

ADOPTIONS, FAMILIES, CHILDHOODS

Direction: Esther Grau, Diana Marre & Beatriz San Román

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The adopted child and the contemporary kinship: The matter of belonging to two families.

Adoption responds to two main issues: give a family to a child (or give a child to a family...) and protect the child from any family difficulties. In this way, adoption undertakes two different procedures: filiation and childhood protection, which are considered to reinforce one another. The first one, filiation, establishes a bond between the child and the foster parents. In one way it modifies the child's identity, such as his name, his language, his nationality, his culture; and in another way, it gives him new rights and duties. Then the second one, childhood protection, is the moral justification of the establishment of this legal bond.

It is important to point out that this bond of adoptive filiation will be settled, in most cases (90% of the cases), in societies where the family model is to have a father and a mother, but mainly to have one father and one mother. Parents are supposed to be the child's progenitors. Thus this model keeps track of a symbolic and social order where the father was traditionally the husband of the mother, and the mother was the woman who gave birth to the child as a result of the sexual intercourse with her husband, relationships only thought as permitted...

After seeing this model, how have we proceeded to respect both purposes of adoption? Which logic did we consider and which logic do we consider now in order to blend filiation and the wellbeing of the child? I believe that we can point out four types of logical patterns: a logical pattern of substitution, succession, continuity, and relation.

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1. Logical pattern of substitution:

In this first logical pattern, the adopted child's filiation must be identical to the one of a child born of his own parents. The adopted child should have one mother and one father only, his foster parents, whatever his case may be. This adoption is called plenary adoption. One of the ways to establish it is undoing the previous filiation before constructing a new one.

1.1. Undoing the filiation:

The first task to undertake in this procedure is to verify that the child is completely detached from all filiation bonds, so as to make possible for the new parents to adopt. This task goes back to the native country of the child. There are two possible proceedings that go in accordance with it, and they depend on whether the parents are absent or present.

When the filiation of the child is unknown- if, for example, he was abandoned in a public place - a way of guaranteeing the child's availability for the adoptive procedure is to carry out a research of the parentage by an official representative of the child's native country. Thus, if the parents are not found, this representative should sign the adoption consent due to a lack of

parentage.



Manuel Colmeiro Paisaje



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If the child already has a filiation, then his parents must sign the agreement which consents the adoption; they are asked to resign their filiation bond. This signature requested by the Convention of The Hague, and regarded as a guarantee of the resignation agreement made by the birth parents is an imposition of (from?) our point of view. In fact for some adoptive children's native countries, like Vietnam or Haiti, it is impossible to break the filiation bond, even when the child is brought up by his foster parents. Regarding this subject, we have an explicit anecdote which shows the "nonsense" of this signature for Haitian parents: the responsible of an authorized French adoption organization (the equivalent to an adoption agency) was working in a Haitian nursery at the time that a father had just signed his child's adoption consent. The father asked the responsible, after having signed the renunciation of his paternity, when his son was coming back, for to him the bond was undeniable, even when he had trusted other parents to take care of his child.

In order to carry out with success the dissolution of the filiation contract, the child is taken into an institution (an orphanage or a nursery); this prevents the birth and the foster parents from all financial transaction between them. The child is not an object to be sold, but a disaffiliated individual to be adopted.

1.2. Redoing the filiation: The child's integration to a new family

"Not just any family can adopt any child" repeats very often the responsible of the most important French organization in French adoption, *La Mission Adoption de Médecins du Monde* (The Adoption Mission of Doctors in the World). The aim is officially to give a family to a child, as well as to qualify the family to carry out the parent tasks in a satisfactory way; therefore the adequacy between the expected child and the received child constitutes an important element of this capacity. For this purpose, the requests of the foster parents must correspond as closely as possible to the child's characteristics, provided/risking that the parents might think, as S. Howell denotes, that the child was predestined/ fated to them.



