



## Historical study on illicit practices in international adoption in France

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JANUARY 2023

# HISTORICAL STUDY ON ILLICIT PRACTICES IN INTERNATIONAL ADOPTION IN FRANCE

*Research report*

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## Study context

In 2021, Yves Denéchère, professor of contemporary history at the University of Angers and director of the TEMOS research laboratory (CNRS UMR 9016), proposed to the International Adoption Mission (MAI) that a historical study be carried out on illicit practices in international adoption in France.

On the basis of a scientific project that it has developed, the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs (DFAE, direction of French people abroad and consular administration – MAI) has agreed to finance a postdoctoral mission of 12 months (year 2022) and has signed an agreement with the University of Angers and the TEMOS laboratory. Fabio Macedo, doctor in history who completed a thesis on the history of adoption (EHESS, 2020), was recruited by the University of Angers as a postdoctoral researcher to carry out this work under the supervision of 'Yves Denechere.

The agreement binding the parties, signed in December 2021, stipulated that the research work aimed to produce a "Historical study on illicit practices in international adoption in France". It was understood that the scientific direction and the research orientations would depend only on the laboratory, that the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs would not be involved in its drafting, which was strictly respected, and that the account- research output would be distributed freely. This is why this document has been posted on the HAL SHS portal.

After an introduction defining the object of the research and placing it in the current context, particularly in Europe, this document is made up of four parts. A review of the academic literature analyzes how, by whom and why illicit practices in international adoption have been studied (I). The bibliography lists the books and scientific articles published on the subject (II). The main part of the research report consists of an annotated guide to the sources – archives, audiovisual sources, press – which make it possible to document illicit practices (III). Finally, avenues for reflection are proposed to launch in-depth research on the subject or more simply to orient the analyzes (IV).

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## Thanks

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NGO non-governmental organization  
UN United Nations  
NCWSC Nepal Children Welfare Service Center  
PAEPAMA Philippines adoption children adult adopted parents and friends  
RAIF Recognition of illicit international adoptions in France  
RDO Search for origins  
SSAE Social service for emigrants  
ISS international social service  
TDH Land of men  
TEMOS Laboratory Time, worlds, societies  
UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund  
VAIA Voices Against Illegal Adoption  
VDAs The voice of adoptees

## Summary

<b>Summary .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>General Introduction .....</b>	<b>7</b>
Timeline and extent of intercountry adoption .....	7
The shortcomings of French statistics .....	9
Identifying illegal practices .....	13
International contributions .....	15
<b>First part   Review of scientific literature .....</b>	<b>19</b>
Scales and geography of research .....	19
Typology of publications .....	23
Growing scientific interest .....	25
<b>Part Two   Bibliography.....</b>	<b>32</b>
Scientific works .....	32
Articles published in peer-reviewed journals .....	34
Chapters in scientific collective works .....	40
Theses, university dissertations .....	40
Reports and studies (selection, chronological order).....	41
<b>Part Three   Annotated guide to sources .....</b>	<b>43</b>
Preamble .....	43
I - Archives of the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs.....	45
A - Center for the diplomatic archives of La Courneuve.....	45
B - Center for the diplomatic archives of Nantes .....	75
II - National Archives of Pierrefitte-sur-Seine .....	84
III - Archives of other intercountry adoption actors in France .....	92
A – Archives of the National Federation for Children and Adoptive Families EFA (Paris) .....	92
B – Archives of Authorized Adoption Organizations (OAA) and the French Adoption Agency (AFA).....	95
C - Archives of the Movement for Adoption Without Borders (MASF) and Associations of Parents by Country of Origin (APPO) .....	96
D – Associations of adopted persons .....	96
IV – Archives of written and audiovisual press, French and foreign .....	96
A - Review of the French and foreign written press .....	98
B – French audiovisual press review .....	112
C – Foreign audiovisual press review .....	125
D – Television documentary films .....	127
The need to cross-reference sources .....	133
<b>Part Four   Analyzes and avenues of research .....</b>	<b>135</b>

1 - Numerous and frequent reports .....	136
2 - Logic of actors at work .....	137
3 - State, private interests and responsibilities.....	140
4 - Visibility or invisibility of the phenomenon and of the actors.....	144
5 - Links between the search for origins and the discovery of illicit practices .....	145

## General Introduction

International adoption – also known as “intercountry *adoption*” – can be understood as a transnational social phenomenon involving the migration of a child to the country of his/her adoptive parents within the framework of a legal procedure creating filiation, which is why some jurists prefer to call it “adoption of foreign children”.

In France, a law of 1923 establishes the adoption of minors, French or foreign. Between the wars, adoptions of children of foreign nationality existed in a very marginal way in France and elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. It was after 1945, and especially from the 1960s and 1970s, that adoption between countries developed, in national and international contexts with multiple and converging variables that contributed to a major movement: popularization of the use of child adoptive act among infertile Western families, increasing power of child protection policies aimed at giving a family to an orphan or abandoned child, gradual disappearance of informal or customary adoptive practices in favor of those framed by law, military occupations in Europe and Asia, humanitarian operations targeting populations of children – *a priori* without families – affected by war and/or poor development<sup>2</sup>.

### *Timeline and extent of international adoption*

International adoption has developed by coming to terms with the laws and regulatory texts in force in the countries concerned, whether they are of departure or reception, and with the specific logic of the protagonists (birth parents, intermediaries, adopters, States). Despite some attempts by host countries within the framework of the Council of Europe (1967) or countries of departure on the scale of Latin America (1984)<sup>3</sup>, it was not until 1993 that international law then sets out standards recorded in the Hague Convention (HLC) of 29 May 1993 on the protection of children and cooperation in respect of intercountry adoption. Today 105 States are contracting parties to this Convention. The decline in intercountry adoption from 2005 is partly associated with the principle of subsidiarity – which gives priority to the care of children in their country of birth – contained in the CLH and the implementation of regulatory mechanisms in the States Parties<sup>4</sup>.

A certain number of authors offer a reading of the history of intercountry adoption in waves, based in particular on the figures for the arrival of children in the main country of

<sup>1</sup> Balcom Karen A., *The Traffic in Babies. Cross-Border Adoption and Baby-Selling between the United States and Canada, 1930-1972*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2011; Baughan Emily, “International Adoption and Anglo American Internationalism, c.1918–1925”, *Past & Present*, 2018, p. 1-37; Hajto Vera, “The ‘wanted’ children. Experiences of Hungarian children living with Belgian foster families during the interwar period”, *The History of the Family*, 14, 2, 2009, p. 203-216; Macedo Fabio, “Choosing children. Nationality, race and ‘equality’ in the global history of international adoption (1830-1980)”, doctoral thesis in history, under the supervision of Paul-André Rosental, EHESS, 2020; Smirnova Tatiana, “The Outcomes for Soviet Children Evacuated to Czechoslovakia in the Early 1920s”, *Russian Studies in History*, 48, 4, 2010, p. 26-50.

<sup>2</sup> Denéchère Yves, *Children from afar. History of international adoption in France*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2011; Gentile Agostina. “Adoption and family origins in Argentina in the sixties”, *Annales de démographie historique*, 141, 1, 2021, p. 157-180; Herman Ellen, *Kinship by Design: A History of Adoption in the Modern United States*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2008; Macedo Fabio, “Humanitarian action and adoption of foreign children in Switzerland. The case of Terre des hommes (1960-1969)”, *Relations internationales*, 161, 2, 2015, p. 81-91; Marre Diana, Laura Briggs (ed.), *International adoption. Global inequalities and the circulation of children*, New York, NYU Press, 2009; Oh Arissa, *To Save the Children of Korea: The Cold War Origins of International Adoption*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2015; Winslow Rachel Rains, *The Best Possible Immigrants: International Adoption and the American Family*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Denéchère Yves, “Regulating a particular form of migration at the European level: the Council of Europe and intercountry adoptions (1950-1967)”, *Journal of European Integration History*, 2017, p. 77-90.

<sup>4</sup> Mignot Jean-François, “International adoption in the world: the reasons for the decline”, *Population and Societies*, 519, 2015, p. 1-4; Roux Sébastien, *Blood of ink. Survey on the end of international adoption*, Paris, Vendémiaire, 2022.

destination, the United States<sup>5</sup>. Such an analysis based on France or other host countries would require adjustments, particularly concerning the first wave – the following ones being common to all of these countries. Thus, this first wave towards the United States was marked by European children (Germans, Greeks, Irish, Italians...) and Asians (Chinese, South Koreans, Japanese, Indians, Vietnamese...) born of wars or victims of them. In the direction of France, the first wave mainly concerned Franco-German children in the immediate post-1945 period, then South Korean, Vietnamese and Lebanese children from the mid-1960s. The second wave – shared like the following by all the host countries, for the vast majority of North America and Western Europe – extends from the end of the 1960s to the 2000s. It is made up of Latin American children (Bolivians, Brazilians, Chileans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, Haitians, Mexicans, Paraguayans, Peruvians, Salvadorans...) wave is identifiable towards the end of the 1980s and especially in the 1990s with a flow of children from Eastern Europe (Bulgarians, Hungarians, Poles, Romanians...) and from the former Soviet Union (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians...)<sup>9</sup>. The reopening of China to adoption by Westerners in the 1990s and 2000s generated a fourth wave<sup>10</sup>. And finally, a fifth wave is made up of the flow of children from sub-Saharan Africa from the 1990s and especially in the 2000s<sup>11</sup>. Then, rather than waves, a rapid decline characterizes international adoption until today.

These waves sometimes overlapped chronologically and were neither exclusive nor completely successive. For example, an adoption movement from Djibouti to France began in the 1960s. In addition, the decisions of the countries of departure to suspend or stop international adoption or the decisions of France to no longer accept children coming from such and such a country constituted variables which strongly affected the geography of international adoption as well as the scale of the phenomenon. At the height of the phenomenon in the world, the UN estimated the number of international adoptions of children at 40,000 during the year 2005. The main destination countries for international adoption were the United States. United (22,884 children), Spain (5,541) and France (4,079).

<sup>5</sup> Davis Mary Ann, "Inter-country Adoption Flows from Africa to the US: A Fifth Wave of Inter-country Adoptions? », *International Migration Review*, 45, 2011, p. 784-811; Lovelock Kirsten, "Inter-country Adoption as a Migratory Practice: A Comparative Analysis of Inter-country Adoption and Immigration Policy and Practice in the United States, Canada and New Zealand in the Post WW II Period", *International Migration Review*, 34, 2000, p. 907-949.

<sup>6</sup> Choy Catherine Ceniza, *Global Families: A History of Asian International Adoption in America*, New York, NYU Press, 2013; Denéchère Yves, "Transnational adoption between ideologies, humanitarianism and catharsis. Ends of wars, decolonization and the Cold War in France and the United States (1945-1975)", *Annales de démographie historique*, 141, 1, 2021, p. 95-122; Fehrenbach Heide, *Race After Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2005; Maguire Moira J., "Foreign Adoptions and the Evolution of Irish Adoption Policy, 1945-52", *Journal of Social History*, 36, 2, 2002, p. 387-404; Ponzani Michela, *Figli del nemico: Le relazioni d'amore in tempo di guerra 1943-1948*, Roma, Laterza, 2015; Van Steen Gonda, *Adoption, Memory, and Cold War Greece: Kid Pro Quo?*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> Denéchère Yves, "State adoptions: the children of the French occupation in Germany (1945-1952)", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 57, 2, 2010, p. 159-179; Denéchère Yves, "New actor and new transnational phenomenon: Terre des Hommes and international adoption (1960-1980)", *Relations internationales*, 142, 2, 2010, p. 119-136.

<sup>8</sup> Briggs Laura, *Somebody's Children: The Politics of Transnational and Transracial Adoption*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2012; Dubinsky Karen, *Neither Comprador Nor Soldado. Babies Without Borders: Adoption and Migration Across the Americas*, New York, NYU Press, 2010; Macedo Fabio, "Filiação sem fronteiras: o Brasil na rota da adoção internacional de crianças, 1965-1988", *Revista Brasileira de História & Ciências Sociais*, 9, 2013, p. 37-53.

<sup>9</sup> Denéchère Yves and Scutaru Beatrice, "International adoption of Romanian children and Romania's admission to the European Union (1990-2007)", *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 1, 1, 2010, p. 135-151; Minchella Tina Danielle, *Adoption in Post-Soviet Russia. Nationalism and the Re-invention of the "Russian Family"*, Tempe, Arizona State University, 2008.

<sup>10</sup> Johnson Kay Ann, *China's Hidden Children. Abandonment, Adoption, and the Human Costs of the One-Child Policy*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Mezmur Benyam Dawit, *International Adoption from an African Perspective*, Cambridge, Intersentia, 2015.

It is then in Norway that there are the most international adoptions (15.4 international adoptions per 100,000 inhabitants), then in Spain (13) and in Sweden (12.3), further away come the States States (7.8) and France (6.8). The main countries of origin are China (11,230 children who migrated through international adoption), Russia (4,667), Guatemala (2,673), South Korea (2,306), Ukraine (1,958) and Colombia (1,750). Bulgaria was then the country of departure which sent the most children abroad in proportion to its population (15.5 children per 100,000 inhabitants), followed by Belarus (7.2), Guatemala (6.4), Russia (6.3)<sup>12</sup>.

However, due to a lack of reliable statistics, it is very difficult to grasp the extent of international adoption in its historical depth, going back to the 1950s and 1960s or even just the 1970s and 1980s during which international adoption was become a social phenomenon. By cross-checking several studies, carried out in particular by geographers and demographers, it is possible to estimate, with all the necessary precautions, the number of adoptions between countries on a global scale since 1945 at approximately one million<sup>13</sup>.

### *The shortcomings of French statistics*

According to data from the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, 100,191 visas were granted between 1979 and 2022 to children of foreign nationality (from 127 different countries), adopted or in the process of adoption, to enable them to enter France<sup>14</sup> (see figure 1). Despite its precision, this figure is not enough to assess the whole phenomenon. No complete statistical panorama exists, even if the work carried out at INED by Catherine Villeneuve-Gokalp and Juliette Halifax within the framework of surveys carried out in the 2000s, and more recently by Jean-François Mignot, give precious indications on the adoption of adults, simple and full adoptions of children, the profile of children and adopters, international comparisons<sup>15</sup>.

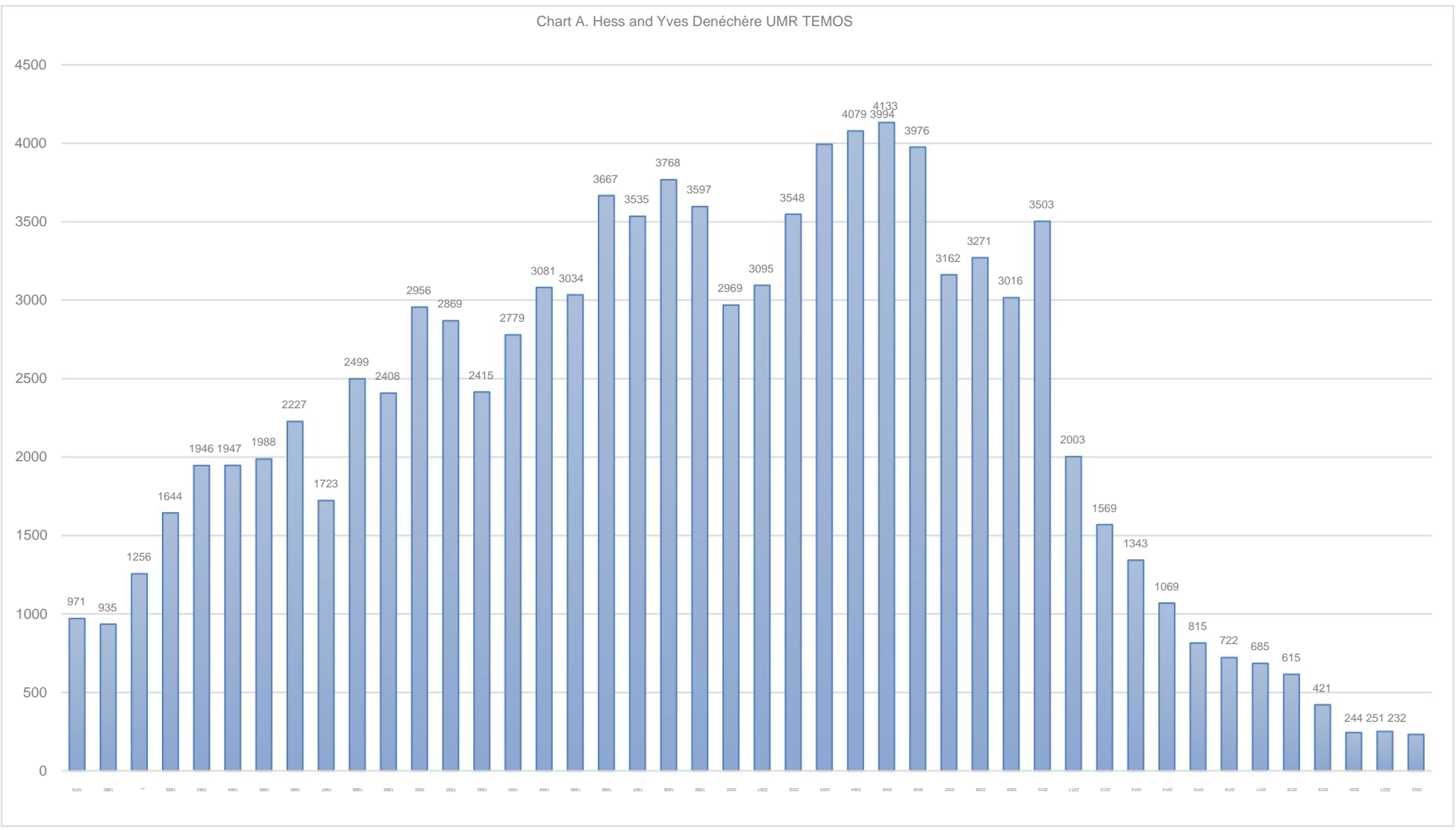
<sup>12</sup> United Nations-Department of Economic and Social Affairs-Population Division, *Child Adoption: Trends and Policies*, New York, United Nations, 2009; Selman Peter, "Trends in Inter-country Adoption: Analysis of Data from 20 Receiving Countries, 1998-2004", *Journal of Population Research*, 23, 2, 2006, p. 183-204. Figures for 2005, 2004 and 2003.

<sup>13</sup> Davis Mary Ann, *Children for Families or Families for Children. The Demography of Adoption Behavior in the US*, New York, Springer, 2011; Kane Saralee, "The movement of children for international adoption: An epidemiologic perspective", *The Social Science Journal*, 30, 4, 1993, p. 323-339; Selman Peter, "Inter-country Adoption in Europe 1998-2008: Patterns, Trends and Issues", *Adoption & Fostering*, 34, 1, 2010, p. 4-19; Selman Peter, "The Rise and Fall of Inter-country Adoption in the 21st Century", *International Social Work*, 52, 5, 2009, p. 575-594; Selman Peter, "Inter-country adoption in the new millennium: the 'quiet migration' revisited", *Population research and policy review*, 21, 3, 2002, p. 205-225; Selman Peter (ed.), *Inter-country Adoption. Developments, trends and perspectives*, London, British Agencies for Adoption and Fostering, 2000; Weil Richard H., "International Adoptions: The Quiet Migration", *International Migration Review*, 18, 2, 1984, p. 276-293.

<sup>14</sup> International adoption statistics, Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, posted online in September 2022: <https://www.data.gouv.fr/en/datasets/adoptions-internationales-pays-dorigine-zone-geographique-tranche-dages-et-procedures/> 15 Halifax Juliette, "Families adoptives en France", in Lefèvre C., Filhon A. (dir.), *Family history, family stories. The results of the 1999 Family survey*, Paris, INED, 2005, p. 309-338; Halifax Juliette, Villeneuve Gokalp Catherine, "Adoption in France: who are the adoptees, who are the adopters? », *Population and societies*, 417, 2005, p. 1-4; Halifax Juliette, Villeneuve-Gokalp Catherine, "The development of a survey on social adoption", doctoral thesis of Demography, (dir. François Héran), 2007; Halifax Juliette, "The adoptive families in France", in Lefèvre C., Filhon A. (dir.), *History of families, family stories. The results of the 1999 Family survey*, Paris, INED, 2005, p. 309-338; Halifax Juliette, Villeneuve-Gokalp Catherine, "Adoption in France: who are the adoptees, who are the adopters? », *Population and societies*, 417, 2005, p. 1-4; Mignot Jean-François, "Child Adoption in Western Europe, 1900-2015", in Diebolt C. et al. (eds), *Clometrics of the Family*, Springer, Cham, 2019, p. 333-366; Mignot Jean-François, "Full adoption in France and England-Wales: a comparative history of law and practices (1926-2015)", *Droit et société*, 93, 2, 2016, p. 417-435; Mignot Jean-François, "Adoptions in France and Italy: a comparative history of law and practices (19th- 21st centuries)", *Population*, 70, 4, 2015, p.

805-830; Mignot Jean-François, "Simple adoption in France: the revival of an old institution (1804-2007)", *Revue française de sociologie*, 56, 3, 2015, p. 525-560.

**Figure 1 – Number of visas issued to foreign children entering France for adoption**  
Source: Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs<sup>16</sup>



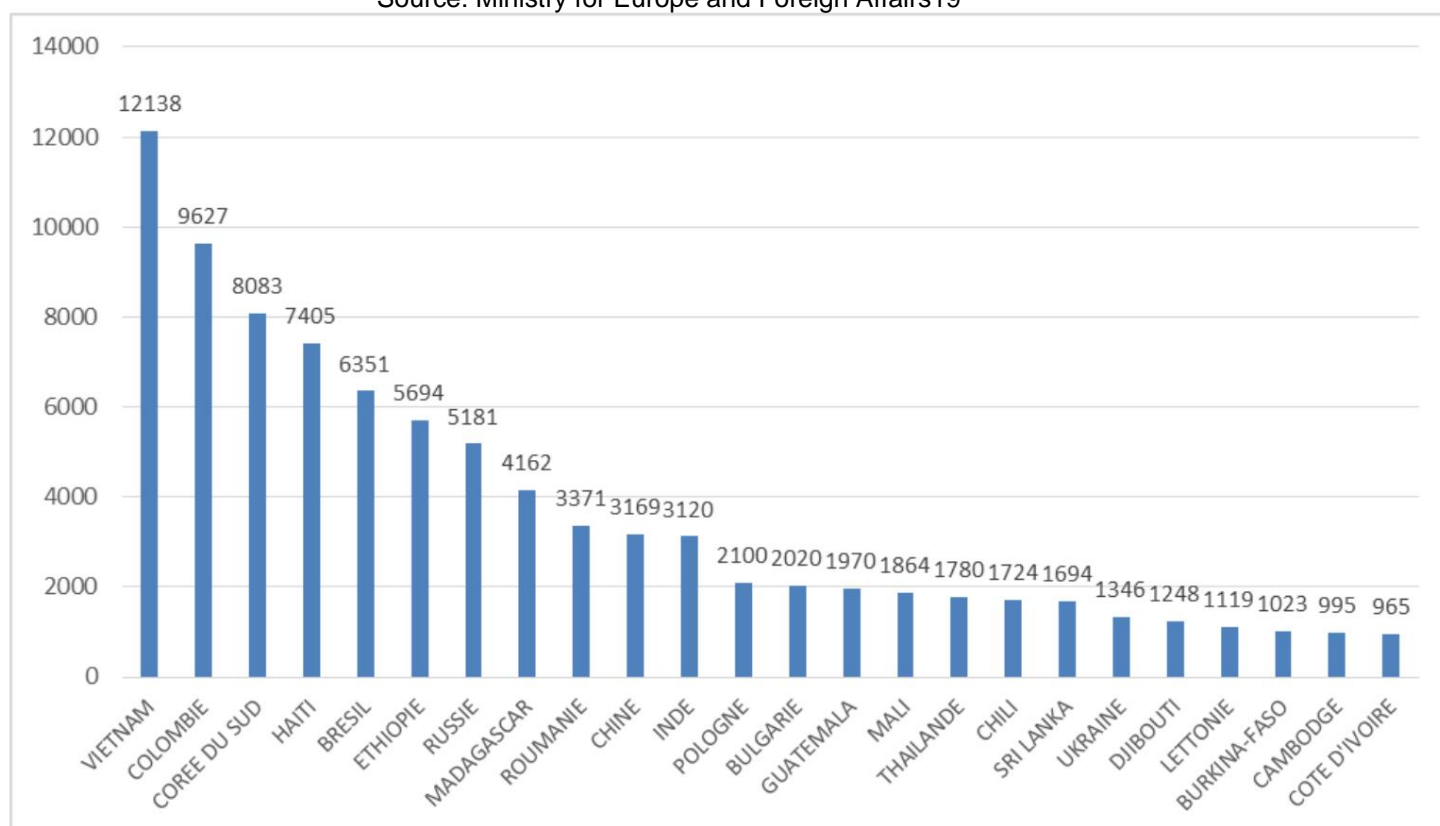
<sup>16</sup> <https://www.data.gouv.fr/fr/datasets/r/ef3e3a86-b4c7-4911-a489-c6eccc6ce6a6>

According to MEAE statistics, since 1979, Vietnam appears to be the main country of origin of international adoption to France, followed by Colombia, South Korea, Haiti and Brazil. But it should be noted that the absence of statistics prior to 1979 reduces by several thousand the number of children concerned by international adoption and from countries such as South Korea, Colombia, India or Lebanon. Similarly, several dozen children from Algeria (in the 1960s) and Bangladesh (in the 1970s) were adopted in France.

Djibouti adoptions began well before 1988 (as shown in the visa statistics) and more than 250 children arrived in France before that date. Nearly a thousand children born in Germany during the French occupation after 1945 and adopted in France are also to be taken into account. Hundreds of children from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam arrived in France in the 1960s and 200 others following Operation Babylift in 1975<sup>17</sup>. The approximately 600 children from Quebec adopted in France between 1965 and 1972 constitute another example of completely invisible flow<sup>18</sup>.

**Figure 2 – Main countries of origin of foreign children entering France with a visa for adoption (1979-2021)**

Source: Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs<sup>19</sup>



These previous international adoptions can be found in the Statistical Yearbooks or the General Account of Justice, even if its statistical categories are not always the same according to the periods and do not really make it possible to follow the evolution of the phenomenon. Nevertheless from 1967 to 1980 a category counts "adopted foreign children" which includes adoptions

<sup>17</sup> Denéchère Yves, "New actor and new international phenomenon: Terre des Hommes and international adoption (1960-1980)", *Relations Internationales*, 2010, n°142, pp.119-136; "Babylift (April 1975): an American military-humanitarian operation to end the Vietnam War", *World Wars and Contemporary Conflicts*, n°252, 2013, pp.131-143

<sup>18</sup> Denéchère Yves, "History and memory(s) of adoptions of Quebec children in France since the 1960s", *Canadian Memoirs*, M. Bergère, H. Harter, C. Hinault, É. Pierre and J.-F. Tanguy (dir.), Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2018, pp.99-110.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.data.gouv.fr/fr/datasets/r/ef3e3a86-b4c7-4911-a489-c6eccc6ce6a6>

simple and full adoptions (see Figure 3). Thus, in 1967, 176 foreign children were adopted in France, 53 in simple adoption and 123 in full adoption. This number only increased in the following years. In 1974, 566 foreign children were adopted in France, including 521 in full adoption, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated that year at 400 the number of entries of foreign children. During the 1970s, 10,259 foreign children were adopted in France, including 9,180 by full adoption. These figures should be added to the measurement of the phenomenon of international adoption by the MEAE statistics.

For the years 1979 and 1980, the only years for which the statistics of the general account of Justice and the statistics of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be compared, there appear to be notable differences. Admittedly, when the Quai d'Orsay counts the visas issued, the Court counts the adoption judgments and between the arrival of a child in France and its adoption there is a delay of at least several months, but the differences between the numbers are notable. In 1979, 971 visas were issued, 1,652 adoptions of foreign children were granted, including 1,526 full adoptions; in 1980: 935 visas, 1,335 adoptions, including 1,172 full. This very significant gap between the two statistics makes it possible to assess the order of magnitude of children entering France without a visa at least for the early 1980s.

**Figure 3 – Number of judgments for the adoption of minors in France 1967-1980**

Source: General account of the Ministry of Justice, AN 19960011/2

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980				
1 - Simple adoptions	1,890	1,774	1,706	1,783	1,739	1,627	1,578	1,607	1,853	1,682	2,167	2,281	2,445	2,597				
<b>A - including foreign children</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>163</b>				
2 - Plenary adoptions	2446	2618	2745	2828	3055	3130	2954	3358	3636	3636	4855	4476	4571	3922				
<b>B - including foreign children</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>454</b>	<b>473</b>	<b>521</b>	<b>742</b>	<b>749</b>	<b>1,298</b>	<b>1,232</b>	<b>1,526</b>	<b>1,172</b>				
Total number of adoptions (1 + 2)	4,336	4,392	4,451	4,611	4,794	4,757	4,532	4,965	5,489	5,318	7,022				6,757	7,016	6,519	
<b>Adopted foreign children (A+B)</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>217</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>351</b>	<b>522</b>	<b>528</b>	<b>566</b>	<b>804</b>	<b>802</b>	<b>1,387</b>	<b>1,364</b>	<b>1,652</b>	<b>1,335</b>				
Element of comparison:																		
MEAE statistics on visas issued											400*				1,600*	971	935	

\* Number of entries of children for adoption estimated by the MAE. Source: La Courneuve Diplomatic Archives, Administrative Conventions and Consular Affairs Collection, Consular Affairs, 1940-1978, call number 1834INVA, box 1.

Even after 1979, the MEAE statistics therefore omit a whole section of international adoption that has remained in the shadows: the entry into France of foreign children without a French visa affixed to the passport of their country of origin. Cross-referencing these figures with the archives consulted and the adoption figures available from works then organizations authorized for adoption (OAA), authorized by the Quai d'Orsay to work in such and such a country, proves that this practice does not was not uncommon. For example, MEAE statistics mention in 1994 the first three visas issued for Argentinian children, but the sources report adoptions by French people in this country as early as 1983. The same thing for Paraguay, with a first visa issued in 1994, while adoptions are indicated in the sources as early as the 1980s. Information relating to the OAA Accueil et vie and Terre des Hommes-France indicate that they brought, between them, 74 children from Haiti in 1984 whereas this that year only 47 visas were issued. By comparing the statistics of the MEAE with the figures put forward by the OAA Friends of the Children of the World, it appears that between 1979 and 1985 would have arrived from Guatemala in France about sixty more children than the number of visas issued for this country. . And this is only what is deducible from cross-referencing of established information. In the case of adoptions by individual procedure – without going through an OAA or the French Adoption Agency (AFA) – which until 2005

are far more numerous than adoptions by authorized intermediaries<sup>20</sup> by default. However, testimonies and archives reveal that children adopted according to this approach have entered France without respecting the rules in force.

In addition to the visa issuance statistics, counting the children who arrived in France before 1979, those who were not taken into account in the statistics but whose paths can be traced, and based on very reasonable projections, we estimate that the number of foreign children who have come to France to be adopted is well over 100,000. It is at least 120,000.

### **Identify illicit practices**

The list of illicit practices (misdemeanors or crimes) is long and was established in publications of the 1990s and 2000s. In the mid-1990s, jurist Brigitte Trillat and Edwige Rude Antoine, sociologist and doctor of law, CNRS, almost all stated them in studies that have become references<sup>21</sup>. Any falsification of documents in an adoption file, any corruption of an agent responsible for enforcing the law, any absence of the consent of the biological mother, any breach of trust vis-à-vis the mothers constitute illicit practices. False declarations of birth, paternity and maternity, false abandonment constitute illegal acts upstream of adoption procedures. Downstream, fraud in the exit rules of the country of origin and in the rules for entry into France of children with a view to adoption are also illicit practices. The kidnapping or theft of children, the buying and selling of children constitute the most serious crimes<sup>22</sup>.

National and international private law, family law, nationality law, human rights and the rights of the child, constitute the legal corpuses making it possible to define the illicit practices in international adoption over a given period and in an identified territory. This includes the definition of standards, their application, their circumvention, and even the absence of a legal framework in the countries of departure and destination of the children<sup>23</sup>. After 1945, the novelty of the phenomenon and the insufficiency of specific regulations were conducive to the development of illicit practices, a reality fully grasped by French diplomacy from the 1960s and 1970<sup>24</sup>. The possibility for certain Western adoption candidates to monetize their desire for a child meeting specific criteria (age, color, state of health, etc.) is an important factor in the multiplication of unscrupulous intermediaries<sup>25</sup>. In the adoption glossary available at

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.data.gouv.fr/fr/datasets/r/08134b0a-da00-4ade-a892-be6a6c60d7da>

<sup>21</sup> Trillat Brigitte, *Adoption. Essay on institutions*, Lyon University Press, 1995; Rude-Antoine Edwige, "Families and young adopted foreigners: parentage and future" report requested by the Public Interest Group – "Law and justice" research mission of the Ministry of Justice and the Social Action Fund; Rude-Antoine Edwige, *Adopting a Child Abroad*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 1999.

<sup>22</sup> For an overview of the issue in France, see: Roy Odile, "Adoption fraud: what reforms? », *Youth Law Journal*, 262, 2, 2007, p. 25-34.

<sup>23</sup> Abreu Domingos, *No bico da cegonha. Histórias de adoção e da adoção internacional no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Relume Dumará, 2002; McCreery Bunkers Kelley, Groza Victor, Lauer Daniel P., "International Adoption and Child Protection in Guatemala: A Case of the Tail Wagging the Dog", *International Social Work*, 52, 5, 2009, p. 649-660; Khabibullina Lilia, "International Adoption in Russia: "Market", "Children for Organs", and "Precious" or "Bad" Genes", in Marre Diana, Briggs Laura (ed.), *International adoption. Global inequalities and the circulation of children*, New York, NYU Press, 2009, p. 174-189; Leinaweaver Jessaca, *The Circulation of Children. Kinship, Adoption, and Morality in Andean Peru*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2008; Modell Judith Schachter, *A Sealed and Secret Kinship: The Culture of Policies and Practices in American Adoption*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2002; Van Steen Gonda, "Of foundlings and "lostlings". When the Scopas scandal rocked the unstable foundations of the first 1950s intercountry adoptions", *Annales de demographie historique*, 141, 1, 2021, p. 123-155.

<sup>24</sup> Denéchère Yves, "French diplomacy faced with the novelty of international child adoptions (1960s and 1970)", *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, 123, 1, 2009, p.75-89.

<sup>25</sup> The case of Brazil – until the 1990s – was studied by Abreu Domingos, "Baby-Bearing Storks: Brazilian Intermediaries in the Adoption Process", in Marre Diana, Laura Briggs (ed.), *International adoption. Global inequalities and the circulation of children*, New York, NYU Press, 2009, p. 138-153.

the MAI website, the following terms appear: "Child abductions", "False declarations of birth", "Child trafficking and international adoption"<sup>26</sup>.

Whatever the contexts of natural disaster, poor development or economic and social crisis, peace or war, democratic or dictatorial regimes, on a local, national or transnational scale, illicit acts may have been committed. In some States, public policies have organized, according to the social, political, gender or ethnic profile of the parents, forced abandonment followed by adoption, forced separation of children from indigenous populations followed by adoption by white populations, but also kidnappings of children of political opponents followed by adoptions. This was the case, for example, at different times of the 20th century, in Germany (theft of children considered "Aryan" during the Second World War)<sup>27</sup>, in England (pressure on single mothers leading to forced abandonment)<sup>28</sup>, in Argentina (theft of children from political opponents during the military dictatorship)<sup>29</sup>, in Australia (forced separation of children from indigenous populations)<sup>30</sup>, in Canada (pressure on single mothers leading to forced abandonment, forced separation from children of indigenous populations)<sup>31</sup>, in Chile (theft of children from political opponents during the Pinochet dictatorship, pressure on single mothers resulting in forced abandonment – all the more so if they belonged to the indigenous Mapuche populations)<sup>32</sup>, in Spain (theft of children from political opponents during the Franco dictatorship, pressure on single mothers leading to forced abandonment)<sup>33</sup>, in the United States (forced separation of children from indigenous populations ones)<sup>34</sup>, Guatemala (theft of children from political opponents during the civil war)<sup>35</sup>, El Salvador (theft of children from political opponents during the civil war)<sup>36</sup>, the Netherlands (pressure on single mothers resulting in forced abandonments)<sup>37</sup>, or in Switzerland (pressure on single mothers leading to forced abandonments)<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/prendre-al-etranger/faq-glossaire-textes-de-referance/le-glossaire-de-l-adoption/> Nicholas Lynn H.,

<sup>27</sup> *Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web*, New York, Vintage, 2006; Thioly Boris,

*Lebensborn: the factory of perfect children*, Paris, Flammarion, 2012.

<sup>28</sup> House of Commons, House of Lords, "The Violation of Family Life: Adoption of Children of Unmarried Women 1949–1976", London, Joint Committee on Human Rights, 2022.

<sup>29</sup> Villalta Carla, *Entrega y secuestros. El rol del Estado en la apropiación de niños*, Buenos Aires, Editores del Puerto/Centro de Estudios Legales y Sociales, 2012.

<sup>30</sup> Swain Shurlee, "The Politics of Adoption: An International Comparative Approach", *Annals of Historical Demography*, 142, 2, 2021, p. 147-164; The Senate-Parliament Of Australia, "Commonwealth Contribution to Former Forced Adoption Policies and Practices", Canberra, Senate Printing Unit, 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, "Shame on us. Forced Adoption of Children Born to Single Mothers in Postwar Canada", Ottawa, Senate, 2018; Denéchère Yves, *Children from afar. Op cit.*, p. 77-85; Puxley Chinta, "Indigenous people adopted by force: Manitoba apologizes", report published in *La Presse*, June 18, 2015 [accessed September 9, 2022, <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/national/201506/18/01-4879244-aboriginal-adoptes-de-force-le-manitoba-sexcuse.php>]; Stevenson Allyson, "Intimate Integration: A Study of Aboriginal Transracial Adoption in Saskatchewan, 1944-1984," History Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2015.

<sup>32</sup> Monsalve Karen Alfaro, "Una aproximación a las apropiaciones de menores y adopciones irregulares bajo la dictadura militar en el sur de Chile (1978-2016). Memorias de Alejandro", *Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales*, 34, 2018, p. 37-51.

<sup>33</sup> Marre Diana, Leinaweaver Jessaca, "Disappearance via adoption: on missing children in Spain (1936-96)", in Huttunen L., Perl G. (eds), *An Anthropology of Disappearance. Politics, Intimacies and the Troubling Question of Knowing*, Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2022; Roig Neus, *No llores que vas a ser feliz. El tráfico de bebés en España: de la represión al negocio (1938-1996)*, Barcelona, Ático de los Libros, 2018.

<sup>34</sup> Hollinger Joan Heifetz, "Beyond the Best Interests of the Tribe: The Indian Child Welfare Act and the Adoption of Indian Children", *University of Detroit Law Review*, 66, 1989, p. 451-501

<sup>35</sup> Dubinsky Karen, *Neither Compra Nor Solde. Babies without borders: adoption and migration across the Americas*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Rotabi Karen S., "Child Adoption and War: 'Living Disappeared' Children and the Social Worker's Post-Conflict Role in El Salvador and Argentina", *International Social Work*, 57, 2, 2014, p. 169-180.

