

Perception of men perpetrators of violence about paternity

Percepção de homens perpetradores de violência acerca da paternidade

Percepción de los hombres perpetradores de violencia sobre la paternidad

Milena Arão da Silva Oliveira^I

ORCID: 0000-0003-3933-991X

Fernanda Matheus Estrela^{II}

ORCID: 0000-0001-7501-6187

Andrey Ferreira da Silva^{III}

ORCID: 0000-0002-1038-7443

Júlia Renata Fernandes de Magalhães^{IV}

ORCID: 0000-0003-0631-2374

Nadirlene Pereira Gomes^I

ORCID: 0000-0002-6043-3997

Álvaro Pereira^I

ORCID: 0000-0003-1899-7374

Anderson Reis de Sousa^I

ORCID: 0000-0001-8534-1960

Moniky Araújo da Cruz^I

ORCID: 0000-0003-2955-5408

^IUniversidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, Bahia, Brazil.

^{II}Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana, Feira de Santana, Bahia, Brazil.

^{III}Universidade Federal de Alagoas, Alagoas, Maceió, Brazil.

^{IV}Independent researcher, Bahia, Brazil.

How to cite this article:

Oliveira MAS, Estrela FM, Silva AF, Magalhães JRF, Gomes NP, Pereira A, et al. Perception of men perpetrators of violence about paternity. Rev Bras Enferm. 2022;75(4):e20210890. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7167-2021-0890>

Corresponding author:

Milena Arão da Silva Oliveira
E-mail: millenaarao@gmail.com



EDITOR IN CHIEF: Antonio José de Almeida Filho
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Maria Itayra Padilha

Submission: 01-17-2022 **Approval:** 07-18-2022

ABSTRACT

Objectives: to learn about the perception of men in the judicial process due to spousal violence about paternity. **Methods:** a descriptive, qualitative study with nine men in the judicial process due to spousal violence. Data were collected through interviews; the men validated the data, which were systematized by the categorical thematic content analysis, and analyzed in light of scientific texts that discuss the subject. **Results:** the study allowed the creation of three categories: the father is the example for the son; the father must provide for the son's needs; the father corrects the son. **Conclusions:** that context reveals the need to re-signify paternity to influence children's education positively.

Descriptors: Paternity; Father-Child Relations; Men; Intimate Partner Violence; Violence.

RESUMO

Objetivos: conhecer a percepção de homens em processo judicial por violência conjugal acerca da paternidade. **Métodos:** estudo descritivo, de abordagem qualitativa, com nove homens em processo judicial por violência conjugal. A coleta ocorreu por meio de entrevista, e os dados foram validados pelos homens, sistematizados com base na análise de conteúdo temática categorial e analisados à luz de textos científicos que tratam da temática. **Resultados:** o estudo permitiu a criação de três categorias: O pai é o exemplo para o filho; O pai deve prover as necessidades do filho; O pai corrige o filho. **Conclusões:** esse contexto revela a necessidade da ressignificação da paternidade para influenciar positivamente a educação dos filhos.

Descritores: Paternidade; Relações Pai-Filho; Homens; Violência por Parceiro Íntimo; Violência.

RESUMEN

Objetivos: conocer la percepción de hombres en proceso judicial por violencia de pareja acerca de la paternidad. **Métodos:** estudio descriptivo, de abordaje cualitativo, con nueve hombres en proceso judicial por violencia de pareja. La recolecta ocurrió por medio de entrevista, y los datos fueron validados por los hombres, sistematizados con base en el análisis de contenido temático categorial y analizados a la luz de textos científicos que tratan de la temática. **Resultados:** el estudio permitió la creación de tres categorías: El padre es el ejemplo para el hijo; El padre debe proveer las necesidades del hijo; El padre corrige el hijo. **Conclusiones:** ese contexto revela la necesidad de la resignificación de la paternidad para influenciar positivamente la educación de los hijos.

Descriptorios: Paternidad; Relaciones Padre-Hijo; Hombres; Violencia de Pareja; Violencia.

INTRODUCTION

Spousal violence is a historical phenomenon perpetuated over generations, mainly by reproducing the models of relationships observed in parents since childhood and/or adolescence⁽¹⁾. Thus, it is believed that the understanding of paternity and the way children are raised directly influence the behaviors adopted and may contribute or not to the continuance of violent practices.