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S. Howell analyses -and defends- this logic of substitution by evoking the image of transplanting, or potting. The familiarization process of the child, which she calls "kinning", is prepared from the beginning of the parental project, then is prolonged during the waiting period to eventually finish by concretising the child's arrival; these three periods preceding the child's arrival resemble those preceding the childbearing. The assimilation of the adopted child as a biological child would be close to the transubstantiation phenomenon: "Transubstantiation evinces, as it happens in the Holy Eucharist, that bread and wine can transubstantiate into the body and blood of Christ, maintaining as a result only the appearances (and some other "incidents") of these first two". It happens in the same way with transnationally adopted children, the upbringing will not change their appearance but only their being or essence, that is to say, it will not transform them completely. As a Swedish woman who was adopted in India pointed out: "soy una niña coco, marrón por fuera y blanca por dentro" (I am a coconut brown girl from the outside, but I am white from the inside) Dr. Marre attests by quoting Howell (2006: 69). We may ask ourselves whether this approach between substantiation and adoption gives to the latter a holy/sacred aura.



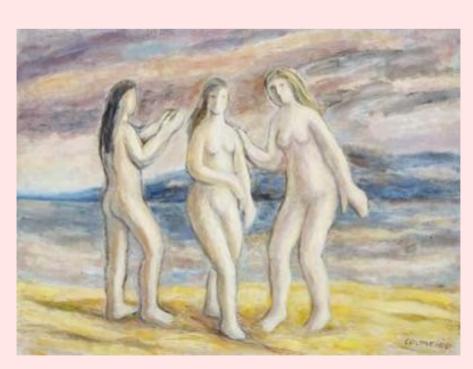
Manuel Colmeiro Las tres gracias, 1963



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2- Logic of Succession:

The faster the foster parents adopt the child, the better the logic of substitutive filiation works. It is recommended that the child benefits from a stable and protective life as soon and as fast as possible. Thereupon it could happen, as in the Mixed Bank programs of Quebec, that a child suffering from big familial difficulties is placed in pre-adoption with his potentially adoptive family even before the filiation bond is dissolute, or even before the biological family consents the dissolution. Special importance is given to the child's protection; therefore a life project going through plenary adoption is developed by Youth Centers. These Centers are also used as third-parties between biological parents and adoptive parents. Only the child circulates, even if the adoptive parents might have met the biological parents before. The adopted child cannot be thought, or considered as if born of his adoptive parents, not even when the filiation bonds, established at birth, were dissolute in order to be replaced by the adoptive filiation ones. We do not apply anymore a logic of parental substitution as much as we apply one of succession. If we regard from the plenary adoption point of view, if the first child's parentage does not have a legal effect over the filiation anymore, but still it is not denied.



Manuel Colmeiro Tres gracias, 1973



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3- Logic of continuity

This logic of succession (no es logic of continuity?) allows keeping traces of the original parentage. Once the persons wishing to adopt become parents, they usually receive a dossier with the personal history of the child: his birth, his biological parents' identity, the existence of siblings (normally incomplete), the first days or the first moments of his life...

The filiation bond between the child and his biological parents is dissolute, but the history remains. It seems that foster parents are increasingly helping their adopted children to have access to this information. Thus, J. Marquet, after leading with her team in 2004-2005 the research of contemporary evolution of parentage points out that "The five fathers who were able to adopt mind allowing their kids to weave the threads of their personal history by giving them pieces of information (documents or pictures) that they possess. However, it is suitable to remark that a first contact between the progenitors or the first parents is not imaginable until the end of adolescence or until adulthood. This idea, regarding an eventual interference at an educational level during childhood or adolescence, and therefore a sort of multiple parenting, is dismissed." (Marquet, 2010: 64). The bond concerns the adopted child, not the foster parents. The latter may want to know the genetic background of their child but not a lot more.

Just as the child, who is becoming older or an adult, is usually interested about his history - and not only about his body. If, for him, it is all about finding resemblances, knowing "Who do I

look alike?", it is also about answering the question "Who am I?". The analysis of stories, like for example the one of C. Villeneuve (2009) on the blog « La voix des adoptés » (The voice of adopted children), shows that adopted children grow distanced from their origins, though they keep the feeling that one day it might be possible, and even necessary, to go back to them . This day may "fall" in different periods of their lives.



Manuel Colmeiro Lavandeiras, 1968



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The search for the origins goes trough different stages (journeys to the native country, affiliation to adoption communities, encounters with key people...) before reaching the final phase: the certitude of getting together or of not getting together. The adopted child has to assume a new situation, almost a change of state. If the search takes him to the cognition of the disappearance of all traces, the adopted child must give up all the founded information and put an end to the search and the hope of discovering the history of his birth. However, if the search takes him to the reunion, then the adopted child must construct new relationships with the biological foreign parents. He must solve the contradiction of having one father and one mother (his foster parents) and all the same maintain the coexistence of the biological parents; then he must face the abandonment act.