<sup>37</sup> Walhout Evelien et al, "Hostages of time. Policy, practice and experiences of relinquishing a child for adoption in the Netherlands between 1956 and 1984", *Annales de démographie historique*, 142, 2, 2021, p. 1-19.

<sup>38</sup> Droux Joëlle, Czaka Véronique, "Desire for children, illegitimacy and adoption under the regime of the Swiss Civil Code (Switzerland romande, 1910-1960)", *Annales de démographie historique*, 142, 2, 2021, p. 21-50.

It should also be noted that in Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador or Spain, academic work and journalistic investigations prove that the system of illicit adoptions for profit set up in a context of political repression or civil war did not necessarily stop with the end of hostilities or regimes<sup>39</sup>. Some of these national policies have also had implications for international adoption, offering children with truncated origins to intermediaries and foreign applicants for adoption. For example, the policy of abandonment/adoption of Romanian children under the Ceausescu regime may have generated abuses of international adoption in this country in the 1980s and in 1990-1991<sup>40</sup>.

The Inter-American Court of Human Rights has already condemned Argentina, Chile, Guatemala and El Salvador on several occasions for acts related to the arbitrary separation of children from their biological families followed by their adoption<sup>41</sup>. In the context of the war in Ukraine (2022), Ukrainian and foreign figures have accused Russia of moving tens of thousands of Ukrainian children to Russia and organizing forced adoptions of them. The United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights found these accusations to be credible.

In international adoption, there is illegality as soon as an act prejudicial to the child is committed with a view to its transfer from one person or institution to another. Illegality can take many forms, the most criminal of which is the pure and simple purchase of children, whether they are sold by members of their family, by crooked intermediaries or stolen by organized networks.

In this study, any act of the adoption process that does not comply with the legal texts and standards in force in the countries concerned (of origin, transit or destination), as well as any act infringing the human rights (defined by the Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the International Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989) of the persons concerned: children, biological parents, adoptive parents. All acts that are unconventional, illegal, unlawful in the strict sense as infringing a rule of national or international law are therefore included<sup>43</sup>.

## **International Contributions**

On September 28, 2022, the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Committee on Enforced Disappearances (CED), the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Guarantees of Non-recurrence, the Special Rapporteur on the Sale and Sexual Exploitation of Children including child prostitution, child pornography and other child sexual abuse material, the Special Rapporteur on Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children and

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<sup>39</sup> In addition to the bibliographic references cited above, see: "Al cabo de 30 años, continúa la búsqueda de las niñas y niños robados en El Salvador", information published by Amnesty International, 1 June 2012; Jane Chambers, "Niños robados en Chile: 'Me engañaron para que entregara a mi hijo'", *BBC News Mundo*, 30 September; Mediavilla Manu, "Sustracciones ilegales de bebés en España", report published by *Amnesty International Spain*, 16 March 2021; Montoya Angeline, "In Guatemala, the stolen life of adopted children", *Le Monde*, December 8, 2021; Quílez Raquel, "Niños robados", *El Mundo*, September 2010; Valdez Cecilia, Ortiz Diego, "Children kidnapped by the dictatorship", *Pressenza International Press Agency*, August 8, 2022.

<sup>40</sup> Denéchère Yves, "The adoption of the "children of Ceausescu": a social fact at the heart of Franco-Romanian relations in the 1980s", *Cahier d'histoire anonyme*, 44, 2013, p. 171-184.

<sup>41</sup> Herencia Carrasco Salvador, "Derechos de la infancia, adopciones irregulares y protección del vínculo familiar en el Sistema Interamericano de Derechos Humanos: Un análisis del Caso Fornerón e hija vs Argentina", *Revue générale de droit*, 49, 2019, p. 373-400.

<sup>42</sup> "Deporting Ukrainian children and "Russifying" them is amputating the future of Ukraine", *Le Monde*, August 1, 2022; "War in Ukraine: 'credible accusations' of children forcibly transferred to Russia, according to the UN", *Le Parisien/AFP*, September 7, 2022.

<sup>43</sup> Definitions of the terms "illegality" and "unlawfulness" according to *Lexicon of legal terms 2022-2023*, Paris, Dalloz, 2022.

the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances published a “Joint statement on illegal intercountry adoptions”. This essential text immediately became a reference, imposing the term “illegal international adoptions” and specifying the different modalities of “illegal acts or illicit practices”.<sup>44</sup> The declaration insists on the violation of human rights in the event of illegal adoption and points out the possible incriminations.

Since its creation in 1993, the CLH has reflected and worked on the definition of illicit practices. In 2021, a report of the “Working group on the prevention of illicit practices in intercountry adoption and how to remedy them” was published<sup>45</sup>. Previously, in 2010, the CLH had examined various contributions on deviance in international adoption, in particular a presentation entitled “The gray areas of international adoption” produced by the International Social Service (ISS)<sup>46</sup>. Committed to the fight against illegal practices committed in adoption, the SSI has developed training and information tools aimed at preventing these practices<sup>47</sup>.

Besides their normative ambition, these publications show that the line separating the “lawful” and the “legal” on the one hand, and the “unlawful” and the “illegal” on the other hand, can sometimes be difficult to draw. This is evidenced by the diverging conclusions of three independent commissions of inquiry recently commissioned by public authorities: in Ireland in 2016, whose<sup>48</sup> report was published in 2021<sup>48</sup> Switzerland (canton of St. Gallen) in 2020, whose report was published in 2022<sup>49</sup>, in the Netherlands with a government report in 2021<sup>50</sup> Responsible for shedding light on the dysfunctions in Christian institutions (mainly Catholic, but also Protestant) welcoming single women and their “illegitimate” children between 1922 and 1998 in Ireland, the commission known as *Mother and Baby Homes* recognized acts of violence. These include pressure on mothers who were reluctant to give up their children for adoption in Ireland or internationally, particularly in Britain and the United States, since Ireland has sent children abroad until the 1970s. Whether legal, following the *Adoption Act* of 1952 which came into force on January 1, 1953, or “informal” before that date, adoption is at the center of the report. It appears in the analyzes relating to each institution surveyed, in a dedicated chapter, as well as in a review of scientific literature<sup>51</sup>. The commission specifies that it did not consult all of the individual files and adoption judgments, but above all the archives of the administration and of the establishments investigated. And to conclude that before or after the law of 1952, the adoptions practiced in the establishments concerned were not different from the other adoptions taking place elsewhere in Ireland at the same time. That is to say that according to the *Mother and Baby Homes commission*, there would have been no illicit acts to report in terms of adoption, and that the abandonments

<sup>44</sup> Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, “Joint statement on illegal intercountry adoptions”, September 28, 2022, [https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/ced/2022-09-29/JointstatementICA\\_HR\\_28September2022.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/ced/2022-09-29/JointstatementICA_HR_28September2022.pdf)

<sup>45</sup> <https://assets.hcch.net/docs/efc2597e-3bf5-4645-bc33-66189992901a.pdf>

<sup>46</sup> Boechat Hervé, Fuentes Flavie “The gray areas of international adoption”, ISS/IRC, 2010, <https://assets.hcch.net/docs/99955803-462d-4d4d-947e-124b7adadd5d.pdf>

<sup>47</sup> International Social Service: *Monthly Bulletin*, n°200, March 2016, “Illegal adoptions and practices: A note of hope in the face of these tragic situations? » ; *Monthly Bulletin*, n° 220, April 2018, “International adoption in humanitarian situations: a form of forced migration? » ; *Responding to illegal adoption: a professional handbook*, 2016, [https://archive.crin.org/sites/default/files/illegal\\_adoption\\_iss\\_professional\\_handbook.pdf](https://archive.crin.org/sites/default/files/illegal_adoption_iss_professional_handbook.pdf)

<sup>48</sup> Daly Mary E., Duncan William, Murphy Yvonne, “Final Report of the Commission of Investigation into Mother and Baby Homes”, Dublin, Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth, 2021.

<sup>49</sup> Berthet Danielle, Falk Francesca, “Adoptionen von Kindern aus Sri Lanka im Kanton St. Gallen 1973-2002”, Saint Gall, Department of the Interior, 2022.

<sup>50</sup> “Consideration, Analysis, Conclusions, Recommendations and Summary. Committee investigating intercountry adoption”, The Hague, Dutch government, 2021.

<sup>51</sup> “Chapter 32: Adoption”, in Daly Mary E., Duncan William, Murphy Yvonne, “Final Report of the Commission of Investigation into Mother and Baby Homes”, Dublin, Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth, 2021, p. 1843-1992; O'Brien Valerie, Mitra Sahana, “Research on Adoption in Ireland 1952-2017”, in Daly Mary E., Duncan William, Murphy Yvonne, “Final Report of the Commission of Investigation into Mother and Baby Homes”, Dublin, Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth, 2021.

forced – although noted by the commission – cannot be taken into account because it was “very complicated [for the commission] to determine retrospectively whether the consent [of the mother to the abandonment] was taken in all conscience, in a way free and informed” 52. This positioning thus dissociates a notorious illicit act widely recognized by the commission – forced abandonment – from the rest of the adoption process. The commission did not want to establish generalities from the few cases to which its members had access in the archives, nor to question the words of the judges of the time.

On this last point, during several trials held in the 1960s and 1970s, reported by the commission, biological mothers asked the courts to give them back their children adopted by other families. While some magistrates were then able to recognize that the plaintiffs had abandoned their offspring under duress and without being sufficiently informed about the consequences, they did not cancel the adoption or grant the return of the child to its parent.

A completely different approach was implemented in another investigation which gave rise to a report published at the end of June 2022 by researchers from the University of Bern, at the request of the Department of the Interior of the canton of St. Gallen, about the adoption of children in Sri Lanka between 1973 and 2002. The researchers do not hesitate to highlight the murky role played by certain Swiss authorities. Indeed, after having analyzed all the individual files and the Swiss adoption judgments of the 85 Sri Lankan children adopted during the period, they note “that the municipal and cantonal authorities involved have, to a large extent, not implemented implement the legal provisions in force at the time” 53. They also criticize the Swiss municipal and cantonal authorities – including magistrates who have pronounced adoption judgments – for having “ignored” the obvious indications and public knowledge (journalistic investigations, report from federal authorities) reporting that adoptions in Sri Lanka had a commercial dimension; but also of having neglected “many procedures at different levels” due to botched investigations and of not having taken into account the inconsistencies appearing on birth certificates and other civil status documents from Sri Lanka; not having put an end to the action of the private work intermediary of these adoptions; finally, to have been condescending with regard to “these South-North adoptions”.

A third report drawn up recently, in the Netherlands, specifies that the investigation carried out was only possible thanks to the adopted persons: “when they went in search of information on their adoption, sometimes they realized that information was erroneous, or even that the adoption was illegal .” from 1967 to 1998: Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. Illegal acts encountered range from falsification of civil status to the abduction of children, including the operation of “baby farms”. The report spares neither public authorities nor Dutch private intermediaries by claiming that these actors were not only aware of the facts, but also that they did not act enough to fight them – when they were not them. themselves directly involved in deviance. Finally, the rapporteurs point the finger at Dutch public opinion, according to which obtaining a child was seen as an end justifying the means, by minimizing or even accepting the existence of illicit practices.

We can thus see that the apprehension of illicit practices in intercountry adoption, and even the results of research, are directly influenced by the definition of the object of study, the methods used and the conditions of access to sources. However, the research report presented here is on a different ground. It was not commissioned by any authority, it is not intended to render conclusions but is on the contrary the result of an exploratory mission which

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<sup>52</sup> Daly Mary E., Duncan William, Murphy Yvonne, “Final Report of the Commission of Investigation into Mother and Baby Homes”, Dublin, Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth, 2021, p. 1900.

<sup>53</sup> Berthet Danielle, Falk Francesca, “Adoptionen von Kindern aus Sri Lanka im Kanton St. Gallen 1973-2002”, Saint Gall, Department of the Interior, 2022.

<sup>54</sup> “Consideration, Analysis, Conclusions, Recommendations and Summary. Committee investigating intercountry adoption”, The Hague, Dutch government, 2021, p. 3.

lays the foundations for subsequent studies in the humanities and social sciences. As such, it may constitute a source of information for those concerned (birth parents, adoptees, adopters), involved or only interested in the issues it addresses.

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## First part | Scientific literature review

As with any research, it is essential to provide a state of the art listing the scientific production published on illicit practices in international adoption in France and elsewhere. This involves presenting books, articles, theses and other work prepared in a university setting and responding to the scientific approach of the human and social sciences. Here are selected research works carried by original questions, developed from selected materials, based on constructed samples, clearly defined methods and protocols; these publications having been subject to peer review.

A bibliographic database was created. It made it possible to question the references and to carry out the short quantitative study presented here in order to better understand the aspects of scientific research concerning illicit practices. A corpus of 157 publications has been compiled, intended to be regularly updated. In order to facilitate easy access to references, this database is freely searchable and searchable via the following link:

[https://heurist.huma-num.fr/heurist/?db=Enfance\\_pratiques\\_illicites&website](https://heurist.huma-num.fr/heurist/?db=Enfance_pratiques_illicites&website)

The titles in the corpus cover a large number of subjects, ranging from the implementation of measures and legislation aimed at regulating child adoption, to the most serious criminal cases, including all sorts of proven abuses and illicit acts. They refer both to adoptions carried out by intermediaries, works and organizations approved for adoption (OAA) or national adoption agencies (AFA in France) and by individual approach.

Even if the subject here concerns the scientific literature, we will also cite life stories, testimonies, journalistic or individual investigations, forms of expression emanating from adopted and/or adopters and public and private reports published on the topic for forty years. Indeed, these documents are not only sources of primary importance for anyone interested in illicit practices in intercountry adoption, but they have contributed to motivating research work on these issues.

### *Scales and geography of research*

Among the 157 scientific studies listed, 118 refer only to international adoptions. National adoptions are less numerous with only 20 studies, finally, 19 works cross national and international scales. It should be borne in mind that illicit practices committed in the adoption process often take place in a defined local or national reality, before being integrated into international adoption. For example, in Brazil, practices consisting in recruiting pregnant women or parent families wishing to abandon their children – or even producing fraudulent declarations of parentage (assuming a child known as “Brazilian-style adoption”) – are widely tolerated by society. until the 1990s. These national practices pre-exist before the development of international adoption and then are adopted by certain foreign adopters arriving on the spot<sup>55</sup>.

In addition to French, the publishing languages used are English and, to a lesser extent, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. One of the characteristics of our object of study lies in its close relationship with the law and the use of words chosen to determine a given illicit reality. In the context of an adoption, the terms “illicit”, “illegal” and “irregular” may not mean the same thing depending on the legal standards - national, international - and

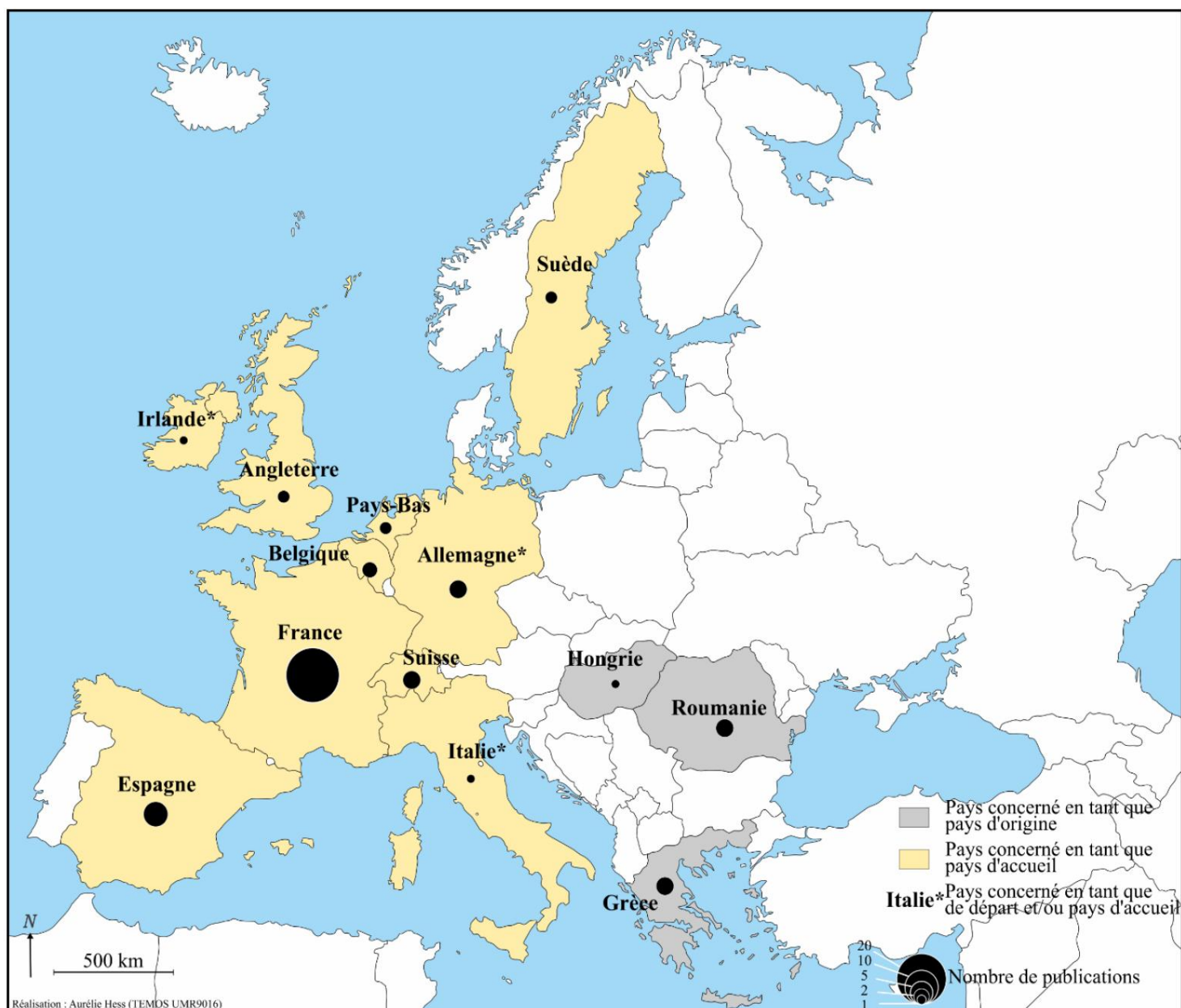
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<sup>55</sup> Abreu Domingos, *No bico da cegonha. Histórias de adoção e da adoção internacional no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Relume Dumará, 2002; Macedo Fabio, “Filiação sem fronteiras: o Brasil na rota da adoção internacional de crianças, 1965-1988”, *Revista Brasileira de História & Ciências Sociais*, 5, 9, 2013, p. 37-53.

also according to the evidence used. Words, especially those of law, therefore have meaning. English having become for several decades the *lingua franca* of scientific publications on a global scale, and this in all fields of knowledge, the predominance of studies published in this language is obvious: 113 publications out of 157 (75%). The United States has also been the origin of the phenomenon of international adoption since 1945 and the main destination for adopted foreign children. The preponderance of English over the other languages listed here – 35 works published in French, 6 in Spanish, 2 in Portuguese and 1 in Italian – is therefore part of an international editorial landscape largely devoted to English as well as in a context where an important part of the actors concerned is American.

#### Figure 4 – European countries that have been the subject of academic studies on illicit practices in international adoption

Source: Bibliographic database established as part of this research



**Figure 5 – Countries that have been the subject of academic studies on illicit practices in intercountry adoption**

Source: Bibliographic database established as part of this research



International adoption is a worldwide phenomenon whose flows of children take place mainly in the South-North direction. To better understand which are the geographical areas on which research on illicit practices has so far focused (see Figures 4 and 5), it is first of all necessary to distinguish the States of origin from the host States. adopted children – to use the terms of the Hague Convention. The States or countries of origin are the national territories in which the children are generally born and where a first judgment of adoption is generally pronounced; in territories where the custom of rather informal adoptive practices prevails, intercountry adoption may have been practiced by favoring illicit acts. The receiving States or countries are the national territories of residence of the adoptive families, towards which the migration of children for adoption takes place and where an adoption judgment is pronounced; it is above all the Western nations that belong to this group.

Among the countries of origin having been the subject of studies relating to illicit practices, Guatemala (14 publications), Brazil (9), Chad (8, on the Zoé ark case), Vietnam ( 8) and El Salvador (7) are the most concerned. It should be noted that, except for the case of Brazil (where poverty is the main cause of the abandonment of children), these are countries which were torn apart by armed conflicts at the time when international adoption developed there. . Both factors – poverty and war – provide fertile ground for all kinds of abuse. This paradigm of poverty and/or wars – but also of the violence committed by a certain number of political regimes – is of course at work, depending on the era, in other countries of origin. This concerns Mexico, Honduras, Cuba, Haiti, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Ireland, Greece, Romania, Russia, Algeria, Benin, l Ethiopia, Uganda, Malawi, India, Bangladesh, China, South Korea, Cambodia. On the other hand, no academic study has examined the cases of Mali, Paraguay, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Lebanon, Nepal or Sri Lanka, countries of origin that are also significant in terms of the number of adopted children. by strangers. However, reports, private inquiries, journalistic investigations, testimonies, documentaries have brought to light proven cases of misdemeanors or even crimes relating to adoption in some of these countries.

The studies in the corpus relating to host countries, which are less numerous, primarily concern the United States (50 publications) and France (28). Others mention the following countries: Belgium, Sweden, England, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Israel, Canada and Australia. Historiography clearly highlights the two periods during which European countries were source countries for international adoption: from 1945 to the beginning of the 1970s with Greece, Italy, Ireland, and Ireland. 'Germany ; the 1980s with Romania and Hungary and from the 1990s the countries of Central and Eastern Europe freed from communism. The fact that no listed scientific publication relates to Denmark and Norway (nor to Italy, Ireland and the FRG which became host countries from the 1970s), shows that studies in the humanities and social sciences on illicit practices in international adoption are yet to be developed in academic research.

Moreover, if we change the focal point to analyze the publications not by country but by large geographical areas covered in academic studies (see figure 6), it is a panorama slightly less centered on the host countries that appears. Thus, Europe – with both countries of origin and host countries – is present in 65 publications, North America (limited to the United States and Canada, host countries) in 58 studies, Latin America Caribbean (country of origin) 56, Asia (country of origin) 25, Africa (country of origin) 19 and Oceania (host country) 4. The 29 studies covering the whole of the world, deal above all with debates in private international law relating to adoptive filiation.

**Figure 6 – Geographical areas covered by academic studies on illicit practices in intercountry adoption**

Source: Bibliographic database established as part of this research

Geographical areas	Number of publications
Europe	65
North America	58
Latin America-Caribbean	56
Asia	25
Africa	19
Oceania	4
World	29

### *Typology of publications*

More than half of the studies listed here (85 out of 157 or 54%) are divided between "scientific articles" (46), "scientific works" (29), "theses" (6) and "chapters of scientific collective works" (4). The other 72 references (46%) can be grouped together in a broad category of "essays" (see figure 7), i.e. works "whose subject, without aiming to be exhaustive, is treated by successive approaches , and generally according to methods or points of view tested on this occasion.

<sup>56</sup>. Essays that meet scientific criteria are important for putting research into perspective or producing theoretical frameworks, but they do not replace work that is based on first-hand material.

**Figure 7 – Types of academic publications dealing with illicit practices in intercountry adoption**

Source: Bibliographic database established as part of this research

Trials meeting scientific criteria	72
Scientific papers	46
Scientific works	29
Doctoral theses	6
Chapters of scientific collective works	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>

To use the words of Cécile Lefèvre and Nicolas Razafindratsima in the *Dictionary of demography and population sciences*, "a survey [in the social and human sciences] can be quantitative and aim to produce figures, statistics, or qualitative data, and collect comments, stories, opinions, testimonies »<sup>57</sup>. As far as the titles in our corpus are concerned, almost all of them are based on qualitative methods,

<sup>56</sup> According to the National Center for Textual and Lexical Resources <https://www.cnrtl.fr/lexicographie/>

<sup>57</sup> *essai* Lefèvre Cécile, Razafindratsima Nicolas, "Investigation", in Meslé France, Toulemon Laurent, Véron Jacques (ed.), *Dictionary of demography and population sciences*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2011, p. 127.

i.e. 154 out of 157. Research carried out using quantitative data (one study) or combining qualitative and quantitative data (two studies) is very marginal. This situation is explained by the difficulty of carrying out quantitative research on questions relating to adoption: it is indeed very difficult to obtain reliable statistical series or longitudinal studies. Added to this are the private, intimate, even taboo dimensions surrounding adoption. And then by definition, illicit practices are opaque, concealed, invisible. All these elements converge to favor qualitative approaches: case studies circumscribed in time and space based on the exploitation of a corpus of archives or testimonies, surveys, field studies, summaries.

The analysis of the status of the 138 authors who wrote the 157 opuses listed shows that 112 are academics *a priori* not concerned with adoption (neither adopted nor adopters) and not involved (no responsibility in associations or services in connection with adoption), in any case, these people do not mention it. Three academics present themselves as adoptive persons, and 7 others present themselves as adopted persons, as do 4 writers.

The fields of knowledge covered by the authors are very diverse (see Figure 8). 53 publications relate to history (based on archives, testimonies), 28 to law (mainly addressing the legal standard and its limits), 25 to anthropology (often around the question of identity in adopted person). On the other hand, only 6 studies are signed by sociologists, 2 by psychologists, 2 by political scientists and one by a geographer. It should be noted, however, that these disciplines are involved in the 40 works that can be described as interdisciplinary.

**Figure 8 – Fields of knowledge covered by studies on illicit practices in intercountry adoption**

Source: Bibliographic database established as part of this research

History	53
Right	28
Anthropology	25
Sociology	6
Psychology	2
Political science	2
Geography	1
Works multidisciplinary/ interdisciplinary	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>

As a general introduction, we indicated how the writings on the history of international adoption suggest the existence of migratory waves linked to different periods of development of the phenomenon. Here, we propose to retain a periodization in four major historical sequences: before 1945 (the period of the prodromes of adoption between countries); from 1945 to 1969 (the real beginnings of international adoption, in particular with the large flow from South Korea); from 1970 to 1999 (with the multiplication of countries of origin to the awareness caused by the 1993 Hague Convention); the beginning

of the 21st century, i.e. the period of application of the HLC (i.e. from the 2000s, including the peak and then the decline of international adoption).

### Figure 9 – Periods covered by studies on illicit practices in intercountry adoption

Source: Bibliographic database established as part of this research

Before 1945	16
1945-1969	30
1970-1999	63
Early 21st century	101

It is noteworthy that 16 studies relate to before 1945, when international adoption was very underdeveloped at the time (see figure 9). This means that from its infancy the phenomenon is accompanied by deviations, at a time, it is true, when regulation did not exist and when illicit practices were current in national adoption in France, particularly in France. For the period 1945-1969, there are 30 works carried out on the beginnings of international adoption, which mainly concern Asian countries. 63 studies relate to the period 1970-1999, which is undoubtedly the most problematic in terms of illicit practices at a time when international adoption in France became a social phenomenon and source countries became more numerous on all continents. Demand and supply grow and deviations multiply. 101 works address more current issues in the context of the beginning of the 21st century, that of transnational regulation with the application of the HLC. This period logically concentrates the majority of studies carried out in disciplines other than history.

#### *Growing scientific interest*

From the 1950s and 1960s, the “impasses” of adoption between countries preoccupied the International Social Service and the Hague Conference on Private International Law. Principles are enacted in order to avoid conflicts of laws, but they are not contractual. From In 1965, one of the first French “manuals” of adoption evokes children arriving in France without papers, consent to adoption which is lacking, the absence of “traceability” of children, more under the angle of the difficulty of regularizing these situations, as illicit practices<sup>58</sup>.

The first academic studies of illicit practices as such can be dated to the early 1980s. addresses very clearly<sup>59</sup>. Her article focuses on the situation in Latin America, in a context of awareness of the deviations generated by international adoption which very often find themselves in the headlines. However, publications remained limited for two decades with 26 publications between 1985 and 2005 (see Figure 10). Among this first corpus of publications, two publications should be noted. First, in 1990 the “Report on the adoption of children from abroad”, written by JHA van Loon for the Conference of La

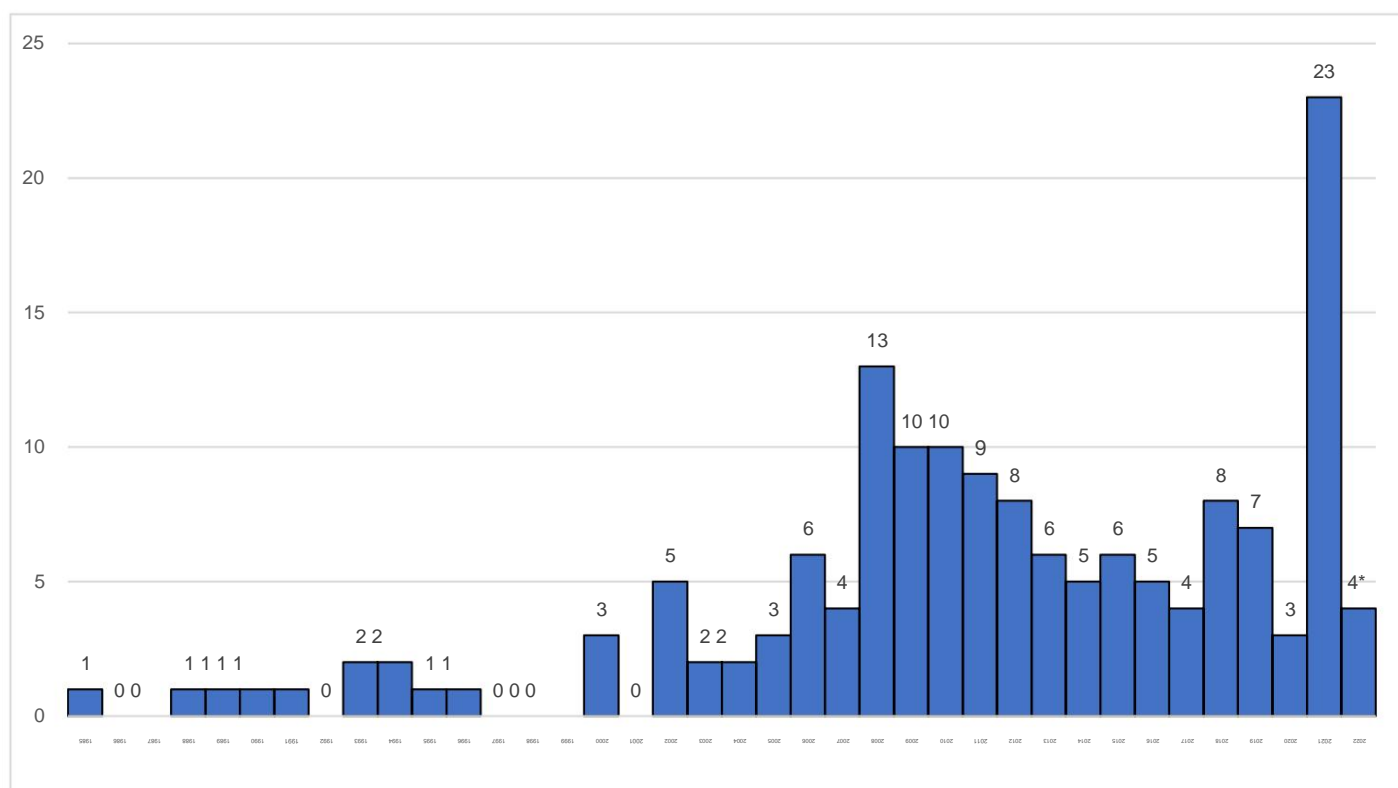
<sup>58</sup> Olivier Camille, *Adopt a child*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1965.

<sup>59</sup> Pilotti Francisco, “Intercountry Adoption: A View From Latin America,” *Child Welfare*, 64, 1985, p. 25-35.

Hague of private international law, part of which is devoted to "abuse in matters of adoption of children from abroad: international child trafficking". Then, in the context of business in Latin America and the unbridled adoption in Romania after the fall of Ceausescu, a pioneering article by Brigitte Trillat and Sylvia Nabinger which lists illicit practices and proposes to apprehend them according to several reading grids<sup>60</sup>. The 1990s were those of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), the development and the first ratifications of the CLH and perhaps researchers then turned a little away from the theme of illicit practices. in adoption.

### Figure 10 – Annual number of academic publications on illicit practices in intercountry adoption

Source: Bibliographic database established as part of this research



\* The figures for 2022 are not significant given the publication delay of the journals.

While international adoption began to decline from the mid-2000s, publications became more numerous: 60 between 2006 and 2012 by specialists who worked on various issues, such as Domingos Abreu (legal and illegal adoptive practices between Brazil and France and Switzerland in the 1990s), Karen Balcom ("trafficking" of babies along the border between Canada and the United States from 1930 to 1970), Laura Briggs (thefts of children in Latin America since the 1980s), Yves Denéchère (deviations in international adoption in France since 1945), Karen Dubinsky (links between adoption, migration and politics in the Americas since the 1950s), Ellen Herman (history of adoption in the United States since the late 19th century), Tobias Hübinette (international adoption in South Korea from a postcolonial perspective), Karen S. Rotabi (illicit practices in international adoption and surrogacy), Peter Selman (statistics of

<sup>60</sup> Loon Hans van, "Report on the adoption of children from abroad", The Hague, Hague Conference on Private International Law, 1990; Trillat Brigitte and Nabinger Sylvia, "International adoption and child trafficking: myths and realities", *International Criminal Police Review-Interpol*, 428, 1991, p. 18-25.

international adoption), David Smolin (“*child laundering*” – laundering of children – in international adoption), Shurlee Swain (adoption and placement of children in Australia) or Carla Villalta (abduction of children by the Argentine dictatorship)<sup>61</sup>.

In France, 2007 is undeniably a turning point, for two reasons. First, appears the testimony of Céline Giraud, *I was stolen from my parents*. The author talks about her research on her Peruvian origins, her identity problems, her discovery of Peru, the link between poverty and illicit practices of adoption, her activism after creating the association “La Voix des adoptés” in 2005. result of this investigation opens the eyes of many people to the misdemeanors and crimes that may have been committed in international adoption. The impact of the book is all the stronger since this case had been tried in Peru and had had some media coverage in France from 1982, but the main people concerned, adoptees and adopters, had not been informed by the 'OAA Sunbeam of the foreign child who had been the intermediary in these adoptions<sup>62</sup>.

At the end of 2007, a second shock occurred with the Arche de Zoé affair. Members of this French association engaged in humanitarian action were arrested in Chad as they attempted to leave the country with 103 children. They will then be sentenced for attempted kidnapping of minors. The Family Collective for Orphans in Darfur, which supported the operation, included members who were supposed to welcome and/or adopt at least some of these children in France. This case is a turning point for international adoption. The French and foreign press and informed observers denounce the serious consequences of the moral injunction to save children. All humanitarian and adoption associations must then question their practices with retrospective questions and new issues<sup>63</sup>.

In 2008, the journal *Humanitaire: Stakes, Practices, Debates*, linked to the NGO Doctors of the World, itself OAA, published the file “Zoé: the fatal equation”<sup>64</sup>. Within international organizations or European institutions, international civil servants, such as Roelie Post, also issue alerts to denounce the abuses of international adoption in other countries, notably in Romania<sup>65</sup>.

Researchers are challenged by the telescoping of the Zoé ark affair and the publication of Céline Giraud's book. As figure 5 shows, in the following years, the number of publications on illicit practices in intercountry adoption is significant. Thus, in an article published in 2009, Yves Denéchère directs his research towards international adoption and invites researchers in the humanities and social sciences to look into the history of international adoption. It proposes as an analysis grid the different logics of the actors at work and the question of deviations is very present<sup>66</sup>. The same year, Domingos Abreu, a specialist in international adoption in Brazil, one of the main countries of destination for adopters in the 1980s and 1990s, describes perfectly the murky role played by Brazilian lawyers. It also shows how certain foreign adopters, in this case French and Swiss, let themselves be carried away in spite of themselves in the practice of what is called

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<sup>61</sup> All these works are referenced in the bibliography (second part).

<sup>62</sup> Giraud Céline, Trévert Émilie, *I was stolen from my parents*, Paris, Flammarion, 2007.

<sup>63</sup> Troubé Christian, *The Humanitarian Fanatics. Lessons from Zoe's Ark*, Paris, Éditions Autre, 2008.

<sup>64</sup> “Zoé: the fatal equation”, *Humanitarian: issues, practices, debates*, 18, 1, 2008 [consulted on September 3, 2022, <https://journals.openedition.org/humanitaire/153>].

<sup>65</sup> Post Roelie, “Romania – For Export Only. The untold story of the Romanian “orphans””, Brussels, EuroComment Broadcast, 2007.

<sup>66</sup> Denéchère Yves, “Towards a history of international adoption in France”, *Vingtième siècle. History Review*, 102, 2, 2009, p. 117-129.

Brazil “Brazilian-style adoption”, ie fraudulent declarations of parentage, assumption of children and other illicit acts<sup>67</sup> .

Of the 28 publications dealing directly or indirectly with illicit practices in international adoption concerning France since 1945, ten were written by Yves Denéchère between 2011 and 2022. The list of cases established by the historian in his work is long. Although he did not make it the red thread of his book published in 2011, *Children from afar. History of international adoption in France*, numerous irregularities, illicit practices, misdemeanors and crimes are listed in the various chapters, evoking many countries over the whole period. Along with the publication of research reports, the content of the book is now also available in open access on HAL SHS<sup>68</sup>. From the adoption in France of Franco-German children from occupied Germany, to the problematic expansion of international adoption, from Latin America to Romania, he describes a whole variety of illicit practices documented by the archives. , including those from the Department of Foreign Affairs, oral sources, and interactions with adoptees. A number of these cases have been prosecuted and convicted in France and abroad. Yves Denéchère then elaborated in several articles on certain subjects, in particular on the attitude of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomats, the actions of certain OAAs, adoptions in Vietnam and Romania and attempts at international regulation<sup>69</sup> .

Since the 2010s, the testimonies of adopted persons evoking questionable conditions and illicit practices in their adoption process have multiplied. In 2011, Tinan Leroy, adopted in France, recounts how he was the victim of a kidnapping in Haiti<sup>70</sup> In 2018, Mar Roy Le Dagen, born in Romania, testifies to his adoption at the time of Ceausescu, when the biological parents of the children sent internationally did not count . Carmen Maria Vega shares her investigation into her origins and the revelation of child trafficking in Guatemala<sup>72</sup> . Recently, Émilie Ducrot and Céline Breysse gave their respective testimonies on their search for origins confronted with the discovery of illicit practices concerning their adoption in Sri Lanka and alerted public opinion and institutions<sup>73</sup>. In 2020 Julie Foulon wrote about the questionable conditions of her abandonment in Ethiopia<sup>74</sup>. Persons a

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<sup>67</sup> Abreu Domingos, “Baby-Bearing Storks: Brazilian Intermediaries in the Adoption Process”, in Marre Diana, Briggs Laura (ed.), *International adoption. Global inequalities and the circulation of children*, New York, NYU Press, 2009, p. 138-153.