The concept of paternity refers to the condition of being a father and has been changing. Since the 1970s, the feminist movements started the debate about gender inequalities, the insertion of women in the labor market, and demanding a father who should be more involved with his children. On the other hand, the traditional model, still widely reproduced in our society, conceptualizes classic paternity based on fathers' strength, power, domination, authority, and aggressiveness toward their children⁽²⁾.

The intergenerational nature of violence may be visible either in the aggressor and the victim. Evidence of that appears in a Brazilian study that points out that men perceive themselves reproducing in their marital status the same violent attitudes enacted by their parents⁽³⁾. Another study conducted in Croatia, on the other hand, shows a female perception that they experience with their partners the same situations of violence suffered by their mothers⁽⁴⁾.

That reenactment of violent experiences is associated with the internalization and identification with models of reference so that behaviors and values learned as children tend to be accepted and replicated in adulthood^(1,5). In this sense, children who suffered violence as a pattern of family interaction and educational model tend to repeat the violent context when they form their own families, including in the paternal role⁽⁶⁻⁷⁾.

Based on the assumption that through the relationship between father and child, knowledge, beliefs, and traditions are passed on, and the pattern of paternity carried out leads to the delineation of personality, character, and behavior of the subjects in development⁽⁸⁾, the question is raised: What is the perception of paternity in men facing judicial process for spousal violence?

OBJECTIVES

To learn about the perception of men facing judicial process due to spousal violence about paternity.

METHODS

Ethical aspects

The study is associated with the master project "Conjugal violence confrontation within the Unified Health System: social technology involving women, men, and primary care professionals," funded by the Bahia State Research Support Foundation (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado da Bahia) (Fapesb). The Research Ethics Committee approved this study of the Universidade Federal da Bahia. The participants were oriented about the ethical precepts included in Resolutions 466/12 and 510/2016, both from the National Health Council (CNS). After their consent, the participants signed the Informed Consent Form.

Type of study

It is a descriptive study with a qualitative approach. The research met the criteria of the Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ).

Methodological procedures

The process of approaching the participants occurred through the leading researcher's participation in the Men's Reflective Group, which provides guidance on reeducation activities for men with a judicial process for domestic and spousal violence, recommended in Article 35, Section V of Law 11.340/06⁽⁹⁾. As the qualitative method suggests, the researcher's approach to the research participants enables an increased bond, resulting in a more in-depth interviews⁽¹⁰⁾.

Study setting

The loci were the 1st and 2nd Justice for Peace at Home courts in Salvador, state of Bahia, Brazil. It is important to highlight that we chose those settings because of the partnership with a financed project. In addition, the courts are responsible for judging cases of violence, allowing access to the participants.

Data source

Nine men facing a judicial process due to spousal violence participated in the research. The selection of participants met the following inclusion criteria: being in court for spousal violence in these courts, having children with the former partner, being estranged from the children because of a protective measure for at least three months, and being in a visibly stable psychosocial condition for the interview. The psychosocial team of those courts evaluated them, and the men who did not attend the interviews after two consecutive appointments were excluded. Emergency protective measures have a minimum term of 90 days and can be renewed during the judicial process, which lasts an average of a year and a half⁽¹¹⁾.

Collection and organization of data

At the end of the Men's Reflective Group, the participants were invited, by telephone, to take part in the research. They were informed about the purpose of the study, risks, and benefits, the right to participate or not in the research, and the right to leave at any time; researchers used alphanumeric coding (M1, M2, ... M9) of the participants' statements to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality of the information.

Data collection was carried out through semi-structured interviews, between October and December 2019, at a time and place previously chosen by the participants. An instrument was used, including questions related to sociodemographic aspects (age, religion, race/color, schooling, family income) and the following guiding question: "What does be a father mean to you?" The interviews took place in a private space to ensure the participants' privacy, with an average duration of 40 minutes; they were recorded and later transcribed using a text editor.

Afterward, men validated the interviews, and data were submitted to be organized and analyzed.

Data analysis

Data were systematized based on the thematic categorical content analysis proposed by Franco⁽¹²⁾, which guides the organization of the message content apprehended in the text, allowing the emergence of categories based on the stages of floating reading of the material, exploration and categorization. The analysis occurred with the support of NVIVO10 software, designed to facilitate the organization of qualitative data. As a result, three categories appeared, which were analyzed in the light of scientific texts that discuss the subject.

