

Men in families in contemporary Europe: caring fathers

Families and family life have changed greatly in Europe (and elsewhere in the developed world) since the mid-20th century. Whereas the 1940s to early 1960s are known as the “golden age of the family”, we live now in the era of family diversity. Back in the golden age, family meant a married couple with usually three or more children born to rather young parents, with the mother devoting all her time to childcare and housework while the father being solely responsible for breadwinning. As divorce and single motherhood were extremely rare given the social stigma attached to them, men and women were locked into this strict division of roles.

But the way of life has changed. Families have become smaller as couples have fewer children, if at all, have them at higher ages and often in partnership forms other than marriage, with declining stability characterizing all couple relationships. Thus the family landscape has become more and more diverse and includes, alongside marriage, also non-marital cohabitation, stable couple relationships in which the partners do not share a home, childless couples, single parent families, families where only one of the partners is the biological/adoptive parent of the children, same-sex partnership families, multinational families and families in which children and

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their (one or both) parents live in different countries. In parallel with the increasing complexity of family configurations and biographies, the traditional gender division of labour has become increasingly unviable inducing changes within and beyond the family sphere.

At first, female labour force participation has risen substantially from the 1970s onwards, although in Southern Europe only more recently. Women's engagement in paid work even after entering marriage or becoming a mother has fostered their aspirations not limited to the home and family realm. This has led to increasing female participation in tertiary education, so that in the main ages of family formation highly educated women have outnumbered their male counterparts in recent decades. Grounded in empowerment, women's new role has brought about a wide range of opportunities for them in both the public sphere and in family life. Based on their preferences, women can opt for prioritizing their careers, make decisions about partnership and fertility in terms of the number of children they have and the timing of births within the limits of reproductive impair-

ment, and decide on the time and energy they devote to housework and care tasks. Researchers called these major changes "the gender revolution". Lately, it has been recognized that women's new role is only the 'first phase' of changes in gender relations which has led to the trends outlined above, often considered as the weakening of the family.

More recently however, we have been witnessing changes in the male role as well with active, engaged fatherhood increasingly gaining terrain. Also, more and more men seem to understand that women cannot carry the double burden of employment and family tasks alone, but as the responsibility of economic provision for a family is being shared in a couple, domestic tasks should be shared as well. Hence men's participation in family life is increasing, albeit slowly in most countries, viewed as the 'second phase' of the gender revolution. Researchers finding beneficial outcomes for men actively taking part in family life, look at the future with anew optimism. The 'second phase' of the gender revolution is expected to counteract the trends towards "less family" brought along by the first phase. Indeed, rapid de-



Japanese bas-relief

clines in childbearing, resulting in aging populations with diminishing economic competitiveness of the societies in question, shrinking labour force and increasingly unmet care needs especially among the elderly, alarmed also policy-makers, first at the national level, then in the European Union as such. Different measures

have been introduced across Europe in the past decades, to facilitate the combination of paid work and parenthood for women and men alike. Family policies thus gained increasing importance with ambitions and schemes varying widely across countries. The main differences are found in i) the extent and means of support provided by the state to families to promote work-life balance, and ii) views on gender roles and gender equality.

The Nordic countries are well-known for their generous family provision, espe-

Tiled flock



cially the long parental leave covered with high income replacement and substantial public childcare provision as well as for their commitment to the principle of gender equality. Fathers are encouraged to actively engage in care for their children via the father's quota, that is several months of the care leave being reserved for them on a use-it-or lose-it basis. In case of divorce or separation, shared custody (that is, children alternately residing with the mother and the father) is promoted to ensure that children retain close contacts with both parents. Western Europe shows a more diversified picture with respect to supporting mothers' engagement in paid work and providing possibilities for fathers to participate in the care for their children while adhering to their main role of breadwinning. Southern European countries provide limited support for families making the reconciliation of work and family life a major challenge for most mothers and fathers, and traditional gender roles are hardly questioned. The English-speaking countries are characterized by mainly means-tested state support and the strong belief in the market to provide solutions for the combination of

paid work and parenthood tasks. In Central-East European countries there have been major cutbacks in policy support for women to combine employment and care responsibilities compared to the state-socialist period, along with a revival of traditional gender roles and active fatherhood being restricted to the role of economic provider. However, gender equality has become an issue that has received increasing attention in the European Union policy agenda aiming to strengthen women's labour market position and promote fathers' involvement in care. This in turn will facilitate the gender revolution across Europe and promote sustainable societal development.