<sup>68</sup> Denéchère Yves, *Children from afar. History of international adoption in France*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2011. <https://univ-angers.hal.science/halshs-00623750/document>

<sup>69</sup> Denéchère Yves, “Regulating a particular form of migration at the European level: The Council of Europe and intercountry adoptions (1950-1967)”, *Journal of European Integration History*, 2017, p. 77-90; Denéchère Yves, “The adoption of the “children of Ceausescu”: a social fact at the heart of Franco-Romanian relations in the 1980s”, *Cahier d'histoire anonyme*, 44, 2013, p. 171-184; Denéchère Yves, “Babylift (April 1975): an American military-humanitarian operation to end the Vietnam War”, *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, 252, 4, 2013, p. 131-143; Denéchère Yves, “New actor and new transnational phenomenon: Terre des Hommes and international adoption (1960-1980)”, *Relations internationales*, 142, 2, 2010, p. 119-136. Denéchère Yves, Scutaru Beatrice, “International adoption of Romanian children and Romania's admission to the European Union (1990-2007)”, *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 1, 1, 2010, p. 135-151; Denéchère Yves, “State adoptions: the children of the French occupation in Germany, 1945-1952”, *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine*, 57, 2, 2010, p. 159-179; Denéchère Yves, “French diplomacy faced with the novelty of international child adoptions (1960s and 1970s)”, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, 123, 1, 2009, p.75-89.

<sup>70</sup> Leroy Tinan, *Magnitude 7.3*, Alma publisher, 2011.

<sup>71</sup> Le Roy-Dagen Marion, Bonnot Xavier-Marie, *The child and the dictator*, Paris, Belfond, 2018.

<sup>72</sup> Carmen Maria Vega, *Le chant du bouc*, Paris, Flammarion, 2019.

<sup>73</sup> Ducrot Émilie, *Tears of the Elephant*, Paris, L'Archipel, 2019; Breysse Celine, *Good Morning Nilanthi. Diary of an adoptee in Sri Lanka*, Éditions Reflets, 2022.

<sup>74</sup> Foulon Julie, *Sara and Tsega*, Paris, Editions Baudelaire, 2020.

other countries have also written their history, mobilized the press and contributed to lifting the veil on illegal practices, in particular Mariela SR/Coline Fanon, adopted from Guatemala in Belgium<sup>75</sup>.

Others did not write books, but testified to their stories, their investigations, their discovery of fraudulent practices in their adoptions. In the press, in documentaries and on social networks: Jean adopted in Paraguay, Marie, Pauline and Jean-Noël adopted from Mali, Fanny from Haiti, Alban and Johanna from Chile, Ame, Javier and Pattie Maëlle from Guatemala, Kim Yooree and Yung from South Korea and many more. The confrontation of the stories shows that the practices are comparable, and that sometimes the intermediaries are the same between a country of departure and several host countries.

Adoptees have also produced scholarly work on the history of intercountry adoption that addresses the issue of illicit practices. Clémence Mahéo, in her thesis on AABs, questions the risks generated by intermediaries in the context of the decline in international adoption since 2005, particularly in Africa<sup>76</sup>. Hélène Laffitte, in her thesis on the expression and organization of adoptees, shows how people adopted in South Korea challenge international adoption<sup>77</sup>.

Recently, Amandine Gay and Joohee Bourgain, beyond the stories of their adoption, have offered essays with cultural, social and political analyzes of international adoption<sup>78</sup>. This is a new approach in France whereas it is already common in foreign countries. Based on their university training, starting from their quest for identity, they situate the adoptive act in a set of racial, feminist or postcolonial reflections. They claim legitimacy for adoptees to talk about adoption through writing or other forms of artistic expression (cinema, dance, stand-up, comics, etc.). Deviation and illicit practices are considered in these essays as intrinsically linked to the act of adopting a foreign child.

Based on the testimonies of adopted persons, from the 2010s, press articles, radio programs and television reports are multiplying and seek to identify the responsibilities in these illicit practices. The earthquake in Haiti constitutes a favorable context for the evocation of excesses in international adoption. Several annual meetings of the MAI address the issue of illicit practices, in particular in 2016, 2018, 2021 and 2022. These are attended by historians, lawyers, professionals in the sector of children and their well-being, adopted persons, associations, transnational organizations (CLH, SSI). This collective awareness of those involved in international adoption is coupled with the interest of researchers.

In his thesis defended in 2020 on international adoption from a global and long-term perspective, Fabio Macedo addresses the questionable practices of the League for the Protection of Abandoned Mothers, a Parisian association which has been dedicated since 1927 to the adoption of national and foreign children on French soil. It also shows the chaotic and multifaceted journey of adoptions of displaced and refugee children in the post-Second

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<sup>75</sup> Fanon Coline/Mariela SR, *Mom, I'm not dead. The incredible destiny of Coline, kidnapped at birth*, Loverval (Belgium), Kennes, 2021.

<sup>76</sup> Mahéo Clémence, "Operators "kinship makers" facing the risks and changes of international adoption since 2005", doctoral thesis in History, under the supervision of Yves Denéchère, University of Angers, 2018; "French players in international adoption at risk from Africa (1990-2015)", *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 123, 2, 2016, p. 153-169.

<sup>77</sup> Laffitte Hélène, "Expressions and organization of adopted persons of foreign origin in France since the 1980s", doctoral thesis in History, under the supervision of Yves Denéchère and Claudine Veuillet-Combier, University of Angers, 2019; "Korean Roots: First Association of Adoptees of Foreign Origin in France (1995). Collective history and individual memories", *Cahier d'Histoire illustré*, 2018.

<sup>78</sup> Bourgain Joohee, *International adoption, myths and realities*, Paris, Anacaona, 2021; Gay Amandine, *A chocolate doll*, Paris, La Découverte, 2021.

World War in Germany and Austria, as well as the methods and practices of the NGO Terre des hommes between the 1960s and 1980s, in Algeria, Vietnam, Nigeria (Biafra), South Korea, Colombia, Peru and Brazil<sup>79</sup>. The year 2021 was marked by a significant number of scientific publications on illicit practices with 22 studies. This situation is partly explained by two issues of a review devoted to the history of adoption by the French review *Annales de démographie historique* (coordinated by Fabio Macedo, Jean François Mignot and Isabelle Robin) comprising 9 articles dealing directly or indirectly with irregularities, and an issue of the international review *Childhood* focusing specifically on illicit practices, bringing together 7 contributions. In the *Annals of Historical Demography*, we can highlight the article by the Australian historian Shurlee Swain proposing an international comparison<sup>80</sup>, or that of Gonda Van Steen on the so-called “Scopas” scandal of Greek-American international adoptions in the years 1950<sup>81</sup>. Agostina Gentili's study on the transition between informal and formal adoptive practices in Argentina in the 1960s<sup>82</sup>, and that of Evelien Walhout, Jacques Dane, Yuliya Hilevych and Jan Kok on forced abandonment in the Netherlands between 1956 and 1984<sup>83</sup>, recall the extent of irregularities in adoption cases during the second half of the 20th century. In *Childhood*, Carmen Monico's article highlights the very problematic recent history of international adoption in Guatemala and evokes actors too often overlooked in research work: biological families<sup>84</sup>. In this same issue, two articles question Spanish national adoptions under the Franco regime and international adoption in a context where Spain is becoming an important receiving country<sup>85</sup>.

This renewed interest in scientific research on illicit practices in adoption is concomitant with the militant activism of associations of adopted persons, particularly in France "La Voix des adoptés" and "Reconnaissance des adoptions illégales à l'international in France", "Racines Perdues" in Belgium and Europe, "Back to the Roots in Switzerland", "Brazil Baby Affair" in the Netherlands, other associations on a transnational scale such as "Chilean Adoptees Worldwide, InterCountry Adoptee Voices (ICAV)" or the "Voices Against Illegal Adoption" coalition, etc. This is a fundamental element of current research which we will discuss later.

On the other hand, the adopters are few in number to express themselves on this question. Véronique Piaser-Moyen's book is therefore an exception. Mother of a child adopted in Sri Lanka in 1985, former responsible for adoptions of the Kasih Bunda association, she recounts the discovery of illicit practices of which she was unaware<sup>86</sup>, EFA published in its journal *Home*

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<sup>79</sup> Macedo Fabio, "Choosing children. Nationality, race and "quality" in the global history of international adoption (1830-1980)", doctoral thesis in History, under the supervision of Paul-André Rosental, EHESS, 2020. 80

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<sup>81</sup> Van Steen Gonda, "Of foundlings and "lostlings". When the Scopas scandal rocked the unstable foundations of the first 1950s intercountry adoptions", *Annales de démographie historique*, 141, 1, 2021, p. 123-155.

<sup>82</sup> Gentile Agostina. "Adoption and family origins in Argentina in the sixties", *Annales de démographie historique*, 141, 1, 2021, p. 157-180.

<sup>83</sup> Walhout Evelien et al, "Hostages of time. Policy, practice and experiences of relinquishing a child for adoption in the Netherlands between 1956 and 1984", *Annales de démographie historique*, 142, 2, 2021, p. 1-19.

<sup>84</sup> Monico Carmen, "Implications of Irregular Transnational Adoptions within International Standards: A Review of Intercountry Adoption Systems and Guatemalan Birthmother Perspectives", *Childhood*, 28, 4, 2021, p. 509-524.

<sup>85</sup> Marre Diana, Gaggiotti Hugo, "Irregular Adoptions and Infrastructures of Memory in Spain: Remnant Practices from the Franco Regime", *Childhood*, 28, 4, 2021, p. 570-584; San Román Beatriz, "I Prefer Not to Know': Spain's Management of Transnational Adoption Demand and Signs of Corruption", *Childhood*, 28, 4, 2021, p. 492-508.

<sup>86</sup> Piaser-Moyen Véronique, *My daughter, I did not know...*, City Editions, 2022.

a file entitled "The excesses of adoption: from irregularity to illegality". It contains contributions from observers and researchers, adoptees and adoptive parents .

The latest studies published are the work of several researchers in sociology and anthropology. Sébastien Roux, author of several studies on international adoption in France, discusses in his latest book entitled *Sang d'encre. Survey on the end of international adoption*, the link difficult to assess between the scandals of the 2000s, the darkening of the discourse on international adoption and the decline of the phenomenon<sup>88</sup>. Mylène Hernandez recently published an investigation based on the testimonies of four people adopted in Romania in the 1980s and 1990s. It deals with their life trajectories, their quests for identity and the irregularities marring their adoptions<sup>89</sup> .

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It emerges from this brief review of the scientific literature that illicit practices in international adoption have not been neglected by researchers in the humanities and social sciences. The studies carried out have accompanied the evolution of intercountry adoption as a global and transnational social fact and have been more numerous at times when deviations were the most publicized. Thus, since the mid-2000s, and especially recently, studies have multiplied. However, among all these publications, many have remained confidential because they were published in academic journals that are difficult for the general public to access, which may have led to the belief that scientists had shown little interest in this question. However, researchers do have a social role to play. Not only are they called upon to create new knowledge through their research, but they also have a duty to disseminate the results of their research to those affected by the social facts they are

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<sup>87</sup> *Accueil*, "The excesses of adoption: from irregularity to illegality", n°198, 2021. Nathalie Parent, president of EFA until 2020, takes up elements of this publication in "Quand ce que l'on croit on ne trouve pas", *Enfances & Psy*, n°93, 2022, p. 117-131.

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## Part Two | Bibliography

The bibliographic corpus on which the second part is based is freely consultable and searchable via the link: [https://heurist.huma-num.fr/heurist/?db=Enfance\\_pratiques\\_illicites&website](https://heurist.huma-num.fr/heurist/?db=Enfance_pratiques_illicites&website) The database, which is not exhaustive, is intended to be enriched and updated thanks to participatory science, the terms of which are specified on the database page.

The bibliography presented here is a little broader.

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## Part Three | Annotated source guide

### Preamble

Sources relating to international adoption are numerous and varied, in France and abroad, but not easily accessible for reasons that are sometimes legal and sometimes linked to realities on the ground. Apart from gaps that remain to be listed, we can draw a quick overview of what already exists, by dividing production into two distinct fields.

On the one hand, the legal, institutional and administrative organization is at the origin of a deposit of files today kept mainly by the ministerial, diplomatic and consular archives of the countries concerned. In France, these files make it possible to document the context of the development of laws and policies and to understand the content of the exchanges between Paris and the French representatives in the States. The heritage code makes them accessible<sup>90</sup>, even if, most often, time limits for communicability are applied<sup>91</sup>. The documents can then be communicated earlier by means of requests for consultations by derogation<sup>92</sup>.

On the other hand, information concerning the personal situations of adopted children is gathered in files disseminated internationally and more or less made accessible, when they exist, through the intermediary of the institutions and organizations which have taken charge of the adoption of the child. Procedures are rarely harmonised. In France, the files of children who have been sent to organizations authorized for adoption (OAA) have not been systematically collected and the archives of child welfare services remain incomplete on this subject<sup>93</sup>.

In several European countries (Ireland, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden), independent commissions of inquiry mandated by the public authorities have sometimes been accompanied by a relative opening of archives. Thus, in Switzerland, the federal law of September 30, 2016 "on coercive measures for the purpose of assistance and extra-family placements prior to 1981" provides for the opening of any archive for the implementation of "scientific studies".<sup>94</sup> In the French context, the effect of such a law out access to the archives cannot at this stage be preconceived.

The situations therefore vary from one country to another, depending on the historical, cultural and family context in which the adoption takes place and according to the evolution of archive management practices. In this already very complex landscape, the illegal framework of adoptions further complicates the identification of documents and, therefore, their accessibility. Today, there is no generalist guide that makes it possible to prioritize and understand the organization of this information on the archival level, at least to disentangle what

<sup>90</sup> Deadlines for free communication of public archives, Heritage Code, articles L213-1 to 3.

<sup>91</sup> Public archives can be communicated as of right, except in the cases set out in the Heritage Code. concerning, for example, the protection of privacy.

<sup>92</sup> The procedure for early access by way of derogation from public archives that cannot be freely communicated is provided for by Articles L. 212-10-1, L. 213-1 to L. 213-5 and R. 212-50-2 of the Code du heritage. The exemptions granted for this study were granted on an individual basis in the context of research. A reserve commitment is then signed by the applicant. The response is given within three months, sometimes longer if the administration of origin is slow to respond.

<sup>93</sup> Adoption records kept in France are subject to communication deadlines. Only the person concerned and his legal successors may have access to the information and a period of 50 years is applied to protect the data of third parties relating to their private life.

<sup>94</sup> <https://www.fedlex.admin.ch/eli/cc/2017/145/fr>

is technically and legally accessible from what is not, and, moreover, to facilitate consultation.

Hence the interest of proposing here a directory of identified sources, specifying their content. Locating and consulting the archives constituted the major part of Fabio Macedo's postdoctoral mission. The derogation processes have taken time, a few weeks/months for the diplomatic archives, much more for the national archives: requests filed in July have still not received a response.

Priority was first given to examining the archives of the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, which oversees international adoption. The Center for Diplomatic Archives in La Courneuve and the Center for Diplomatic Archives in Nantes are particularly rich in illicit practices since they are reported by ministry officials. The archives of other ministries concerned (Justice, Social Affairs, Interior, etc.), kept at the National Archives, constitute additional sources.

The archives of those involved in adoption should also be considered: organizations authorized for adoption (OAA), associations of adopters, associations of adopted persons, associations of parents by country of origin (APPO).

The role played by the written, radio and television press in denouncing illicit practices in intercountry adoption amply justifies drawing up an inventory of the available documentation. While some mediocre publications and broadcasts have succumbed to the temptation of sensationalism, many serious and documented investigations, carried out by journalists cross-checking information and going to the field, have revealed illegal acts.

It is necessary to point out from the outset the "source effects", well known to researchers, relating to facts and events that leave traces in the archives. In the archives of administrations, ministries and associations, the adoptions that leave the most traces, because they generate the most exchanges and activities, are those that pose a problem. Thus, such a consul, such an adoption candidate, such an OAA or EFA reports a malfunction concerning an identified adoption, an intermediary or a deviant practice.

Conversely, this does not mean that all problematic adoptions generate archives. Those based on criminal practices at the start of the process (in particular the assumption of a child) may subsequently present all the attributes of a procedure that respects the rules, the initial crime concealing all other traces. And doubtless, adoptions by individual approach are listed less in the sources since by nature they concern fewer intermediaries and in any case not AABs. The archives consulted are therefore both very rich sources for identifying illicit practices, but insufficient to encompass all the acts that may have taken place. Moreover, on certain countries where illegal practices have taken place, the spotlight has only recently been shone and the archives cannot therefore reveal much about these cases.

"Time effects" are also to be considered. The archives consulted relate to the period up to 2006 (except in the case of Nepal, up to 2013), that is to say up to the peak of international adoption in France, therefore necessarily on waves of international adoptions prior to those years. Hence the absence of information on certain source countries which were only really concerned by international adoption later. Written and audiovisual press reviews are not affected by this "time effect" and the most recent publications, productions and broadcasts have been listed.

## ***I - Archives of the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs***

These sources are the richest for documenting illicit practices in international adoption in France. The contents of the various archive numbers consulted are indicated in the form of raw information because it was materially impossible to verify the facts mentioned. So some of these facts may be wrong but have historically produced records.

### ***A - La Courneuve Diplomatic Archives Center***

The La Courneuve Diplomatic Archives Center keeps the most numerous administrative archives. As part of this research on illicit practices, we have had access to almost all of the four funds set up to date.

The first two funds presented had been consulted under derogation by Yves Denéchère in 2008, which explains why a certain number of facts were recorded in his book *Children from far away. History of international adoption in France* – now freely available – particularly in the items “Rumours and realities of trafficking in Latin America”, “Brazilian lawyers”, “A dismantled sector in Peru”, “Children for export” from Guatemala”, “The unbridled adoption of Romanian children”, “The Vietnam years”, etc. The other two collections, larger in size, are presented for the first time in detail about their content and their interest is beyond doubt.

In addition to the searchable archive numbers, requests for derogation from consultation relating to 158 numbers have been filed. They had a positive result for 154 boxes including 10 partially. Nearly 30,000 pages of documents were consulted, including nearly 7,500 containing information on our subject of study.

In accordance with the commitments made in the context of the derogation request, we have respected the anonymity of the persons who are quoted therein. Quotations from the documents are in quotation marks. Errors in the title or in the concordance of archive numbers have been reproduced, for example “organizations approved for adoption” (instead of organizations authorized for adoption). The principle of respecting funds was strictly applied. Thus, the same facts can be mentioned in several boxes and have not been brought together.

Finally, it should be noted that the so-called intermediate funds, currently kept at the Mission for International Adoption (MAI), are in the process of being transferred to the center of the diplomatic archives of La Courneuve. These are “general files” relating to the organization, questions of principle, follow-up of OAAs, files by country. They cover a period from the beginning of the 1990s to the end of the 2000s. Once the deposit has been completed, this collection will be available for consultation subject to the rules of communicability of public archives set by the heritage code.

#### **1 - Collection of Administrative Conventions and Consular Affairs, Consular Affairs, 1940-1978, Call number 1834INVA**

This collection contains only four boxes devoted to adoption, and only two of them contain information likely to shed light on illicit practices.

##### **Boxes 3 to 6: “Adoption” (1948-1977)**

###### **Box 3: Miscellaneous documents (1951-1977)**

1951 – Parliamentary proposal to modify article 368 of the Civil Code on adoptive legitimation and to reduce the age of persons qualified to adopt children then set at

40 years. One of the stated objectives is to avoid what the prefect of Algiers calls the "clandestine market which consists of a mother giving up her child to a woman who, not yet being able to legally adopt legitimately, is pushed, in her desire motherhood, to replace the real mother".

1971 – Minutes of the meeting of the working group responsible for studying the problems posed by the adoption of foreign children. This brings together representatives of the State Secretariat for Social Action and Rehabilitation, the Ministries of Justice, the Interior and Foreign Affairs, the Departmental Directorates of Health and Social Affairs, the Prefecture of Police Paris, as well as private organizations: Family Support Service and the National Association of Adoptive Homes. Their common fears relate to various points, in particular: "misunderstanding of the existing regulations, collection of children of all origins without any guarantee and by sometimes dubious means". One of the stated objectives is to study "the role and control of intermediaries".

1972 – Circular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed to French diplomatic posts abroad aimed at supervising the adoption of foreign children, and in particular "the fact that certain works, not approved, mediate for to bring children to France, without being surrounded by the minimum of essential guarantees".

#### Box 5: Files by country (1946-1977)

1972 – Correspondence between the French Ambassador to India and the French Foreign Minister. The diplomat indicates that "the adoption of Indian children comes up against various obstacles", including the fact that "this notion" does not exist in India, "the candidate for adoption could at most be entrusted with guardianship of an 'abandoned' child. He goes on to say that "the formalities to be carried out in France to transform into adoption, even simple, what is only a guardianship, will be all the longer and more complicated than the Indian judgment conferring the guardianship of the child will not be accompanied by any of the documents proving that the substantive conditions provided for by our civil code are met (child abandonment in particular). »

## **2 - International Adoption Mission Fund, General Files, 1972-1992, Reference 2106INVA**

This fund is entirely dedicated to international adoption. We present below only the boxes containing documents relating, in a direct or indirect way, to illicit practices.

### **Cards 1 to 2: "Conventions"**

#### Box 1: Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

1994 – Report by France on the application of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, conclusions of the Committee on the Rights of the Child. In the section concerning "the adoption of children born abroad", a connection is made between the situation of children from South America and those from Eastern Europe, these flows favoring "all the abuses children are the first victims". Victimization also of "candidates [for adoption from the West], insufficiently informed of local conditions and the implications of an adoption process abroad, [who] sometimes succumb to financial pressures", generating " high-risk adoption conditions".

Box 2: Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)

1990 – Seminar of the NGO Defense for Children International (DEI) on the application of the Convention on the Rights of the Child with regard to the work, trafficking and sale of children. In the communication entitled "International adoption and trafficking of children: initial assessment of the need for international protection of children and their rights", development on the existence of abuse due to the growing demand for children in the "countries of the Third World" by "foreigners seeking to obtain, without having to wait too long, a child corresponding to their wishes". Definition of the terms "sale of children" and "trafficking of children". Questions about the roles of intermediaries in the production of "numerous adoption procedures which appear to be perfectly in order [but which] can turn out to be very irregular".

**Boxes 3 to 17: "Dossiers of principles by country, 1964-1992"**

Box 3: South Africa, Albania, Germany, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Belgium, Bangladesh 1983, Argentina – The French consulate in Buenos Aires asks the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for details on how to deal with to requests from French nationals wishing to adopt in Argentina. The consulate's stated desire to prevent "illegal adoptions", "even child trafficking".

1990, Argentina – Following a request for information from the French consulate in Buenos Aires, warning from Paris concerning the action of the NGO Aciad-Orphelins du monde.

1992, Argentina – AFP dispatch reporting the arrest in Argentina of twenty-one people, "mostly doctors and nurses", accused of "baby trafficking". These children were sold "for a sum ranging from 4,000 to 20,000 [US] dollars, depending on the color of the skin, eyes or hair, in particular to foreigners".

Box 4: Brazil

1986 – *Liberation* report titled "Brazilian babies are selling well", about the dismantling by the Brazilian police of a child trafficking network based in the state of Santa Catarina. The federal police investigation put the number of victims at 500 children negotiated at an average price of US\$5,000 each and sent mainly to Israel, the United States, the Netherlands, Italy and France. The report also mentions the expulsion of a French woman from the state of Goiás when she was going to pick up a child.

1988 – Notice on adoption in Brazil issued by the MAI. Warning to adoption candidates about the role of Brazilian lawyers in numerous scandals.

1990 – Note from the Head of the International Cooperation Division in Family Law of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs "on the adoption of children from Brazil and its importance in France's relations with this country". Concern of the French authorities regarding a situation "potentially leading to bilateral disputes" in a context where "the institution of adoption is degenerating into a succession of scandals linked to sordid trafficking".

1991 – Dispatch from the Consul General of France in Recife to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on "adoptions in the Northeast of Brazil". Account of the multiple problems surrounding international adoptions in the states of Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceara and Piauí. Problems encountered by the organization authorized for adoption (OAA) Arc en Ciel in Ceara following the cancellation of an adoption procedure in progress. In Piauí, blockages concerning an adoption via the OAA Diaphanie, with in particular the participation of a French national who, according to the consul, was "wanted by the French justice system for child trafficking".

1992 – Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the preparation of the conference of ambassadors in South America and Mexico. Regarding Brazil, the observation is made

that "adoption has become a real market, a source of much traffic". Evocations also of "child trafficking" and "irregular adoptions" in Chile, Paraguay, Peru, as well as in Mexico with "lucrative activities of certain private intermediaries" and "corruption of officials".

1993 – Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the newly appointed Ambassador to Brazil. Existence of an "adoption market" both legal and illegal, "source of immense profits" where an adoption can reach "10,000 [US] dollars". Preponderance of individual adoptions by the French in this country, to the detriment of approved French adoption centres.

1994 – Note from the Chargé d'Affaires of France in Brazil to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the final report of the parliamentary commission of inquiry on international adoptions in Brasilia. Highlighting of "baby trafficking" abroad and the proven participation in these cases of judges, lawyers, social workers, directors of nurseries and orphanages.

#### Box 5: Brazil

1986 – Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the problems of international adoption in Peru (case of the Institut San Benito de Palermo and Rayon de soleil of the foreign child in 1982), in Brazil (trafficking network of babies recently denounced by the press in Brazil and France) and in Colombia (mention of a "trafficking of Colombian children" to Spain in 1981).

1986 – Telegram from the French ambassador in Brazil to the consuls in Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. This involves sending them the file and the minutes of hearings (preliminary investigations) carried out in France on the subject of the participation of French nationals in illegal acts related to international adoption in Brazil. There followed a long correspondence about this affair.

1987 – Telegram from the French consulate in Recife to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and consular posts in Brasilia, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The consul is concerned about the denunciation by the Brazilian press of the commercial nature of international adoptions and the questioning of French nationals.

1988 – Note on a consular meeting on international adoption. The indictment of a French couple for illegal acts worries the French representatives in Brazil.

1988 – Note from the Recife consulate on the arrest of a Frenchman and a Brazilian woman in Fortaleza, Ceara, suspected of child trafficking.

1990 – Dispatch from the French Consulate in Recife to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the arrest for child trafficking of two intermediaries caught in flagrante delicto in the State of Ceara. The children in question should have been sent to France.

1990 – Note from the French Consulate in Recife to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This note minimizes the extent of illicit acts around international adoption in Brazil and charges the Brazilian press, accusing it of making "extravagant exaggerations". At the same time, the note warns "parents and associations in France" against lawyers whose "fees currently vary between 5,000 and 10,000 [US] dollars" and the possibility, for "the biological mother, of having been "encouraged" to abandon her child".

1990 – Note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Ambassador to Brazil on the activities of OAA Arc en Ciel in Brazil and its use of lawyers with fees deemed excessive by the Quai d'Orsay.

1990 – Telegram from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to diplomatic posts in Brazil. Following new scandals, desire to establish collaboration with the Brazilian authorities with a view to favoring French nationals of "good faith".

1991 – Dispatch from the French Consulate in Recife to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the arrest of a lawyer (originally from the State of Paraíba, where international adoptions

were then suspended) and a biological mother in the state of Rio Grande do Norte. The two women are accused of having negotiated the abandonment of the child for the purposes of international adoption.

1991 – Telegram from the French consulate in Recife to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the consulates in Brasilia, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Faced with scandals and rumors of blocking and suspension of adoptions by the Brazilian authorities, the consul calls for caution and even deterrence of French families "in the exploratory phase".

1991 – Telegram from the French Consulate in Recife to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the suspension of adoptions in the State of Paraíba. According to the consul, it is not the OAAs and the French families who are implicated, but the action of Brazilian lawyers receiving up to 10,000 US dollars per child. The consul is nevertheless convinced that there is an omerta on this last point on the part of the French actors on the ground in Brazil.

1991 – Telegrams from the French consulate in Recife to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, very incriminating against French families coming to Brazil to adopt individually and not through the intermediary of AABs, which he considers more secure.

1991 – Note from the International Adoption Mission (MAI) implicating a Frenchman arrested three years earlier in Fortaleza and an accomplice in France. The minimum cost for an adoption is US\$12,000.

1991 – Note from the French Embassy in Brazil on several cases of French people charged in this country in previous years. Investigations carried out in France by the administration confirm the guilt of some of the defendants, in particular in the Silveira affair.

1991 – Correspondence between the French Ministry of Justice and the MAI regarding the finalization in France of an illicit adoption whose costs incurred by the adopters amounted to 24,000 US dollars. Adoption made possible by intermediaries in France (unlicensed) and Brazil (lawyer).

1988-1991 – File about a French doctor established in Belém, State of Pará, with ties to Cayenne (Guyana,) unlicensed intermediary prospecting everywhere in France and promising children for 9,000 US dollars. Following a complaint filed by the French Embassy in Brazil and Guyana, he was charged with child trafficking.

1990-1992 – File on a Brazilian lawyer based in Rio de Janeiro whose services are used in France by adoptive parents by individual approach, but also by the OAA Families of the world. The OAA supports her until the MAI asks for the end of the partnership. His fees could go up to 9,000 US dollars.

#### Box 6: Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burkina-Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada 1986.

Bolivia – Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs relating to the accusation made by the Bolivian charge d'affaires in France on "the question of adoptions irregular made by French people who would contact child sales networks".

#### Box 7: Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China,

Colombia, Congo 1992, Chile – Note from the French consulate in Santiago mentioning the suspension of international adoptions following the discovery of a commercial network. This relied on a network developed by Chilean lawyers.

1992, Colombia – Colombian lawyers prospecting in France worry the MAI.

Box 8: South Korea, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Commonwealth of Dominica, Ecuador, Spain, Estonia, Ethiopia 1988, Ecuador – Note on the functioning of intercountry adoption in the country reporting on the impossibility of adopting without the payment of "bribes at each stage of the procedure".

1991, Ecuador – Seminar organized by the government of Ecuador in Quito on the adoption and trafficking of children.

Box 9: Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Honduras, Haiti, India, Indochina, Indonesia

1982, India – Letter from the Consul General of France in Pondicherry to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs warning French nationals in the adoption process who use the services of the work Home Sérénité, testimonials in support. It is a work run by a Frenchman living there, not approved in France or India, and which promises biological parents a monthly allowance in exchange for their child. French and Belgian adopters have already paid.

1983-1984, India – The French leader of the Home Serenity work in Pondicherry twice appealed to the presidency of the French Republic. He does not understand why he is implicated when, according to him, “sisters regularly send [for adoption] their children (not orphans) and we would not have the right to do the same”.

1988, Guatemala – The French consulate in Guatemala City reports reports of child trafficking that have appeared in the Guatemalan press. He fears that articles discussing organ trafficking are just smokescreens allowing those profiting from the country's “adoption business” to delay tougher laws.

1988, Guatemala – Meeting of UNICEF Guatemala with Western diplomatic representations around its report entitled “Trafficking of Children in Guatemala”.

1992, Guatemala – The French Embassy in Guatemala reports acts of falsification of civil status documents by lawyers, and a flagrant offense of child trafficking at the door of the Canadian Embassy involving a Guatemalan lawyer. The Quai d'Orsay shares these concerns and asks to apply the effective verification method developed by the Canadian diplomatic authorities.

1992, Honduras – Following the arrest of a group of women accused by the local police and press of “fattening up” children with a view to their adoption, the French Embassy in Tegucigalpa suggests that the MAI advise against French to come and adopt in Honduras.

Box 10: Italy, Japan, Laos, Lebanon, Lithuania, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco,

1989, Madagascar – The French consulate in Antananarivo indicates in a telegram that “given the very significant increase in the number of children leaving for Europe in order to be adopted there, and to the dubious, even fraudulent practices of certain intermediaries, the Malagasy authorities seem to do everything in their power to limit adoptions”.

1992, Madagascar – Suspension of international adoptions following the discovery by the Malagasy authorities of adoption applications containing false civil status documents. Lawyers and the Saint-Patrick Institute are implicated. There are suspicions that Malagasy children left for France without a visa, via Reunion.

Box 11: Mauritius, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru 1982, Peru

– Confidential note from the French Ambassador to Peru to the Minister of Foreign Affairs concerning “the investigation into the illegal adoption of minor children in Peru” concerning the San Benito Institute of Palermo and the OAA Rayon de soleil of the foreign child. The diplomat is worried if “Peruvian justice manages to establish that children adopted under completely normal conditions in France were in fact victims of fraudulent trafficking and therefore demanded their return to the families of origin”.

1992, Peru – The French Embassy in Lima reminds the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that “adoption in Peru is a very lucrative business, the irregularities of which are often denounced by the media, which provide ample evidence that there is trafficking of children. It would be appropriate for the DDASS to let adoption candidates know that they are at risk,

when they come to Peru, to become unwitting accomplices in the theft of children. Corruption in this area is moreover generalized and it is obvious that the files which progress the fastest are those of the adopters who agree to pay the largest sums to the various intermediaries”.

1983, Paraguay – Note from the French Embassy in Paraguay following the arrest of three French people in Assumption “on the charge of child trafficking”. They were later released.

#### Box 12: Philippines, Poland

1991, Poland – The General Council of the Department of the North informs the MAI of the action “of a Polish correspondent, in charge of an orphanage, who defrauds people wishing to adopt, by regularly asking them ‘for objects’ then money and which on the spot offers handicapped children without mentioning the handicap and by carrying out a real “blackmail””. This man was then prosecuted and convicted by the Lille tribunal de grande instance for fraud. The asking price per child could go up to 63,000 francs.

1992, Poland – The French Consulate in Krakow informs the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the existence in the city of several people working as informal intermediaries in international adoption. One of them is then prosecuted and charged by French justice as an “illegal intermediary”.

1991, Philippines – AFP dispatch taken over by the French Embassy in Manila concerning the arrest in Montpellier of a German national prosecuted for child trafficking in the Philippines.

#### Box 13: Romania

1983 – The National Federation of Childhood and Adoption Families (EFA) informs the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the dubious activity of a certain number of Romanian lawyers in contact with French families to organize the adoption of Romanian children on payment of substantial sums of money.

1990 – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs asks the French consulate in Bucharest to intervene with the Romanian authorities to limit adoptions by individual approach as much as possible “taking into account the development of illicit practices”.

1991 – Note from the Embassy in Bucharest to the MAI stating its opposition to the adoption of Romanian children who have already arrived in France, “often in poorly defined situations”.

1991 – Note from the French Embassy in Romania warning “against foreseeable abuses” of international adoption in this country.

1992 – Note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the measures taken by Romania “with the aim of putting an end to ‘child trafficking’”.

#### Box 14: Romania

1990-1991 – Articles from the French and international press reporting illicit adoptions in Romania.

1991 – Letter from EFA addressed to the MAI containing the testimony of a member on the practices of “child trafficking” by a Romanian lawyer.

#### Box 15: United Kingdom, Russia, Rwanda, El Salvador, Senegal, Sierra

Leone 1983, El Salvador – Note from the French Embassy in San Salvador regarding the rise in international adoptions in that country and suspicions of “child trafficking” .

1985, El Salvador – The French Embassy in San Salvador sends the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a dispatch on the changes in the procedure for adoption in El Salvador, “due to the numerous thefts of children committed in the country”.

1986, El Salvador – Note from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Prime Minister on the existence of “real child trafficking” in international adoption in El Salvador.

Temporary suspension of adoptions at the initiative of the ministry.

1986, Salvador – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sends a note to the Embassy in San Salvador on the new framework in which French adoptions in Salvador must take place, as well as the need to refuse any request from an identified French national, an informal adoption intermediary, who is the subject of an investigation by the Ministry of Justice.

1986, El Salvador – Letter from the Consular Officer of the El Salvador Embassy in France to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He confirms the abuses of international adoption in his country and asks what is the official position of Paris on the suspension of visas for adoptions in El Salvador.

1986, Salvador – Following the meeting with the charge of consular affairs of Salvador in France, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs decides to lift the suspension decided by France and to authorize adoption visas again. The consular post in San Salvador is asked to conduct surveys among French adopters on adoption intermediaries, and to remind them that, being French, they must obtain approval in France. There is also a report of the continuation of an investigation led by the public prosecutor of Créteil on a French intermediary in El Salvador and her French supporters within the El Salvador embassy in Paris.

1987, Salvador – Following a violent earthquake in San Salvador in October 1986, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the Ministry of Justice and the Minister of Social Affairs of the resumption of adoptions by French people in this country. Indeed, the natural disaster led the Salvadoran government to relax the rules regarding international adoption. It is also indicated that the French must surround themselves with "a maximum of guarantees when they address this country", and that the consular services will require the approval of the DDASS, the judgment of adoption and an “authentic instrument recording the consent to adoption by the biological parents or the legal situation of the child (orphan, abandoned child), unless these elements are clearly apparent from the judgment itself”.

1989, Salvador – In a letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, warning from the French Ambassador in Salvador (following his meeting with the President of the Supreme Court and the Deputy Minister of External Relations of this country) vis -à-vis "families applying for the adoption of a Salvadoran child against the behavior of intermediaries who, under the pretext of going quickly, risk putting them in the presence of difficulties the seriousness of which must not be underestimated. estimated ".

1991, Salvador – Following a report from the DDASS of the Alpes-Maritimes, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requests information from the diplomatic post of San Salvador concerning an “irregular adoption of a Salvadoran child”. The adopting French couple did not have approval from the DDASS and “doubts weighed on [their] mental health”. Also, no "trace of a visa application for this child (returned in May or June [1991] to France)" had been found. The DDASS "believes that the child is in danger in this family".

1991, El Salvador – Following information provided by a Parisian lawyer, the French Ministry of Justice informed the MAI of “trafficking in children from El Salvador”. Through a network also established in the United Kingdom, children were “sold in catalogs at the price of 60,000 francs”.

1992, Salvador – Retrospective note from the French diplomatic post in San Salvador reporting Brazilian lawyers involved “in child trafficking” in 1985 in El Salvador. It is also a question of the French national prosecuted in France for illicit acts in El Salvador and of her supporters and partners in France and El Salvador. It is also

question of the investigation opened in 1986 in France with the support of Interpol (and which ended up being closed without further action in June 1987). List of illicit intermediaries from 1985 to 1992, French and Salvadoran.

1992, Salvador – Following an investigation by the French Ministry of the Interior into a case of "child trafficking", the Minister of Foreign Affairs asked the French ambassador in San Salvador to inform the authorities of this country of his willingness to cooperate and open a proper investigation in France.

1992, Salvador – The diplomatic post of San Salvador reports new revelations from the Salvadoran press and police on "French people involved in child trafficking".

1992, El Salvador – The Embassy in San Salvador writes to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about irregularities observed in France and El Salvador. The French diplomat concedes "that, despite all the rigor shown by my services (no visa is issued without the production of the final judgment of adoption), many cases escape our control and probably that of the Border Police".