The abandoned child finds himself between two different universes of parentage, one is the foster parentage, the official one; the other is the biological, the effaced one. Nevertheless, the institutional brake between these two universes is never total, for the filiative "dénouage et renouage" leave bond traces. In fact, if we focus on the wedding obstacles regarding the prohibitions of incest, we observe, following C. Collard (2011), that in one way these obstacles due to blood proximity still play a role in the biological parentage; and in another way, the obstacles that settle on the adoptive parentage are less restrictive between the adopted person and his foster family than if he was the biological child of this adoptive family.



Manuel Colmeiro Desnudo de mujer, 1951



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4 - Logic of relation.

Is it possible to assure the continuity of the child's personal history and also to guarantee every filiative right that belongs to him (sanity, education, as well as a name, and inheritance...)? Are there any adoption procedures that do not leave him alone while facing the history of circulation between two different parentages? We envisage two of them: open adoption and simple adoption.

4.1- Open adoption or the communication arrangement

We are talking about a plenary adoption; but foster parents and biological parents agree to a certain way of communication, or of contact between them: this may simply be letters, pictures, but also visits... This opening principle that allows the foster parents to be the only responsible of the adopted child -only the father and the mother may execute the parental tasks as feeding the child, providing him with education, and giving him a name that would place him in their line of descent- does not challenge the performance/functioning of our one father and one mother parental model. Nonetheless, it transforms the implicit sense, for the "real" parents do not carry out the progenitors function. Sexuality (procreation) and parentage do not break up anymore.

The Mixed Bank system of Quebec may privilege this arrangement. Yet it is necessary that the adoptive parents accept "ideologically" not to feel menaced by keeping the history. This arrangement could help biological parents that have difficulties in consenting their child's adoption: in this manner Claudia Fonseca, who analyses adoption arrangements out of official circuit in Brazil, Brazilian adoptions, writes: "It seemed to be important for these women to state in their narrative that a) knowing where their child had been placed, they were able to attest from afar to their youngster's well-being, and b) they have been treated by the adoptive parents as worthy partners in the decision that would affect their child. In other words, they had established a sort of relationship (even though brief or extremely episodic) with the adoptive parents, in which they felt their dignity as caring mothers had been preserved."



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4.2- Simple adoption or adoption without break of the biological bond:

Simple adoption does not efface the legal filiation bond between the adopted child and his bilogical parents, but it gives a supplementary filiation bond to the child and his foster parents, a bond marked by the name; In fact the child takes the name of his foster parents, free of keeping as second name the one of his biological parents. However, parental authority - which only concerns underage kids-, is completely transferred to the foster parents. Simple adoption then constitutes a dual genealogical filiation. But as a matter of fact, if simple adoption still exists in France - approximately in equivalent number to plenary adoption (between 4000)- it concerns mainly the adults, and foster parents are generally the parents-in-law of the adopted child; so the latter may receive an inheritance from the foster parents.

The disappearance of simple adoption for young children in the benefit of plenary adoption is a proof of the evolution of our parental exercise. When underage adoption was authorized in France in 1923, after the bloodshed of the First World War, it was only concerned in orphan children. Then, little by little it has developed, for now it is concerned in children with family difficulties. When plenary adoption, as we understand it now, was introduced (France, 1966), the important thing was to avoid confrontation between the two possible parentages; the balance would tip in favor of the adoptive family at the expense of the biological one, which was usually considered as unstable. The latter was effaced, and the child was registered in his civil status as if born of his adoptive parents.

Nowadays the general scene of familial configurations has changed. We are surrounded by divorced families, recomposed ones, adoptive families with children born in foreign countries; homoparental families are now appearing. In one hand a child can circulate from the maternal home to the paternal home, but he may also mix or live with his mother-in-law (new companion of his father), while still having his mother or his father-in-law (new companion of his mother), while still having his father. The exclusiveness of one father and one mother is not part of the child's everyday life anymore, the child lives in a multifamiliar context.

Couldn't it be possible that simple adoption finds again an important place in this current parentage scene?