With this background as the point of departure, we now look in-depth at men's participation in family life in contemporary Europe and what the future may bring. An important trend with respect to that is the reversal of the gender gap in education at the start of the 21st century, mentioned above, that resulted in significantly fewer highly educated men than women at ages of twenties and thirties, and more and more so among more mature age groups. As a consequence, the traditional mar-

riage pattern has changed from the man in a couple being more highly educated than the woman to most couples having equal educational level, and increasingly to couples formed by more educated women with less educated men. This may influence negotiations over the division of labour within a couple and strengthen gender equality in the family in the long run, as men compensate for they being less educated with increasingly taking a fair share in domestic tasks and the care for children. Hence the female educational advantage can facilitate the second phase of the gender revolution.

Research interviews with men have shown that active, caring fatherhood is a broad concept encompassing a wide range of paternal behaviour including career-oriented full-time employment accompanied by all forms of motherhood, even stay-at-home mums. In any case, young men increasingly appreciate having a close relationship with their children and being more involved in their everyday life. Aspirations to be an engaged father is often an important driver for men taking long parental leave, but granting the breadwinner role to the mother is regarded as

temporary only, linked to men's previous labour market success or sometimes to their disappointing personal experiences at work. The parents' specific interrelation in the care for their children is seen to may change along a number of turning points, of which the birth of the child, previously considered as *the* time of re-traditionalization of gender roles in a couple, is only one. Indeed, parental gender relations embrace a complex continuum beyond polarity of equality and inequality. Decisions about how to divide care leave between the parents, when legally possible, have been found to be interlinked with a number of other aspects such as work flexibility, attitudes of workplace management and of workmates towards fathers' leave taking, ways of managing income loss in the family, child feeding practices, and the mother's work aspiration.

Care for children however includes much more than the share of parental leave which is limited to the early phase of children's life. Studying fathers' time use with children up to teenage years across countries with different family policies, Nordic fathers are seen to score highest. They spend most time with their children

and are the most involved in their care either alone or with the mother present on both weekdays and weekends. In Western Europe fathers are much less likely to participate in childcare activities, and hardly so in Southern Europe, where mothers are nearly always present at any pater-

Samurai Tomoe



nal involvement with children. In English-speaking societies a shift towards less father involvement has been noted lately, especially among the lower educated, unless the mother has a university degree or works full-time. In contrast, such individual characteristics play little role in the Nordic countries. These patterns of paternal time use with children seem



*Painted
jungle*

to mirror the views on gender roles and gender equality in a given policy context, discussed above. In Scandinavia, fathers' involvement with older children may also be linked to their parental-leave uptake (especially the length), which is seen to be significantly and positively associated with men's share in childcare later.

Active fathering has been found to relate also to other aspects considered to strengthen the family. Notably, couples are more likely to have a second child if the father took leave with the first child, though this does not hold for third births which are more rare. Nevertheless, if parents would have two children on average, this would be sufficient to counteract the negative tendencies related to societal ageing due to very low fertility in the population, hence this is an important finding. Also, research shows that fathers' leave taking enhances the stability of partnerships, as such couples are much less likely to break-up even in a longer run than families in which the father does not take parental leave. Strengthening couple relationships may be a fruitful way to boost the well-being of families, given the widely-known negative consequences of family dissolu-

tion, for children especially. In fact, policy instruments playing a role in enhancing fathers' involvement in care has been noticed when comparing leave use of native and immigrant fathers in Nordic societies. The optional bonus system of longer leave if used by the father (in Finland) proved to have little effect on non-native fathers' leave-uptake which remains very limited. In contrast, the father's quota in Sweden seems to provide stronger motivation as well as legal protection for both native and immigrant fathers who are thus more likely to be active fathers and take parental leave. This example illuminates that views on gender roles and consequent behaviour are not unaffected by policies, making the second phase of the gender revolution a realistic goal for all societies.