Box 16: Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Chad, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Ukraine, Venezuela 1976,

Thailand – In a circular letter to heads of diplomatic missions and heads of consular posts, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs expresses concern of "the increasingly frequent arrival in France of "adopted" foreign children outside official channels".

But also "certain sectors [which] seem to have been organized on the fringes of the current procedure – the only one acceptable by the authorities of our country – in order to facilitate the arrival in France of children who are not always legally adoptable".

1987, Sri Lanka – The French Embassy in Colombo informs the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the forthcoming ban on international adoptions in Sri Lanka, following "repeated campaigns relating to what is known here as the sales scandal of children and which is none other than the profits derived from adoption procedures by private and public intermediaries".

1989, Sri Lanka – Note from the French Ambassador in Colombo to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in which he denounces "clandestine emigration and trafficking of Sri Lankan children" to Federal Germany and "serious violations of human rights of man".

1990, Sri Lanka – Letter from the French Ambassador to Sri Lanka to the French Foreign Minister regarding "Sri Lankan child adoptions" and the resulting "real trade". According to the ambassador, these adoptions cost "families who adopt a Sri Lankan child approximately 10,000 US dollars". He adds that among the "people involved in this trade", "we could, we are assured, mention the names of several wives of dignitaries of the regime".

1991, Sri Lanka – Note from the French Ambassador in Colombo to the French Foreign Minister on the visit of the First Secretary of the Swedish Embassy to the French Embassy: "She wanted to inform me of certain practices and Sri Lankan practices in matters of adoption which, in fact, only confirm what this Embassy already knew". There was also talk of the involvement in "this business" of a Swedish intermediary employed by Sweden's public adoption agency in Sri Lanka.

1992, Sri Lanka – Note from the French ambassador in Colombo entitled "official child trafficking", against Western adopters, local and foreign intermediaries, and Sri Lankan officials. "Our consulate is in fact perfectly informed of this trade", that children are "sold, in the form of adoption, to Western customers who buy them in cash and at a good price", and that the facts reported by the press "do not di[sent] not everything" and that in "reality there are many more" than the official figures would lead one to believe.

Several excesses of French nationals on the spot are mentioned, as well as an analysis of the social and military issue in Sri Lanka that led to such a situation.

### **Box 18: “French intermediaries”**

#### Box 18: French intermediaries 1989

– The diplomatic post in Ankara, Turkey, asks the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for details as to the attitude to have towards a French national working as an intermediary (not approved either in France or in Turkey ) in the adoption of Turkish children by French people. One of the adoptions carried out through him was the subject of a report in the Turkish press in 1987, under the title “We sold a child to France”. 1990-1991 – Mention of several cases of illicit mediation by the French association Corazón Mexico, accused of playing the role of intermediary with Mexico without having any official approval.

1991 – Report by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the consular post of Sao Paulo, Brazil, of irregular activities of a French national having intervened in "45 files of adoption of children by French families, in Rio, Bahia and Fortaleza".

1992 – Suspicion from the diplomatic post in San Salvador about the participation of a French national residing in France in “possible child trafficking between El Salvador and France”. She was employed at the DDASS of Val-de-Marne and in liaison with a Salvadoran lawyer on the run (accused, him, of "trafficking in adoptions").

### **Box 21: “Questions of principle”**

#### Box 21: Questions of principle 1974

– Note from the National Federation of Adoptive Homes Associations (FNAFA) “on trafficking and on the methods used to evade the legal provisions on adoption through direct collection and false declarations civil status”. This note denounces illegal acts committed in France in the context of national adoptions.

### **3 - Direction of the French Abroad Fund, International Adoption Mission, 1957-2006, Call number 20090023AC**

It is the largest fund dedicated to international adoption.

### **Boxes 1 to 7: "CLH of 29 May 1993 on child protection and cooperation in international adoption"**

#### Box 2: Notes and correspondence

1991 – Note from the MAI on the “negotiation of an international convention relating to the adoption of foreign children” addressed to the Department of French nationals abroad and foreigners in France of the Ministry of Affairs foreign. The MAI recognizes flaws in the control of international adoptions in France due to the fact that “the majority of these adoptions are done individually, without benefiting from the support and guarantees provided by adoption works [...], and the weaknesses of the procedure for approval of social assistance for children, which is not a legal condition for the pronouncement of adoption in France”. The MAI also points out “the lack of control of upstream intermediaries (doctors, midwives, orphanages, legal assistants), in many countries of origin”.

1998 – Working document drawn up by France within the framework of the European working group on the main difficulties encountered in the main countries of origin. In Burkina Faso, for example, there are problems around the reliability of consent to abandonment and

the adoption of the biological parents collected before a notary. In Guatemala, there are also problems with consent in procedures before notaries and lawyers whose fees amount to between 8,000 and 15,000 dollars per adoption. In Madagascar, serious problems are reported relating to the "reliability and quality" of intermediaries, and the existence of a network with France and Belgium specializing in the "production of false papers". In Vietnam, problems concerning the "validity of consent to adoption" raise questions as well as "private intermediaries which abound" while they are "prohibited by local regulations".

#### Box 6: Independent Forum and Seminars

1982-1983 – Correspondence between the French Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Justice. It is a question of examining the conventions on the adoption of The Hague of 1965 and of the Council of Europe of 1967. The Quai d'Orsay is worried about the non-ratification of these texts by France: "this situation has resulted in favoring the irregular movement of children across borders with a view to possible adoption, movements which tend to multiply and whose perpetrators [...] are frequently private individuals". The problem of consent to adoption in the international context is also posed. The Ministry of Justice justifies the non-ratification of these texts by France by the fact that they are now dated.

1991 – In the conclusions of the Latin American Seminar on the adoption of minors and child trafficking, the Member States of the Organization of American States plead for the inclusion in national criminal legislation of a typology of offenses concerning "acts constituting the sale and trafficking of children".

1993 – The Chargé d'Affaires of the French Embassy in Vientiane considers the commercial nature surrounding international adoptions carried out in Laos to be "unhealthy". It also mentions numerous intermediaries, including "a few dubious personalities who have their contacts in Laos".

#### Box 7: Declarations

1993 – Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of Interpol during its 62nd session on "Illicit adoption". These are "the need to take measures to prevent the abduction and trafficking of children, to encourage the use of approved procedures for intercountry adoption, under the supervision of central State authorities, and to facilitate the prosecution of persons involved in illicit adoptions". This document also recalls that this subject was already at the center of the previous session of the general assembly in 1992, as well as of a symposium supported by this institution the same year.

### **Boxes 8 to 19: "Principal files – countries, 1993-1999"**

#### Box 9: Australia, Belarus, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burkina-Faso

1993, Brazil – Correspondence concerning the trial opposing, before the Nantes district court, a French family having adopted a child in Brazil through of the OAA Families of the World and the Brazilian lawyer who represented the French organization in Rio de Janeiro. In the exchange between the lawyer for the adopting family and the MAI, the latter explains why Families of the World was forced by the MAI to separate from their representative in Brazil: high price of fees and search for tailor-made children according to the request of the French adopters.

1993, Brazil – The consular post of Recife reports the tightening of rules in the states of Pernambuco, Ceara and Paraíba following the application of the new federal law of 1990, press campaigns on "child trafficking", as well as the repercussion of the report of the

Professor Léon Schwartzberg, a French doctor who, before the European Parliament, links international adoption to organ trafficking.

1993, Brazil – The consular post of Recife details the scandal around a couple of French adopters who, on the spot in Fortaleza, tired of waiting for the end of the adoption procedure, filed a complaint against their Brazilian lawyer and declared that they had “bought a child for 8,000 US dollars”.

Map 11: Cameroon, Cambodia, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, South Korea, Costa Rica, Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Ecuador, Spain, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Mauritius, India 2000 , Cambodia – EFA denounces to the MAI illegal practices witnessed by a group of French adopters in Phnom Penh.

2000, Guatemala – Report of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on the “sale of children for the purpose of international adoption” in Guatemala. Following the list of illicit practices detailed in this report, it is specified how the Canadian Embassy, from 1997, put an end to “the practice of having babies offered for adoption by false mothers”: through the implementation of “tests to compare the DNA of babies and that of their mother [...]”; in many cases, it turned out that the women who abandoned a baby were not their natural mothers”. According to the report, these tests will then be required by the United States and England for adoptions in Guatemala. Reference is also made to a study by UNICEF where “out of 90 adoption files, 79 concerned private adoptions which had been settled directly between the biological mother and the lawyer, and only 11 concerned children from orphanages. . It has been established that orphanages and formal institutions house many children who were never adopted. This situation raises fears that the children who are easily adopted are those who are designed for this sole purpose, while those who really need a family remain in institutions”.

2001, Cambodia – The French consulate in Phnom Penh reports the discovery by the police of an illegal network of international adoption mainly to the United States. Children were sold by an orphanage in the Cambodian capital for sums ranging from 10,000 to 15,000 dollars.

2001, Guatemala – Following the damning reports of the United Nations and UNICEF, published in 2000, on the situation of international adoption in Guatemala, the MAI (now Central Authority for International Adoption) considers how to suspend French adoptions in this country without arousing “negative reactions” among adoptive families, associations or approved bodies. Contrary to the opinion of the French Embassy and the Hague Conference, the MAI does not suspend adoptions in this country but draws up a series of recommendations.

2002, Cambodia – In a telegram, the French Embassy in Phnom Penh expressed concern about a series of illicit acts involving French people: “it became increasingly clear that fraudulent practices (false declarations or certificates, multiplication and inflation of financial payments...) even sometimes criminal (thefts, purchases or abduction of children...) could also concern, and not necessarily always without the knowledge of the interested parties, adoption procedures initiated by French people”. Two local orphanages are implicated: Asian Orphan Association, Holy Baby.

Box 12: Iceland, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Macedonia, Madagascar

1993, Madagascar – The French Consulate in Antananarivo warns other French consular posts on the island about acting “based on profit [rather] than action

humanitarian action” of a Malagasy lawyer and social worker working as adoption intermediaries 1997, Madagascar – Investigation by the police of the city of Antsiranana transmitted to the French consul in Diego-Suarez. This is to inform the French consul of the actions of a Franco-Malagasy couple responsible for "a humanitarian association called Renaissance in Madagascar, whose headquarters are in France". Indeed, "the children offered for adoption come from poor families in the Faritany of Fianarantsoa where this lady would periodically go prospecting". The investigation discovered five children housed in the residence of the Franco-Malagasy couple awaiting adoption.

1998, Madagascar – The French consulate in Antananarivo and the MAI are concerned about the “numerous files handled by [a] lawyer in liaison with [the association] Sainte Marie foster families”.

2000, Madagascar – Following the visit of the director of French people abroad and foreigners in France, during which "the problem of international adoptions in Madagascar was raised because of the increase in excesses in this area", the French embassy in Antananarivo underlines the “frequent misuse of procedure”. These include "adoptive parents who pay pregnant women and take care of childbirth", "the questionable origin of the children", local adoption agencies "who exploit the illiteracy of biological mothers to start the adoption procedure", midwives, "also directors of orphanages", which lead to "the abandonment at birth of newborns by very young mothers - these abandonments coinciding with the request of adoptive parents" . It is also stated in this diplomatic telegram that "adoptions are becoming a lucrative market and are giving rise to criminal procedures on the part of intermediaries such as kidnappings, purchase offers to underprivileged families, 'fabrication' of false orphans, falsification of documents, etc The objective is no longer to find a child for parents wishing to adopt, but to find parents for a child who has become “a marketable product”.

2001, Madagascar – In a note following a visit to Madagascar, the MAI returns to the observed situation which “at the moment seems rather worrying because of numerous abuses reported, both by testimony from professionals and from the adopters themselves”.

This note also specifies “that 90% of Malagasy children adopted are adopted by French nationals”.

2001, Madagascar – Testimonies collected by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs denouncing the sale of children in the commune of Mananjary with the help of orphanages and local judges: "30,000 francs for one child, 50,000 francs for the two and the third free ". It is also reported that “these so-called associations [orphanages] are themselves related to the OAA La Cause”.

Box 13: Mali, Morocco, Mexico, Moldova, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal 2001, Moldova – Letter from the public prosecutor of Colmar to the MAI concerning the report presented by the European parliamentarian Elisa Pozza Tasca concerning the abuses of international adoption in Moldova. This “highlights the existence of trafficking in minors, based on the sale of children by parents, by picking up orphans in the street under the pretext of adoption; finally, she points out the existence of clinics where young Moldavian girls would be raped, to give birth to a child ordered by rich Europeans or Americans in need of paternity or maternity”.

2001, Nepal – MAI note on the “permanent instability” of adoption in Nepal, as well as “rather lax rules insofar as the adoption of a child directly from his family is possible”.

Box 14: Romania

2001 – The MAI reports to the public prosecutor of Melun "the illegal exercise of the activity of illicit intermediary in international adoption and illicit brokerage in adoption" by a former director of the OAA Enfance et avenir. This was the intermediary between French adopters and the Romanian association Fondation Copii Lumii Romania, which asked for up to 9,000 dollars for an adopted child, 12,000 for two siblings.

Box 15: Russia, Rwanda

1996, Russia – The French consulate in Moscow reports problems with the operation of the Moscow Adoption Center and other Russian intermediaries, and that "American families agree to pay up to 20,000 US dollars for adopting a child.

Box 17: El Salvador, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Syria, Chad, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia,

Ukraine 1995, El Salvador – Following the report from the International Federation for Human Rights, a French interministerial note mentions, among other correspondence and documents, "a delicate case of kidnappings of children from El Salvador" who were then adopted by French families.

Box 18: Vietnam

1999 – Note from the MAI on Vietnam, then "first destination for French candidates for adoption". Several problems were detected: "the lack of transparency in the local adoption procedure", "legal inconsistencies which put candidates in untenable situations", "massive use of [Vietnamese] intermediaries, particularly in North Vietnam", "signed consents by underage mothers", "failure to respect procedural deadlines", "recourse to hidden intermediaries and the multiplication of undue profits".

1999 – Letter from the head of the MAI justifying the suspension of adoptions with Vietnam following numerous abuses and illicit practices proven on the spot.

Box 19: Vietnam, Yemen, Ex-Yugoslavia, Ex-Zaire 1993,

Vietnam – Note from the French consulate in Ho Chi Minh City reporting accusations by local authorities against two French couples who committed illegalities in their adoptive process and blocking adoptions to France.

1994, Vietnam – Note from the MAI following an investigation by the Vietnamese police and the blocking in Hanoi of "a certain number of candidates for adoption" warning the adopters against "doubtful channels". There followed several exchanges of documents containing the details of this case, its temporary impact on adoption by French people in Vietnam, as well as the role of money in circumventing the rules in this country.

2001, Vietnam – Meeting between the MAI, the French ambassador to Vietnam and the managers of OAA authorized to work with this country. Concerning illicit practices, in addition to the examples provided by several participants, the ambassador wanted to be prophetic: "Imagine these Vietnamese children who, at 18, want to know the conditions in which they were adopted and who discover that their parents have bought...".

2001, Guatemala – Note from the French Embassy in Guatemala on the issue of adoptions carried out by notaries in this country: "the little progress on the desirable path of creating a central authority forever free from the omnipresence lawyers-notaries, the necessary follow-up of the procedures already engaged, encourage the re-practice of the control of the consent of the adoption by biological parents. [...] This interview [with the

progenitors], recorded in writing, represents to this day the only response to the degree of refinement achieved by those who make adoption a business. It is advisable to prevent a French family from adopting one day, in all good faith, a child removed by force from his family of origin".

2001, Guatemala – Following the example of what is practiced by the United States and Canada to deal with the scourge of illicit acts in adoptions in Guatemala, the French Embassy requests authorization from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to carry out DNA tests which would make it possible "to escape the main abuses observed in Guatemala (theft of children) even if it does not exclude situations of constraint during which a real mother could be forced to give up her child in adoption".

### **Boxes 20 to 33: "Organizations approved for adoption" [sic]**

Box 21: Friends of the Children of the World (1988-1994), Friends of Topaza (1990-1995), Rainbow (1988-1995)

1994 – The French consulate in Recife, Brazil, informs the MAI that it has warned the OAA Arc en Ciel against the services of its lawyer in this country, deemed "not compatible with the ethics required of a work empowered".

1994 – In the context of the restructuring of international adoption in Brazil following the new federal law of 1990, the consular post in Recife (Brazil) considers that "it is regrettable to note that associations known for their reputation participate consciously or no [to] the development of sectors. In Alagoas, it took a local scandal for the president of the To see you smile association to discover that her correspondent, the Caminho do Meimei crèche in Maceió, was in fact only a relatively lucrative business.

In the interior of Pernambuco, it is Arc en Ciel which allows a lawyer from Fortaleza to resurface to the detriment of two candidates for adoption whom she has put in a difficult impasse by not respecting the new procedures".

Box 22: Ayuda (1993), Children of the sun (1993), Comexseo (1990-1994), Cybèle (1994-1996)

1994 – The French Consulate in Guatemala confirms to MAI that it has received the newly authorized AIO President "Ayuda". It emerges that the absolutely commercial context of adoptions in Guatemala is known to all actors, whether the adoption is tainted by illicit practices or not. It is thus to be noted that the cost of an adoption in the rules for a French family (where the risks of illicit acts would be lower) then varies, according to the consul, from 7,000 to 10,000 American dollars.

1994 – The French consulate in Ho Chi Minh City questions, in a correspondence with the MAI, the cost considered high of the tariffs practiced by the OAA Comexseo, and calls into question (on the basis of rumours, which it assumes) the merits of this: "the children entrusted by the Comexseo association would be partly children from poor families and paid directly to their biological parents". On the other hand, the consul describes in this same letter an ideal functioning of individual adoptions: "for my consular district, the majority of couples present in Ho Chi Minh City act without the assistance of any association or intermediary and after a delay of approximately 6 to 8 weeks, these adopters go back to France with a child they were able to legally adopt and they were issued an entry visa to France after complete verification of the adoption documents submitted by the Vietnamese authorities".

1996 – Order of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the withdrawal of authorization from OAA Cybèle in Vietnam. Among the reasons given: "the Cybèle work has not assimilated the prevailing ethics in matters of international adoption [...], in particular with regard to the principle

the choice of a family for a child"; "lack of systematic clarity noted in the statement of costs established by the Cybèle work".

Box 23: Diaphanie (1989-1996), Dieudonné (1989-1993), Edelweiss reception (1988-1999)

1991 – The French consul in Recife, Brazil, expresses himself as follows on the question of the relationship of OAAs with Brazilian lawyers: "it is common knowledge that couples are taxed by Brazilian lawyers with sums of up to 10,000 US dollars, not including court fees. I don't think that French works benefit from this bonanza. I would nevertheless be surprised if they were not informed of this by their members. The sometimes embarrassed confessions of those concerned in fact encourage me to think that there is tacit agreement on this point from all parties to remain silent on this embarrassing subject. Everything is also possible at the level of the selection of children, sometimes chosen before birth or even "imported" from neighboring States. On this subject, Brazilian lawyers bear a heavy responsibility".

Box 24: Emmanuel (1989-1998)

1988 – In a letter to the public prosecutor of Montpellier, the public prosecutor of Carcassonne considers, with regard to the arrival in France of children from Djibouti via Emmanuel, "that the administrative documents [on adoption] allowing the introduction of these children into France are suspected of irregularities at the very least".

1989 – The Consul of France in Djibouti, in a letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, is concerned about the non-respect of the procedure for the abandonment of children by the Sisters of Saint-François present on the spot and the OAA Emmanuel. The mother's three-month withdrawal period following abandonment "is not respected, the children being quite frequently sent to France immediately after this step, often because of their poor state of health. What would happen if the mother were to retract while the child is already in France in the family of the adopters? ".

1997 – Following a meeting with OAA Emmanuel officials and a letter from the Sainte-Thérèse orphanage in Djibouti, the MAI takes stock of the situation with the Consulate General of France in Djibouti. Concerning the international adoption by French people of Ethiopian and Somali refugee children in Djibouti, the MAI will no longer accept the "delegation of parental authority" issued until now by this country to let these children leave, because "nothing guarantees that it can lead to an adoption; however, the "MAI" visas are issued for children who are the subject of adoption, and the commitment envisaged by the sisters [of the Sainte-Thérèse orphanage, with the support of the French consul according to his correspondence of August 27, 1997 with the MAI] to the families so that there is no possible return has no legal value". The MAI also informs that the OAA Emmanuel should have his authorization withdrawn "given the very many [administrative] anomalies observed [in his operation]".

1997 – The MAI informs the French consul in Djibouti that it has "no a priori objection to individual adoption projects concerning about ten children as soon as this procedure is locally accepted, however, I thank you for kindly assure [the Sainte-Thérèse orphanage] that these are indeed individual procedures, and that the Vivre en famille association, not authorized by my services and which has only just responded to the letter from the MAI, does not is not the intermediary in France of these candidates for adoption".

1997 – MAI letter to OAA Emmanuel officials temporarily suspending their activities in Djibouti. The problems observed by the MAI are as follows: the non-preparation by the OAA of candidate families for the adoption of foreign children; informal relations with the Sainte-Thérèse orphanage; the need to prepare the child for adoption and to ensure his follow-up as soon as he arrives in France; intermediary activity in favor of Swiss families.

Box 25: Children above all (1987-1992), Children of Hope (1989-1993), Children of the Queen of Mercy (1990-1993)

1991 – The French consulate in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, informs the MAI of the cancellation of the trip to an adoptive family in France of a child adopted through the OAA Les enfants de reine de miséricorde. This one was indeed claimed by his grandmother before the departure, which cancels, according to the consul, the court decision on the adoption. 1991 – About the OAA The children of the queen of mercy, the MAI considers that “the request of its representative concerning the twelve files for reception seems surprising to say the least”.

1991 – In a letter addressed to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Chargé d'Affaires of the French Embassy in Ethiopia questions the merits of the action of the representative of the OAA Les enfants de reine de miséricorde , as well as on applications for adoption and “reception” visas: “Are these applications for adoption or reception? The consular section receives an application for an adoption visa. For French families, on the other hand, it is more of a welcome. This was confirmed to us by a French family, who, without news of the follow-up given to their request for accommodation, contacted this post directly.

She told us that she will take care of the expected child, and that it is only after a “probationary” period that the adoption would be considered if the future adopters and adoptees agreed. “. Further on, the charge d'affaires specifies: “According to Ethiopian legislation, a child over the age of 13 can no longer be adopted. Consequently, in principle the Ethiopian court will rule negatively on the application for adoption; what will then become of these children, welcomed in France, but not adopted? She believes that it “would be desirable for the Department to carry out, with the competent authorities, a more in-depth investigation into this association [Les enfants de reine de mercy] and its working methods”.

Box 26: Children of the Dodo (1987-1993), Children of Ouma (1989-1995), Children of the World (1989-1995), Children of Hope of the World (1984-1996)

1988-1989 – File containing press articles published in France, Belgium and Mauritius on all sorts of dysfunctions in the adoption of Mauritian children by foreigners.

1991 – The head of the OAA Enfants espoir du monde presents to the MAI “the photocopies of the correspondence exchanged with a Sri Lankan citizen” who offers the work his services as an adoption intermediary in Sri Lanka, and asks “instructions as to a possible authorization” of his association in this country. In a handwritten note recording a phone call with the OAA following this letter, the head of the MAI writes “no way”, and to advise him “a little more caution and common sense”.

1992 – The OAA Enfants espoir du monde denounces to the MAI the canvassing practices of a Brazilian association, the São Lázaro crèche, located in Teresina, capital of the State of Piauí. The latter had already worked with the OAA Accueil sans frontières until 1991, when the MAI asked the French organization to put an end to this partnership. The proposal, sent by mail to Enfants espoir du monde, consisted of bringing the biological mother and her one-month-old baby to France for the sum of 5,000 to 6,000 American dollars. This amount should cover the lawyer's fees in Brazil, the return ticket for the biological mother as well as her “reward”, the maintenance costs of the mother during the pregnancy and of the child following his birth, medical expenses and administrative expenses with the Brazilian authorities and the French consulate.

1994 – The French consulate in Kathmandu informs the MAI that the Nepalese authorities refuse to grant adoption for Tibetan refugee children.

1995 – In a letter to the French consulate in Kathmandu, the MAI wonders “about the desire [of the Nepalese authorities] to put an end to individual adoptions and

slippages that most often characterize them". Also, following a warning from the OAA Enfants du monde, the MAI takes note of the activities of the French association Association Adoption Internationale (AAI) not approved in Nepal: 1995 – The French consul in Kathmandu informs the MAI of the ongoing discussions in Nepal regarding a new adoption law. The objective would be "to avoid the 'purchase of children', a practice that is difficult to assess in Nepal, because the adoptive families generally refuse to inform us of it".

1993 – The French consulate in Lagos, Nigeria, communicates to the MAI the information obtained from the Motherless Babies Home orphanage: "The formalities are quite long, carried out "African style" (documents frequently lost, multiple setbacks), but in the end, apart from a few useful gifts (pen, stationery, rice), they do not give rise to the usual requests for bribes".

#### Box 27: Mutual aid of French women (1992-1997)

1992 – In a telegram sent to the French consulate in Moscow, the MAI is suspicious of the Entraide des femmes françaises, "which has not dealt with adoption files for many years, and is looking for 'first of children for families and not the reverse', she fears that 'the interest of the child is not really taken into account'.

In its application for accreditation as an AEO, the Entraide des femmes françaises also wishes to accredit two Romanian lawyers to represent them in Russia – one of them is known to the MAI for charging "excessive fees".

1992 – The French Embassy in Russia is concerned about "the multiplication of the number of requests for adoption of Russian children from French parents, the complexity and slowness of the procedure, the danger of seeing interference between adoptive parents and the Russian administration of people with dubious motives".

#### Box 28: Families of the World (1989-1994), Johanna (1992-1998), Kasih Bunda – Friends of children without families (1985-1996), The Cause (1992-1995), The Stork (1992-1995), The French adoptive family (1989-1995), Lumière des enfants (1991-1996)

1986 – Letter sent by the association Kasih Bunda – Friends of children without families to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicating that it has been offering adoption intermediary services in Sri Lanka since at least 1986. This is consulting s relying on collaborators in France ("responsible for adoptions") and the Netherlands, as well as on a lawyer in Sri Lanka.

1990 – EFA is concerned that the Isère association Kasih Bunda – Friends of children without families is talking about adoption in Sri Lanka and that the sponsorship payments they organize are to be sent to Monaco. Admittedly, said association clearly indicates on its communication documents that it is not an adoption work but seems to act as such. In 1995, the association requested authorization from the MAI. The latter appreciates the dossier, but refuses authorization in 1996 "given the current situation in Sri Lanka: unofficial but de facto 'suspension' of adoptions". In 1997, the MAI informed a couple of adopters ready to leave for this country to look for a child there, that the same association they were talking about, Kasih Bunda, was not authorized as an OAA and therefore did not offer the necessary legal guarantees vis-à-vis children and adoptive parents.

1991-1993 – French candidates for adoption tell the MAI to use the services of unlicensed intermediaries with a view to adopting in Sri Lanka. These are the Isère association Kasih Bunda – Friends of children without families and the Dutch branch of the International Social Service.

1991 – Letter from the French consul in Recife, Brazil, making a precise inventory of the situation of international adoption, particularly in the northeastern states where "the subject is

a pretext for scandal and quarrel between the judicial and legislative powers. Candidates for adoption become hostages". However, the situations vary a lot from one district to another: "rigor in Recife and Petrolina, combined in Jaboatao", "very organized gang established for a long time". Prosecutors are at the forefront in the fight against intermediary lawyers and irregularities of all kinds, with a sword of Damocles hanging over adopters: "in the event of proof of the illegality of previous transactions, children currently living in France with their adoptive parents, could – it is suggested – be recalled to Brazil". In Ceara, a parliamentary commission of inquiry into the trafficking and disappearance of children concludes that a judge and 13 other people are "members of a criminal organization responsible for sending children abroad". The consul also considers that despite the amalgams made "by a demagogic press and politicians in need of media topics, between international adoption and possible organ trafficking, the fact remains that there are real doubts about the origin of certain proposed children and that there are many unresolved cases of disappearances". Also, as the consul points out, it is clear that the problem of Brazilian lawyers as dubious intermediaries in this country is not limited to individual direct adoptions, but also to professionals hired by French AABs such as their representatives in Brazil, in this case Rainbow and Diaphany.

1992 – Minutes of the meeting between the heads of the MAI and the OAA Families of the world. In question, the orientation of the work towards Brazil, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recognizes that it is a "difficult" country where no work can be sure of not having, one day, difficulties". The ministry fears that the lawyer representing Families of the World in Brazil "is involved in a more or less serious scandal, which would inevitably reflect on Families of the World, and on the ministry which authorized the work to operate in Brazil". However, Families of the World continued to work with this lawyer at least until 1993. The MAI nevertheless considers that this OAA is failing in the three countries where it operates (Brazil, India, Sri Lanka), whether on the subject of the "advice and assistance to adopters", "selection of candidates" or "follow-up of adopted children".

#### Box 29: Doctors of the World (1988-1997), My Child (1990)

1991 – In a letter to his (French) representatives on site in Quito, Ecuador, the head of the adoption section of the OAA Médecins du monde tries to understand the various costs requested by the authorities of this country before the establishment of an international adoption program. The manager considers certain sums requested "completely scandalous", and "fears a slippage".

1991 – The head of the adoption section of the OAA Médecins du monde warns his colleague from Médecins du monde-Rhône-Alpes: "we are very worried about your efforts to 'directly help' couples who do not pass officially by Doctors of the World. [...] No adoption can take place in which we risk being involved".

1991 – The head of the adoption section of the OAA Médecins du monde informs the MAI of having blocked the activity of one of its employees in connection with Romania, "who was compromising Médecins du monde in the field of adoption; photocopies of texts which clearly show that she unofficially carried out adoptions within the framework of the Combret Association, all of this completely illegally".

1992 – The OAA Médecins du monde explains to the MAI about the involvement of a former executive of the NGO, now president of the International Adoption Association and prosecuted for illicit intermediary activities.

1993 – The OAA Doctors of the World wants to exempt itself from the MAI for the support it has given in the past to a person in connection with the delegation of Doctors of the World of Gironde. This person is accused of illicit acts in the adoption of children in Haiti.

1993 – The OAA Médecins du monde informs the MAI that it wants to keep its authorization for Chile in these terms: “We keep our authorization, but we are looking for other partners who correspond to our ethics in the field of adoption”.

Box 30: Work of adoption (Bordeaux, Cognac, Lille, Lyon, Marseille, Montauban, 1989-1997), Work of Professor Lerat (1964-1989), Païda 1991-1997), International solidarity paternity (1989-1994)

1991 – The French Consul in Warsaw complains about the action of the OAA Œuvre de l'adoption/Comité de Montauban in Poland, particularly with regard to the financial dimension. He asks the MAI "to put an end to these abuses and to break this ridiculous monopoly".

1993 – Letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs warning the OAA Œuvre de l'adoption/Bordeaux Committee against "practices consisting in introducing an unauthorized work into the adoption process, even for the constitution of a file, which introduce confusion on the responsibilities incumbent on each other. They deprive the control system of works of all effectiveness, and can even be considered as a circumvention of this system". Clearly, the MAI asks the various associations acting on behalf of the Work of Adoption to stop their illicit practices.

1993 – The OAA Œuvre de l'adoption/Comité de Lyon thus justifies the few Polish children adopted through it: "As long as the 'vagueness' existing in this country remains, I do not think ours can validly “work”. It remains to be determined whether the “vagueness” in question here is corruption or not.

Box 31: Paul and Virginie (1987-1991), From Pauline to Annaëlle (1994-1997), Sunbeam of the foreign child (1990-1994)

1989 – The OAA Rayon de Soleil de l'enfant foreigner asks the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to revise a requirement scrupulously implemented by the French consulate in Bombay: that the signature of the Indian ministry appear on adoption judgments . According to Rayon de soleil, in the state of Karnataka, "the ministry only signs after a police investigation", which leads to "a very significant extension of the waiting time".

1990 – The French consul in Bamako, Mali, denounces to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the costs of 20,000 francs requested by the OAA Rayon de soleil for a foreign child for adoption in this country. According to him, “this sum does not correspond to the actual expenses incurred”.

1993 – The OAA Rayon de Soleil for foreign children breaks off all relations with Association Rayon de soleil de l'enfant au Mali (ARSEM) created in July 1991. Following disputes between the two entities, ARSEM threatens to disclose the addresses of the adoptive parents to the press and to the biological parents of the adopted children. A few months earlier, on June 10, the Malian newspaper *Aurore* had headlined: “Investigation: the babies of Mali; Adopted or sold outside? The great mystery is collapsing”. The Sunbeam of the Foreign Child refutes the content of the article point by point.

1994 – A couple of candidates for adoption in Russia writes to the MAI: “we have the strong feeling that what we have experienced testifies to a certain number of vices in the proposed sector”. He was accompanied by the Swiss association “Bureau d'adoption genevois” and a Romanian lawyer.

1995 – The French Embassy in Russia informs the MAI of the great distrust on the part of the Yeltsin presidency vis-à-vis American agencies and French adoption organisations, fearing “commercial skids”. The Association Adoption Internationale seems to be active as an unauthorized intermediary. Russian people are also mentioned: one is

intermediary of the OAA De Pauline à Anaëlle but also of the Swiss association "Bureau de l'adoption genevois" "which places many Russian children throughout France", another is a "private intermediary not disinterested since for her adoption is a means of existence".

1995 – OAA President De Pauline à Anaëlle writes to MAI wanting to temporarily cease its activity in Russia, being unable to reconcile "what the Russians are asking for, who are, and this is normal, masters in their country, and the reluctance you express. In addition, we are learning that families manage to get children out despite all these disputes, which confirms our belief that the will of this country is indeed to encourage uncontrolled adoptions". The same OAA, which is in the crosshairs of the MAI, mentions in another letter "many wild and free adoptions that the MAI nevertheless accepts". After an interview with the MAI, the president of the OAA writes: "We sinned by naivety and youth. I take responsibility for it, the message has passed, you can count on me". As often in such cases, letters from parents who have adopted with the OAA and are fully satisfied are attached.

Box 32: Reborn (1992-1995), Solidarity-Fraternity (1989-1995)

1989 – EFA criticizes with the MAI the action of the OAA Solidarité-Fraternité for the adoption of children from Haiti, handicapped or having serious health problems without the adopters knowing it beforehand and without having the authorization for placements in the Loire department.

1995 – A nun in charge of an orphanage in Haiti informs MAI that she "learned that the association Solidarité-Fraternité, with which [she] worked until 1993, recently requested, after a two-year suspension, that her habilitation for Haiti be reactivated.

[She wishes to inform him personally [that she has] no intention of entrusting children to this association again".

Box 33: Land of Hope (1990-1996), Hyphen (1989-1991), A family for a child (1992-1997)

1992-1997 – Documentation relating to the French association A family for a child, carried in its beginnings probably by a single person, perfectly established in Vietnam, but having also worked with Chile and Sri Lanka. Until 1993 the MAI and the French consulate in Hanoi tried to dissuade French families from appealing to this association, which was not authorized and acted openly as an illicit intermediary.

In 1994, the Une famille pour un enfant association was authorized as an OAA after favorable opinions from the MAI and the Ministry of Social Affairs, Health and the City. In 1997, its approval was withdrawn following malfunctions such as the invoicing of adoption fees deemed excessive by the MAI and the canvassing of adoptive families in departments where the association had no authorization.

1993 – In a dispatch to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the French Ambassador to Vietnam writes that "it is more and more frequent that incidents are caused by families of compatriots who have come to Vietnam to adopt children". These incidents occur because of the "incomplete documents" presented by the latter concerning the adopted child. According to the ambassador, "an adopter had no hesitation in having a missing document made by a local travel agency".

### **Boxes 34 to 38: "French intermediaries"**

#### Box 34: International Adoption Association (1990-1996)

1990-1996 – Substantial file on the International Adoption Association (AAI) created on April 2, 1991, with its registered office in Paris and whose vocation is defined as follows: "pre and post adoptive support for adoption candidates". For the AAI, it is above all a question of providing information to candidates for adoption by individual procedure abroad, of taking charge of the administrative file, of preparing the stay in the country of the adopted child. If the first information given to people who join the association is free, very quickly they have to pay money to access more information on the legal procedures in the country of birth of the children, the contacts of intermediaries, the procedures relating to the necessary foreign and French visas, etc.

The AAI is therefore not an OAA but a certain number of the services that it monetizes make it act as such. In a few years, the activities of the association increase, at least that is what its communication documents show. The first two years of its activity (1991-1993), it would have informed more than 1,200 parents, nearly 300 would have joined and 57 would have adopted via the AAI (and 45 in the process of adoption). Included in the archives is a VHS tape of the program "Les Gens d'Ici", broadcast on October 17, 1994 with an interview with the president of the AAI. From 1994, many complaints reached the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

They come from people who believe they have been abused by the AAI, the information given being erroneous, the adoption projects not having been completed or under disputed conditions. EFA and OAAs – who share their information on this situation – send to the MAI reports of public meetings of the AAI which they have attended and denounce "serious facts contrary to the ethics of adoption" and a "lucrative traffic" carried out by an association governed by the law of 1901, therefore normally non-profit, and a criminal practice of intermediation in matters of adoption. Several specific cases are detailed, including one in the Central African Republic where the biological mother of a child who had just been entrusted to a French couple the day of his arrival in Bangui, declares that all this was organized without his knowledge.

The AIOs working in the countries concerned are particularly careful to avoid any confusion between themselves and the AAI.

On July 4, 1994, MP Jean-Pierre Brard put a question to the Minister of Foreign Affairs questioning him about the role of the MAI, denouncing its "lack of support" for the steps of candidates for adoption, which generated a lot of discontent and cites the AAI as an association making up for the shortcomings of the MAI. The Minister's reply specifies the attributions of the MAI and indicates that if international adoption "most often responds to respect for the best interests of the child, it is also combined with trafficking, purchases of children, exploitation of the misery of the countries of origin". And to denounce "unscrupulous intermediaries" who should not be confused with OAAs or reliable informative associations which "do not sacrifice, in the name of the desire of families, the interests of the child and the legality of the procedures" .

In 1995, following several complaints, the AAI was warned "of having mediated [from 1991 to 1995] between persons wishing to adopt a child and parents wishing to abandon their born or unborn child and this for profit", facts provided for and punishable by the penal code.

Put on trial in 1998, the case ended with the conviction of the president of the association.

Box 36: Associations Aide au Vietnam (1992-1994), Aconchego France (1991-1992), Cradles of the World (1991), South-East Asian Calvados (1988), Support Association for Polish Orphaned Children (1993), Hope Hy Vong (1995), ARSEM (1994), Childhood Adoption Home (1994), Happy Childhood India ( 1995-1998), Chernobyl childhood mutual aid (1992),

Faure-Aldeson Romanian Appeal France (1992-1994), The crèches of Bucharest (1994), The children of the east (1993-1994)

1993-1994 – Following the report of several French adopters but also of certain leading members of the Association Aide au Vietnam de Marseille, the MAI seeks to supervise this association, which works as an illicit intermediary in the adoption of children Vietnamese. In early 1993, she appeared before French families claiming to have concluded an “adoption agreement” with a local intermediary in Vietnam and to have “already more than 100 files pending”. In 1994, the French consul in Ho Chi Minh City reported a French national claiming to be “the victim of a racket” from the Association Aide au Vietnam during the adoption of her child.