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REFLECTIONS

As plenary adoption takes flight - since the beginning of the 60s, or some years later depending on the country- it is necessary that the so-established filiation of the child protects him from all litigation or filiative incertitude; this is why he could have been said "born" of his foster parents. The logic of substitution corresponded to the will of the child's perfect integration to the adoptive family. Yet with the development of psychological sciences and of pediatrics, we have learned that the baby is a person with his own body and history. And though he is the child of his foster parents, he is not born of their flesh, but of another history that belongs to him, even if this latter is a difficult issue and it is advisable to cut it short.

So how far must we go in the recognition of this history and in the matter of the child belonging to two families? Is it convenient to leave the child alone facing his family belongings, or to introduce from the very beginning of his adoptive history the procedures, like the communication [...] or the simple adoption, that allow the recognition of the two universes to which he belongs?

A British anthropologist, J. Pitt-Rivers, trained in parentage classical studies, who has done a lot of work in filiation and alliance over Mediterranean societies (his first survey was for that matter a village near Ronda in Andalusia), wrote in 1973 that a wedding without descent was forgotten, because with no effect, the union of the two lines of descent is not remembered in any

child. The latter would represent, by his existence, this alliance. Nowadays, after the transformation of ways to become a family, it is all about recognizing this "bond value" to the child, not only in relation with his paternal and maternal lines of descent, but in relation with all the figures that have helped his existence.



Manuel Colmeiro Mujer con niño, 1939



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...FURTHER VIEWING

Bergman, I. 1958. NÄRA LIVET



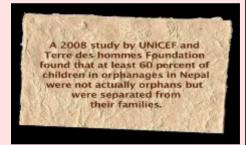
• Terres des Hommes 2010. Paper orphans

Parte 1: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1B5QiFFxAu4

Parte 2: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0adJdVBPvto

Parte 3: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nsUWaToRWuQ

Parte 4: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=95Fyy3UY U0



BBC 2011. America's child death shame.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-15288865





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...FURTHER READING

- Cadoret A., 2010, «Peut-on rapprocher la gestation pour autrui de l'adoption? De la maternité éclatée à la maternité plurielle», 2010, Recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques, n° 2, p. 5-23.
- Collard, C., 2011, «Pluriparentalité et pluriparenté. Regard anthropologique sur le droit de l'adoption et la procréation assistée au Québec» in Enfances, familles et générations, n° 4, p. 9-25.
- Fonseca C., 2010 "Profit, care and kinship: the de-kinning of birthmothers" in V.Pons, A. Piella,
 M. Valdes Procreación, ciranza y género,. Aproximaciones antropológicas a la parentalidad,
 Barcelona, PPU, p.206.
- Marquet J., 2010, «Couple parental -couple conjugal- multiparentalité. Réflexions sur la nomination des transformations de la famille contemporaine» in *Recherches sociologiques et* anthropologiques, Vol. XLI, n° 2, p. 51-74.
- Marre D., 2010 «Los límites del proceso de "emparentamiento". ¿Cuándo un niño o niña (no) deviene en hijo o hija en la adopción transnacional en Espana?», in V.Pons, A. Piella, M. Valdes Procreación, ciranza y género,. Aproximaciones antropológicas a la parentalidad, Barcelona, PPU, p. 235-260.
- Ouellette F.R., 2009, «Entre abandon et captation. L'adoption québécois en "banque mixte"»,
 Anthropologie et Sociétés, n°33-1 Enfances en péril, p. 65-82.
- Villeneuve C. 2009, «La quête des origines des adoptés de l'étranger : revue à travers des récits virtuels sur Internet» in A. Cadoret et G. André-Trévennec, *Le devenir des enfants adoptés à l'international*, Rapport de recherche lle de France-Picri.



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LINKS

- http://pearadoptinfo-nepal.blogspot.com/
- http://www.ethicanet.org/
- http://www.peretarres.org/wps/wcm/connect/peretarres_ca/peretarres/home/ informacio_corporativa/comunicacio/noticies/noticies/presentacio_informe_unicef

RECENT EVENTS

- <u>La Encrucijada de los Acogimientos y las Adopciones en España: Las Adopciones en el Punto de</u>

 Mira. ¿Una nueva etapa?, Asturias, 1st October 2011.
- XX Congreso Nacional de Pediatría Social: <u>Problemas emergentes en Pediatría Social</u>, Granada, 6
 -8 October 2011.
- II URIE Meeting. Workshop: Prenatal Alcohol exposure: Biomarkers and Neurodevelompment.