As partnership break-up has become increasingly common even among couples with children in all Europe, including countries of the Mediterranean where adherence to traditional gender roles has only recently been challenged, the notion of active fatherhood cannot be restricted to co-resident family relationships. We should also pay attention to parenting in dissolved and reconstituted families, to

understand how mothers as well fathers' input together produce well-being for children (or not). Although non-co-residence is a temporary arrangement for transnational families, the parents involved face challenges and constraints similar to those experienced by dissolved families. Hence the relevant research findings complete the picture of how engaged fathering can be accommodated in family diversity. Parenting involves direct support (beyond financial means) and control provided to children, but the mechanisms of provision and also the amount of these contributions vary by custodial arrangements, that is, which parent resides with the children and their contacts with the other parent.

Fathers often find themselves in the position of being a non-resident parent after the family break-up, and this in turn usually reduces their involvement with the children. There are two exceptions, however. The first one, joint physical custody, also known as alternating residence of children even if not necessarily equal amount of time with each parent, ensures continues contacts and thus both parents remaining part of their offspring's

everyday life. This form of sharing care responsibilities between the parents in dissolved families is particularly popular in the Nordic countries, with legal regulations increasingly promoting it. Studies have shown this arrangement, which undoubtedly request cooperation among the former couple, being highly beneficial for children with respect to their higher self-esteem, lower levels of stress and psychological ill-health as compared to children raised by the mother alone, with limited contribution of the father if at all. The other exception is related to the resident mother's repartnering, as the entrance of a stepfather in the family seems to trigger the biological father's engagement with the children. As long as the father's involvement contributes to positive child development, it enhances the well-being of all family members, independently of custodial arrangements. Both of these exceptions involve the strengthening of the caring aspect in father's parenting, hence being incompatible with the traditional view on men's role.

We conclude this brief overview, hoped to have provided sufficient guidance with respect to the turbulence of the contem-

porary family landscape and everyday family life, emphasizing the importance of bringing men back in the family. As employment and family lives increasingly influence each other, individuals, families and societies will benefit of attitudes, structures, cultural and legal arrangements supporting all adults' involvement in earning as well as caring activities, independently of gender. Let us ensure that our changing families promote societal sustainability and well-being, for a better future.

INTERESTING LINKS

- [Families and Societies \(research project\)](#)
- [SPaDE: Social Policy and Family Dynamics of Europe](#)
- [The Young Adult Panel Study](#)

ABOUT THE AUTHOR OF THE TEXT

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She is Associate Professor of Demography (Ph.D., 2001, Stockholm University) at the Dept. of Sociology, Stockholm University with expertise also in law and political science, comparative welfare state research and gender studies. Her main research interests are: family demography in comparative perspective, policy impacts on fertility and partnership dynamics, and the interplay of family patterns and societal and familial gender relations in European societies. She has been the Project coordinator of FamiliesAndSocieties ("Changing Families and Sustainable Societies: Policy contexts and diversity over the life course and across generations"), a large-scale collaborative project financed in the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (Febr. 2013 – Jan. 2017), and also the Principal Investigator of the Swedish part of the international comparative project "Explaining very low fertility in postindustrial societies". Oláh has published in high-quality international journals, (co-)authored a number of book chapters and been the main editor of a volume on childbearing, women's employment and work-life balance policies published by Palgrave Macmillan (2013). She has been the initiator and coordinator of the research network Gendering European Family Dynamics; a member of the Network of Excellence RECOWE (Reconciling Work and Welfare in Europe; FP6, 2006-2011), a member of the editorial board of several international journals of social sciences as well as of reference groups on family issues internationally and in Sweden. She has been an excellent communicator of population science research bringing politically and socially highly relevant demographic research results to the attention of policy-makers at the EU-, and other international and national levels, to stakeholder organizations as well as the international and national media (broadcast and print), and to the general public.

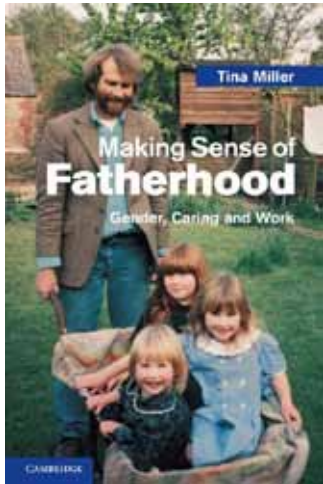
ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE IMAGES

Txtarte

Txtarte is a company founded in 2003 by a couple of artists, Francesc Fusté Saus and Carla Bossi Viqueira. They are sculptors, painters and mosaicists. With these tools they do scenography works for cinema and advertising, decorations for private houses or commercial premises, thematization of zoos and aquariums, and their own personal work. They have their workshop in Poblenou, Barcelona, where they also run KET, the smallest art gallery in Spain.