Box 37: Solidarité Camélia (1991-1994), The outstretched hand (1992-1994), La Paloma (1993), The bonds of the heart (1995), Barefoot doctors (1993), Nids de Paris (1989), ORIFAN Aid (1993), Radio do Sol (1994), Rally for an Eco-Society (1992-1994), Rediscovering Vietnam (1993), Sahez Asia (1993-1994), Sejalon (1996), International Adoption Service (1991), Solidarity for Romanian Children (1991), SOS Romanian Children (1997), Land of Childhood (1996-1997)

1988 – In a letter addressed to the Indian Embassy in France, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informs it of the actions in India of the non-accredited Parisian association Les nids de Paris, its authorization being limited to the adoption of children in France.

1991 – Following a report from the General Council of Côtes d'Armor, the MAI calls on the Solidarity Association for abandoned Romanian children for its unauthorized practices in the field of international adoption.

1991-1994 – File on the non-accredited Var association Solidarité Camélia and its actions as an illicit intermediary in international adoption in France and Mali, containing a series of documents such as diplomatic telegrams, consultation with the French ministry of Justice, letters of adopters. At the end of 1994, the French consul in Bamako explains in a letter how adoption works in Mali (non-existence of legal abandonment, adoption based on the consent of the biological parents, etc.). He also denounces “the dubious actions of the Solidarité Camélia association which, originally intended for the care of Malian children in France, seemed in fact to specialize in adoptions.

Children left for treatment and “found” an adoptive mother with a Malian adoption-protection judgment. [...] In practice, the steps that should be individual are most often managed by associations such as Camélia or Mazanga [another Var association]. The Malian organization that takes care of full adoptions locally is the reception and family placement center of Bamako. However, the director of this establishment maintains personal relations with Madame x [the French manager of Solidarité Camélia], who frequently comes to Mali, and serves as an intermediary in protection adoption files, initiated by her, outside the organization that she leads. The consul also believes that the French adoptive parents taken “by these various networks [...], are not always aware of the reality of the facts”.

1993 – Through its inspector, the Solidarity Department of the General Council of Haute-Savoie denounces, in a letter to the MAI, “the serious problems that I encounter with a couple domiciled in my department, who have just welcoming two Russian children through an unauthorized association: De Pauline à Anaëlle”. He denounces in passing the association La main tendue, which offered another couple “the possibility of adopting an Indian child”.

1993 – File on illicit action in international adoption in Benin from the French branch of the ORIFAN Foundation. The “creator of this foundation was sentenced by judgment of the Rennes Court of Appeal [...] to 18 months' imprisonment, 12 of which were suspended

for complicity in the use of forgery in private writing, breach of trust, falsification of checks and use of false administrative documents”.

1994 – Following a letter from a lawyer from Cayenne, the MAI questions the president of the non-accredited French association Radio de Sol about her action “in the field of the adoption of Brazilian children”.

1994 – Warning from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs against the Lyon association La main tendue for illegal intermediary practices. It is also question in this letter (as well as in other documents of the file) of the supposed links between the tended hand and the OAA Œuvre de l'adoption/Comité de Marseille. At the end of 1993, following an interview with the president of La main tendue on France 3 Rhône Alpes, the Rhône department's child welfare department became concerned about his actions in terms of adoption. He also boasted of his links with the OAA De Pauline à Anaëlle.

### **Boxes 38 and 39: "Legally recognized organizations and National Council for access to personal origins"**

Box 38: International Catholic Child Bureau (1992), International Child Center (1993-1994), French Council of Associations for the Rights of the Child (1992), Childhood and Sharing, Instituto interamericano del niño ( 1983-1993), Terre des hommes, APAEC (1989-1996), A-Filiation adopted adults (1994), Help for parents of child victims (2000)

1992 – Minutes of the meetings of the delegation of the Association of Adoptive Parents of Colombian Children (APAEC), with the national management of the Instituto colombiano de bienestar familiar (ICBF). In particular, a media scandal that arose around the adoption of a Colombian child by the French is mentioned. The account appears to downplay the case by accusing the media of sensationalism.

1994 – Final Report of the Meeting of Experts on Child Trafficking organized by the Inter-American Children's Institute of the Organization of American States. This document above all bears witness to discussions of a legal nature on the definitions of child trafficking.

2002 – A short internal exchange (two e-mails), reports the attitude of the MAI which tries to find out more about a case of child theft followed by an international adoption which occurred in 1976 in Haiti by the intermediary of the association Terre des hommes-France. The case is brought by the adopted person himself, who has become an adult. This one was directed towards the MAI by EFA. The person concerned believes that other adoptions have taken place in this way. The attitude of the MAI is very cautious, wishing to avoid media coverage, but Antenne 2 would already have the intention of producing a subject on the affair.

### **Boxes 41 to 51: “Questions of principle”**

Box 42: Legislation

1990 – Report on the adoption of children from abroad, written by JHA van Loon of the Hague Conference on Private International Law. The author devotes part of the report to “abuses in the area of adoption of children from abroad: international child trafficking”. For him, “the three main methods [of this trafficking] are purchase, consent obtained by fraud or coercion and child abduction”. He also indicates that “these methods can be combined (for example, pressure can be exerted on the parents to sell their child); moreover, it may be difficult in some cases to tell whether the child has been abducted or whether the biological parents have given their consent”. Similarly, the author seeks to show the operation and "organization of traffic", and warns against "contractual adoption" carried out with notaries. On "the rumors about the

trade in fetuses and organs”, which was current at the time, van Loon relies on a report by the International Federation for Human Rights to rule out their materiality.

Box 45: Condition and procedure for

adoption 2000 – Annual report of the French Central Authority for international adoption to the Prime Minister concerning the year 1999. Romania, Vietnam and adoptions by "kafala" under Muslim law are particularly dealt with in this report.

2001 – Annual report of the French Central Authority for international adoption to the Prime Minister concerning the year 2000. The cases of illicit acts in Romania, Vietnam, Guatemala, Madagascar and Cambodia are discussed.

2002 – Annual report of the French Central Authority for international adoption to the Prime Minister concerning the year 2001. The problematic cases of Romania, Vietnam, Burkina Faso, Guatemala and Cambodia are discussed.

2003 – Annual report of the French Central Authority for international adoption to the Prime Minister concerning the year 2002. Romania, Vietnam, Cambodia and Guatemala remain at the center of the concerns of the French authorities.

Box 48: High Council for Adoption 1980

– The High Council for Adoption (CSA), created in 1975, sets up a commission entitled “fight against child trafficking – adoption of foreign children”. In Southeast Asia, despite the fact that “children in the care of the High Commissioner for Refugees are protected, there is trafficking with Thai orphanages”; “there is a lot more trafficking about these children than we think”. Moreover, it is specified that “this trafficking is also developing in France [...], and that the courts and the various administrations concerned, which have endeavored to develop closer collaboration between them, find themselves in fact relatively helpless before the accomplished fact”.

1980 – At the CSA, the “report of the working group on the fight against child trafficking and the adoption of children from abroad” reports problems in the adoption of French or foreigners in France: “the provisions of article 58 of the Civil Code offer wide possibilities of fraudulent maneuvers, in particular the risks of theft of children or even possibilities of amicable arrangements between parents wishing to adopt and mothers wishing to abandon their child”. A debate ensued between the members of the committee, one of whom explained “several concrete examples going in this direction and raised the problem of declarations to the Civil Registry of minors under three first names followed by acknowledgments of false paternity”, while insisting “on the risks of “wild” adoption and consequently of child trafficking”.

1989 – Report of the CSA which evokes the question of “illegal procedures” in “the adoption of foreign children”, but also that of the “rejection of children”. On illegal procedures, the problem of unauthorized intermediaries is thus raised, the existence “in France of persons, single points of contact for foreign organizations”, “visits or letters from foreign intermediaries, Latin Americans in particular, offering “batches” of children for a fee”, “the arrival of children outside of any legal procedure – unapproved adopters, without visas or foreign decisions. Some families only have a simple letter from the child's natural parents”.

**Boxes 52 to 62: “International adoption mission”**

Box 52: General file

1998 – In response to a questionnaire sent by the Inter-American Children's Institute, the MAI specifies that “the control [in France] of the international regularity [of the adoption

international] intervenes only if someone provokes it, that is to say if someone has an interest in demonstrating that the decision is irregular on the international level”.

2001 – Minutes drawn up by the MAI of the 8th conference of European countries parties to the Hague Convention of 29 May 1993. Problems are mentioned in Guatemala where “too many economic interests are at stake, 25 notary lawyers sharing 25 million dollars from adoption. But also in Romania (suspension of adoptions) and in Colombia with an opinion divided between the Dutch, Danes, Icelanders, Belgians and Norwegians who “observe that the ICBF is not in a position to exercise any control over the costs charged by these organizations [Colombian approved] (US\$6,000), which, moreover, he does not know, and which far exceed those of a procedure conducted with the ICBF. These organizations enjoy very strong political support and are controlled by influential families”.

Box 57: Budget year (1999)

1999-2000 – “Report of the mediator on the future of five children from Rwanda” drawn up by the General Inspectorate of Social Affairs on refugee children who arrived in France in 1996 and placed in foster families. Following the request for repatriation issued by Rwanda, the question that then arises for the French authorities is to accept it or not – the French families grouped together in an association are against it. The Rwandan authorities argue that “the [biological] parents never decided to abandon their children”.

Box 61: Budget year (2001)

2000 – Report prepared by the International Social Service on the rise of illicit practices in international adoption in Vietnam throughout the 1990s.

Box 67: Conferences, seminars, working groups, events 1992 –

Minutes of an interministerial meeting on the subject of “the adoptability of foreign children and the ability to adopt foreign applicants”. It deals with “the question of the indirect effect of encouraging trafficking of undemanding case law on consent”. The interlocutors underline: “it is true that the fact of bowing to the accomplished fact, by regularizing a posteriori by an adoption the presence in France of a child whose origin is doubtful results in securing the activity of illicit intermediaries” .

Box 68: Colloquia, seminars, working group, demonstrations 1996 –

During an intervention in an EFA colloquium, the head of the MAI raises “the question of obtaining consent” which he considers to be “one of the most worrying in terms of intercountry adoption”. He uses examples from Vietnam and Nepal to illustrate his point.

**4 - Department of French Nationals Abroad and Foreigners in France Fund, Agreements and Reciprocity Department, Sub-Directorate for International Cooperation in Family Law, 1997-2006, Reference 261SUP**

This collection is kept in the archives relating to private organizations authorized for national and international adoption in France.

**Boxes 19 to 50: "Files of principle: decree 89-95 of 10.02.1989 of the OAAs", 1989-2002**

Box 19: Doctors of the World

1993 – Tribune of the leaders of Doctors of the World in *Le Monde* in response to the controversy triggered by the reading of the report on international adoption by Professor Léon Schwartzberg before the European Parliament. This indeed associates international adoption with organ trafficking, thus using the words of the tabloid press and of a number of public and private officials in Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s.

1998 – The OAA Médecins du monde informs the MAI of the incarceration for incest of an adoptive father in Marseille. In 1997, he adopted his three children with his wife in Brazil through Doctors of the World.

Box 23: From Pauline to Anaëlle

1995 – The French consulate in Moscow is concerned about the liberalization of adoption in Russia. He believes that the granting of powers of attorney from adoptive parents to local intermediaries allows "any person with this power of attorney to do anything. Uncontrolled, more or less honest intermediaries will multiply, to the detriment of adopters and adoptees, and prices will soar [...]. Adoptions are worth around \$20,000."

1998 – The OAA De Pauline à Anaëlle ceases its partnership with its local intermediary in Russia – a Moscow lawyer – following testimonies and suspicions of illicit acts committed by the latter. As a telegram from the MAI suggests, the association's decision was taken after its intervention.

Box 24 : Children above all, Children of Hope in the World NB:

*Mismatch between the title of the box and its contents* Sri Lanka

and Madagascar. For this, the president of the association affirms that the children who are offered to them in Sri Lanka risk, because of the slowness of the French procedure, "to be tossed about, or worse, adopted on the margins of legality, which we would obviously wish to avoid".

Box 29: Accueil sans frontières

1991 – Following the report of the MAI, the OAA Accueil sans frontières undertakes to give up the services of one of its intermediaries in Brazil, the São Lázaro de Teresina crèche, State of Piauí. The facts of which he is accused: "door-to-door canvassing of institutions or individuals in France, offers of young pregnant Brazilian women to travel to France in order to organize their childbirth under x".

Box 31: Committee of Brive

NB: *Mismatch between the title of the box and its contents* adoption

in Vietnam. The couple in question noted on the spot that the two children of a sibling proposed through the local intermediary of the OAA have biological parents and are very attached to them. Added to this are unforeseen costs from the Vietnamese authorities and biological parents very interested in the "gift" that the French family was going to pay him. The adopters end up asking for the adoption to be annulled by

course.

Box 35: Comexseo, Enfance Avenir, Les enfants avant tout

2000 – The OAA Enfance Avenir indicates to the MAI that it has struck off its director because she organized in parallel (on her own account, for people who did not want to adopt through an approved body by the French authorities, but directly in the country of origin of the child – which was legal) the activity of intermediary (unauthorised, and as such could therefore be understood as illegal) for the Romanian work Fondation Copii Lumii Romania. Enfance Avenir's local intermediary in Romania was precisely the Copii Lumii Romania Foundation, a relationship which until then had enabled the OAA to carry out dozens of adoptions in this country and to consider setting up in Moldova.

Box 38: Rainbow, Ayuda, La Cause 1993

– The French Embassy in Guatemala is concerned about Ayuda's action on the spot and its support for a couple of French adopters whose lawyer's fees " amount to \$15,000" for the adoption of a sibling of three children. According to the consul, "the Ayuda association has neither departmental authorization nor authorization from the department to act as an intermediary in the field of adoption" and requests clarification from the MAI. Ayuda will be empowered in 1994 – The French ambassador to Guatemala confirms to the MAI the two possible procedures for adopting a child in this country. That of children abandoned in public orphanages and whose adoption depends on the agreement of a judge at the Juvenile Court, which can take place very slowly. And that of children abandoned by individuals whose adoption takes place before a notary, for whom "the risks of commercialism" are significant.

1995 – The French Ambassador to Guatemala reports to MAI on his meeting with OAA President Ayuda. They agreed "on the need to remain particularly vigilant given the current practices in Guatemala, theft of children, trafficking in the children of prostitutes, too obvious dishonesty of many lawyers, abnormal remuneration of certain specialized pharmacies in the search for children to offer for adoption.

1998 – In a letter addressed to the MAI, the president of the OAA Ayuda mentions the problems encountered with her lawyers representing her in Guatemala. The head of the MAI asks Ayuda to specify the nature of the association's problems with his lawyers in Guatemala, "the question of maintaining [his] clearance in a country 'at risk' continues to arise".

1998 – The French ambassador to Guatemala reports to the MAI on his meeting with the general secretary of Bienestar social, the Guatemalan body in charge of adoption issues then attached to the Presidency of the Republic. It emerges that "the Guatemalan problem in terms of international adoption was politically most sensitive [...].

Because the media regularly echoed dubious cases, in which unscrupulous but often well-placed lawyers were involved.

2000 – Following the publication of a report by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights addressing the serious problems of intercountry adoption practiced in Guatemala ("sale and/or trafficking of children", "successful trade", the role played by lawyers and notaries, driving networks, "fattening houses", falsification of civil status documents, threats or theft of children against biological mothers refusing abandonment, "the existence on a large scale in Guatemala of trafficking in newborns and young children intended for adoption in foreign countries"), the MAI receives OAA Ayuda and "strongly advises him not to pursue any adoption procedure in course through a notary lawyer".

1998 – In the report of the meeting organized by the MAI with the associations authorized to work with Romania, the representative of Diaphanie expressed concern "about the presence of American agencies in Romania which have considerable financial means, reducing

thus all the efforts of the French organizations”, and notes “that there would exist financial excesses (the foundations [local intermediaries authorized by the Romanian authorities] would claim in addition to the conventional package, additional sums)”. Doctors of the World considers, in turn, that “the large number of Romanian foundations risks causing slippage and competition between them”. The representative of the French Federation of OAAs (FFOAA) expressed “his disapproval of the behavior of the Romanian administration and the dubious financial practices that would be carried out on the spot”.

#### Box 40: Lille Committee, Vivre en famille

1998 – The French Embassy in Djibouti asks the MAI to repatriate a child brought back to France for treatment by the OAA Vivre en famille as soon as his convalescence is over. This is to avoid any possibility that it will be adopted directly in France without having gone through the procedures in force in Djibouti, as Vivre en famille had requested for this specific case.

#### Card 41: The French adoptive family

*NB: Discrepancy between the title of the card and its content*

1997 – In the letter that the OAA Edelweiss-Accueil sends to families interested in adopting in the State of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, it is specified that “the presence of a lawyer for the follow-up of the procedures is imposed” by the juvenile judges. This is a practice that is disappearing in this federal country following the gradual implementation of the 1990 reform on adoption and the rights of the child. It is therefore likely that towards the end of the 1990s, in more conservative states such as Rio de Janeiro, this rule continued to exist despite the controversies around this professional category in illicit acts concerning adoption at least until 1994. Edelweiss-Accueil nevertheless tries to reassure its adoption candidates: “when a lawyer intervenes only at the level of the adoption sentence, no deviation is possible”.

1997 – The French Embassy in Bucharest informs the MAI that the new head of the Romanian Center for Adoption, a kind of central authority supervising adoption in Romania, plans to implement a regularization of Romanian children left for France with a medical visa and who did not return to the country. “The outcome could be an adoption procedure respecting local law – without the children having to return to Romania – or, [depending] on the case envisaged, a return to their family of origin, if the situation arises . Individual situations will be considered on a case-by-case basis.

#### Box 42: Renaître, Ti-Malice

1991 – The president of the OAA Renaître, in a letter probably addressed to the MAI, attacks the “development of the activities of illegal intermediaries between the South-West [of France] and Chile (since, according to our DASS, you are already aware), [which] maintains a climate conducive to dirty tricks: the creation of a legal adoptive work [Renaître] was not well seen by all in a region dominated by a tradition of “wild” adoption (with all that that implies in fact) in the direction of Chile...”.

1993 – The MAI questions the French Embassy in Bogota, Colombia, about the former French collaborator who left her post at the consulate to work as a private adoption intermediary in Colombia. There follows a letter from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to the French Ambassador in Colombia, estimating that “the risk of confusion between this activity [as a private intermediary] and the past activity of Mrs x within the Department is not negligible”. The Minister indeed wishes to “remove any ambiguity on the involvement of the French authorities in the creation of the association “[Adoption] France-Colombia” or in the current activities of Mrs. x”.

1997 – The consular post in Quito, Ecuador, in a telegram to the MAI, denounces the actions of "the previous administration [of Ecuador], very corrupt, which apparently privileged certain channels, in particular in its network of friendship and to the United States. The Ministry of Social Welfare recognizes that some children have thus been able to be almost "bought" for sums exceeding 15,000 dollars. Since the establishment of the new government, the situation has not improved at all, adoption remaining above all a matter of money".

Box 44: Rayon de soleil of the foreign child

1992 – The OAA Rayon de soleil of the foreign child reports on a difficult case of the adoption of two Malagasy children by a French family. The adoptive family was contacted by the biological family, the latter claiming to have sold their children to Malagasy intermediaries and asking for financial assistance.

Box 47: Païdia

2001 – In a letter to the Central Service for the Prevention of Corruption, the OAA Païdia questions the effectiveness of the MAI in controlling abuses of international adoption in the countries of origin, in this case in Guatemala, Bulgaria, Romania, Vietnam.

Card 48: Land of hope for adoption

*NB: Mismatch between the title of the card and its content*

1999 – Minutes of the meeting between the OAA Solidarité et fraternité and the MAI. This is an update on the dysfunctions of the nursery / orphanage maintained by the French organization in Haiti whose administrators on site have been laid off.

**Boxes 51 to 59: "Withdrawals of authorizations", 1997-2002**

Box 51: Trait d'union, La cigogne joyful, Cournan sans frontières, A family for a child 1997  
– File on the withdrawal of authorization from the OAA A family for a child following an investigation by the gendarmerie for facts fraud in connection with the adoption of children in Vietnam.

Box 56: The merry stork NB:

*Mismatch between the title of the box and its content* 1998 –

File on the refusal of accreditation by the MAI of the French association Rivière d'Automne. In an internal note concerning the elements of response to the appeal presented by the association before the Administrative Court of Lyon, it appears that this "association acknowledges having helped and intervened in more than forty situations [of adoption in Vietnam] without being there expressly authorized by the MAI" and that it "had already been reported in 1995 as an illicit intermediary".

2000 – Following reports from the General Council of the Rhône and Eure-et Loir departments, the MAI calls on a member of the Rivière d'Automne association offering – without authorization – his intermediary services in Vietnam to candidates to French adoption.

Box 59: Families of the world, Sun of Africa, Friends of Vietnam 1997

– The MAI warns the French association Sun of Africa for "steps to adopt children from Mali while [this] association is not authorized to proceed with international adoption". The MAI also criticizes it for linking the

families applying for adoption "with Parsolem in Mali and that you provide them with the administrative documents in order to compile their file".

2002 – In a letter with the subject "illegal activities as an intermediary for adoption", the MAI asks the French association Les amis du Vietnam to "immediately cease this activity [consisting] of offering your services as an illicit intermediary for adoption of Vietnamese minors".

### **Boxes 60 to 65: “Refusals of security clearance”, 1998-2006**

#### Box 63: Sun of Asia in Vietnam, Holy Baby in Cambodia 1999 –

Note from the Deputy Consul of France in Phnom Penh noting that in the "center of the Holy Baby association in Cambodia", an orphanage, the "children taken in [n 'have not] been offered for international adoption but two or three French families are currently negotiating with the competent Cambodian authorities the possibility of being entrusted with orphans'.

1999 – The MAI informs the Holy Baby association in Paris that its activities as an intermediary in international adoption must cease since it is not authorised.

1999 – The MAI asks the diplomatic post in Phnom Penh to step up checks “because of the ever-increasing number of adoption candidates turning to Cambodia and the risks of excesses inherent in such a situation”.

2000 – Childhood and Adoption Families (EFA) informs the MAI of a report from one of its members passing through Cambodia on "trafficking" and "the existence of a network for having children at the Holy Baby Clinic" in Phnom Penh.

2002 – Note from the Cambodian Human Rights League on “Abuses in relation to international adoption trials in Cambodia”. It is a question of organized sectors practicing "the purchase and trafficking of children for adoption", "corruption and fraud of documents".

2002 – The Cambodian Human Rights League writes to the French Ambassador to Cambodia to denounce the illegalities committed by the Franco-Cambodian association/orphanage Holy Baby in an adoption to France.

2004 – Note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the situation of international adoption in Cambodia and the persistence, following recent legislative changes, of the following problems: "lack of reliable civil status", "coercion and/or payments used with biological parents, child trafficking", “serious financial abuses”. The note also mentions a situation "particularly worrying when claims by children adopted by French families were made by their biological mothers to the Cambodian League for Human Rights (adoption carried out in the Holy Baby orphanage managed by the Zannier Foundation) and the High Commissioner for Refugees”.

### ***B - Nantes Diplomatic Archives Center***

The Nantes Diplomatic Archives Center (CADN) keeps archives from French diplomatic and consular posts abroad.

In the future, it would be necessary to deepen the research at all the diplomatic and consular posts accredited to States in which illicit practices have been listed elsewhere.

The identification of archive numbers in the inventories of CADN funds relating to international adoption was largely carried out in 2020 as part of an internship carried out by a young researcher in the TEMOS laboratory under the direction of Yves Denechere.

We requested and obtained an exemption for 36 boxes, 3 of which were unavailable for health reasons. We consulted nearly 6,000 pages of documents, including nearly 700 pages containing information on our subject of study. Boxes seen but not containing relevant documents on illicit practices are mentioned for information.

In accordance with the commitments made in the context of the derogation request, we have respected the anonymity of the persons who are quoted therein.

## **1 - Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Bamako (Mali)**

### Cote 62PO/4/3: Adoption, 2004

2004 – Diplomatic telegram from the French consulate in Bamako, the subject of which is “the arrest at Bamako airport of two individuals involved in the trafficking of children from the DRC” . It is "trafficking under the guise of adoption" between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mali. According to the consul, "the local press reports on the anteriority of the traffic, which would last for four years, presenting this arrest as the neutralization of a network having sent children to Europe, mainly to France, to be sold there. " .

### Cote 62PO/4/22: International adoption, 2003-2005 2004

– Letter to the French ambassador to Mali written by a French agent from the visa service of the French consulate in Bamako. The civil servant expressed her astonishment: “For more than a year, I have alerted my superiors concerning the illegal practices linked to requests for long-stay visas for adoptions for the benefit of French nationals. I have never stopped chasing them (my colleagues, counter agents, will be able to testify to this), in order to warn the MAI of our suspicions. For me, it would have been logical that during your weekly meetings, intended to discuss the major problems encountered by the French services, my hierarchical superiors had informed you of these facts. I was surprised to learn that day that this had not happened.

2004 – Mail from the MAI to the consular post in Bamako. It is a question of "rumors concerning the existence of child trafficking and a possible involvement of officials of the state nursery [of Mali]".

2004 – “Confidential” diplomatic telegram from the French ambassador to Mali addressed to the MAI. It is a question of defending the French services from any suspicion of participation in the illicit practices of adoption in Mali.

2004 – Letter from the MAI to the consular post in Bamako: "in view of the growing number of families present in Bamako and the increasingly numerous interventions they are causing, the Department kindly asks you to communicate to it during the day, the elements requested by telegram in reference, in particular on the fraudulent character or not of the irregularities noted. It is a question of determining, in particular for the minister, if your checks call into question the origin and the conditions of reception of these children”.

2004 – Mail from the French consulate in Bamako to the MAI. It is a question of wondering about the scandal that has arisen around 15 children: "difficult to assess, at this stage, if they come from the ambient administrative laxity in Mali or reflect a fraud on the origin of the children". The participation of Malian lawyers in illicit practices is also questioned.

2004 – Letter from the French consulate in Bamako to the MAI: “in conclusion, this observation of irregularities in the whole chain of procedure leading to the judgment of adoption of the children can lead to two interpretations. 1) At best, it is one of the reflections of the administrative laxity which generally prevails in Mali where the formalities are often sloppy, incomplete, even

if, on the merits, the approach is legal, in this case, if the children do not have parents and are adoptable.  
2) At worst, these irregularities betray child trafficking organized with the collusion of the various services concerned”.

Cote 62PO/3/24: Adoption of Malian children, 1998 1998

– The MAI is concerned about the canvassing practiced by a Malian lawyer with French families. Its prices vary between 6,000 and 8,000 francs.

1998 – Following the visit to Bamako of the French association Soleil d'Afrique, differences between the Malian and French authorities appeared on the administrative practices around international adoption.

1998 – In the name of a “serious humanitarian problem”, the French Embassy in Bamako informs the MAI of its analyzes of the adoption procedure for two children suffering from health problems. The Malian authorities are against it because the children have their biological father, which according to local law prohibits adoption, which the French ambassador disputes in another document of this voluminous file.

Cote 62PO/3/74: Investigation report on child trafficking between Mali and Côte d'Ivoire, 1999 Card  
seen, nothing to report on international adoption.

Cote 62PO/3/78: Fight against child trafficking Mali-Côte d'Ivoire (High Commissioner for Refugees), 2001-2002 Card seen, nothing to report on international adoption.

Cote 62PO/1/285: Insurance, aid, adoption, social protection, 1991  
Card seen, nothing to report

## **2 - Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Bucharest (Romania)**

Cote 124PO/4/54: Adoptions 1981-1995 1989

– In December and January 1990 numerous correspondence on the sending to France of children for the adoption procedure. Many issues with child lists. Some are taken back by their birth mother at the last moment, others do not have the necessary papers to leave. Hence, several “child substitutions”: adopters ask to adopt children who were not attributed to them. Adopters want to come and pick up “their child” individually, the embassy wants to limit as much as possible “all inconsiderate gestures on their part”.

1990 – Telegram from the Quai d'Orsay to the French ambassador in Bucharest: “Given the development of illicit practices, the department would be grateful if you would kindly encourage the Romanian authorities unofficially to restrict the possibilities of individual adoptions” and to favor authorized intermediaries. But “this position contrary to French policy in this area, which maintains the possibility of individual adoption, cannot, as it stands, be officially defended by France”.

1991 – Note from the consul for the ambassador entitled “Adoption of Romanian children” which specifies the entire procedure and the steps to be followed.

1991 – Telegram from the Quai d'Orsay to the ambassador: “There is no need to issue visas to children already in France who have not been the subject of a court decision for adoption in Romania. It is indeed clear that the plaintiffs misused both the Romanian adoption procedures and our own regulations on the adoption and movement of foreigners”. The MAI tries “to stop certain initiatives of associations or people” who bring Romanian children to France.

1991 – Note from the Ambassador to the Consul following a meeting between Ambassadors of the EEC countries stationed in Bucharest. “As currently practiced, and if we do nothing, international adoption is a ticking time bomb that will blow up in our faces, when an inevitable nationalist reaction is felt in Romania”

1991 – By a telegram, the Quai d'Orsay calls the French Embassy in Bucharest to order, because it has not kept the MAI informed of some of its initiatives in the area of child adoption Romanians. The ambassador replies that he has transmitted all the information to the ministry and regrets that “the MAI did not perceive that its judicious positions could only be understood and implemented by taking into consideration the approaches of the others actors”.

1991 – The Ambassador writes to the President of the Romanian Adoption Commission, that international adoption in Romania “results, to a large extent, from the request of foreign parents”. He continues: “I therefore feel responsible, as the representative of France in Romania, for the negative aspects of adoption in your country, especially when these adoption procedures give rise to the exchange of money”. It therefore encourages the CRA in its desire for reform.

#### Reference number 2016018NN/26: International adoption mission, 5-10 June 2000

2000 – Report on a MAI mission to Romania. The President of the Romanian National Agency for the Protection of the Rights of the Child expressed “the need to reform the current system which leads to a real 'commercialization' of international adoption. The latter responds more to the law of supply and demand than to the real search for the interests of the child”.

#### Cote 2016018NN/57: Adoptions, 1997-2001 2000

– Letter from a French couple to the French ambassador in Bucharest. He complains that adoption has become a “trade in children”, mentions their difficulties in this regard with Colombia and Romania. In support of the contract, he accuses the Copii Lumii Romania Foundation of having asked him for the sum of 9,000 US dollars for a child.

2001 – The French consulate in Bucharest reports “alarming rumors concerning possible disappearances of adopted children” disclosed by the Romanian press.

2001 – Following the report by Emma Nicholson, Member of the European Parliament, equating international adoption in Romania with child trafficking, this country decrees its suspension.

#### Symbol 2016018MN/113: Adoptions, 1999-2001

Card seen, nothing to report

### **3 – Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Colombo (Sri Lanka)**

#### Cote 159PO/1/165: Legal and contentious affairs, adoptions, 1981-1988 1981 – The

French ambassador in Colombo informs the ministry that to avoid additional delays for adoptive families who have remained there for several weeks, I request [...] that the visa for this establishment is affixed to the child's passport only after simple information from the Department and not, as planned, after prior consultation”

1982 – The Ambassador informs the Minister “that a press campaign has recently taken place against the government's excessive laxity in the face of a child trafficking scandal”. “This post has learned from a reliable source that many parents have had to pay sums in a hidden way which would oscillate between the amount of an honest bribe and that of a real purchase price”. Are indicated in the correspondence the addresses

recommended by the embassy to French compatriots, and "to my knowledge no complaint has ever been made against these people".

1983 – The ambassador indicates that the press "let it be understood" the existence of trafficking in newborn babies, which is probable, although this embassy has not yet noticed any false declarations of birth".

Symbol 159PO/2/60: International adoption, 1990  
Reserved box

Cote 159PO/2/134: Adoption

1982 – Letter from the Vice-Consul of France in Colombo to a French couple requesting information on adoption. He informs them that "numerous scandals have been denounced by the newspapers and this embassy cannot be compromised in what is rightly called 'child trafficking'".

1992 – Letter from the French Embassy in Colombo with the subject: "official child trafficking". Sarcastic and disillusioned, the French ambassador recounts in a story rich in anecdotes, the absolute perversion of adoption in this country. Here are brief excerpts: "An examination of Sri Lankan exports with the foreign exchange earnings they imply shows that the sale of children is a good return for the country. No doubt this is a product – children – less profitable than tea, ready-to-wear and sapphires. However, it is very popular with sellers and buyers"; "So far 11,862 Sri Lankan children have been exported, that is to say sold, in the form of adoption to Western customers who buy them cash and at a good price. In reality, there are many more"; "I believe I can speak about it knowingly, our consulate is indeed perfectly informed of this trade, since throughout the year, almost every week, French couples come to take delivery of the child they have ordered from various associations. "charitable". The overall cost of the operation would then average around 70,000 francs"; "In short, it is the legalization of the adoptions of all these very young Sri Lankans who are future French by adoption which is one of the main tasks of our consulate".

1996 – In a letter to the management of the Alliance française de Colombo, the president of the non-accredited Alsatian association SOS Enfants espoir du Sri Lanka assures that he is "only recommending to the good care of the Sri Lankan administration couples of French nationality wishing to adopt a child from that country". He adds: "In all these adoptions, whether recommended or not, the money circulates easily and everyone pockets more or less of it, whereas I am the only one with my association to work for a purely humanitarian purpose and our only resources come from donations. , sponsorships and the fruit of our personal work".

1997 – Letter from the MAI to a French couple to warn them against using the services of an illicit intermediary in France.

1997 – The MAI warns a French couple who have indicated that they have the Kasih Bunda association as an intermediary in France. This is not authorized as an OAA.

1997 – The French Embassy in Colombo identifies four French associations working as illicit intermediaries in Sri Lanka, because they file adoption files directly with the Sri Lankan authorities: Berceaux du monde, Kasih Bunda, Association Aurore, SOS Enfants espoir du Sri Lanka.

#### **4 – Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Kathmandu (Nepal)**

Symbol 305PO/2/134: Legal affairs and litigation. International adoption, regulations: circulars, status of adoption visas, press clippings, telegrams on Nepalese and French legislation, 1992-2001 1991 – The Quai d'Orsay strongly invites the French Embassy in Nepal to encourage adopters French to go through the only authorized work: Work of the adoption of Marseilles. And this to avoid a possible “subsequent dispute”, because adoptions by intermediaries are known for their “unreliable elements”, and “consents to adoption given by biological parents who are often uninformed as to the consequences of this act”.

1992 – A Nepalese lawyer staying in France and acting as an intermediary for the adoption of Nepalese children is in the crosshairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The children he proposes are neither orphans nor abandoned, but their families cannot meet their needs.

1993 – The ministry considers that the head of the Chancellery of the French Embassy “was too often led to play the role of intermediary [of adoption], going so far as to accommodate abandoned children”. It is recalled that the embassy must limit itself to the issuance of visas.

1994 – The MAI asks the embassy to be careful not to issue an “education” visa for a young girl if an identified French woman requests it. In fact, it has no approval.

1995 – The Nepalese authorities want to regain control over international adoptions to “avoid the purchase of children, a practice that is difficult to assess in Nepal, because the adoptive families generally refuse to inform us of it” indicates the ambassador.

1997 – Numerous press clippings on various cases concerning homes from which children leave for international adoption. Some of these homes have been forced by the authorities to cease their activities: malnourished and cared for children, corruption and greed.

#### Cote 305PO/3/27: Adoption, 2007-2008

2007 – Suspension of individual adoptions in Nepal due, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to an “alarming situation which could rapidly spiral out of control”.

It is also specified that “the notable increase in adoption requests is accompanied by a growing lack of transparency in the procedures in progress”.

2007 – Letter from the French Ambassador to Nepal requesting “an end to the transmission of approvals for adoption”. For him, “in Nepal, a network of orphanages of unequal quality offers them [to adopters] children in a material and legal context in the image of this country: sometimes pitiful establishments, corruption, uncertain civil status, false documents , certificates of kindness, Nepalese biological parents embarking on a search abroad for their child once “sold” as an orphan. The impatience of French parents and the rapacity of certain local officials make the system run amok. Children are 'sold' for up to \$20,000”. The ambassador also denounces a whole series of illicit acts as well as the active participation of French adopters: “some are naive, others in bad faith. Everyone is overwhelmed, even distraught. Some become aggressive or squat in the waiting room of the chancellery, settle on the lawn. Others have just formed a collective. Most threaten to report us to the media.”

Cote 305PO/3/68: International adoption, regulations: circulars, status of adoption visas, press clippings, telegrams relating to Nepalese and French legislation, 2002-2012 2007-2008 – The French Embassy in Kathmandu detects a fraud followed by child purchase by the Nepal Children Welfare Service Center (NCWSC) orphanage in Patan. This

child was then offered to a French national for adoption, which ultimately did not take place.

2008 – According to the French Ambassador to Nepal, “the 'adoption market', with enticing financial prospects for Nepalese stakeholders, has spontaneously recreated risks of ethical abuses. This is how, faced with the weakness of the CCWB [State body in Nepal], although presented as the secular arm of the new reform and which is revealed as being an organization without power, composed of notoriously corrupt personalities and working for the account of their own orphanages, the lobby of orphanage directors has regained control and seems to be negotiating directly both with the Nepalese authorities and with the collective of approved associations”.

2009 – The French Ambassador to Nepal believes that “this position finds itself increasingly isolated vis-à-vis international NGOs and most other diplomatic representations when it insists on an immediate resumption of the adoption process”. 2009 – Following the reopening of international adoptions in Nepal, the German Embassy in Kathmandu reported to the Nepalese authorities “that some records of children who are to be related are in fact fraudulent. While the children are presented as being found on the street, they are in fact from the main maternity hospital in Kathmandu”.

What Nepalese officials have confirmed.

2010 – The French ambassador to Nepal informs the MAI of the “suspension by the American government of adoption in Nepal”, the Nepalese civil status documents being unreliable.

Cote 305PO/3/69: Adoption procedures and follow-up of files including gray area, 2007-2012

Card seen, nothing to report

Reference 305PO/3/70: Adoption organizations, 2006-2008

Card seen, nothing to report

Cote 305PO/4/1: International adoption, regulations, 2013

Card seen, nothing to report

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Caracas**

Symbol 140PO/3/21: Adoption of children, 1992-2002

Card seen, nothing to report

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Djibouti**

Cote 201PO/1/11: Adoption of children from Djibouti, 1988

Card seen, nothing to report

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Guatemala**

Cote 256PO/1/147: Social issues: Town planning; child trafficking; public health ; drugs, asylum application, adoption, March 1982-November 1989

Card seen, nothing to report

Cote 256PO/2/29: Adoptions, 1997-2000 1998

– “File on adoptions in Guatemala” produced by the French Embassy. A single agent handles adoption files while their number has increased very

important: 60 files in 1994, 164 in 1997. The local procedure provides for a mandatory interview at the consulate with the mother or the natural parents and with the mandatory lawyer "in order to determine as far as possible", "the reality of the consent" and "the reality of parentage". But, consents of mothers are obtained by the lawyers before the birth in order to be able to offer very young children. "This arrangement prior to the birth of the child is illegal for France and unregulated in Guatemala." Moreover, the mandatory lawyers often show up at the consulate without the parents whom they say they cannot find. Adopters put pressure on the consulate so that these interviews take place as quickly as possible "on the dates that suit them, even if their file has not been submitted in due time to the embassy for regulatory verification and the granting of the visa".