 Barcelona: 24-25 October 2011. www.imim.es

FUTURE EVENTS

- The Alliance for the Study of Adoption and Culture. March 22 25, 2012. The Claremont Colleges, Claremont, California. http://www.pitt.edu/~asac/conference.html
- The Global Summit on Childhood. March 28-31, 2012. Washington, D.C., USA. http://www.acei.org/conferences/annual-conferences.html

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ABOUT THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Born a year after the beginning of the 20th Century in Silleda (Pontevedra), and died a year before it ended, Manuel Colmeiro is an internationally renowned painter. He spent his life between Galicia and Buenos Aires, first as an emigrant, in 1917, and then in exile, where he fled when the Civil War broke out. In 1950 he moved to Paris, where he remained most of his life, being considered one of the members of the School of Spanish Painters in Paris, with deserved prestige. Despite his long days out of Galicia, inside him the memory of his Galician village never stopped beating, and he reflects that in a indefatigable way in his paintings, recreating issues related to the country life, fairs and festivals that he paints from the distance in faithful tenderness. Colmeiro is the the main character, along with Manuel Torres, Arturo Souto, Laxeiro, Maside and Seoane, of the "Os renovadores" group, considered as the first movement to break with the old ideas and traditional painting flavor. Colmeiro always paints with his soul. Throughout his long life, he worked tirelessly in paintings full of emotion and awareness, qualities which he combines with a mastery of the technique, a rich colorful sense and composition approaches full of personality.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Anne Cadoret

was Researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scien- tifique (CNRS) in Paris, France until her retirement in 2010. Her books include *Des parents comme les autres: Parenté et homosexualité* (Editions Odile Jacob, 2002) and *Parenté Plurielle: Anthropologie du Placement Familial* (L'Harmattan, 1995). She coedited *Homoparentalités: Approches Scientifiques et Poli- tiques* with Caroline Mécary, Martine Gross, and Bruno Perreau (Puf, 2006). She is the author of the Research Report *La construction de la parenté pour améliorer l'adoption* (2010). She is member de AFIN.



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5° Congreso Internacional AFIN

La tríada en la adopción, el acogimiento y la reproducción asistida: el lugar de la familia de origen

25 y 26 de noviembre Residencia de Investigadores C/ Hospital, 64 08001 Barcelona



Fotografía: Miguel Gaggiotti

Habrá traducción simultánea del inglés, francés y lengua de signos

Con la colaboración de:













ADOPTIONS, FAMILIES, CHILDHOODS

JORNADA I 25 de noviembre

9:00-9:30 Acreditaciones

9:30-10:15 Apertura

Teresa **Cabré Monné**. Decana de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona Diana **Marre**. IP del Grupo de Investigación AFIN (Adopciones, Familias, Infancias) y profesora del Departamento de Antropología Social y Cultural de la UAB

10:15-11:45

Mesa redonda: La familia de origen en la adopción y el acogimiento

Carmen López Matheu (UB-AFIN) Lila Parrondo Creste (Adoptantis-AFIN) Isabel Miralles González (UB)

Presenta: Nadja Monnet (UAB)

11:45-12:15 Pausa café

12:15-13:15 Primera sesión:

La 'adopción abierta': más de treinta años entre lo personal y lo profesional

Barbara **Yngvesson**, (Hampshire College, Massachusets, EEUU), antropóloga social y madre adoptiva de una adopción 'abierta' en Estados Unidos

Presenta: Paola Galbany (UAB)

13:15-15:00 Pausa Comida

15:00-16:00 Segunda sesión

Abriendo la adopción internacional: experiencias de madres biológicas y padres adoptivos.



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Riitta **Högbacka** (Department of Social Research. University of Helsinki, Finlandia). Desarrolla un proyecto de investigación con familias adoptivas finlandesas y madres biológicas sudafricanas que han dado sus hijos o hijas en adopción.

Presenta: Elena Castillo (UB)

16:00-17:00 Tercera sesión

La familia biológica: experiencias e historias personales

Nadine Lefaucheur. (Université des Antilles et de la Guyane).

Chus Villegas. Madre biológica de un niño dado en adopción a principios de la década de los 70.

Presenta: Ana Berástegui Pedro-Viejo (UPCom)

17:00-18:00 Tercera sesión

Entre el nacimiento y la adopción: el lugar de las familias de acogida

Paloma Gay y Blasco (Department of Social Anthropology. University of Saint Andrews, Scotland, Reino Unido). Antropóloga y madre adoptiva de una adopción 'con contacto' con la madre de acogida de su hija.