[Further information](#)

FURTHER READING



Miller, T. (2011)
Making Sense of Fatherhood: Gender, Caring and Work
 Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

As family and work become more complex, who stays with the baby? Tina Miller explores men's experiences of fatherhood and provides unique information about paternal care, changing masculinities and men's relationships with paid work.

The author focuses on the narratives of a group of men, since they anticipate and then experience paternity for the first time. This original longitudinal research contributes to contemporary theories of gender in a context of social and political change. Men's journeys to fatherhood are both similar and varied, and illustrate how deeply gender permeates individual lives, everyday practices, and social assumptions about caring for young children.



Oláh, L. & Fratzczak, E. (2013)
Childbearing, Women's Employment and Work-Life Balance Policies in Contemporary Europe
 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

This book addresses the importance of labour force attachment for childbearing decisions in the context of increasingly flexible labor markets and diverse work-life balance policies in Europe. Via processes of uncertainty and risk related to insecure positions with respect to paid work and of incoherence between equal access to education and employment for women and men but unequal share of family responsibilities, the capabilities of families to have and care for children in early 21st century Europe is illuminated.

FURTHER VIEWING



Bävman, Johan
Swedish Dads

Sweden has one of the best parental leave systems in the world. The current system allows parents to stay at home with their children for a total of 480 days, while receiving generous state support. Ninety of these days are assigned to each parent as to promote gender equality. In order to encourage men and women to share their parental leave more equally, the so-called "equality bonus" was added to the parental leave scheme (but abolished quite recently). The more days divided equally between parents, the greater the bonus. This photo essay is based on portraits of fathers who belong to the relatively small group who choose to stay at home with their children for at least six months. With this photographic project, it is shown why these men have chosen to stay at home for much longer than most fathers in Sweden. What has it done for them, how have their relationships with their partner and their son changed, and what expectations did they have before taking parental leave?

AFIN NEWS

Making Families: Special Issue in *Reproductive Biomedicine and Society*

Marcin W. Smietana, doctor in Sociology, researcher of Repro-Soc at Cambridge University and member of AFIN, together with professor Charis Thompson, has edited an issue in the journal *Reproductive Biomedicine and Society*, titled Making Families: Transnational surrogacy, Queer kinship and reproductive justice. The publication emerges from a conference held in UC Berkeley in 2016, addressing the tensions and possible solidarities among three powerful frames to think about contemporary reproduction: *queer* reproduction, stratified reproduction and reproductive justice, three phenomena rarely read together. The launching of the special issue took place the 1st November in Cambridge after the public conference of Chris Thompson. It is available [in this link](#).



On political participation of migrant and refugee women: 4th Meeting of the Network of Latin-American and Caribbean Women

From October 19 to 21, in Centro Cívico Pati Llimona, Barcelona, took place the 4th Meeting of the Network of Latin-American and Caribbean Women, in which participated Silvina Monteros Obelar, researcher and member of AFIN. The Meeting brought together 140 migrant women from different Spanish cities, who actively participate in political and associative movements. In this occasion, the Meeting focused on debating on the political participation of migrant and refugee women, starting from the rethinking of the idea of citizenship that excludes them, for instance, from the right to active vote (except in municipal elections and under certain requirements) and the passive vote. In this line, innovative strategies of political participation were presented, given the implication of the Network in the Project Women Voices of the European Coalition WIDE+. Among these innovative strategies include the lengthy process of advocacy carried out in Spain by domestic employees and migrant caregivers, whose demands have been able to enter into the State political agenda. While domestic work has been incorporated as a sector to the General Regime of Social Security in 2011, total equality was



planned for 2019 and it has been delayed repeatedly citing budgetary issues, among others. Housemaids organizations are currently fighting for equal rights and without delays, as well as the immediate ratification of the Convention 189 of ILO on decent work for domestic workers. During the Meeting, took place an emotive visit by the Mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau, who with her closeness wanted to listen the political demands of migrant and refugee women.

Why don't we talk about sexuality?