The embassy points the finger at the MAE who would have a responsibility: "In this context, it is regrettable that the Department, under pressure from associations (or probably the Ayuda association) authorized by the MAI, and while wishing "to moralize" the procedures, considers that it is advisable to accede to the requests by granting "faster appointments". The memo does not understand why the MAI is asking for priority treatment of the files presented by the OAAs while France accepts the individual approach. The embassy refuses to discriminate in treatment.

The theme of the adoption of children by foreigners regularly hits the headlines: "child trafficking which fuels the need for adoptable children for foreigners, the enrichment of intermediaries, lawyers in mind"

1998 – The MAI responds point by point. She indicates that the interview at the consulate "does not in itself constitute an absolute guarantee" and would prefer an information sheet which is inspired by what is practiced in Vietnam and must be put in place from now on. The MAI considers that the files carried by the OAAs "should not, normally, pose any particular problems as regards the collection of consent". The MAI asks the embassy to transmit to the association Ayuda any information on the evolution of adoption in Guatemala, it is written in a handwritten note on behalf of the embassy: "this deserves a detailed answer. Good opportunity to rivet his nail to the interested party.

1998 – The embassy indicates "with regard to the files examined by the organizations authorized for adoption, we note in practice that the problem of obtaining the consent of the biological mother is comparatively just as important as for those emanating from individual procedures. »

19898 – The activity report of the French Embassy on French adoptions in Guatemala indicates: "the great difficulty with which all the embassies concerned are confronted resides in the determination of the free will of the parent in his decision to give in adoption his child ". And to mention "the existence of psychological pressure, or rather financial compensation, generally derisory, paid to the biological family throughout the duration of the procedure 1999 – The bulletin of the MAI indicates several countries in which adoptions are problematic . Concerning Guatemala: "all the information that has reached us since our last bulletin calls for the greatest reservations about the regularity of certain aspects of the procedures carried out. This country, like Vietnam, will be the subject of very special attention from the French central authority for adoption".

1999 – Resolution on the trafficking of babies from Guatemala, taken by the European Parliament "alarmed to learn that illegal methods of adoption are commonly practiced in Guatemala", calling for an end to these practices? UNICEF is in charge of a study on the question.

1999 – The embassy informs the MAI that the interviews with the biological mother no longer make it possible to determine the reality of the consent "since the biological parents are prepared by the lawyers for the interview". The officer in charge of these cases believes that "the only

solution, in my opinion, would be the DNA test which would make it possible to determine the parentage, but would always leave the freedom of decision of the parents in doubt since it is known that they receive financial assistance". The MAI indicates that these tests cannot be implemented on a legal level; 2000 – The embassy suggests that the ministry put an end to the individual interview given the limits of this exercise. The MAI approves this decision, which puts an end to a practice instituted in the early 1990s.

2000 – The French Embassy reports on the results of the UNICEF study on adoptions in Guatemala, considered by the international organization to be "an extremely lucrative commercial activity", infringing children's rights. A whole list of tortious or criminal acts is drawn up by the report. In its commentary, the embassy is not surprised by this observation.

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Hanoi**

Symbol 262PO/2002034/13: Repatriations. Additional lists Cardboard  
seen, nothing to report

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Minsk**

800PO/1/99 VI 3.5: Issuance of visas: adoption, 1995-2003 Card  
seen, nothing to report

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Beijing**

Cote 513PO/7/18: Social issues Housing policy, standard of living, public health, Chinese Red Cross 1993-1997, social protection system, adoption  
Not available for health reasons

Cote 513PO/7/92: Organizations Authorized for Adoption (OAA), 1993  
Not available for health reasons

Symbol 513PO/7/97: International adoption, 1993-1997  
Not available for health reasons

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Seoul**

Cote 629PO/2/110: International adoption general file, position of South Korea, 1987-1990

Card seen, nothing to report

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Sofia (Embassy in Bulgaria)**

644PO/3/49 VII.4.11. Adoptions, 1992-2000 1995

– The MAI and the French Embassy discuss a French couple who came to adopt a child in Bulgaria and who produced a falsified certificate. The approval issued was only for a child over seven years of age. "We are therefore in the presence of a forgery and the use of forgery in public writing. The couple admitted the facts before a Bulgarian court. The MAI therefore informed the General Council that it was out of the question to cover

in any way such a serious act by pretending to ignore its existence". The General Council is on the same position. The couple must therefore return to France without the child.

1996 – Continuation of the same case, "The General Council, no doubt subject to strong local pressure, now wants to play low profile and not file a complaint.

Bulgarian justice requires an amendment to the approval. The MAI considers that it is necessary to be completely transparent vis-à-vis the Bulgarian authorities

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Assumption (Paraguay)**

Cote 47PO/2: families, children, adoptions 1992

– letter from the French ambassador to Assumption at the Quai d'Orsay relating to "trafficking in children [...] on a disproportionate scale". International adoptions are favored to the detriment of national ones because of the greater benefits derived from them". Poor mothers sell their children, others are abused by crooked intermediaries. Justice being corrupt, these cases are only known thanks to a few honest judges.

The ambassador does not indicate whether children have been adopted in France.

### **Archives repatriated from the French Embassy in Bangkok**

66PO/3/465: Adoption records, 1984-1990

Card seen, nothing to report

### **Archives repatriated from the French Consulate in Recife**

Cotes 565PO/1/36-45: Individual adoption files, 1980s Cards seen, nothing to report.

Cotes 565PO/2/90-92: Individual adoption files, 1980s Cards seen, nothing to report.

## ***II - National Archives of Pierrefitte-sur-Seine***

The National Archives of Pierrefitte-sur-Seine keep the majority of the contemporary archival collections from the French administration, but also the archival collections of private organizations such as the Social Service for Aid to Emigrants, the French branch of the International social service.

The identification of archive numbers in the inventories of NA holdings relating to international adoption was carried out in 2020 as part of an internship carried out by a trainee from the TEMOS laboratory under the direction of Yves Denéchère.

In July 2022, we requested an exemption for 50 boxes, and have obtained a positive response, so far, for 14 of them. We consulted nearly 5,000 pages of documents, including 1,400 pages containing information on our subject of study. Boxes seen but not containing relevant documents on illicit practices are mentioned for information.

In accordance with the commitments made in the context of the derogation request, we have respected the anonymity of the persons who are quoted therein.

**Ministry of the Interior funds; Cabinets of Gaston Defferre then Pierre Joxe, ministers of the interior and decentralization. Archives of Pierre-René Lemas, technical adviser then chief of staff (1983-1986)**

Cote 19860678/17: Adoption: development of international adoption, May 1985 1985

– Minutes of an interministerial meeting on the “development of international adoption”.

"Sometimes desired by certain foreign countries which require that applications be presented by an officially approved intermediary", the possibility of exercising or not "a certain control of intermediaries, natural or legal persons, whose activity concerns the adoption of foreign minors.

1985 – Correspondence between the Minister of Social Affairs and the Prime Minister concerning a better framework for international adoption in France. Among the stated objectives: “to protect the interests of the families of origin and to avoid international child trafficking”.

**Ministry of the Interior funds; Cabinets of Jean-François Copé then of Marie-Josée Roig, ministers delegated to the Interior. Archives of Pascal Bolot, technical adviser (2004-2005)**

Cote 20070557/30: Reorganization of international adoption: files, statistics, table, statement of conclusions, note (2004)

Exemption request unanswered to date.

**Ministry of the Interior funds; Department of Public Liberties and Legal Affairs. Archives of the Office of Comparative Law and International Law (1946-2004)**

Symbol 20090258/4: Protection of children and cooperation in matters of international adoption, 1996 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

**Ministry of the Interior funds; International Technical Cooperation Service of Police: files of the French presidency of the OIPC-Interpol (1988-1992)**

Cote 19970157/10: Protection of minors, fight against juvenile crime, 1985-1991 1990 –

UN file on the "Programme of action for the fight against the sale of children, child prostitution and pornography involving children", of which international adoption is one.

1990 – Report of the UN Commission on Human Rights on “the adoption of children for commercial purposes”.

1988 – In the conclusions of the Interpol colloquium on international trafficking in human beings held in Saint Cloud from September 21 to 23, 1988, it is said on adoption: "As regards 'baby trafficking', its origin is Latin America (Brazil and Colombia in particular) and Asia (Thailand, Malaysia). This traffic is mainly intended for couples who, in Europe, wish to proceed to adoptions”.

**Ministry of Justice funds; Offices of Dominique Perben and Pascal Clément, Ministers of Justice. Archives of Joseph Silva and Michel Raineri, diplomatic advisers (2002-2007)**

Cote 20090433/13: Vietnam: Adoption, case of questionable practices reported by the International Adoption Mission, 2006

2006 – Note to the Minister of Justice drafted by the Directorate of Civil Affairs and the Seal following a report from the MAI. These are “questionable practices in certain adoptions, many children being identified remotely, via the internet, and offered to families through unauthorized intermediaries”.

**Ministry of Justice funds; Directorate of supervised education; Juvenile Judicial Protection Department (1966-1993)**

Cote 19950318/7: Proceedings of the 13th congress of the international association of juvenile and family magistrates (16-21 September 1990) on the theme “New families?”

1990 – Communication by Miek de Langen, professor of family law at the University of Amsterdam, entitled “International adoption”. With regard to ‘the mediating bodies’, the professor states, ‘it also became clear that the mediating bodies or individuals were not as trustworthy as one might have thought. Indeed, several scandals have erupted publicly in countries of origin and host countries.

Obviously, the objective of some mediation activities was not the welfare of the children. Many harmful illicit practices have been publicly exposed. Some institutions or people had used false documents, forced parents to abandon their children and, in the worst cases, kidnapped children”.

**Ministry of Justice funds; Directorate of Civil Affairs and the Seal; Sub-Directorate of Economic Law; Commercial Law Office (1776-2002)**

Cote 20040271/64: Bodies concerning domestic and international adoption 1980 –

High Council for Adoption. Establishment of the working group on the fight against child trafficking and the adoption of children from abroad.

1980 – The National Federation of Adoptive Home Associations (FNAFA) gives the Director of Civil Affairs and the Seau a copy of its proposal for an action plan “Fight against child trafficking”. It only concerns national adoption in France: “false acknowledgment of paternity, false declaration of civil status, direct collection of a child under three months”.

Cote 20040271/65: Organizations concerning internal and international adoption 1974

– The FNAFA informs the Minister of Justice of a case of sale of children in France.

1974 – Note from the FNAFA “on trafficking and on the methods used to evade the legal provisions on adoption by means of direct collections and false declarations of civil status”.

1980 – Following a report by *Le Parisien* on the “black market in babies” for adoption in France, the Directorate of Civil Procedure Legislation requests the opening of an investigation with the Director of Criminal Affairs and Pardons.

1984 – Reply from the Minister of Justice to a written question from the National Assembly “on the problem of illicit collections of children”.

Cote 20040271/66: Organizations concerning internal and international adoption

Cardboard seen, nothing to report.

**Ministry of Justice funds; European and International Affairs Department.  
Files of department heads, André Potocki (1991-1994) and Olivier de Baynast (1994-2001)**

Symbol 20090450/25: Cooperation in civil matters, international adoption, observation on the Convention concluded at The Hague on 29 May 1993: notes, minutes of meetings (1993-1994). Cooperation in civil matters, international child abduction, case follow-up: correspondence, notes, statistical tables from 1990, judgments, handwritten notes, faxes, minutes of meetings (1993-1994).

Box seen, nothing to report.

**Ministry of Justice funds; Cabinet and services attached to the Minister; Cabinet (1997- 2000)**

Reference number 20020057/12: Draft circular relating to international adoption: file note from Jean Alègre, notes, 1997-2000 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

**Ministry of Justice funds; Cabinet and services attached to the Minister; Cabinet (1995-2002)**

Symbol 20040264/11: Guatemala. Question of adoption in Guatemala: notes, handwritten notes (2001-2002).

Exemption request unanswered to date.

Dimension 20040264/24: Adoption. Interviews with MPs: notes, fact sheets, letters (2000); international adoption: reports, notes, fact sheets, letters (1999-2000); group meeting adopting: notes, technical sheets, letters (2000).

Exemption request unanswered to date.

**Ministry of Justice funds; offices of Dominique Perben and Pascal Clément, Ministers of Justice. Archives of Stéphane Noël and Hervé Machi, advisers for civil affairs (2003-2007)**

Symbol 20080643/8: International adoption Preparation of law n° 2005-744 of July 4, 2005 and implementing decrees on the central authority for international adoption: correspondence, notes, faxes, handwritten notes, minutes of meetings interministerial, draft decree, reports, emails, files, graphs, bills, amendments. 2004-2005.

Exemption request unanswered to date.

Symbol 20080643/9: International adoption: notes, minutes of interdepartmental meetings, faxes, handwritten notes, mission reports, correspondence, files, emails, specific cases, press articles, diplomatic telegrams. Analysis of the difficulties encountered by the families with the authorities of Madagascar, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia and Romania.

Exemption request unanswered to date.

**Ministry of Justice funds; Cabinet and services attached to the Minister; Cabinet (1998-2002)**

Cote 20030563/1: Speech by the Keeper of the Seals before the National Assembly "Proposed law relating to international adoption" (March 28, 2000).

Exemption request unanswered to date.

Cote 20030563/2: Interpretation of the law and conventions arising in the field of international adoption (March 14, 2000).

Exemption request unanswered to date.

**Ministry of Justice funds; Cabinet and services attached to the Minister; Cabinet (1993-2002)**

Cote 20030573/8: Bill relating to international adoption. Follow-up: annotated and unannotated parliamentary documents, draft speech by the Keeper of the Seals, speech by the Keeper of the Seals of January 10, 2001, report, speech by Senator Guy Allouche, documentation, notes, handwritten notes, 2000-2001 Request for exemption not answered nowadays.

**Prime Minister Fund, Cabinet of François Fillon, Press Service, Office files of Séverin Naudet, technical adviser**

Cote 20150576/6: Relations with African countries: follow-up, in particular preparation of the meetings of François Fillon, Prime Minister, with Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, Vice-President of South Africa (October 12, 2007), and Omar Bongo, President of Gabon (July 2007), and elaboration of elements of language about the "Arche de Zoé" operation in the field of international adoption (draft note, elements of language, messages), 2007 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

**Prime Minister Fund; Office of the Prime Minister and related services; Cabinet; Advisor (1988-1993)**

Symbol 19950127/9: Draft convention on international adoption. November 1992-February 1993. Adoption of Romanian children. February-October 1989.

Exemption request unanswered to date.

**Prime Minister Fund; Executive management ; Mission for adoption 2007-2008**

Reference number 20100020/7: Dossiers of Olivier Lacroix and Gaël Veyssière, technical advisers for the international agenda and European affairs. 2002-2005: thematic files on international adoption, French nationals abroad, Cabinet of Lionel Jospin, Prime Minister from 1997 to 2002.

Exemption request unanswered to date.

**Prime Minister Fund; Executive management ; Mission for adoption 2007-2008**

Cote 20120220/5: Accreditations of the French Adoption Agency (AFA) to intervene in international adoption procedures in foreign countries: follow-up (summary table, correspondence), 2007 Application derogation, unanswered to date.

Cote 20120220/6: Colloquium of the French Adoption Agency (AFA) of 7 and 8 November 2007 devoted to international adoption. Notes, correspondence, graphs, interventions, technical data sheets, 2007 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

Cote 20120220/10: Activity of the Public Prosecutor's Office of Nantes (Loire-Atlantique) in the field of international adoption: examination. notes, summary tables, reports, graphs, questionnaire, 2007 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

**Prime Minister Fund; Office of the Prime Minister and related services (1984-1991)**

Symbol 19930626/1: Adoption. International Conference on Adoption, 11-12 December 1991, preparation. September 1988-July 1989.  
Exemption request unanswered to date.

**Prime Minister Fund; Office of the Prime Minister and related services; Cabinet; Intervention office (2002-2005)**

Symbol 20050254/4: Associations: Adoption. Development of international adoption. Dossier (letters, bulletin), 2004  
Request for derogation without response to date.

**Prime Minister Fund; Office of the Prime Minister and related services; Cabinet; Technical Advisor (1981-1986)**

Reference number 19880020/6: Project to create a permanent mission for international adoption: minutes of the interministerial meeting of May 20, 1985, handwritten note from the Prime Minister, letters, notes, February 1985-January 1986 Request for derogation refused.

**Prime Minister Fund; Office of the Prime Minister and related services (1979-1986)**

Reference number 19890037/9: International adoption Ministry of External Relations, sub-directorate for foreigners in France: unit on international adoption (creation, project)  
Exemption request denied.

**Funds Ministry of Employment, Social Cohesion and Housing; Social Service for Aid to Emigrants (SSAE) (1921-2004)**

Symbol 20050590/130: International adoptions (studies, notes, reports, minutes of meetings, correspondence), 1954-1982. International adoptions (studies, notes, reports, minutes of meetings, correspondence) 1985-1990 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

Reference number 20050590/131: Studies on international adoptions carried out by the SSAE: organization and relations with institutions in France and abroad (notes, correspondence) 1985-1990. Study on international adoption transcription of individual interviews with adoptive families, 1988 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

Reference number 20050590/132: Study on international adoption, transcription of individual interviews with adoptive families, 1988 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

Dimension 20050590/133: International adoption 1967-1995 (mission reports, seminars, meetings, studies, working documents, notes, correspondence, feedback from the regions, surveys, training of adoption correspondents), 1967-1995 Request for derogation unanswered nowadays.

Reference number 20050590/134: International adoption – Romania 1990-1993 (correspondence, reports, mission reports, seminar on child and family protection in Romania, relations with associations, relations with the Romanian and French authorities concerned , studies), 1990-1993 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

**Funds Ministry of Employment, Social Cohesion and Housing; General Directorate of Social Action; Ages of Life Sub-Directorate; 2B: childhood and family (1898-2005)**

Reference number 20050117/46: UN Conferences of Leysin and The Hague (reports, working documents, minutes of interministerial meetings, notes, final act) 1960-1993; reports on the adoption Request for derogation not answered to date.

Cote 20050117/47: Interministerial working group on international adoption (working documents, minutes of meetings, notes, studies) 1992; Mattei bill 1995-1996 (preparatory and legislative documents, international conventions, report, minutes of interministerial meetings, 1960-2001 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

Symbol 20050117/53: International affairs relating to adoption. Polynesia, Southeast Asia, Algeria, Morocco, Bangladesh, Romania. Exemption request unanswered to date.

Symbol 20050117/54: International affairs relating to adoption. Rwanda: Children from the Sainte-Agathe orphanage in Masaka received in France either with host families or at the temporary accommodation center in Rondon. Exemption request unanswered to date.

Cote 20050117/55: Minutes of meetings, individual cases, notes, diplomatic telegrams, notes to the cabinet, mission reports, documents on Rwandan families, minutes of interviews with natural families of children, individual files, reports of developments, correspondence, reports, minutes of interdepartmental meetings. 1996-1997.

Exemption request unanswered to date.

Cote 20050117/56: Minutes of meetings, individual cases, notes, diplomatic telegrams, notes to the cabinet, mission reports, documents on Rwandan families, IGAS report on the future of five children 1999, individual files reports of developments, correspondence, reports, minutes of interministerial meetings 1997, 1998-1999; report on the legal status of Rwandan children in care 2001.

Exemption request unanswered to date.

**Fonds Ministry in charge of social affairs, department of social action: child and family policy (1927-1995)**

Symbol 19960011/2: Studies, reports and statistics relating to adoption (1966-1990)

Statistical documents on adoption, taken in particular from the Statistical Yearbook of Justice published by the Chancellery. There are mentioned the numbers of judgments of adoption pronounced.

1982 – The Minister of Foreign Affairs asks the Secretary of State for the Family “that the DDASS discourage French adopters even more in the future from turning to Peru to adopt a child there”. This request takes place following the “traffic of Peruvian children discovered a few months ago in Lima” around the San Benito Institute in Palermo and a French association.

Symbol 19960011/1: Regulations. Superior Adoption Council. Adoption works.

Adoptive family associations

Request for derogation unanswered to date.

**Fonds Ministry in charge of social affairs, department of social action: actions in favor of the family, childhood and youth (1946-1995)**

Symbol 19960272/5: International adoption: notes and correspondence, 1982-1986

Request for derogation unanswered to date.

**Cabinet of Simone Veil, Minister of Social Affairs, Health and the City: files of Frédérique Leprince, technical adviser in charge of children and families**

Symbol 20120117/16: Adoption, 1993; Access to family origins. Establishment of a working group: notes, correspondence (1993-1994); Report by Jean-François Mattei to the Prime Minister on international adoption. Presentation and follow-up: notes, summary sheets, communication project and communication in the Council of Ministers, minutes of interministerial meetings, documentary file (1993-1995)

Exemption request unanswered to date.

**National Institute for Demographic Studies collection: management archives, chronological details (1985-2009)**

Cote 20160559/25: Note on the results of the “International adoption and social integration” survey, 2001 Card seen, nothing to report.

**National Institute for Demographic Studies collection, legal department: decisions (1973-2013), agreements and contracts (1971-2017), legal advice (1999-2013)**

Reference number 20190132/50: Survey "International adoption and social integration": Friends of the World's Children (AEM) convention of 05/15/2000 Card seen, nothing to report.

**Overseas Fund; Mission Demographic and family policy, health. Social and health action (1978-2005)**

Reference number 20080189/1: Difficulties encountered by candidate families for international adoption residing in overseas departments, 1997 Request for derogation unanswered to date.

**Collection Archives of the prevention of sectarian phenomena at the Ministry of National Education (1981-2007)**

Reference number 20110146/31: Mission for international adoption,  
1999 1999 – Letter from the MAI to an inspector general who is a member of the Interministerial Mission for the Fight against Sects. The object of concern are the "actions of the association "Nirina Mora sans frontières" which without any authorization acted as an intermediary for the adoption of two Malagasy children".

**Social Service Fund for Emigrants (SSAE)**

Symbol 20110280/45 International adoption (1999-2004): documentation collected, notes, correspondence, studies.  
Box seen, nothing to report.

**Collection General Inspectorate of Judicial Services: mission reports 1975-2006**

Cote 20130697/55: Note on international adoption in Vietnam, 2002 Card  
seen, nothing to report.

***III - Archives of other international adoption actors in France***

***A – Archives of the National Federation of Children and Adoptive Families EFA (Paris)***

Founded in 1980 by the meeting of the National Federation of Adoptive Homes Associations (FNAFA) – name taken in 1969 by the National Family Association of Adoptive Homes (AFNFA) created in 1953 – and the International Adoptive Homes Association (FAI) Created in 1968 by adoptive parents of foreign children, EFA was recognized as a public utility in 1984. It brings together the EFA departmental associations.

The archives of the EFA federation are kept at its headquarters in Paris, other documents have been kept by successive presidents. Each departmental association retains, more or less, its own archives. During this review of the sources, only the archives kept at the headquarters of the federation have been evaluated. If their

material conditions of conservation are quite satisfactory, these archives are fragmented, are neither classified, nor inventoried, nor quoted. This is why we will limit ourselves here to mentioning documents relating to illicit practices in intercountry adoption contained in the moral reports presented annually, in the minutes of the boards of directors, in the meetings of the office, in the correspondence received or sent, but also in the *Home* publication or other federation publications.

As early as the 1970s, the FNAFA took an interest in the issue of illicit practices in adoption, particularly in 1974 in a "note on trafficking and on the methods used to escape the legal provisions on adoption". It should be noted that in n° 37 of *Accueil*, the same one which announces the creation of EFA (4th quarter 1980), a dossier is devoted to illicit practices and entitled "Child trafficking". But it is above all a question of practices current in France: direct collection, the assumption of a child, unapproved intermediaries, false recognition of paternity or declaration to civil status. The "proposal of an action plan" to "fight against child trafficking". "The professions concerned by this trafficking" are identified: doctors, maternity directors, midwives, notaries, religious". International adoption is discussed in a single two-page article "International adoption: danger! which notes the place of money, dubious intermediaries, trafficking and traffickers.

Similarly, in documents dating from the early 1980s, when it comes to "illicit adoptions" (collection of information in 1981) and "illegal adoption practices" (working document, 1983), they concern national adoption and "this problem is very important, since it certainly concerns at least 600 to 800 children per year".

In 1985, there was clearly a turning point and international adoption was now at the center of concerns, under pressure from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was worried about the diplomatic repercussions of the "various arrests of French people in a situation of fraudulent adoption at the 'foreign' ". EFA wants "provisions capable of facilitating the fight against trafficking and false acknowledgments of paternity". Then, this question is very regularly raised in the various bodies of the federation.

EFA is very concerned about everything that appears in the press and the effects caused by articles or reports on adoption in general. Moreover, we find mention in 1988 of a European press review "analyzed, indexed by computer, telematized" by EFA. In October 1988, a press conference was organized by the federation following the publication of some forty articles which had appeared in recent months, including fifteen which dealt with trafficking. EFA recognizes the existence of this traffic, while indicating that scandals should not hide the fact that the vast majority of adoptions go well, and denounces several points: the persistence of issuing approvals of convenience for foreign children in certain departments ; the humanitarian motivation, real or feigned, of the international adoption. It advocates better control of private works, while affirming that they do remarkable work, the creation of an Interpol adoption policy, reinforced control of approvals by State services, that the offense of illicit intermediary is more clearly defined and penalised.

In 1990, the office of the federation notes and wonders: "the question of trafficking: it is serious, poorly known, and would require further investigation. But are we not afraid to approach it because these debates would risk reaching our own children? However, it would be necessary to set up a reflection group on the ethics of adoption". For Mexico, for example, "it is essential to make known the dubious intermediaries", and concerning Romania, to affirm, "contrary to rumors that circulate, that the number of very young children to adopt in Romania is limited" .

In the context of the establishment of the Hague Convention, a great wave of articles on the abuses of international adoption worries EFA, especially the "inevitable papers on the adoption market". Also, it deploys great activity to be present in the media in order to highlight the experience of adoptive families and restore the image of international adoption. EFA regularly reports on misguided practices in different countries of departure of children, as in 1994: "local profiteers" in Brazil, "interested proposals from certain intermediaries" in Vietnam, problematic "pecuniary demands from intermediaries" in Eastern Europe, absence of rigorous procedures in Africa... Colombia is presented as the "safest country in its procedures".

The mid-1990s was also marked by the first legal proceedings following cases of previous illicit adoptions. In 1994, EFA was alerted by the League for Human Rights that families in El Salvador were looking for their children stolen by the army between 1984 and 1986. Two children were found in France. In 1995 and 1996, the debates around the Mattéi law, in which EFA took part, tackled the question of the risks in international adoption and its necessary moralisation. The federation calls for "a clear definition of the acts of intermediaries", without success. The search for origins by adoptees is another novelty of the mid-1990s. EFA is concerned about the risk of the outbreak of "origins search dispensaries" identified in the Pascal report.

With international adoption increasing considerably in the 1990s and until 2005, and communications being facilitated by progress, EFA can rely on numerous feedback from adopters or applicants for adoption. Thus, for example, in 1996 it warned of the situation in Vietnam where intermediaries are to be avoided, in particular those who from abroad want to intervene in France. In 1999, with regard to Cambodia, "adopters very quickly informed us of malfunctions in certain procedures, once again demonstrating their concern to remain ethical". Similarly, many testimonies report financial excesses in Romania, "inversely proportional to the age of the children". EFA can also rely on other sources of information such as a UN report on Guatemala which includes a section on international adoption, or the annual reports of the adoption mission of Doctors of the World, in particular, and of course various French and foreign statistics.

In the 2000s, leaders of the federation participated in missions in foreign countries and established mission reports. This is the case in Latvia (2002), Madagascar (2003), Great Britain (2005). The Arche de Zoé affair (2007) is an opportunity for EFA to recall that adoption and humanitarianism do not go hand in hand. In 2012, the federation is a civil party to the trial. In 2008, EFA denounced irregular practices in Cambodia. In 2010, after having supported the requests of applicants awaiting the arrival of children being adopted, calling for caution given the circumstances, the federation took part in the mission of experts sent to Haiti after the earthquake. In 2014 and 2015, EFA warns about adoptions in the DRC that do not guarantee compliance with the rules. After issues of *Accueil* devoted to the themes "Adoption and ethics" (2001), "For an ethics of European adoption" (2003), "Adoption and money" (n°167, June 2013), EFA publishes in 2021 an issue entitled "The excesses of adoption: from irregularity to illegality" (n°198).

The EFA archives constitute an important fund allowing us to follow current illicit practices in international (and national) adoption as well as the position of the federation on these questions, closely linked to the media treatment given to them.

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After a meeting on July 20 between the authors of this study and officials from the EFA national federation (Mrs. Royal, Grangeas and Meaume), a questionnaire was sent by the federation to the departmental associations. He collected 5 responses, which is few out of 92 departmental associations. This shows the difficulty in addressing the question of illicit practices or the distrust of research likely to bring to light past events that are difficult to manage with the adopted persons or adopters concerned. Five departmental associations responded: 03, 08, 38, 69 (3 officials responded individually for this association) and 74. Three respondents indicated having been aware of illegal practices (four never) and having sent the information to the EFA federation and/or authorities. Three association leaders said they had information on illicit practices (notably the press), which showed their interest in this issue.

## ***B – Archives of Authorized Adoption Organizations (OAA) and the French Adoption Agency (AFA)***

In order to better understand the situation of AAB archives, and their apprehension of illicit practices, we carried out a simple survey by questionnaire. The FFOAA (Ms. Riot), met on July 18, 2022, relayed our request to the members of the federation.

Out of 25 active OAAs, 14 responded. These are: The children of the queen of mercy, Diaphany, Sunbeam of the foreign child, The Cause, Childhood future, Ayuda, Work of adoption / Committee of Cognac, Reborn, The children of hope , Welcoming and sharing, Children of the world France, Work of adoption/Committee of Lyon, Friends of the children of the world, Work of adoption/Committee of Bordeaux. We also sent the questionnaire to AABs that had ceased their activity, without obtaining a response.

It appears from the responses received that the AABs keep their paper archives at their headquarters. One association indicated that it had rented a specific room for its archives. On the question of the archiving of digital exchanges, the answers were more varied. Some OAAs print correspondence deemed important and then archive it with paper files. Some record their digital archives on hard disks, others have not taken the measure of the importance of these archives.

The investigation also focused on illegal practices. To the question of the possible existence of a monitoring device dedicated to the identification of possible illicit practices: 12 OAAs answered in the negative, and one replied that it has had such a device since 1998. But he replied that he had no never had knowledge of illicit practices. Three other OAAs claimed the same thing. Two OAAs indicated that they had knowledge of illicit practices: one concerning "living biological parents when they were declared dead in the files transmitted by the administration of the country of origin", the other withdrew from a country in which he was working after seeing "widespread corruption".

At the AFA – French public agency dedicated to adoption – created in 2005, at the very moment when international adoption began to decline, the processing of paper and digital archives is rigorous. Archives are kept in the premises of the AFA before being transferred to the National Archives. On the question of illegal practices, the AFA indicates that it does not have a dedicated monitoring system, nor has it been aware of the existence of such practices through the testimonies of adopters and adoption candidates who have used its services.

### ***C - Archives of the Movement for Adoption Without Borders (MASF) and Associations of Parents by Country of Origin (APPO)***

A questionnaire was sent to APPO and MASF. A meeting took place on July 18 with the MASF (Ms. Le Boursicot and Mr. Chomilier) to explain our approach. Apart from the MASF, which to date brings together ten associations of adopters, only four APPOs responded to the questionnaire: Association of Adoptive Families of Children Born in Chile (AFAENAC), Philippines Adoption of Children Adopted Adult Parents and Friends (PAEPAMA), petals of the Bulgarian rose, Association of Parents and Adoptees in Colombia (APAEC).

Concerning the preservation of their archives, one APPO declares that it does not have any archives, while for the other four the archives are either at the home of the president of the association, or scattered among volunteers. Regarding the archiving of digital exchanges, one association does it on hard disk, three do not archive, and the last clearly prints the exchanges deemed important and stores them with the physical archives.

One association has set up a monitoring system to identify possible illegal practices, the other four responded negatively. Similarly, if one association indicates that it was aware of illegal practices, the other four say that they had no knowledge of such practices.

### ***D – Associations of adopted persons***

We also sent a questionnaire to associations and collectives of adopted persons. Six responded: The Voice of Adoptees, RAIF Association (Recognition of Illicit International Adoptions in France), Collective of French Adoptees from Mali, Association of Adoptees from Rwanda, AdoptEcoute, Korean Roots.

Two of them do not keep archives, and the other four keep them either on their premises or in the homes of their managers. Regarding the digital archives, they are archived in their own computers or are printed and filed with the paper archives. Regarding illicit practices, one association claims to have no information on this subject and another indicates that adoptions have been legalized in France. The other four describe the falsification of civil status documents, the absence of informed consent from the biological family, the corruption of intermediaries and public officials, the theft and kidnapping of children.

### ***IV – Written and audiovisual press archives, French and foreign***

The press articles written at the time of the commission of illicit practices, particularly in the countries of departure, to denounce tortious or criminal acts or other deviations, constitute valuable sources of information on these facts but also on the representations of international adoption at such and such a time.

This is why a review of press articles was carried out which, like the other elements of this research report, is just waiting to be completed. The press of the countries of departure, not very present in this first review, should be considered with interest, because it is very often in these countries that the first denunciations and investigations take place, not always known in France or not sufficiently relayed by the actors concerned.

Four inventories of written and audiovisual press archives, French and international, are presented below:

- A – French and foreign written press review
- B – French audiovisual press review
- C – Foreign audiovisual press review
- D – Television documentary films

The searches were carried out using different keywords relating to deviations in international adoption, such as “trafficking”, “sector”, “abuse”, “abuses”, “theft”, “kidnapping”, etc.

All these references are in a database, built as part of this study, freely searchable and searchable. [https://heurist.huma-num.fr/heurist/?db=Enfance\\_pratiques\\_illicites&website](https://heurist.huma-num.fr/heurist/?db=Enfance_pratiques_illicites&website) That is to say that it is possible to search for all the references relating to a country, all the articles published or the reports broadcast in the same press title or by the same person.

The database is intended to be enriched with other past and future references. To do this, in a participatory science approach, anyone consulting the database can participate in its enrichment by sending new data to [yves.denechere@univ-angers.fr](mailto:yves.denechere@univ-angers.fr) and [fabio.macedo@univ-angers.fr](mailto:fabio.macedo@univ-angers.fr), they will quickly be integrated into the database.