RESULTS

The nine research participants were between 27 and 54 years old and, in their majority, declared themselves to be brown⁽⁸⁾, with higher education⁽⁶⁾, all following some religion, and with family incomes of two to eight minimum wages per month.

The father is the example for the son

The research participants reveal that, in their perception, the father figure should teach his children values such as honesty and taking care of their responsibilities. This teaching process, according to the men, was introduced to them from an early age, rather roughly, through advice and dialogue, which they reproduced as adults and fathers.

A father should be honorable, fulfill his obligations, and be an example to his children. My father was always a person of integrity, honesty, responsibility, [...] even with his rude way, he tried to pass on these values to us [...] today I am similar to my father, I want to be a good example to my children, I try to guide them in the right path, teach them the right things and advise them. (M.07)

The father represents the figure of respect in the household, the example to be followed. My father always respected our family, and despite some disagreements, he always had consideration for my mother [...] he was an example of a father to me [...] I try to be his reflection. Even being wrong sometimes, I try to be the best I can in front of my daughters and always think about my family before making decisions. (M.08)

The father must provide for the son's needs

For the research participants, providing for their children's needs is one of the roles performed by the father figure. Such perception was built in childhood, when they observed that their fathers did not leave them without food and clothes, even though, due to their work, they did not have time to pay attention to their sons. This context led men, as adults, to fulfill their financial obligations to their children without giving them the proper attention.

A family father should not leave his children without things [...] My brothers and I were never deprived of anything, but because

he worked too much, he never had time to play with us [...] I never left my daughter without food and clothing, but I was always tired and had little time to play and talk with her. (M.01)

The father is the person responsible for not letting the child go through any kind of need [...] my father never left anything missing at home, but he thought this was enough and didn't give us much attention [...]. Despite being distant from my son, I pay child support in time and manage to provide everything he needs. (M.04)

The father corrects the son

The male narratives disclose that, in their childhood, men were scolded harshly and even violently by their fathers when they showed attitudes that disobeyed their orders. This experience made the interviewees realize that the paternal role also entails to correct their children, and they reproduce punishment and physical aggression when their children do something considered wrong.

The father is the one who should correct his son. Since I was a very aggressive child at school, my father always punished me; he was rude and authoritarian with me, and he used to beat me [...] I understand that this attitude was intended to improve me, and that is the father's job [...]. If my children do something wrong, I have an obligation to correct them [...] I punish and hit them to educate them; that is my job. (H.13)

One of the father's duties is to correct his son so that he becomes a good citizen, a respectful person [...]. When I was a child, my father beat me a lot when I disobeyed his orders [...] I was upset, but today I understand that he had the best intentions. Today I do the same thing when my daughters disobey me. (M.02)

DISCUSSION

The participants' accounts show that, in the male perception, the father figure should adopt good behaviors and take responsibility for his commitments, setting an example for his children to follow. This notion of paternity is pointed out in a Chilean study when it indicates that fathers set an example for their children through their interactions, which enables the teaching of their children about the positive aspects of education⁽¹³⁾.

This context reveals the importance of the father figure in the process of the child's personality development and building of values to become a respectful adult. The national and international literature highlights the interaction between father and child as one of the factors for cognitive and social development, promoting the child's personality development process⁽¹⁴⁻¹⁵⁾. It is noteworthy that, in the violent scenario to which the daughters and sons of those men were exposed, there is the possibility of assimilating such behaviors as natural and, consequently, perpetuating that violence⁽³⁾. That situation reinforces the relevance of an upbringing based on positive examples, especially by the fathers, for the non-reproduction of violence⁽¹⁶⁾.

Although the value of the father figure in raising his children, this is not a reality for all children and adolescents in Brazil and worldwide. A Brazilian study by the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights that gathered data from the Brazilian Institute

of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) over the last 25 years showed that has tripled the number of women responsible for the household and raising children without the presence of the father⁽¹⁷⁻¹⁸⁾. That context impacts children's development, resulting in low self-esteem, insecurity, dependence, and impaired social relationships⁽¹⁹⁻²⁰⁾. Besides those emotional consequences, the economic effects are also visible in national and international studies, demonstrating the difficulty of single mothers in supporting their children⁽²¹⁻²²⁾.