Last September 23 in Festival Escena Penedès, held in Vilafranca del Penedès, the association Les Escoles Gelida Teatre played its work titled *I per què no en par-*



lem? [Why don't we talk about it?]. The creation of the work is framed in the Project SexAfin: Affective-sexual and reproductive education in primary schools, developed by AFIN Research Group, that examines how sexuality is talked about with children. The work emerged from a study undertaken through a collaborative methodology, in which participants from the association –composed by families and children– reinterpreted data resulted from the research. The carrying out of several focal groups with mothers and fathers, and children, allowed to understand the difficulties that adults have to talk about sexuality with their children, as it has been pointed out by international researches, and the interest of children to acquire sexual knowledge as well. The work presents these difficulties, fears, doubts, interests, and the discourse of innocent childhood, that understands sexuality as an element of adulthood from which children should be protected. *I per què no en parlem?* proposes, in an amusing way, opening a space to talk about sexuality with the family.

AGENDA

Ages and cultural practices



For the third consecutive year, during November 21 and 22, the seminar "Cultural Ages and Practices: People, Groups and Stages" will be held in the Social Anthropology Master's Degree at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. This seminar, organized by Professor Diana Marre, includes professional, intervention and personal experiences related to the social constructions of life cycle, families and childhoods.

The capacity is limited. If you wish to attend, please contact: c.afin@uab.cat.

AFIN Thursday Appetizers

On December 13, Alicia Paramita Rebuelta Cho will give a seminar entitled "Reproductive Governance in Indonesia: the reproductive process in Sikka", within the cycle of seminars "AFIN Thursday Appetizers".



Alicia Paramita Rebuelta is a PhD student of AFIN group; in this seminar she will show the results of her doctoral thesis, with the focus on the practices and policies that frame the reproductive process among the Sikka, one of the ethnolinguistic groups of Flores island (Indonesia), as well as its consequences in the relationships between biomedical midwives, traditional midwives and rural mothers, in order to delve into the particularities around pregnancy, childbirth and postpartum in this region.

XI International AFIN Conference
Towards Reproductive (In)Justice: Mobilities, Technologies, Labourings & Decisions
4-6 September, 2019 - Granada, Spain

For this conference, we invite researchers, professionals and end-users to think about reproduction in terms of stratifications, hierarchies and reproductive justice. We believe reproductive justice to be an increasingly necessary perspective in a world of growing inequalities and threatened solidarities.

The XI AFIN International Conference will focus on various aspects related to reproductive justice today. Reproduction is increasingly biomedicalized and involves transnational relations, finance, commerce, organization and social hierarchies, human relations, moral and experiential life, and even the industrialization of human life itself.

The Spanish case is a good example of these tendencies, as shown in AFIN Research Group's work since 2004. In the 1970s, Spain had one of the highest fertility rates in the world, attracting adoptive families from throughout Europe and the rest of world. In contrast, since the mid-1990s Spain has had one of the world's lowest birth rates, was second in the world in the number of transnational adoptions in 2014, the number-one country in Europe and third in the world in using assisted reproductive cycles since 2016, as well as the top European provider of female oocytes.

These changes in recent decades have transformed Spain into a global hub for reproductive travels from around the world.

Thus, it seems urgent, as proposed by scholarship in the field of reproductive justice to ask ourselves the basic questions inherent to reproductive justice. As evidenced by studies on reproductive justice, some people have more rights and decision-making ability than others, depending on the groups to which they belong. Non-heterosexual and single people are often left with the option of travelling across borders to have access to adoption or ARTs that are locally forbidden to them. Heterosexual women and couples also travel across borders, not only to seek access to ARTs, but also to seek access to abortion care. Gamete donors and surrogates who help others make families may be doing it at high a cost or without proper support. Who can take reproductive decisions and has support for creating families, and who is disadvantaged in this process? How can solidarities be built for reproductive justice?

In order to analyse these urgent questions, we invite research and practice professionals, activists, end-users and families to participate in the



XI Congreso Internacional AFIN, to be held at the Universidad de Granada on 4, 5 and 6 September 2019. To that end, we also invite submissions from those who have not as yet focused their work on reproductive justice or stratified reproduction, but who have been working in the field of reproduction and believe they can provide unique insights.