Presenta: Marta Bertran Tarrès (UAB-AFIN)

18:00-18:30 Pausa café

18:30-19:30 Cuarta sesión

China: la perspectiva del país de origen sobre las familias de nacimiento y las de acogida de niños y niñas dadas en adopción

Zhang Zhong, Ex director del Centro Chino de Adopciones y actual director de la China Social Welfare Education Foundation

Presenta: Vinyet Mirabent (FVB)

19:30-20:00 *Coloquio*



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Jornada II 26 de noviembre

09:30-10:30.

Mesa redonda:

El lugar de los y las genitores en la parentalidad subrogada y por reproducción asistida

Anne Cadoret (CNRS)

Carme Fitó (UB)

Mariana **De Lorenzi** (Abogada especialista en Derecho de Familia y mediadora)

Presenta: Mara Martínez Morant (BAU, Escola Superior de Disseny centro adscrito a la Universitat de Vic)

10:30-12:00

Quinta sesión

La maternidad y paternidad por gestación subrogada

Naina Patel. Directora de la clínica Akanksha Infertility & IVF Hospital, Anand, Gujarat, India

Caroline O'Flaherty: madre de una niña por gestación subrogada

Hugo Ruiz: padre de un niño por gestación subrogada

Presenta: Diana Marre (UAB-AFIN)

12:00-12:30. Pausa café

12:30-13:30

Sexta sesión:

El contacto con la familia biológica desde los servicios de salud pública en Reino Unido

Carmen Pinto. Consultant Child & Adolescent Psychiatrist

Anouk **Houdijk**. Chartered Clinical Psychologist. Conduct, Adoption & Fostering Team (CAFT)

Presenta: Natàlia Barcons (UAB-AFIN)

13:30-15:00 Pausa comida



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15:00-16:00 Séptima sesión

Sobre una adopción nacional 'cerrada' que se abrió. Experiencias personales

Kate St. Vincent Vogl: Escritora e hija adoptiva que recuperó la relación con su madre biológica

Presenta: Beatriz San Román Sobrino (UAB-AFIN)

16:00-17:00 Octava sesión

Sobre cómo una adopción internacional 'cerrada' puede 'abrirse'. Experiencias personales

Sandra **Bethencourt López**, Madre adoptiva de una adopción internacional en Etiopia cerrada que se transformó en 'abierta'

Presenta: Virginia Fons (UAB)

17:00-17:30 Pausa café

17:30-19:00 Novena sesión

De Holanda a China y viceversa. Experiencias personales

Wilma **Leermakers** & James Cristian **Kuijper**. Padres adoptivos de una niña nacida en una familia de origen chino con quienes recuperaron la relación

Presenta: Rosa Mora (CRIA-AFIN)

19:00-19:30 *Coloquio*

19:30-20: Cierre

Dolors **Comas d'Argemir Cendra** (URV-AFIN), Catedrática de Antropología Social, Universitat Rovira i Virgili Esther **Grau Quintana** (CRIA-AFIN), Psicóloga Clínica.



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BOLETIN DE INSCRIPCIÓN PARA EL 5º CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL AFIN

Enviar a info.afin@afin.org.es

La tríada en la adopción, el acogimiento y la reproducción asistida: el lugar de la familia de origen

Barcelona, 25 Y 26 de noviembre de 2011

NOMBRE Y APELLIDOS:			
DNI:			
DOMICILIO:			
CIUDAD Y C.P.			
PROFESIÓN			
E-MAIL:			
TELÉFONO:		FAX:	
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PAGO DE LA RESERVA

- 95 euros hasta el 20 de octubre
- 120 euros hasta el día del congreso

Pago por ingreso/transferencia bancaria a la cuenta 5º Congreso AFIN : 2100 0815 56 0200716513 – indicando nombre y apellidos completo.

El precio incluye:

- Materiales del congreso
- Pausas cafés
- Traducción simultánea
- Servicio de interpretación en lengua de signos, en las sesiones de la mañana.

Para las comidas de ambos días se proporcionará una lista de sugerencias de diferentes tipos y precios en los alrededores de la Sede del Congreso.

La sala tiene un aforo limitado a 120 personas por lo que la inscripción se hará por riguroso orden de llegada de la ficha de inscripción e ingreso bancario.

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