### A - French and foreign written press review

Publication date	Country of departure and/or destination concerned	Article title	Journal title, Daily, Weekly, etc.	Author
01-Jul-76	Viet Nam	Operation Babylift: Mass Kidnapping?	Ann Arbor Sun	GEORGE Maryamm
20-Sept-77	France	Rue Toulouze in Paris, children are sold for 25,000	The life	
20-Sep-77	Lebanon	francs for a Lebanese baby. A children's merchant operates in Paris	Le Figaro	
09-Oct-79	France	Infants sold for 30,000 francs in France	France Evening	
24-Oct-81	Peru/Netherlands	Padres reclaman a dos hijos que juez entrego en adopcion	The Diario	
19-Nov-81	Peru/France	Afirman que Cuna San Benito de Palermo tiene apoyo de sacerdotes y de Hospital del Nino	Diario La Republica (Lima)	
20-Nov-81	Peru/France	Medico y religioso niegan vinculacion con cuna San Benito de Palermo	Diario La Republica (Lima)	Leon Ismail
21-Nov-81	Peru/Italy/Switzerland	Puericultorio es un deposito de niños en transito al exterior	Diario La Republica (Lima)	
22-Feb-82	Peru	Por irregularidades en adoptions. Juzgados de menores bajo investigation	El Observador (Lima)	
23-Feb-82	Peru	Investigan as salieron del pais 700 menores "adoptados"	The Diario	
31-Mar-82	Peru	Purgaron a jueces de menores implicados en trafico de niños	Diario La Republica (Lima)	
08-Jun-82	Peru/France	Una familia esta implicada en el trafico de menores	El Observador (Lima)	
09-Jun-82	Peru/France	Profesora y sicologa planeaban las adoptions fraudulentas	Diario La Republica (Lima)	
10-Jun-82	Peru/France	tramito institution 24 illegal adoptions between years 1980 and 1981	El Comercio (Lima)	
12-Jun-82	Peru	Adoptions of Peruvian children: the government takes precautionary measures	West France	
19-Jun-82	Peru	The Peruvian police: about sixty children adopted in Europe, have been kidnapped	West France	
19-Jun-82	Peru/France	Adopcion de niños peruanos suspende gobierno ingles	El Comercio (Lima)	
03-Jul-82	Peru	500 Niños vendieron al extranjero	Diario La Republica (Lima)	ARRIETA Amadeo Julian

03-Nov-82 Peru/Netherlands	<b>Amplio tráfico de menores se ha realizado en el país</b>	<i>El Comercio (Lima)</i>	
21-Apr-83 Romania	<b>Romania. Ceausescu even sells abandoned children</b>	<i>The daily life of Paris</i>	DUPOY Georges
09-Oct-83 International	<b>Adoption: what child trafficking</b>	<i>The world</i>	Pradier Pierre, HERTZ Claude
01-Jan-85 International	<b>Adoption: those babies we buy</b>	<i>Parents</i>	GILLES Françoise
17-Jul-86 Brazil	<b>Brazilian babies are selling well</b>	<i>Release</i>	
18-Dec-87 Romania	<b>Romania: ringing records for stumbling babies</b>	<i>Release</i>	SOULE Véronique, COHEN Ariel
21-Apr-88 South Korea	<b>Babies for export: and now the painful questions Trafficking in</b>	<i>The New York Times</i>	CHIRA Susan
21-Sep-88 Guatemala 23-	<b>newborn babies in Guatemala. Children stolen, children sold</b>	<i>The world</i>	
Sep-88 International	<b>Child trafficking... or information trafficking</b>	<i>Release</i>	
20-Apr-89 International	<b>File "the scandals of adoption"</b>	<i>The Obs</i>	
01-Jan-90 Honduras 01-	<b>Honduras: Police report on child abduction, illegal adoption</b>	<i>LADB - NotiCen</i>	TYROLER Deborah
Jan-91 Latin America	<b>latin american conference on international trafficking of children</b>	<i>LADB - NotiCen</i>	TYROLER Deborah
28-Mar-91 Honduras	<b>Child trafficking in Honduras</b>	<i>Catch.ch</i>	
01-Jan-92 Honduras 01-	<b>Honduras: Illegal adoption network Honduras:</b>	<i>LADB - NotiCen</i>	TYROLER Deborah
Jan-92 Honduras	<b>police make six arrests in connection with illegal adoption New adoption scandal</b>	<i>LADB - NotiCen</i>	TYROLER Deborah
27-Jan-92 Brazil	<b>revealed in Brazil. Two thousand babies sold in Europe Investigation into an abomination. Child abduction and organ trafficking Two French among the child thieves Stolen in El Salvador, adopted</b>	<i>The evening</i>	
Aug-92 Latin America	<b>in France "The babies of Mali. Adopted or sold abroad. The great mystery collapses"</b>	<i>The diplomatic world</i>	PINERO Maïté
14-Aug-92 France		<i>France Evening</i>	
18-Aug-92 El Salvador		<i>The Parisian</i>	
10-Jun-93 Mali-France		<i>Aurora (Mali)</i>	SANGHO Ibrahima
22-Aug-94 USA	<b>Babies for export. Despite a shortage of adoptable US infants, hundreds end up in homes abroad Precious Lives, BigBusiness: Foreign Demand for Guatemalan Infants is Fueling Adoption Industry</b>	<i>Time</i>	SMLOWE Jill
06-Aug-98 Guatemala	<b>that Preys on Mothers, Critics Say Guatemala: on achet les enfants bien. Procedures for abandoning babies for adoption are poorly controlled The adoption industry in Brazil</b>	<i>Dallas Morning News</i>	RILEY Michael
14-Oct-98 Guatemala		<i>Release</i>	LIONET Christian
27-Nov-98 Brazil		<i>The world</i>	

Sept-99 Guatemala	<b>Adoption 'market': illegal circuits in Guatemala</b>	<i>Association newspaper Casa Alianza Switzerland</i>	BLASER Philip
Mar-00 Viet Nam	<b>The Legacy of Operation Babylift</b>	<i>Adoption Today</i>	MARTIN Allison
13-Jun-00 Guatemala	<b>Guatemala babies 'sold to highest bidders' Adoption</b>	<i>The Guardian</i>	
25-Jan-02 Belgium 24-	<b>scam or child trafficking?</b>	<i>the free</i>	
Dec-02 Argentina	<b>Argentina: suspicion of illegal adoption under the dictatorship Child</b>	<i>Release</i>	BIG Antoine
11-Apr-03 Romania	<b>trafficking in Romania: Bucharest would like to improve its image Adoption: failures of</b>	<i>Balkan Mail</i>	TRUCHEL Daniela
05-August-03 Central African Republic	<b>control A couple and two kids in full torment Adoption: failures of control</b>	<i>Release</i>	GROSJEAN Blandine
05-August-03 Central African Republic		<i>Release</i>	GROSJEAN Blandine
05-August-03 Central African Republic		<i>Release</i>	
16-Dec-03 Cambodia	<b>Babies for sale: no warranty</b>	<i>The Sydney morning herald</i>	
10-Mar-04 International	<b>Adoption navigates between approval, trafficking and corruption</b>	<i>humanity</i>	
02-Aug-04 Portugal; Italy	<b>Baby trafficking: also in Portugal and Italy</b>	<i>The Parisian</i>	ALBOUY Stéphane, Da.D.
12-Sep-04 Peru	<b>Adoption: the underside of traffic</b>	<i>The world</i>	KERVIEL Sylvie
01-Nov-05 Madagascar	<b>Madagascar, child trafficking</b>	<i>Economic alternatives</i>	RABEHERISOA Andry, MAURY Pierre
27-Feb-06 China	<b>Child trafficking discovered in China</b>	<i>Release</i>	GRANGEREAU Philip
12-Mar-06 China	<b>Stealing babies for adoption</b>	<i>Washington Post Foreign Office</i>	GOODMAN Peter S.
20-Oct-06 Romania	<b>Romania, former adoption supermarket</b>	<i>The world</i>	BRAN Mirel
01-Apr-07 Morocco	<b>These child goods</b>	<i>Morocco Weekly International</i>	IZDDINE Mouna
23-May-07 India	<b>'Stolen boy' may be one of dozens</b>	<i>dutch news</i>	
26-May-07 South Korea	<b>South Korea's troubled export: babies for adoption</b>	<i>Reuters</i>	HERSKOVITZ Jon
14-Aug-07 Guatemala	<b>In Guatemala, the authorities are trying to curb child trafficking</b>	<i>The world</i>	CAROIT Jean-Michel
15-Aug-07 Guatemala	<b>Guatemala struggles to fight child trafficking</b>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	BELE Patrick
29-Aug-07 Guatemala	<b>Cleaning up international adoptions</b>	<i>Time</i>	ROSENBERG Mica
10-Sep-07 Guatemala	<b>Illegal adoption: when the child becomes a commodity</b>	<i>The weather</i>	WERNER Emmanuelle
09-Oct-07 Guatemala	<b>Buying babies not as harmless as it seems</b>	<i>daily drizzle</i>	REED Tristian

18-Oct-07	Sri Lanka	Child trafficking also concerns Switzerland	SWI	
25-Oct-07	Chad	Nine French arrested in Chad for child trafficking	20 minutes	
25-Oct-07	Sudan	Adoption trafficking in Darfur	The Sunday Journal	
27-Oct-07	Chad	103 children and a scandal	Dispatch.fr	CARIES Francoise
29-Oct-07	Chad	Chad accuses French charity of child trafficking	The Guardian	RICE Xan, FUCHS Dale, SANDFORD alasdair
29-Oct-07	Chad	French group says aimed to help Chad children	Reuters	ROSNOBLET Jean Francis
01-Nov-07	Guatemala	Did I steal my daughter?	mother jones	LARSEN Elizabeth
11-Dec-07	USA	US joins overseas adoption overhaul plan	The New York Times	BIG Jane
13-Dec-07	Guatemala	Guatemala passes adoption law, potentially ending notorious international child-trafficking racket Adoption: Guatemala tries to fight child trafficking	LADB Notice	
13-Dec-07	Guatemala		The duty	TAILLEFER Guy
22-Dec-07	Chad	Zoe's Ark lied about flight plans, Chad court told	Reuters	NGARMBASSA Moomin
25-Jan-08	Ukraine; Moldova	Ruth-Gaby Vermot: 'Newborn babies disappear for illegal adoption. We must act !' Liberia investigates child adoptions by US agency DNA tests confirm	The weather	GRAFFENRIED Valerie de
01-Feb-08	Liberia	first stolen baby in troubled Guatemalan adoption system Los Angeles Times	Reuters	TOWEH Alphonso
24-Jul-08	Guatemala	About to be adopted, stolen baby found by mother in Guatemala		BONELLO Deborah
25-Jul-08	Guatemala		The world	
30-Aug-08	India	In search of the stolen children	The Sydney morning herald	
09-Oct-08	South Korea	Korea aims to end stigma of adoption and stop "exporting" babies	New York Times	ONISHI Norimistu
01-Nov-08	Guatemala	Child adoption: another form of violence	Send	PICO Juan Hernández
01-May-09	Viet Nam	Operation Babylift: An Adoptee's Perspective	Humanist	MINH ALLEN Kevin
17-Jul-09	South Korea	Korea Continues to Deny Overseas Adoptees Access	The Korea Times	DOBBS Jennifer Kwon Dobbs, TRENKA Jane Jeong WESTRA Hilbrand WS
01-Sep-09	International	International adoption and the fight for human rights	Conductive magazine	
14-Sep-09	Guatemala	Guatemala: children abducted then sold abroad?	She	MS
20-Sep-09	China	Stolen Chinese babies supply adoption request	Los Angeles Times	DEMICK Barbara

21-Sep-09	Viet Nam	<b>16 stand trial in Vietnam baby selling case</b>	<i>The San Diego Union Grandstand</i>	
Jan-10	Haiti	<b>Haiti: attention, child trafficking</b>	<i>She</i>	LAURENT-SIMON carolina
01-Feb-10	Haiti	<b>Haiti 'orphan' rescue mission: adoption or child trafficking?</b>	<i>The Christian Science Monitor</i>	CLARK Matthew
08-Feb-10	Haiti	<b>Saving children: helping or exploiting in Haiti?</b>	<i>Non-profit quarterly</i>	COHEN Rick
10-Feb-10	Haiti	<b>Haiti, from adoption to trafficking</b>	<i>The world</i>	CAROIT Jean-Michel
26-Apr-10	Haiti	<b>Haiti: an American tried for 'child trafficking'</b>	<i>She</i>	KM
29-Apr-10	USA; Russia	<b>US and Russia discuss ways to lift adoption freeze</b>	<i>RT</i>	
02-Sep-10	Portugal	<b>Maddie kidnapped by members of an illegal adoption ring?</b>	<i>20 minutes</i>	DUBUC Berenice
06-Apr-11	Haiti	<b>Adoption Haiti: between two evils, which one to choose?</b>	<i>The press</i>	Louise
21-Dec-11	Ethiopia 06-	<b>How Ethiopia's adoption industry dupes families and bullies activists International</b>	<i>The Atlantic</i>	JOYCE Kathryn
Jan-12	Guatemala 15-Jan-12	<b>adoption or child trafficking?</b>	<i>The american prospect</i>	GRAFF EJ
Mexico 20-Jun-12	International	<b>Mexico Adoption Case Points to Child Trafficking Industry International</b>	<i>InSight Crime</i>	PACHICO Elyssa
		<b>adoption's trafficking problem Children for sale: Armenia investigates a</b>	<i>Harvard political review</i>	
03-Dec-12	Armenia	<b>network of illegal adoptions Algeria: a doctor sentenced for baby trafficking False powers</b>	<i>Release</i>	MOULLILLARD Sylvain
01-Jan-13	Algeria 17-	<b>of attorney and false adoption certificates to expatriate babies Algeria 1 French charity</b>	<i>She</i>	Sabrina
Feb-13	Algeria	<b>workers jailed for trying to smuggle 'orphans' out of Chad Algeria: a doctor sentenced for trafficking babies to</b>		
17-Feb-13	Chad	<b>France Americans use the Internet to abandon children adopt from overseas United States: they exchange their</b>	<i>The Guardian</i>	CHRISAFIS Angelique
19-Feb-13	France	<b>adopted children!</b>	<i>The cross</i>	LEGRAND Christine
21-Mar-13	Australia		<i>The press</i>	
27-May-13	Algeria 28-		<i>The side</i>	
May-13	Algeria 09-		<i>France Info</i>	HALLAIS Gilles
Sep-13	United States 11-		<i>Reuters</i>	TWOHEY Megan
Sept-13	United States 11-		<i>Feminine</i>	GAUTHERIN Laura
Sept-13	United States 11-	<b>UNITED STATES. On the Internet, parents exchange their adopted child Exchange</b>	<i>The Obs</i>	
Sept-13	United States	<b>of adopted children on the Internet</b>	<i>Paris Match</i>	SANCHIS Jennifer

06-Oct-13 USA		<b>Outrage, little action taken to protect adopted children from abuse on failed adoptions Guatemala. Kidnapped children, adopted children Adoption group calls for US laws to stop</b>	<i>The Seattle Times</i>	CRARY David
30-Oct-13 Guatemala		<b>online child trading</b>	<i>International mail</i>	SECALON Sebastian
01-Nov-13 USA			<i>Reuters</i>	TWOHEY Megan
04-Nov-13 USA		<b>Adoption group calls for laws to curb online child trade</b>	<i>The Christian science monitor</i>	TWOHEY Megan
15-Dec-13 Nigeria		<b>Exclusive: Expressen reveals baby factories</b>	<i>Expressen</i>	CRISTIANSSON Teresa
01-Jan-14 United States 14-		<b>Commentary: rights of children must come first in adoption laws</b>	<i>Courier post</i>	RIBEN Mirah
Jan-14 Ethiopia		<b>For more ethical international adoptions</b>	<i>The cross</i>	LEGRAND Christine
25-Jan-14 India		<b>Evidence of trafficking of Indian children for illegal adoption emerges</b>	<i>The Sydney morning herald</i>	CALLINAN Rory
29-Apr-14 Nigeria 22-		<b>Denmark suspends adoptions of children from Nigeria United States:</b>	<i>The Parisian</i>	
Jun-14 United States		<b>sells adopted child, 10 years old, \$3,500 excluding tax Guatemala: a</b>	<i>Release</i>	MILLOT-Lorraine
05-Aug-14 Guatemala		<b>woman suspected of having sold a young girl to a Belgian couple Illegal adoption in Lebanon: Mechanisms and consequences Adoptions illegal. These mothers looking for their child</b>	<i>the free</i>	
01-Jan-15 Lebanon 24-			<i>Legal Agenda</i>	ALLOUCHE Zeina
Feb-15 Belgium 26-Feb-15			<i>Paris Match</i>	CEFFREY Anne
Italy; Romania		<b>Buying a child: arrests in Italy and Romania</b>	<i>lematin.ch</i>	
20-Mar-15 Romania		<b>The three Gardois would have planned a kidnapping in Romania</b>	<i>Free lunch</i>	
08-Apr-15 France		<b>Roma baby trafficking: 'They told me the child would be fine'</b>	<i>The Marseillaise</i>	SHELL David
08-Apr-15 France		<b>Baby trafficking: up to 5 years in prison for sellers, reprieve for buying couples</b>	<i>The Parisian</i>	
08-Apr-15 France		<b>Marseille: prison closed for baby traffickers</b>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	MALLEVOUE Delphine de
16-May-15 India		<b>Supreme Court probes 'massive adoption racket' as foreigners pay huge amounts for Indian children</b>	<i>Mail Online India</i>	
25-May-15 International		<b>Your child is missing. Would you want their adoption to be easier?</b>	<i>The conversation</i>	FRONEK Patricia
27-May-15 Nepal		<b>Nepal suspends adoptions for three months following the earthquake The</b>	<i>The cross</i>	
14-Oct-15 India		<b>Missionaries of Charity close their adoption centers in India The trouble with international</b>	<i>The cross</i>	CHECK Peter
21-Dec-15 China		<b>adoption History of adoption in Quebec: black market children</b>	<i>The Seattle globalist</i>	WIBNEH Goorish
30-Dec-15 Quebec			<i>Sputnik France</i>	NICOLLE Gaelle

07-Jul-16	Lebanon	<b>Lebanon's Missing Children: The Dark Side of International Adoption</b>	<i>middle east eye</i>	VARZI Changiz M.
11-Jul-16	Peru	<b>Céline Giraud gives voice to adoptees in search of their origins</b>	<i>Les Inrockuptibles</i>	MAHIMAH I
11-Jul-16	Peru	<b>Adopted child, Céline Giraud discovers the trafficking of children of which she is a part</b>	<i>Closer</i>	PLEASURE Pascaline
04-Nov-16	India	<b>Hospital staff in Karnataka arrested for stealing babies for illegal adoption</b>	<i>Reuters</i>	NAGARAJ Anuradha
18-Nov-16	Brazil	<b>Arche de Zoé: me, a child stolen at birth</b>	<i>The Obs</i>	LIVINGTON LORENZZO Kharla
22-Nov-16	UNITED STATES ; South Korea 24-	<b>When Adoption Stories Don't Have Happy Endings</b>	<i>Slate</i>	MCCAULEY EVANS Maureen
Nov-16 Congo	26-Jan-17 Lebanon	<b>France to suspend child adoptions in DR Congo</b>	<i>Young Africa</i>	
01-Feb-17	Uganda	<b>The Illegal Adoptions of the Lebanon War</b>	<i>Equal times</i>	HADDAD Emmanuel
		<b>Couple fights adoption agency dogged by trafficking claims</b>	<i>Courthouse news service</i>	ROBINSON Ellen
08-Feb-17	Malawi	<b>Malawi divided over impact of Madonna's adoption</b>	<i>Reuters</i>	MIGIRO Katy
21-Feb-17	India	<b>India: arrests for trafficking children sold to foreigners</b>	<i>Point</i>	
20-Mar-17	Cambodia	<b>Angelina Jolie's Latest Adoption Scandal Fairy</b>	<i>Yahoo!</i>	DURAND STREISAND elizabeth
26-Apr-17	Guatemala	<b>godmother or child trafficker? An American woman stands trial in Guatemala</b>	<i>The World</i>	STERN Laurie
12-May-17	USA	<b>The second-hand children's market</b>	<i>The Newspaper Podcast</i>	Y Alyssa
25-May-17	International	<b>Why is intercountry adoption declining?</b>	<i>The Guardian</i>	O'HARA Mary
03-Sep-17	India	<b>Child trafficking, 'manufactured orphans': The dark underbelly of inter country adoption in India Kriminelle Auslandsadoptionen: Tausende Babys in Sri Lanka</b>	<i>Firstpost</i>	ARAVAMUDAN Gita
21-Sep-17	Sri Lanka	<b>verschunden DW are there really organized child 'thefts' in Germany?</b>		
06-Nov-17	India		<i>Zenith</i>	BOURDIN Anita
18-Dec-17	Germany		<i>Release</i>	PEZET Jacques
11-Jan-18	Ethiopia 13-	<b>Ethiopia: MPs vote to ban adoptions by foreigners 'I want to go to Sri Lanka to</b>	<i>Young Africa</i>	
Jan-18	Sri Lanka 15-	<b>conduct my own investigation' Ethiopia adoption ban may curb trafficking, but</b>	<i>Clickanoo</i>	TECHER Nathalie
Jan-18	Ethiopia 17-	<b>poorest families need support Voa news Carmen, victim of trafficking children</b>		
Jan-18	Guatemala		<i>West France</i>	
15-Mar-18	International	<b>Child trafficking through international adoption continues despite regulations</b>	<i>The Epoch Times</i>	PHILIPP Joshua
12-Apr-18	GDR	<b>Germany faces its 'stolen children from the GDR'</b>	<i>The cross</i>	NERBOLLIER Delphine
28-Jun-18	Chile	<b>Chile: the thousands of babies stolen from the Pinochet dictatorship</b>	<i>Point</i>	

02-Jul-18	Belgium	<b>The true face of adoption: 5 vibrant testimonials</b>	<i>She</i>	PIRARD Eloise
17-Jul-18	India	<b>India: Accused of child trafficking, Mother Teresa centers will be controlled</b>	<i>20 minutes</i>	
06-Aug-18	International	<b>The worldwide war on adoption</b>	<i>Daily Maverick</i>	WOLFSON VORSTER Robin
07-Aug-18	India	<b>In India, the Missionaries of Charity in turmoil</b>	<i>The cross</i>	LESEGRETAIN Claire
25-Aug-18	Ireland	<b>The scandals that shook the Catholic Church in Ireland</b>	<i>The international point</i>	
12-Sep-18	United States	<b>Jacqueline Pata talks ICWA on MSNBC show regarding 'baby snatching'</b>	<i>India country today</i>	
11-Oct-18	Uganda	<b>'Those kids are no longer yours': an investigation into Uganda's adoption market</b>	<i>The Nation</i>	CAVELL Anna
06-Dec-18	Netherlands	<b>The Netherlands: investigation into illegal adoptions</b>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	
06-Dec-18	Brazil	<b>Nederlandse Staat was betrokken bij illegale adopties Terug</b>	<i>Newsuur</i>	
06-Dec-18	Netherlands	<b>in Nederland deden mijn ouders aangifte van mij, hun zogenaamd biologisch kind Diplomaat hielp bij illegale adoptie, onderste steen moet boven The commonalities</b>	<i>NRC</i>	VRIESEMA I.
06-Dec-18	Netherlands	<b>between child trafficking and the risks of adoption Hunderte von Kindern aus Sri</b>	<i>NRC</i>	VRIESEMA I.
14-Dec-18	Lebanon; Syria	<b>Lanka wurden illegal adoptiert With my husband, we adopted abroad. Does that</b>	<i>The Orient-The Day</i>	ALLOUCHE Zeina
28-Jan-19	Sri Lanka	<b>make us heroes or bastards?</b>	<i>Neue zurcher zeitung</i>	
02-Feb-19	India		<i>Huffpost</i>	PERKINS Mitali
09-Feb-19	Germany	<b>The 'stolen' children of the former GDR</b>	<i>The echoes</i>	HUBERT-RODIER James
19-Feb-19	Sri Lanka	<b>Die Babylüge</b>	<i>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i>	HARDEGGER Angelika
28-Mar-19	Sri Lanka	<b>Stolen children in Sri Lanka: 'My anger is to have been a commodity'</b>	<i>The Obs</i>	LE BLEVENNEC Nolwenn, BROUZE Emily
28-Mar-19	Sri Lanka	<b>By adopting their daughter, Véronique and Jean-Noël unknowingly participated in baby trafficking</b>	<i>The Obs</i>	LE BLEVENNEC Nolwenn, BROUZE Emily
28-Mar-19	Sri Lanka	<b>Adoptions in Sri Lanka: Maria and Krishanti were victims of the same trafficking</b>	<i>The Obs</i>	LE BLEVENNEC Nolwenn, BROUZE Emily
23-Apr-19	International	<b>The truth about intercountry adoption's decline</b>	<i>The Imprint</i>	JACOBSSusan, FLATLEY Maureen
23-May-19	Sri Lanka	<b>'Special Envoy' on adoptions in Sri Lanka: reread our investigations into this vast child trafficking</b>	<i>The Obs</i>	LE BLEVENNEC Nolwenn, BROUZE Emily
22-Jun-19	Sri Lanka	<b>Finally together, 20 years after their adoption</b>	<i>Illustrated</i>	BAUMANN Patrick

25-Jun-19 Sri Lanka	<b>Victims of a vast adoption traffic in Sri Lanka, in search of the truth about their origins</b>	<i>The Express</i>	
25-Jun-19 Sri Lanka	<b>Victims of a vast adoption traffic in Sri Lanka, in search of the truth about their origins</b>	<i>The Obs</i>	
12-Jul-19 South Korea	<b>Janine Vance searches for the truth about Korean adoptees</b>	<i>Northwest Asian Weekly</i>	CURRY Kai
09-Aug-19 Sri Lanka	<b>Illegal adoptions of Sri Lankan children: Neil and Nour in search of their true origins</b>	<i>The Parisian</i>	HUSBAND Elsa
09-Aug-19 Sri Lanka	<b>The stolen identity of adopted children from Sri Lanka</b>	<i>The Parisian</i>	HUSBAND Elsa
09-Sep-19 Canada; Quebec	<b>International adoption in freefall in Quebec</b>	<i>The press</i>	Louise
15-Sep-19 Congo	<b>Fraud in the adoption of Congolese children: a Namuroise involved, 7 officials summoned to appear</b>	<i>DH</i>	MV, (with Belga)
20-Sep-19 Haiti	<b>Adopted in France, Fanny discovers her true story while looking for her biological mother</b>	<i>Huffpost</i>	ROCK Myriam
22-Sep-19 Africa 25-	<b>Talk Africa: foreign adoption of african children</b>	<i>CGTN</i>	OMONDI Jerry
Sept-19 Greece	<b>Greece: dismantling of a network trafficking in ovaries and infants</b>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	
09-Oct-19 USA	<b>Arizona official arrested in alleged 'baby mill' adoption fraud scheme</b>	<i>NPR</i>	ALLYN Bobby
09-Oct-19 USA	<b>« 'Purest form of human trafficking': Arizona official dictated in adoption fraud scheme</b>	<i>USA today news</i>	ALTAVENA Lily, BOEHM Jessica, GARCIA Uriel J.,
09-Oct-19 USA	<b>Arizona county assessor charged in human trafficking adoption scheme</b>	<i>kolo</i>	COOPER Jonathan J.
09-Oct-19 USA	<b>Utah among states charging Arizona politician inn human trafficking adoption scheme</b>	<i>St George news</i>	
10-Oct-19 USA	<b>Politician charged in human trafficking adoption scheme</b>	<i>ABC news</i>	COOPER Jonathan J.
25-Nov-19 Sri Lanka	<b>Emilie (Star Academy 4) victim of baby trafficking before being adopted: her moving story</b>	<i>TV Star</i>	THAT
25-Nov-19 Sri Lanka	<b>'Star Academy': victim of baby trafficking, a former candidate breaks the silence</b>	<i>Current wife</i>	THORON Navy
26-Dec-19 Armenia	<b>Children for sale: Armenia investigates a network of illegal adoptions Armenia</b>	<i>Challenges</i>	
26-Dec-19 Armenia	<b>investigates a network of illegal adoptions Infants sold: 30 children given up for</b>	<i>euronews</i>	MASSARD Johanne
28-Dec-19 Italy	<b>adoption in Italy. Mothers deceived by doctors and nurses Philippe Mignon: 'I am a child sold from Sri Lanka' The scandal of illegal adoptions and the system of</b>	<i>Corvela</i>	
15-Jan-20 Sri Lanka 27-	<b>values</b>	<i>Telesambre</i>	BONHAIN Olivier
Jan-20 Armenia		<i>Artzakank – echo</i>	SIMSAR Maral

30-Jan-20	Guatemala	<b>Carmen Maria Vega was a victim of child trafficking</b>	<i>Raw</i>	
30-Jan-20	Armenia	<b>Stolen and sold: Armenia probes babies lost to Europe</b>	<i>Reuters</i>	HOVHANNISYAN Nvard, BACCHI Umberto
06-Feb-20	Guatemala	<b>'We were the victim of child trafficking': the incredible story of Carmen Maria Vega</b>	<i>Raw</i>	
14-Feb-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Das Schicksal der verkauften Kinder aus Sri Lanka</b>	<i>Beobachter Family</i>	SCHMID Conny
18-Feb-20	Guatemala	<b>Guatemala: Canadian launches campaign for children adopted during civil war Illegal adoptions of Sri Lankan children: Swiss authorities look the other way</b>	<i>The press</i>	
27-Feb-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Adoptionsbetrug in Sri Lanka. Die Schweiz versagte komplett illegale Adoptionen aus Sri Lanka – Schweizer Behörden sahen weg Stolen baby, adopted at 9 months, Carmen Maria</b>	<i>SWI</i>	
28-Feb-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Vega, a voice and a fight Nine French people of Malian origin file a complaint against an</b>	<i>Blick</i>	
02-Mar-20	Sri Lanka	<b>adoption agency Adoption: nine French of Malian origin lodge a complaint against an</b>	<i>Nau.ch</i>	
05-Mar-20	Guatemala	<b>association From Paris to Bamako, Marie M.'s painful quest for truth about the</b>	<i>The Parisian</i>	
08-Jun-20	Mali	<b>circumstances of her adoption, thirty-two years ago Scandal of illegal adoptions: 'It was the Amazon of the little Malian to adopt' 'It's difficult for biological families, and also for</b>	<i>The world</i>	RCAM Morgane, MAGASSA Kaourou
09-Jun-20	Mali	<b>adoptive families': from Finistère to the Sahel, a past to recompose Mali: nine French people file a complaint for 'fraud' during their adoption International adoption: the adoptees</b>	<i>The cross</i>	CHALUS Aglaé de
09-Jun-20	Mali	<b>thirst for truth</b>	<i>The world</i>	RCAM Morgane, MAGASSA Kaourou
09-Jun-20	Mali		<i>The Express</i>	VIDALIE Anne
10-Jun-20	Mali		<i>The world</i>	RCAM Morgane, MAGASSA Kaourou
10-Jun-20	Mali 16-		<i>The Parisian</i>	
Jun-20	International 18-		<i>The conversation</i>	DENÉCHERE Yves
Jun-20	Kenya	<b>Three Women In Court For Illegal Adoption Of A Child</b>	<i>Kenya News</i>	MUNYI Martin
30-Jun-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Illegal Adoption in Sri Lanka: Kanton Zürich will Kinder bei Herkunftssuche helfen</b>	<i>Box</i>	
18-Aug-20	Uganda	<b>United States: fake Ugandan orphans offered for adoption</b>	<i>She</i>	GUILLON Anais
24-Aug-20	Belgium	<b>The Belgian association Hacer Puente in turmoil: the prosecution is investigating fraudulent adoption files</b>	<i>DH</i>	PONCIAU Sebastien
24-Aug-20	Guatemala	<b>The incredible fate of Coline, kidnapped at birth: 'I was a stolen child, my mom was told I was buried in a mass grave'</b>	<i>DH</i>	PONCIAU Sebastien
21-Sep-20	Guatemala	<b>The quest for origins after adoption told by the artist Carmen Maria Vega</b>	<i>heidi news</i>	MARCOT Kylian

09-Oct-20	USA	<b>Wicker: time to remove obstacles to Intercountry adoption</b>	<i>yall politics</i>	
13-Oct-20	Ethiopia	<b>Adoption. The painful story of Julie, from Ethiopia to Verneuil</b>	<i>The Norman awakening</i>	
05-Nov-20	French Polynesia	<b>Two couples placed under judicial supervision for attempted illegal adoption</b> <i>Radio 1</i>		BASTIANAGGI Pascal
21-Nov-20	Kenya	<b>'Baby thieves': BBC report on child trafficking shocks Kenya</b>	<i>International mail</i>	
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Bern admits illegal adoptions and regrets them</b>	<i>24 Switzerland</i>	
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Illegal adoptions: regrets from Switzerland</b>	<i>The mail</i>	
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Illegal adoptions: regrets from Switzerland</b>	<i>Hit</i>	
Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Illegal Adoption in Sri Lanka – Kanton hat versagt</b>	<i>Zürichsee-Zeitung</i>	TJON Olivia
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Bern admits illegal adoptions and regrets them</b>	<i>lematin.ch</i>	
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>The Federal Council 'regrets' the illegal adoptions of the 1980s</b>	<i>The weather</i>	BUSSLINGER Boris
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Illegal adoptions: the Federal Council expresses its regrets</b>	<i>blue news</i>	
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Baby Farms in Sri Lanka</b>	<i>Blick</i>	GRACIA Guiseppe
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>The Bundesrat 'anerkennt' und 'bedauert' das Behördenversagen bei illegalen Adoption in Sri Lanka</b>	<i>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i>	HARDEGGER Angelika
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Illegal adoptions: the Federal Council expresses its regrets</b>	<i>RTN</i>	
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Fast 900 illegal Adoption in Sri Lanka – Bundesrat bedauert Versäumnis</b> <i>Sweiz &amp; Welt</i>		
14-Dec-20	Sri Lanka	<b>Illegal adoptions: the Federal Council expresses its regrets concerning Sri Lankan</b>	<i>Bow Info</i>	
15-Dec-20	Kenya	<b>Baby trafficking: Kenya in shock after BBC investigation</b>	<i>The world</i>	BUKEYENEZA Armel Gilbert
20-Dec-20	Haiti	<b>Child trafficking in Haiti</b>	<i>The Telegram</i>	BUGAT Stephane
08-Jan-21	Marshall Islands	<b>The baby-selling scheme: poor pregnant Marshall Islands women lured to the US</b>	<i>The Guardian</i>	
18-Jan-21	India 24-	<b>Baby selling racket busted in Mumbai</b>	<i>The times of India</i>	Ali Ahmed
Jan-21	China 26-	<b>On the Chinese Internet, a black market for children to adopt</b>	<i>international courier</i>	WANQING Zhang
Jan-21	Chile	<b>"I just needed to find my family": the scandal of Chile's stolen children</b>	<i>The Guardian</i>	NELSEN Aaron
07-Feb-21	Guatemala	<b>Adoption: "I am a stolen child from Guatemala" denounces the photographer Alex Ame Quetzalame</b>	<i>The Republican East</i>	JIMENEZ Fred
08-Feb-21	Netherlands	<b>The Netherlands suspends the adoption of children from abroad</b>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	

10-Feb-21	Philippines	<b>Online illegal adoption is child trafficking – DSWD</b>	<i>Manila Newsletter</i>	LUCI-ATIENZA Charissa
11-Feb-21		<b>Little subway thieves, modern slaves</b>	<i>The world</i>	FOURNIER Audrey
12-Feb-21	Guatemala	<b>In search of her roots, she comes across child trafficking</b>	<i>20 minutes</i>	
12-Feb-21	Netherlands	<b>The Netherlands suspends all adoptions abroad</b>	<i>The cross</i>	CESSOU Sabine
20-Feb-21	International	<b>Illegal adoptions abroad: a group demands an investigation from France</b> <i>Le Parisien</i>		
22-Feb-21	Sweden	<b>Sweden to investigate illegal intercountry adoptions</b>	<i>Human rights watch</i>	BERGSTEN Susanne
22-Feb-21	International	<b>Adoptions abroad: France too lax?</b>	<i>The Journal de Saône and Loire</i>	
01-Mar-21	Sri Lanka	<b>Switzerland regrets illegal adoption of Sri Lankan children</b>	<i>Cosmosonic</i>	HAPPINESS Absolon
09-mar-21	French Polynesia	<b>Child trafficking, this shadow that extends over French Polynesia</b>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	GONZALES Paula
16-Mar-21	Guatemala	<b>A Jérômiene wonders about her past</b>	<i>Access. The newspaper of the Pays-d'en-Haut</i>	ROBERT Luke
21-Mar-21	Guatemala	<b>Narrative. Adopted in Guatemala, Mariela had been kidnapped at birth</b>	<i>Ouest France</i>	DA SILVA Camille
06-Apr-21	Guatemala	<b>What's best for Pascual? His Guatemalan parents sent him to the US for a better life. Then they wanted their 9-year-old back Adopted in Guatemala, she learns at 31 that she is the result of</b>	<i>The Washingtonpost</i>	MILLERMichael E.
16-Apr-21	Guatemala	<b>child trafficking Testimony: Coline, abducted at birth and victim of child trafficking in Guatemala</b>	<i>Feminine</i>	PESCHARD Celine
19-Apr-21	Guatemala		<i>Flair</i>	WESOLY Barbara
05-May-21	Greece	<b>Couple arrested for smuggling babies</b>	<i>The Montreal newspaper</i>	
09-May-21	International	<b>The fantasy of the orphan in the story of adoption</b>	<i>The conversation</i>	DENÉCHERE Yves
11-May-21	Sri Lanka	<b>Switzerland still challenged on illegal adoptions in Sri Lanka</b>	<i>Watson</i>	
11-May-21	Sri Lanka 28-	<b>Illegal adoptions/Sri Lanka: investigations requested from Switzerland</b>	<i>SWI</i>	
May-21	India	<b>"Orphans to adopt": in India, the market for children lost to the pandemic</b> <i>Le Figaro international</i>		RENAULT Coline
01-Jun-21	Sri Lanka 09-	<b>Schweiz tut nicht genug für Adoptivkinder aus Sri Lanka</b>	<i>Tages Anzeiger</i>	
Jun-21	Africa 13-Jun-21	<b>African ban child adoption by foreign nationals</b>	<i>African news channel</i>	
	United States	<b>Arizona politician charged in human trafficking adoption scheme</b>	<i>Star Advertiser</i>	
19-Oct-21	Chile	<b>Children stolen "in one phone call" in search of their origins</b>	<i>Release</i>	FOUNTAIN Justine
20-Nov-21	Afghanistan	<b>In the land of the Taliban, the endless nightmare of the Afghans</b>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	BENN Margaux

03-Dec-21	India	<b>Adoption agencies in India</b>	<i>States News Services</i>	GDP Delhi (Ministry of Women and Child Development)
06-Dec-21	International	<b>The fight against child trafficking has drastically reduced international adoptions</b>		HOLZINGER Flavie
09-Dec-21	Guatemala	<b>In Guatemala, the stolen lives of adopted children</b>	<i>The world</i>	MONTOYA Angeline
11-Dec-21	International	<b>In lands of adoption, the time for explanations</b>	<i>The world</i>	MONTOYA Angeline and WINTER Anne Francoise
01-Jan-22	Colombia	<b>Abordaje periodístico sobre la adopción de niños en Colombia entre los años 2008 al 2020.</b>	<i>Revista CES Derecho</i>	
06-Apr-22	South Korea	<b>A collective demands an apology from the government on the adoption of South Koreans</b>	<i>Belga News Agency</i>	
01-May-22	Sri Lanka	<b>She searches for her origins and discovers child trafficking</b>	<i>Progress (Lyon)</i>	DEVOOS Isabelle
17-May-22	Belgium	<b>House calls for investigation into illegal adoptions</b>	<i>Belgium</i>	
30-May-22	Ecuador	<b>El tráfico y la trata de personas desde la concepción pluralista de l'Estado ecuatoriano: especial referencia al pueblo Kichwa Otavalo.</b>	<i>Revista Derecho del Estado</i>	Maldonado, Frank Luis Mila - Subia Cabrera, Andrea Carolina- Cifuentes Ruiz, Danny Gilberto
26-Jul-22	India	<b>Three of a family booked for illegal adoption of child</b>	<i>The Hindu</i>	
30-Jul-22	Latin America	<b>The trata de personas, an invisible delito casi in Latin America</b>	<i>El national</i>	
15-Oct-22	Spain	<b>Spain: Los "babies robados" y adoptados ilegalmente en la dictadura franquista, un capítulo histórico del que nadie quiere hablar</b>	<i>Digital process</i>	Garcia MARRDER Alberto
24-Oct-22		<b>El certificado de nacimiento para niños es un derecho de mucha importancia</b>	<i>El Mundo financiero</i>	
08-Nov-22	France	<b>International adoption: the government launches investigations into illicit practices in France</b>	<i>Le Figaro</i>	
15-Nov-22	Spain	<b>The original investigation</b>	<i>The Republican East</i>	Magalie DELLE VEDOVE
18-Nov-22	Sri Lanka	<b>A book like a redemption for the adoptive mother of Titania Gemelos</b>	<i>The Midi Dispatch</i>	
21-Nov-22	Bolivia	<b>robados en un hospital logran reencontrarse con su mamá 36 años después</b>		
21-Nov-22	Chad, Haiti, Sri Lankan	<b>Interview Yves Denéchère. International illicit adoptions: "Scandals every decade"</b>	<i>Western Mail</i>	DE BRITO Franck
23-Nov-22	Guatemala	<b>International adoptions: two brothers from Guatemala file a complaint in France for "kidnapping"</b>		MONTOYA Angeline

23-Nov-22	Mali	<b>The scandal of “stolen” children: the drift of a French association at the heart of a judicial investigation</b>	<i>The world</i>	RCAM Morgane
24-Nov-22	Belgium	<b>In Belgium, ongoing investigations and family reunions</b>	<i>The world</i>	STROOBANTS Jean Rock
25-Nov-22	Mali	<b>Investigation: in Mali and elsewhere, children "stolen" to be adopted in France</b>	<i>Le Monde</i>	RCAM Morgane
26-Nov-22	Mali	<b>Marie Marre's fight for the truth to come out about illegal adoptions carried out between France and Mali</b>	<i>The world</i>	RCAM Morgane
09-Dec-22	Philippines	<b>Philippines. Rights expert calls for greater action to tackle child sexual exploitation</b>	<i>Look-travels</i>	
19-12-22	South Korea	<b>For South Korean adoptees, it's time to demand accountability</b>	<i>Mediapart</i>	ROCCA Nicolas

## B – French audiovisual press review

This research was conducted by Jean-Paul Diboues, documentary manager at INA Bretagne-Ouest.