Individual communications will be organized in the following seven topic areas, which will be programmed along with plenary sessions given by invited keynote speakers:

1. "Origins", Revelations, Anonymity, Secrets
2. (In)mobilities and Borders
3. Justice, Stratifications and Intersections
4. Queer Kinships, Solidarities and Affinities
5. Populations, Species, Environments, Ecologies
6. Labors, Intimacies, Care
7. Health, Medicine, Science, Technology

Key Dates

Abstract submission deadline:

4 March 2019

Please send a 300-word abstract, a short bio, and one of the 7 topic areas you would like to be included in, at the email address c.afin@uab.cat

Abstract admission responses:

3 May 2019

Early bird registration (€130):

10 June to 14 July

General inscription (€150):

15 July to 31 August

Workshop: Gestating, birthing, caring and rearing

On December 4 a workshop entitled "Gestating, birthing, caring and rearing: reproductive and parental policies and practices in a global context" is organized at the Universidad Alberto Hurtado (Chile), within the framework of the Interdisciplinary Research Network on reproductive and parental policies. The workshop will feature the participation of outstanding international researchers from various disciplines of social sciences, specialists in reproduction by third parties (adoption, ART and surrogacy) and diverse parenting. The main lectures will be given by Dr. Diana Marre (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona/ AFIN Barcelona Research Group, Spain) and Dr. Jessaca Leinaweaver (Brown University, United States).

[Download program](#)
[Registration](#)

3rd International Workshop on Adoption in Chile

On December 5 and 6, the III International Workshop on Adoption "Adoption and Diversity: Policies, Interventions and Research" will be held in Santiago, Chile.



The event is organized by the Center for Studies and Community Care of the Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez, the Universidad Alberto Hurtado and the National Service for Children of the Government of Chile. Jessaca Leinaweaver (Brown University), Anne Marie Piché (Université du Québec), M^a José Rodríguez Jaume (Universitat d'Alacant), Antón Mouriz (Manaia Association) and Diana Marre and Beatriz San Román (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) will be the international speakers.

Identity and origins: challenges and tensions in the extension of rights

AFIN-Buenos Aires (Argentina) will host the workshop "Identity and origins: challenges and tensions in the extension of rights" on November 26, whose aim is sharing international research on the right to identity and the search for origins in adoptions, illegal appropriations and assisted human reproduction. The meeting will be attended by Diana Marre (AFIN-UAB), Mariana De Lorenzi (UCEL), Alejandra Roca (UBA / UNPAZ), Soledad Gesteira (UBA-CONICET), Cristina Bettanin (UNPAZ / UBA) and Carla Villalta (UBA) / CONICET), with a final lecture by Marisa Herrera.

EL APERITIVO DEL JUEVES EN LOS SEMINARIOS AFIN*

CENTRO AFIN

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[\(Ver ubicación\)](#)

Horario: 14:00 a 16:00



* Los seminarios, abiertos y gratuitos, se organizan con el apoyo de MINECO/FEDER, EU a través del proyecto I+D: "Del control de la natalidad a la ansiedad demográfica: comunicación, secreto y anonimato en las tecnologías reproductivas del siglo XXI" (CSO2015-64551-C3-1-R-1).

13 de septiembre 2018

La incidencia del espectro autista en niños, niñas y adolescentes nacidos por reproducción asistida

María Francisca Valenzuela (AFIN-UAB)

11 de octubre 2018

Gestión de cuidado en el sistema de protección a la infancia y adolescencia en Uruguay

Cecilia Montes (Antígona-UAB)

31 de octubre 2018

Explorar la ciudad: niños, niñas y adolescentes en los espacios públicos

Nadja Monnet (ENSA-Marseille)

13 de diciembre 2018

Gobernanza reproductiva en Indonesia: el proceso reproductivo en Sikka

Alicia Paramita (AFIN-UAB)

14 de febrero 2019

(Re) visitando a la madre (des) naturalizada: narrativas de búsquedas y contactos entre personas que fueron adoptadas en Chile con sus madres de origen

Irene Salvo Agoglia (Fondecyt, Chile)

14 de marzo 2019

Antropología aplicada a la evaluación de proyectos socioeducativos del sistema de protección a la infancia y adolescencia en Catalunya

Marta Mayoral Roca (AFIN-UAB)

11 de abril 2019

Pensar la dis/capacidad desde una perspectiva crítica: el capacitismo bajo el foco

Laura Sanmiquel (UAB)

9 de mayo 2019

La construcción de la sexualidad en la infancia

Estel Malgosa (AFIN-UAB)

13 de junio 2019

Hacia la salud emocional en las relaciones íntimas

Giazú Enciso (Graduate Center New York)