https://dugi-doc.udg.edu/handle/10256/21382.

Santos, B. (2006). La horizontalidad de las relaciones humanas y la tolerancia. *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana, 11*(34), 79-90. Retrieved from https://ve.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1315-52162006000300006.

Tisdall, E. K., & Punch, S. (2012). Not so 'new'? Looking critically at childhood studies. *Children's Geographies, 10*(3), 249–264. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2012.693376

Viveros Vigoya, M. (2016). La interseccionalidad: Una aproximación situada a la dominación. *Debate Feminista, 52*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.df.2016.09.005

Voegelin, S. (2010). Listening to Noise and Silence: Towards a Philosophy of Sound Art. *Continuum*.

Willem, C., Platero, L., & Tortajada, I. (2022). Transexclusionary Discourses on Social Media in Spain. In T. Krijnen, P. G. Nixon, M. D. Ravenscroft, & C. M. Scarcelli (Eds.), *Identities and Intimacies on Social Media. Transnational Perspectives* (pp. 185–200). Routledge.

Woodiwiss, J. (2018). From one girl to 'three girls': The importance of separating agency from blame (and harm from wrongfulness) in narratives of childhood sexual abuse and exploitation. *Pastoral care in Education, 36*(2), 154–166. https://doi.org/10.1080/02643944.2018.1464593

Yuval-Davis, N. (2017). Situated Intersectionality and the Meanings of Culture. Retrieved from *Consello da Cultura Galega*, 1–10 http://consellodacultura.gal/mediateca/extras/Texto_Nira_maquetado.pdf.