The study showed that the male perception and experience of paternity are related to the provision for children. According to the statements, that element was passed on in childhood, as a characteristic of being a father, and reproduced with their children. National and international studies support such findings by revealing that historically family provision has been built so that men are economically active, responsible for providing for their children, and maintaining the hegemony of the patriarchal model⁽²³⁻²⁴⁾. However, for those fathers who no longer live with their children because of a protective measure, it is not uncommon an impact also in the financial provision. When they lived with the children, there was a household budget, but now, there may be, in the new family structure, conflicts with the former partner and/or new costs with a new family, which often leads men to limit the payment of child support when they do it in its totality.

In the narratives, the male perception of a provider who spends his time working, ensuring the provision of food and clothing for his children contrasts with the necessity for interaction and, consequently, affective bonds, pointed out in studies in Brazil and Ethiopia, where gender stereotypes influence the male understanding of paternity and, therefore, describe models of paternal absence related to affective bonds⁽²⁵⁻²⁶⁾. This perception of paternity, although not the only one existing in our society, is the most reported in other research and often the most reproduced among the male population.

In contrast, another national study conducted with men after divorce shows that they understand paternity differently from the traditional one, with help in household chores, education of children, and dialogue, besides providing for the family⁽²⁷⁻²⁸⁾. It is urgent that men deconstruct the conception of child support as the primary attribution and also worry about education, affection, bonds, and dialogues, collaborating to break the stereotypes of insensitive and untouchable paternity, considered toxic, since that model can lead to violent practices. The literature points out that the rate of violence is higher in individuals without affection and warmth, with a family upbringing based on rigid and strict rules in the figure of the cold, uncompromising, harsh, angry, and sometimes hostile father⁽²⁹⁾.

That toxic paternity was also present in the male statement when they talked about correcting their children's behavior through the use of violent punishments. Such understanding that being a father involves the social attribution of physically and psychologically punishing children is related to the patriarchal culture still current in our society, which considers the male figure as the holder of absolute authority in the household⁽³⁰⁾.

Furthermore, the narratives demonstrate that paternal punishments are perceived as a legitimate method to educate when

children are undisciplined, representing a form of attention. In agreement with our study, one research conducted in India indicates that the educational practices based on aggressiveness experienced in childhood were also considered fair and necessary by the participants⁽³¹⁾.

Study limitations

This study is limited because it only gives the perception of men in the judicial process for violence. Therefore, there are necessary comparative studies with men who are not involved with violent situations.

Contributions to the field

Knowing the male perception that violent correction is inherent to paternity contributes to understanding the acceptance and reproduction of this behavior in the upbringing of children, which perpetuates the cycle of violence. Other attributes listed by men about their perception of paternity reveal the social construction of being a man/father, pointing out reverberations in the way of caring and upbringing adopted by men. The study may subsidize actions that develop awareness among men; despite the intention to contribute positively to the development of children, the use of violent methods by fathers can trigger a series of damages to the life and health of children and adolescents. Besides physical and mental illness, adjustment difficulties, behavioral difficulties, and aggressiveness, such consequences involve factors that lead to the perpetuation of abuse throughout generations. In addition, this knowledge can promote public policies that encourage healthy paternity, which benefits men and contributes to the better development of their daughters and sons.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study revealed that the male perception and experience of paternity is related to the example given to the children, expressed by honest behavior and responsibility for commitments. Moreover, the narratives unveil the hegemonically apprehended and reproduced paternity, marked by the figure of the father who provides food and clothing but has no time for affective bonds with his children. Moreover, in the male speech paternity is linked to correcting the children, even by using physical punishment, and that method is understood as a way to educate, a form of attention.

This context requires re-signify paternity to positively influence the upbringing of children, reproducing in paternal relationships a father model based on affection and love and equitable relationships between men and women, transforming generations of parents.

FUNDING

The author would like to thank the financial support from the Bahia State Research Support Foundation (*Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado da Bahia*) (Fapesb).

REFERENCES

1. Paixão GPN, Pereira A, Gomes NP, Sousa AR, Estrela FM, Silva Filho UR, et al. Naturalization, reciprocity and marks of marital violence: male defendants' perceptions. *Rev Bras Enferm*. 2018;71(1):178–84. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7167-2016-0475>
2. Piccinini MLV, Augusto CNB, Gomes LB, Bolze SDA, Cesar MAC. Paternidade no Brasil: revisão sistemática de artigos empíricos. *Arq Bras Psicol [Internet]*. 2014 [cited 2021 Jul 29];66(2):36–52. Available from: <http://pepsic.bvsalud.org/pdf/arbp/v66n2/04.pdf>
3. Lírio JGS, Gomes NP, Paixão GPN, Pereira Á, Magalhães JRF, Cruz MA, et al. Abuso intrafamiliar na infância de homens em processo criminal por violência conjugal. *Acta Paul Enferm*. 2018;31(4):423–9. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-0194201800059>
4. Rikić J. Transgenerational transmission of violence among parents of preschool children in Croatia. *Acta Clin Croat*. 2017;56(3). <https://doi.org/10.20471/acc.2017.56.03.15>
5. Colossi PM, Marasca AR, Falcke D. De geração em geração: a violência conjugal e as experiências na família de origem. *Psicol*. 2015;46(4):493. <https://doi.org/10.15448/1980-8623.2015.4.20979>
6. Rodrigues LS, Chalhub AA. Contextos familiares violentos: da vivência de filho à experiência de pai. *Pensando Famílias [Internet]*. 2014 [cited 2021 Jul 29];18(2):77–92. Available from: <http://pepsic.bvsalud.org/pdf/penf/v18n2/v18n2a07.pdf>
7. Chan KL, Emery CR, Fulu E, Tolman RM, Ip P. Association among father involvement, partner violence, and paternal health: un multi-country cross-sectional study on men and violence. *Am J Prev Med*. 2017;52(5):671–9. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2016.12.017>
8. Kettani M, Zaouche-Gaudron C, Lacharité C, Dubeau D, Clément M-É. Expérience paternelle et problèmes intériorisés de jeunes enfants en situation de précarité : le point de vue des pères. *Enfances, Fam Générations [Internet]*. 2017[cited 2021 Jul 29];(26). Available from: <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1041064ar>
9. Presidência da República (BR). Lei no 11.340, de 7 de Agosto de 2006, Cria mecanismos para coibir a violência doméstica e familiar contra a mulher [Internet]. Brasília: Diário Oficial da União; 2006[cited 2021 Jul 29]. Available from: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2004-2006/2006/lei/l11340.htm
10. Taquette SR, Minayo MCS. Características de estudos qualitativos conduzidos por médicos: revisão da literatura. *Cien Saude Colet*. 2015;20(8):2423–30. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1413-81232015208.18912014>
11. Conselho Nacional de Justiça (CNJ). Monitoramento da Política Judiciária Nacional de Enfrentamento à Violência contra as Mulheres [Internet]. 2021 [cited 2021 Apr 2]. Available from: https://paineis.cnj.jus.br/QvAJAXZfc/opendoc.htm?document=qvw_%5Cpainelcnj.qvw&host=QVS%40neodimio03&anonymous=true&sheet=shVDRResumo
12. Franco MLPB. Análise de Conteúdo. 5a ed. Campinas, São Paulo: Autores Associados; 2018.
13. Bórquez J, Brante A. Paternity Outcomes in the Freshwater Gastropod, *Chilina dombeiana* in the Biobío River, Chile. *PLoS One*. 2017;12(1):e0169574. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0169574>
14. Ramires VRR, Carvalho C, Gastaud MB, Oliveira LRF, Godinho LBR. Mudanças na psicoterapia psicodinâmica de crianças na visão de pais e mães. *Av Psicol Latinoam [Internet]*. 2019 [cited 2021 Apr 2];37(1):29. Available from: <https://revistas.uosario.edu.co/index.php/apl/article/view/5458>
15. Meuwissen AS, Englund MM. Executive function in at-risk children: importance of father-figure support and mother parenting. *J Appl Dev Psychol*. 2016;44:72–80. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2016.04.002>
16. Moyer DN, Page AR, McMakin DQ, Murrell AR, Lester EG, Walker HA. The impact of acceptance and commitment therapy on positive parenting strategies among parents who have experienced relationship violence. *J Fam Violence*. 2018;33(4):269–79. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-018-9956-5>
17. Ministério da Mulher, Família e dos Direitos Humanos (BR). Fatos e números: arranjos familiares no Brasil [Internet]. 2020[cited 2021 Apr 2]. Available from: <https://www.gov.br/mdh/pt-br/navegue-por-temas/observatorio-nacional-da-familia/fatos-e-numeros/ArranjosFamiliares.pdf>
18. Chen I, Zhang H, Wei B, Guo Z. The model of children's social adjustment under the gender-roles absence in single-parent families. *Int J Psychol [Internet]*. 2019[cited 2021 Apr 2];54(3):316–24. Available from: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/ijop.12477>
19. Alencar ML, Moraes RCP. O impacto da figura paterna no desenvolvimento do indivíduo. *Psicol Saberes Prát [Internet]*. 2017[cited 2021 Jul 29];1(1):54–61. Available from: <https://portalperiodicos.unoesc.edu.br/acbs/article/view/10066>
20. Jatinder K. The effect of parental deprivation on the adjustment of children in mid Punjab. *Indian J Sci Res [Internet]*. 2018 [cited 2021 Jul 29];9(1):51–5. Available from: <https://www.indianjournals.com/ijor.aspx?target=ijor:ijsr1&volume=9&issue=1&article=010>
21. Liang LA, Berger U, Brand C. Psychosocial factors associated with symptoms of depression, anxiety and stress among single mothers with young children: a population-based study. *J Affect Disord [Internet]*. 2019 [cited 2021 Apr 2];242:255–64. Available from: <https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0165032718307900>
22. Huerta Mata RM. Las jóvenes madres solteras universitarias: apoyo en el cuidado de los(as) hijos(as). *Cult Cuid Rev Enferm Human [Internet]*. 2019[cited 2021 Apr 2];23(54):217. Available from: <http://hdl.handle.net/10045/96332>
23. Broadway B, Kalb G, Kuehnle D, Maeder M. Paid parental leave and child health in Australia. *Econ Rec [Internet]*. 2017 [cited 2021 Apr 2];93(301):214–37. Available from: <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/1475-4932.12311>

24. Kim JH, Oh SS, Bae SW, Park EC, Jang SI. Gender discrimination in the workplace: effects on pregnancy planning and childbirth among South Korean women. *Int J Environ Res Public Health* [Internet]. 2019[cited 2021 Apr 2];16(15):2672. Available from: <https://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/16/15/2672>
 25. Botton A, Cúnico SD, Barcinski M, Strey MN. Os papéis parentais nas famílias: analisando aspectos transgeracionais e de gênero. *Pensando Fam* [Internet]. 2015 [cited 2018 May 15];19(2):43–56. Available from: <http://pepsic.bvsalud.org/pdf/penf/v19n2/v19n2a05.pdf>
 26. Befekadu A, Yitayal M. Knowledge and practice of health extension workers on drug provision for childhood illness in west Gojjam, Amhara, Northwest Ethiopia. *BMC Public Health* [Internet]. 2020[cited 2018 May 15];20(1):496. Available from: <https://bmcpublihealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12889-020-08602-y>
 27. Falcke D, Isotton R. Paternidade em famílias pós-divórcio cujo pai detém a guarda unilateral dos filhos. *Rev Subjetiv* [Internet]. 2014 [cited 2021 Jul 29];14(3):486–98. Available from: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=527553107012>
 28. Aunkofer S, Wimbauer C, Neumann B, Meuser M, Sabisch K. Väter in Elternzeit. Deutungen, Aushandlungen und Bewertungen von Familien: und Erwerbsarbeit im Paar. *Berl J Soziol* [Internet]. 2019[cited 2018 May 15];29(1–2):93–125. Available from: <https://recyt.fecyt.es/index.php/res/article/view/66446/41189>
 29. Jewkes R, Corboz J, Gibbs A. Violence against Afghan women by husbands, mothers-in-law and siblings-in-law/siblings: risk markers and health consequences in an analysis of the baseline of a randomised controlled trial. Seedat S, editor. *PLoS One*. 2019;14(2):e0211361. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0211361>
 30. Moreno-Roldán MR, Agudelo-Bedoya ME, Alzate-Pulgarín V. Voces a escuchar en el cuidado: ¿qué dicen los niños y las niñas? *RLCSNJ*[Internet]. 2018[cited 2021 Jul 29];16(1). Available from: <http://revistaumanizales.cinde.org.co/rlcsnj/index.php/Revista-Latinoamericana/article/view/3099>
 31. Sahithya BR, Manohari SM, Vijaya R. Parenting styles and its impact on children: a cross cultural review with a focus on India. *Ment Health Relig Cult* [Internet]. 2019[cited 2021 Jul 29];22(4):357–83. Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13674676.2019.1594178>
-