For television, research was conducted in the National TV database (hertzian channels, see details at: [http://www.inatheque.fr/fonds\\_audiovisuels/fonds-tele.html](http://www.inatheque.fr/fonds_audiovisuels/fonds-tele.html))

For radio, the research was conducted in the Radio database which brings together the funds of Radio France stations from the origins to today and private radio stations from 2001, see details on [http://www.inatheque.fr /audiovisual-funds/radio-funds.html](http://www.inatheque.fr/audiovisual-funds/radio-funds.html)

Date of diffusion	Media	Title proper	Collection title	Channel	Country concerned	Duration
01/15/1975	Radio	<b>Roger Brunet, FNFA President</b>	<i>Fluoroscopy</i>	France Inter		00:56:10
09/22/1977	Radio	<b>Trafficking of Lebanese children in Paris</b>	<i>Inter news from 07:00</i>	France Inter	Lebanon	00:00:50
09/22/1977	Radio	<b>Trafficking of Lebanese children in Paris</b>	<i>Inter news from 08:00</i>	France Inter	Lebanon	00:01:00
09/22/1977	Radio	<b>Trafficking of Lebanese children in Paris</b>	<i>Inter news from 1:00 p.m.</i>	France Inter	Lebanon	00:01:30
06/28/1978	Television	<b>Foreign children: a failure</b>	<i>That's life</i>	Antenna 2	Asia	00:04:29
29/08/1981	Television	<b>Colombian children</b>	<i>TF1 Last</i>	TF1	Colombia	00:02:14
09/16/1981	Television	<b>Adoption: The Colombian network</b>	<i>Information Wednesdays</i>	TF1	Colombia	00:55:08
08/12/1981	Television	<b>The point on adoption</b>	<i>Today Madame</i>	Antenna 2		00:59:31
11/24/1985	Television	<b>The orphans of Bogota</b>	<i>seven out of seven</i>	TF1	Colombia	00:03:32
06/23/1988	Television	<b>Children traffic Israel</b>	<i>TF1 Twenty hours</i>	TF1	Israel	00:02:00
04/07/1988	Television	<b>Brazil: children</b>	<i>TF1 Twenty hours</i>	TF1	Brazil	00:02:45
08/12/1988	Television	<b>Paraguay: child trafficking</b>	<i>TF1 Thirteen hours</i>	TF1	Paraguay	00:00:00
09/10/1988	Television	<b>Babies Brazil</b>	<i>TF1 Twenty hours</i>	TF1	Brazil	00:00:00
09/11/1988	Television	<b>Children Brazil</b>	<i>TF1 Twenty hours</i>	TF1	Brazil	00:01:30
09/12/1988	Television	<b>Brazilian babies</b>	<i>TF1 Twenty hours</i>	TF1	Brazil	00:00:00

09/23/1988	Television	<b>Garapon and Feder interview</b>	<i>A2 Le Journal de 13H</i>	Antenne 2	Guatemala	00:00:00
18/01/1989	Television	<b>Measures adoption</b>	<i>TF1 Twenty hours</i>	TF1		00:01:40
03/18/1989	Television	<b>Adoption or trafficking, the Brazilian network</b>	<i>reporters</i>	The 5	Brazil	00:12:13
08/04/1989	Radio	<b>International child trafficking</b>	<i>voice of silence</i>	French Culture	Brazil, Sri Lanka, Guatemala, Colombia	00:40:00
12/21/1989	Television	<b>Adoption save love</b>		TF1		02:43:23
02/12/1991	Television	<b>Fraud adoption</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1		00:02:32
02/12/1991	Television	<b>Orphans of the world</b>	<i>A2 The Journal 8 p.m.</i>	Antenna 2		00:01:58
03/08/1991	Television	<b>A child is priceless</b>	<i>Court</i>	TF1	Guatemala	00:26:23
08/09/1991	Television	<b>Trafficking of Romanian children</b>	<i>reporters</i>	The 5	Romania	00:18:00
10/14/1991	Television	<b>Germany - France: baby trafficking dismantled</b>	<i>The newspaper 12.45 p.m. - 1 p.m.</i>	La 5	Yugoslavia	00:01:41
10/14/1991	Television	<b>Germany - France: baby trafficking dismantled</b>	<i>The 8 p.m. newspaper</i>	The 5	Yugoslavia	00:01:41
02/06/1992	Television	<b>The children of CEAUDESCU</b>	<i>Correspondent</i>	Antenna 2	Romania	00:16:04
03/11/1992	Television	<b>The children's market</b>	<i>Direct</i>	Antenna 2	Colombia, Brazil, Romania	01:17:35
22/10/1993	Television	<b>Trial orphans world</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Brazil	00:01:26
10/22/1993	Television	<b>Trial of the orphans of the world</b>	<i>19/20 2ND</i>	France 3	Brazil	00:01:40
01/25/1994	Television	<b>Brazilian children</b>	<i>F2 The Journal 8 p.m.</i>	France 2	Brazil	00:01:50
09/17/1994	Television	<b>Children of Holland</b>	<i>F2 The Journal 1:00 p.m.</i>	France 2	The Netherlands	00:01:36
09/19/1994	Television	<b>Missing child Netherlands</b>	<i>F2 The Journal 8 p.m.</i>	France 2	The Netherlands	00:01:56
05/13/1995	Television	<b>[Malagasy child trafficking]</b>	<i>F2 the newspaper 8:00 p.m.</i>	France 2	Madagascar	00:01:39
04/07/1995	Television	<b>[The adoption of children in Moscow]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Russia	00:02:15
10/10/1995	Television	<b>Vietnam: children for sale</b>	<i>Transit</i>	ARTE	Vietnam	00:09:42
20/10/1995	Television	<b>Scandal Lille [adoption]</b>	<i>6 Minutes</i>	M6	Guinea	00:01:07
01/12/1996	Radio	<b>Child merchant in Rome</b>	<i>Inter evening 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Inter	Cambodia, Italy	00:01:00
02/12/1996	Television	<b>Cambodian Arrest/Rome</b>	<i>F2 the newspaper 1:00 p.m.</i>	France 2	Cambodia	00:01:42
02/12/1996	Radio	<b>child trafficking</b>	<i>Inter evening 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Inter	Cambodia	00:01:05
12/03/1996	Television	<b>children traffic</b>	<i>F2 the newspaper 1:00 p.m.</i>	France 2	Cambodia	00:02:12

03/12/1996	Radio	<b>child trafficking</b>	<i>Inter evening 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Inter	Cambodia	00:01:06
05/01/1997	Television	<b>[Babies for sale]</b>	<i>Correspondent</i>	France 2	Paraguay	00:00:01
05/01/1997	Television	<b>[Guest set Josette Rejou]</b>	<i>Correspondent</i>	France 2	Paraguay	00:00:01
10/27/1997	Television	<b>A child... at all costs</b>	<i>The right to know</i>	TF1	Vietnam, Russia, Haiti	01:15:00
11/28/1997	Radio	<b>From one to the other: abandonment and adoption</b>	<i>Period questions</i>	French Culture	Brazil, Vietnam, Ukraine, Africa, India	00:59:00
01/09/1998	Television	<b>A child at all costs</b>	<i>Without a doubt</i>	TF1	Vietnam	01:49:54
03/08/1998	Television	<b>Children at heart</b>		France 2	Brazil	00:57:41
03/23/1998	Television	<b>[Adoption trafficking trial]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Burundi, Belgium	00:02:06
20/04/1998	Television	<b>Adoption option: [Belgium]</b>	<i>7 and a half</i>	ARTE	Burundi, Belgium	00:06:56
05/06/1999	Radio	<b>Government suspends adoption of Vietnamese children</b>	<i>Newspaper 07:30</i>	France Inter	Vietnam	00:00:55
05/07/1999	Television	<b>Vietnamese adoptions</b>	<i>1 p.m. the newspaper</i>	France 2	Vietnam	00:02:44
07/13/1999	Television	<b>Alsace: [adoption of foreign children]</b>	<i>The newspaper of France 3 newspapers</i>			00:00:00
03/01/2000	Television	<b>Child smuggler in Lisbon</b>	<i>Child ferryman</i>	TF1	Brazil	01:39:03
04/23/2000	Television	<b>child trafficking</b>	<i>Restricted zone</i>	M6	Paraguay, Spain	00:25:06
01/17/2001	Television	<b>The story: [binoculars sold on the internet]</b>	<i>The six minute</i>	M6	United States	00:00:58
01/19/2001	Television	<b>[Great Britain: binoculars sold and adopted on the internet]</b>	<i>8 p.m. the newspaper</i>	France 2	UNITED STATES	00:01:49
01/19/2001	Flash Television	<b>[Binoculars sold on the internet]</b>	<i>The six minute</i>	M6	UNITED STATES	00:00:19
01/19/2001	Television	<b>[Twins adopted on the Internet]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	UNITED STATES	00:01:52
2001-04-10	Television	<b>[Twin sisters sold on the Internet]</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition 3</i>		UNITED STATES	00:01:38
09/01/2002	Radio	<b>Adoption of foreign children: simplification measures</b>	<i>Newspaper 07:00</i>	France Inter	Vietnam	00:00:50
02/20/2002	Television	<b>Roots &amp; Wings: [issue of 20 February 2002]</b>	<i>Roots &amp; Wings France 3</i>		salvador	01:42:43
10/10/2002	Chinese television	<b>: the long march of adoption</b>	<i>Correspondent</i>	France 2	China	00:25:17
05/08/2003	Radio	<b>Interview with Hervé Latsou: adoption and traffic</b>	<i>Journal 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Info	Central African Republic	00:00:39

04/21/2004	Radio	<b>Madagascar: child trafficking and adoption</b>	<i>Planet Europe - world planet</i>	France Inter	Madagascar	00:02:00
08/29/2004	Television	<b>[The found child of Bamako]</b>	<i>seven to eight</i>	TF1	mali	00:16:34
09/13/2004	Television	<b>Adoption: the bottom of the traffic</b>		Canal +	Guatemala, Romania, Madagascar, Peru	00:56:07
11/17/2004	Television	<b>[Adoption traffic]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Peru	00:03:21
11/23/2004	Television	<b>[Child Trafficking: Romania]</b>	<i>8 p.m. the newspaper</i>	France 2	Romania	00:01:34
01/04/2005	Television	<b>[Trafficking of affected children]</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition</i>	3	Indonesia	00:01:37
01/15/2005	Television	<b>[Indonesia: adoption]</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition</i>	3	Indonesia	00:02:08
08/11/2005	Television	<b>Adoption: the bottom of the traffic</b>		Canal +		00:56:08
10/18/2005	Television	<b>[Dismantling of baby trafficking in France]</b>	<i>8 p.m. the newspaper</i>	France 2	Bulgaria	00:01:37
10/18/2005	Television	<b>[Bulgarian baby trafficking]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Bulgaria	00:01:09
10/19/2005	Television	<b>[Bulgarian babies trafficking continued]</b>	<i>8 p.m. the newspaper</i>	France 2	Bulgaria	00:01:54
10/19/2005	Television	<b>The "sale" of Bulgarian babies to Gypsy families</b>	<i>12 14 French National Edition</i>	3	Bulgaria	00:01:43
10/20/2005	Television	<b>Babies for sale</b>	<i>C in the air</i>	France 5	Bulgaria	01:05:01
10/21/2005	Television	<b>[Brief set: Bulgarian babies 11 indicted]</b>	<i>8 p.m. the newspaper</i>	France 2	Bulgaria	00:00:38
10/21/2005	Television	<b>Trafficking in Bulgarian babies: indictment of mother buyers</b>	<i>12 14 French National Edition</i>	3	Bulgaria	00:00:26
10/23/2005	Television	<b>Ukraine / Missing babies / Alleged trafficking of babies for adoption</b>	<i>TF1 1 p.m.</i>	TF1	Ukraine	00:02:20
04/14/2006	Radio	<b>Accents of Europe</b>	<i>Accents of Europe</i>	RFI	Germany, Greece	00:20:00
01/22/2007	Television	<b>[A Trial Adoption Trafficking Network]</b>	<i>The Canal+ news</i>	Canal +	Bulgaria	00:01:18
01/22/2007	Television	<b>[Opening of the trial relating to the trafficking of a baby of Bulgarian origin]</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	Bulgaria	00:01:39
01/22/2007	Television	<b>Trial of child trafficking for adoptive families</b>	<i>12 13 French National Edition</i>	3	Bulgaria	00:01:53

01/22/2007	Television	<b>[Brief tray: the trial of sellers and buyers of Bulgarian babies]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Bulgaria	00:00:12
01/22/2007	Radio	<b>In the open air: issue of January 22, 2007</b>		European 1	Bulgaria	02:00:00
01/29/2007	Television	<b>[Indictments in the case of Bulgarian babies purchased]</b>	<i>The Canal+ news</i>	Canal +	Bulgaria	00:00:32
01/29/2007	Television	<b>[Brief tray: indictment Bulgarian children]</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition</i>	France 3	Bulgaria	00:00:21
01/29/2007	Television	<b>[Brief set: verdicts in the baby trafficking trial]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Bulgaria	00:00:14
02/02/2007	Television	<b>[Verdict in the case of Bulgarian babies bought]</b>	<i>The Canal+ news</i>	Canal +	Bulgaria	00:01:13
02/02/2007	Television	<b>[Trial of Bulgarian baby traffickers] 8 p.m.</b>		France 2	Bulgaria	00:01:40
02/02/2007	Television	<b>The judgment: [six years in prison for selling babies]</b>	<i>Six'</i>	M6	Bulgaria	00:01:15
02/02/2007	Television	<b>[Trial of Bulgarian child traffickers]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Bulgaria	00:01:34
02/07/2007	Television	<b>[Orphanage abuse in Russia]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Russia	00:01:31
02/14/2007	Television	<b>[Adoption of Céline a stolen baby]</b>	<i>Private life public life France</i>	France 3	Peru	00:04:40
05/17/2007	Radio	<b>Visitors of the day: broadcast of May 17, 2007</b>	<i>Today's visitors</i>	RFI	Brazil, Madagascar	01:20:00
08/15/2007	Television	<b>[Clandestine orphanage in Guatemala]</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	Guatemala	00:01:31
10/25/2007	Television	<b>[Chad: embezzlement of children in Darfur]</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	Chad	00:01:17
10/25/2007	Television	<b>[NGO volunteers arrested at Chad]</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition</i>	France 3	Chad	00:01:35
10/25/2007	Television	<b>[Arrest in Chad of members of the Arche de Zoé]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Chad	00:02:00
10/25/2007	Television	<b>Orphans from Darfur: 9 French people suspected of child trafficking arrested in Chad</b>	<i>Evening 3 newspaper</i>	France 3	Chad	00:01:11
25/10/2007	Radio	<b>Zoe's Ark</b>	<i>Newspaper 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Info	Chad	00:01:07
25/10/2007	Radio	<b>Child trafficking in Chad</b>	<i>Inter evening 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Inter	Chad	00:01:00

26/10/2007	Television	<b>NGO: arrest of 9 French accused of child trafficking in Chad</b>	<i>Evening 3 newspaper</i>	France 3	Chad	00:02:10
26/10/2007	Television	<b>[Controversy: the children of Darfur]</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	Chad	00:02:53
26/10/2007	Television	<b>[Nine Frenchmen detained in Chad]</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition 3</i>		Chad	00:01:33
26/10/2007	Television	<b>The confusion: [The association "Arche de Zoe"]</b>	<i>Six'</i>	M6	Chad	00:02:07
26/10/2007	Television	<b>A French NGO suspected of child trafficking for adoption</b>	<i>12 13 French National Edition 3</i>		Chad	00:01:55
26/10/2007	Television	<b>France. Sudan. Chad - Zoe's ark suspected of complicity in child abduction</b>	<i>TF1 1 p.m.</i>	TF1	Chad	00:02:15
26/10/2007	Radio	<b>On October 25, 2007, six French members of the association l'Arche de Zoé were arrested</b>	<i>inter thirteen</i>	France Inter	Chad	00:01:00
27/10/2007	Television	<b>Zoe's Ark: 9 arrests in Chad for child trafficking</b>	<i>12 13 French National Edition 3</i>		Chad	00:02:12
27/10/2007	Television	<b>L'Arche de Zoé: the French army put in cause</b>	<i>Evening 3 newspaper</i>	France 3	Chad	00:02:14
27/10/2007	Television	<b>[Chad: The members of L'arche de Zoé and the crew in custody]</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition 3</i>		Chad	00:01:51
27/10/2007	Television	<b>The image: [arrest in Chad of members of "L'arche de Zoé"]</b>	<i>Six'</i>	M6	Chad	00:02:00
27/10/2007	Television	<b>[Custody for members of "L'Arche de Zoé"]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Chad	00:01:55
27/10/2007	Television	<b>France Sudan Chad. Zoé's Ark controversy - testimony from one of their pilots</b>	<i>TF1 1 p.m.</i>	TF1	Chad	00:02:43
27/10/2007	Radio	<b>Correspondence: Zoe's Ark</b>	<i>Newspaper 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Info	Chad	00:00:43
27/10/2007	Radio	<b>Paper studio: the Arche de Zoé affair</b>	<i>Inter evening 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Inter	Chad	00:01:09
28/10/2007	Television	<b>[Zoé's Ark: 17 Europeans in police custody in Chad]</b>	<i>art info</i>	ARTE	Chad	00:02:01
28/10/2007	Television	<b>[Idriss Deby and the members of the Arche de Zoe]</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	Chad	00:02:15

28/10/2007	Television	["Zoe's Ark" in bad shape]	TF1 20 hours	TF1	Chad	00:02:23
28/10/2007	Television Children Chad/continued		1 p.m. the newspaper	France 2	Chad	00:01:54
28/10/2007	Radio	Zoe's Ark	Newspaper 7:00 p.m.	France Info	Chad, Europe	00:00:48
29/10/2007	Television	[The hearing of the volunteers of the Ark of Zoé]	20 hours	France 2	Chad	00:01:58
29/10/2007	Television	[testimony of a victim of an adoption scandal]	C in the air	France 5	Peru	00:04:25
29/10/2007	Radio	Interview master Padaré: the Arche de Zoé	Newspaper 7:00 p.m.	France Info	Chad	00:00:53
29/10/2007	Radio	Reaction Madrid case Arche de Zoé The	Newspaper 7:00 p.m.	France Info	Chad, Spain	00:01:06
29/10/2007	Radio	Arche de Zoé: an embarrassing affair for all of Europe!	European press review	France Culture Chad		00:05:00
30/10/2007	Radio	Rama Yade	The guest	France Info	Chad	00:08:20
30/10/2007	Radio	Interview with Rama Yade, the Arche case Zoe	Newspaper 7:00 p.m.	France Info	Chad	00:01:01
10/31/2007	Radio	The Zoe's Ark case	Newspaper 7:00 p.m.	France Info	Chad	00:01:16
01/11/2007	Television	Arche de Zoé: Sarkozy asks Déby for the release of journalists	12 13 French National Edition	France 3	Chad	00:00:20
01/11/2007	Television	Affair of Zoe's Ark, guest: Marie Claude Arnauld	12 13 French National Edition	France 3	Chad	00:03:00
01/11/2007	Television	Arche de Zoé: possible release of journalists and hostesses	Evening 3 newspaper	France 3	Chad	00:02:07
01/11/2007	Radio	Correspondence: the case of the Ark of Zoé Journal	7:00 p.m.	France Info	Chad	00:01:02
02/11/2007	Radio	Interview with master Collard: the case of the Arche de Zoé	Newspaper 7:00 p.m.	France Info	Chad	00:00:46
02/11/2007	Radio	On October 25, 2007, in Chad, nine French people (six members of the association "	Newspaper 07:30	France Inter	Chad	00:02:00
03/11/2007	Television Chad/Hearings		1 p.m. the newspaper	France 2	Chad	00:01:49
04/11/2007	Television	François Hollande calls for the members of the Arche de Zoé to be judged	12 13 French National Edition	France 3	Chad	00:00:23
09/11/2007	Television	[Zoé's Ark: Release of the crew and search at the Capa agency]	19 20 French National Edition	France 3	Chad	00:01:51

11/20/2007	Radio	<b>How Chadian families agreed to give their child to L'Arche de Zoe</b>	<i>reporters</i>	France Inter	Chad	00:05:40
14/12/2007	Television	<b>Arche de Zoé/support committee/doctor</b>	<i>1 p.m. the newspaper</i>	France 2	Chad	00:01:34
01/13/2008	Television	<b>[Zoé's Ark trial] 4 members of ADZ have not finished with French justice</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Chad	00:01:43
04/01/2008	Television	<b>not finished with French justice</b>	<i>Evening 3 newspaper</i>	France 3	Chad	00:01:50
13/12/2008	Radio	<b>Cambodia, children for sale</b>	<i>The editorial magazine</i>	France Culture Cambodia	Cambodia	00:19:40
06/23/2009	Radio	<b>The International Adoption Marathon</b>	<i>And yet, she turns</i>	France Inter	Cambodia, Philippines	00:42:35
01/22/2010	Television	<b>[Haiti: The problem of adoptions] 33</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition</i>	3	Haiti	00:01:47
01/22/2010	Radio	<b>Haitian children adopted by French families are expected this evening</b>	<i>Newspaper 6:00 p.m.</i>	BFM	Haiti	00:00:21
01/22/2010	Radio	<b>33 Haitian children adopted by French families are expected this evening</b>	<i>Newspaper 6:30 p.m.</i>	BFM	Haiti	00:00:23
01/22/2010	Radio	<b>Haiti: fifteen children have disappeared from hospitals</b>	<i>RTL Midi second edition</i>	RTL	Haiti	00:00:20
01/23/2010	Radio	<b>Yves Nicolin</b>	<i>RTL's guest</i>	RTL	Haiti	00:04:16
01/23/2010	Radio	<b>Haiti: UNICEF says children have disappeared from hospitals</b>	<i>Newspaper 08:30</i>	France Info	Haiti	00:00:12
01/23/2010	Radio	<b>In Haiti, the latest assessment reports 111,000 dead and 200,000 injured</b>	<i>Newspaper 09:00</i>	RFI	Haiti	00:03:52
01/26/2010	Television	<b>[Haiti: children in the process of adoption by the France]</b>	<i>art journal</i>	ARTE	Haiti	00:03:37
01/31/2010	Television	<b>[Haiti: Suspicion of child trafficking]</b>	<i>art newspaper</i>	ARTE	Haiti	00:01:12
01/31/2010	Television	<b>[Haiti: Americans arrested for child trafficking]</b>	<i>19 20 French National Edition</i>	3	Haiti	00:01:48
01/31/2010	Television	<b>[Haiti: child trafficking dismantled]</b>	<i>The 1945</i>	M6	Haiti	00:01:30
01/31/2010	Television	<b>Haiti: arrests of missionaries Americans suspected of child theft</b>	<i>12 13 French National Edition</i>	3	Haiti	00:01:50

01/31/2010	Radio	<b>Interviews: the emergency adoption of Haitian children</b>	<i>Inter evening 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Inter	Haiti	00:01:56
02/01/2010	Radio	<b>Outdoor studio: Port au Prince</b>	<i>Inter evening 7:00 p.m.</i>	France Inter	Haiti	00:02:03
02/01/2010	Radio	<b>10 Americans suspected of child trafficking have been arrested in Haiti</b>	<i>Newspaper 08:30</i>	France Info	Haiti	00:01:16
02/01/2010	Radio	<b>10 Americans arrested for child trafficking in Haiti</b>	<i>Newspaper 09:00</i>	France Info	Haiti	00:01:12
02/02/2010	Television	<b>[Return to their families of Haitian children abducted]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Haiti	00:02:00
02/05/2010	Television	<b>[Brief: Haiti: Americans indicted for child trafficking]</b>	<i>The 1945</i>	M6	Haiti	00:00:26
02/21/2010	Television	<b>[Controversy surrounding the adoption of Haitian children]</b>	<i>TF1 20 hours</i>	TF1	Haiti	00:03:39
05/30/2011	Radio	<b>Should we open international adoptions in Romania</b>	<i>RFI</i>	RFI	Romania	00:04:07
07/24/2011	Radio	<b>Mexico: the federal police arrested a thousand people linked to a network of</b>	<i>Newspaper 7:00 p.m.</i>	RFI	Mexico	00:01:26
07/27/2011	Television	<b>[80 seconds: Child trafficking in China]</b>	<i>The Canal+ news</i>	Canal +	China	00:00:44
07/12/2011	Television	<b>[China: dismantling of a child trafficking network]</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	China	00:01:48
03/26/2012	Radio	<b>The African debate</b>	<i>The African debate</i>	RFI	Cameroon	00:20:00
05/07/2012	Radio	<b>Cameroon: baby trafficking and case vanessa</b>	<i>News calls</i>	RFI	Cameroon	00:48:57
02/12/2012	Television	<b>Zoé's Ark trial: interview with the father of one of the children]</b>	<i>The Canal+ news</i>	Canal +	Chad	00:00:11
02/12/2012	Television	<b>[Zoé's Ark case: reminder of the facts]</b>	<i>19 20 Edition nationale</i>	France 3	Chad	00:03:13
02/12/2012	Television	<b>[Zoé's Ark Trial]</b>	<i>The 1945</i>	M6	Chad	00:02:09
02/12/2012	Television	<b>[Return to the Arche de Zoé affair]</b>	<i>8 PM</i>	TF1	Chad	00:02:24
03/12/2012	Television	<b>[First day of the Ark trial of Zoe: the reactions]</b>	<i>The Canal+ news</i>	Canal +	Chad	00:00:39

03/12/2012	Television	[Trial of the case of the association l'Arche de Zoé]	20 hours	France 2	Chad	00:02:26
03/12/2012	Television	[First day of the Zoe's Ark trial]	19 20 French National Edition 3		Chad	00:01:52
03/12/2012	Television	[Zoé's Ark: trial of a shipwreck]	The 1945	M6	Chad	00:01:34
03/12/2012	Television	[Trial of Zoe's Ark]	8 PM	TF1	Chad	00:01:35
05/12/2012	Radio	The adoption in France of foreign children		France Info		
07/12/2012	Television	[Trial of Zoé's Ark volunteers] C dans l'air		France 5	Chad	00:03:27
01/25/2013	Radio	From Madrid to Cairo, from Tel Aviv to Los Angeles	Everywhere else	France Inter	Israel, Spain	00:39:33
02/12/2013	Television	[Deliberate case Arche de Zoé]	20 hours	France 2	Chad	00:01:27
02/12/2013	Television	[Zoe's Ark]	19 20 French National Edition 3		Chad	00:01:32
02/12/2013	Television	[Verdict of the Zoe's Ark trial]	8 PM	TF1	Chad	00:01:25
02/17/2013	Radio	Algeria - Trial of child trafficking with the France	Newspaper 07:30	France Info	Algeria	00:01:00
02/17/2013	Radio	Algeria: 13 people accused of having participated in a child trafficking network	Newspaper 12:00 p.m.	RFI	Algeria	00:01:21
03/19/2013	Television	Argentina, the 500 stolen babies of the dictatorship		France 5	Argentina	01:33:15
08/31/2013	Television	[News item: dismantling of a baby trafficking network]	19 20 French National Edition 3		France	00:01:42
09/12/2013	Television	[United States: discovery of trafficking in adopted children]	The Canal+ news	Canal +	UNITED STATES	00:01:28
09/13/2013	Television	United States: rejected after being adopted 8 p.m.		France 2	UNITED STATES	00:01:59
09/14/2013	Radio	It happened this week	It happened this week	European 1		00:47:07
20/11/2013	Television	Arche de Zoé: start of the appeal trial	The 1945	M6	Chad	00:00:42
01/12/2013	Television	The trial of Zoe's Ark	Supplement	Canal +	Chad	00:07:41
09/01/2014	Television	Spain: the stolen babies scandal	Complementary investigation	France 2		00:15:25
02/04/2014	Radio	In China, the Internet is also used to buy babies	MOUV digital news		China	00:05:00

17/12/2014	Radio	<b>Chile's Stolen Infants</b>	<i>Great report</i>	RFI	Chile	00:18:30
03/29/2015	Television	<b>Baby trafficking</b>	<i>seven to eight</i>	TF1	France	00:12:10
07/04/2015	Radio	<b>Trial for baby trafficking and human trafficking in the Bouches-du-Rhône</b>	<i>Newspaper 08:00</i>	RMC	Romania	00:01:19
03/07/2015	Radio	<b>Illegal adoption and baby theft in India: 'You wanted a child? you had one immediately on your knees?'</b>	<i>RTL Info</i>	RTL	India	
08/13/2015	Radio	<b>Since 2013, 300 children legally adopted by French couples in the DRC Kinshasa have prohibited adoptive children</b>		RTL	ground floor	00:05:15
08/09/2015	Radio	<b>from 1,300 families from leaving the territory</b>	<i>Elsewhere</i>	France Inter	ground floor	00:03:00
05/12/2015	Television	<b>Adoption: suspicions of child trafficking</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	France	00:02:42
06/12/2015	Television	<b>Children in the shadows</b>	<i>1:15 p.m. on Sunday</i>	France 2	France	00:38:50
08/06/2016	Television	<b>Born into lies</b>	<i>In the eyes of Olivier</i>	France 2	Peru	01:43:24
15/11/2016	Television	<b>England's Stolen Children</b>		France 5	England	01:06:07
01/12/2016	Radio	<b>Panic among Belgian families who have adopted a Congolese child: a lawyer has just been arrested for hostage-taking and human trafficking</b>	<i>RTL Info</i>	RTL	Democratic Republic of congo	
21/12/2016	Radio	<b>Towards the end of foreign adoptions ?</b>	<i>Grain to grind</i>	French Culture		00:39:50
30/04/2017	Television	<b>[Belgium: the drama of mixed-race children]</b>	<i>art journal</i>	ARTE	Democratic Republic of congo	00:02:38
05/10/2017	Television	<b>Israel: Kidnapped Children</b>	<i>Complementary investigation</i>	France 2	Israel	00:18:54
2018-06-04	Television	<b>[The Stolen Children of East Germany]</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	Germany	00:04:57
07/18/2018	Radio	<b>Correspondence: India, survey organization of missionaries of charity</b>	<i>Newspaper 08:00</i>	RFI	India	00:00:00
07/19/2018	Radio	<b>India: a home of Mother Teresa accused of child trafficking</b>	<i>Newspaper 08:00</i>	France Info	India	00:01:24
11/15/2018	Television	<b>[China: the market for stolen children]</b>	<i>20 hours</i>	France 2	China	00:04:21

02/24/2019	Television	<b>Survey: Poland: the abuses of private adoption</b>	<i>vox-pop</i>	ARTE	Poland	00:09:14
23/05/2019	Television	<b>The sold children of Sri Lanka</b>	<i>Correspondent</i>	France 2	Sri Lanka	00:34:08
08/11/2019	Radio	<b>Vast adoption traffic in Sri Lanka exposed</b>	<i>Newspaper 07:00</i>	RFI	Sri Lanka	00:01:36
09/18/2019	Radio	<b>Adopted, Emilie Ducrot argues that international adoption is 'not a chance'</b>		France Info	Sri Lanka	
06/10/2020	Radio	<b>Suspicious of irregular adoptions in Mali: Ray of sunshine already involved in another case</b>		France Inter	mali	
06/10/2020	Radio	<b>Complaint by Malians adopted in France for 'fraud' and 'breach of trust'</b>		RFI	mali	
06/12/2020	Radio	<b>Malian children adopted in France: Pauline's testimony</b>		RFI	mali	
08/07/2020	Radio	<b>France: a complaint against an association for the adoption of foreign children dismissed</b>		RFI	mali	
08/19/2020	Radio	<b>The US Treasury sanctions Ugandans accused of trafficking illegal adoptions</b>		RFI	Uganda, States United	
25/03/2021	Radio	<b>The excesses of international adoption</b>	<i>Accents of Europe</i>	RFI		00:19:30
04/03/2021	Radio	<b>In Chile, these mothers in search of their stolen baby under the Pinochet dictatorship</b>		European 1	Chile	
08/04/2021	Radio	<b>United States: the journey of Pacual, who came from Guatemala and separated from his family for 2 years</b>		RTL	Chile, United States	
22/12/2021	Radio	<b>The debate of the day: program of December 22, 2021</b>	<i>The debate of the day</i>	RFI		00:29:32
08/01/2022	Radio	<b>Towards the end of international adoption ?</b>	<i>The Secrets d'info interview</i>	France Inter		00:08:08
03/23/2022	Television	<b>I found out I was kidnapped at birth</b>	<i>The nursery school</i>	France 2	Guatemala	00:27:18

03/07/2022	Television	<b>Philomena Lee, a sacrificed mother</b>	<i>Based on a true story</i>	ARTE	Ireland, USA	00:26:02
08/12/2022	Radio	<b>In South Korea, a commission will investigate alleged illegal adoptions</b>		RFI	South Korea	
16/12/2022	Radio	<b>The Stolen Children of Sri Lanka</b>	<i>The 9:10 a.m. guest</i>	France Inter	Sri Lanka	00:21:22
08/01/2023	Television	<b>Seven to eight Life: [issue of January 08, 2023]</b>		TF1	Sri Lanka	01:00:38
01/18/2023	Radio	<b>Illegal international adoptions</b>	<i>8 billion neighbors</i>	RFI	Sri Lanka, India, Guatemala	00:50:00

### C – Foreign audiovisual press review

All these references are in a database, built as part of this study, which is intended to be enriched with other past and future references.

To do this, in a participatory science approach, anyone consulting the database can participate in its enrichment by sending new data to [yves.denechere@univ-angers.fr](mailto:yves.denechere@univ-angers.fr) and [fabio.macedo@univ-angers.fr](mailto:fabio.macedo@univ-angers.fr), they will quickly be integrated into the database.

15-	United Kingdom	<b>New penalties on overseas adoptions</b>	<i>BBC</i>	
Mar-01 22-Jan-04	Guatemala	<b>Canadian report on baby-trafficking at center of Guatemala trial</b>	<i>CBS News</i>	
02-Nov-07	Sudan; States United	<b>Agencies: most children in adoption dispute not Sudanese orphans</b>	<i>CNN</i>	
21-Feb-08	Vietnam	<b>Vietnam “baby-smugglers” arrested</b>	<i>BBC News</i>	PHAM Nga
09-Apr-08	Viet Nam	<b>Vietnam gang “smuggled 30 babies”</b>	<i>BBC</i>	
28-Apr-08	Viet Nam	<b>Vietnam to end US adoption scheme</b>	<i>BBC</i>	
30-Apr-09	Guatemala	<b>US adoptions fueled by Guatemalan kidnappings</b>	<i>ABC News</i>	MARTINEZ Haroldo, GOLDMAN Russell
02-Jul-09	China	<b>China babies “sold for adoption”</b>	<i>BBC</i>	
29-Sept-09	Vietnam	<b>Vietnam jails 6 for adoption fraud</b>	<i>taiwan news</i>	
31-Jan-10	Dominican Republic 15-	<b>Arrest of ten Americans suspected of child trafficking</b>	<i>France 24</i>	DEFERT Valerie
Feb-11	Ethiopia 18-	<b>Ethiopia: US Adoption Agency Involved in Child Trafficking</b>	<i>CBS evening news</i>	REY-Michael
Sep-13	Cambodia	<b>International adoption: saving orphans or child trafficking?</b>	<i>CNN</i>	VOIGT Kevin
08-Sep-15	India	<b>Foreign adoptions “make children commodities”, NGO challenges definition of human trafficking</b>	<i>ABC News</i>	BETIGERI Aarti
20-March 16	Quebec	<b>Real Talk on Race: How transracial adoptees find their identity</b>	<i>CBC</i>	FUNDIRA Melissa
24-Nov-17	Sri Lanka; Swiss	<b>Stolen children from Sri Lanka demand justice in Switzerland</b>	<i>RTS</i>	ALLGOWER Marc
29-Jan-19	Sri Lanka; Swiss	<b>Hundreds of Sri Lankans illegally adopted in the 1980s</b>	<i>RTS</i>	ARNAUD Alain

13-May-19	Guatemala; Belgium	<b>Case of adoptions in Guatemala: "For my biological mother, I died on November 7"</b>	<i>Rtbf</i>	BRICHARD David
20-Oct-19	USA	<b>'Purest form of human trafficking': Arizona official charged in adoption fraud scheme</b>	<i>CTV News</i>	COOPER Jonathan J.
08-Dec-19	Guatemala	<b>A painful truth: Guatemalan adoptees learn they were fraudulently given away</b> <i>NBC News</i>		ACEVEDO Nicole
08-Jan-20	Guatemala; Belgium	<b>Guatemala, traffickers of souls: thousands of children torn from their families and illegally adopted (Duty of investigation)</b>	<i>RTBF</i>	WARLOP Quentin
19-Feb-20	Guatemala	<b>In Guatemala, children adopted during the civil war search for their biological families</b>	<i>France 24</i>	HESHMATI Mandi
27-Feb-20	Sri Lanka; Swiss	<b>Illegal adoptions of Sri Lankan children: Swiss authorities looked the other way</b>	<i>RJB</i>	
27-Feb-20	Sri Lanka; Swiss	<b>Switzerland turned a blind eye to illegal adoptions of Sri Lankan children</b>	<i>RTS</i>	OANG
12-Jun-20	Mali; Chad	<b>International adoption in Mali and Chad: what does the law say ?</b>	<i>TV5monde</i>	GAY-PADOAN Luna
22-Dec-20	Guatemala	<b>Theft of babies disguised as adoption: "My adoptive parents thought they had made an act of love"</b>	<i>BBC News</i>	DIEZ Beatriz
25-Feb-21	Guatemala	<b>Guatemala: Children adopted from the civil war join forces</b>	<i>France 24</i>	HESHMATI Mandi
16-Apr-21	Guatemala; Belgium	<b>"They told me you were dead": adopted in Guatemala, she was kidnapped at birth</b>	<i>7 out of 7</i>	
04-May-21	Italy	<b>How a Nigerian woman fought to keep her child in Italy</b>	<i>BBC</i>	
31-May-21	China	<b>Origin story: the truth behind an international adoption</b>	<i>NHK</i>	KOHEI Tsuji
24-Jun-21	Belgium	<b>Illegal adoptions: recognizing a victim status for "stolen children", the Parliament is preparing to debate it</b>	<i>Rtbf</i>	MICHALLE Patrick
08-Oct-22	South Korea	<b>Irregularities during adoptions in South Korea now denounced</b>	<i>RTS</i>	

**D – Television documentary films**

This research was conducted by Jean-Paul Diboues, documentary manager at INA Bretagne-Ouest.

For television, the research was conducted in the National TV database (hertzian channels, see details at: [http://www.inatheque.fr/fonds\\_audiovisuels/fonds-tele.html](http://www.inatheque.fr/fonds_audiovisuels/fonds-tele.html))

All these references are in a database, built as part of this study, which is intended to be enriched with other past and future references. To do this, in a participatory science approach, anyone consulting the database can participate in its enrichment by sending new data to [yes.denechere@univ-angers.fr](mailto:yes.denechere@univ-angers.fr) and [fabio.macedo@univ-angers.fr](mailto:fabio.macedo@univ-angers.fr) they will quickly be integrated into the database.

Additional research on documentary films that have not been televised is to be carried out.

Broadcasting date	Country	Title	Program title	Channel	Duration
01/31/1969		<b>Around naked childhood</b>	Things seen	1st channel	00:50:00
03/17/1980		<b>Children and violence</b>	Window on	Antenna 2	00:25:55
05/18/1981		<b>Family stories: NOE's ark</b>		Antenna 2	00:38:53
01/12/1986	United States	<b>The other choice</b>		Antenna 2	00:58:19
11/16/1988		<b>Adoption. The path from parent to child</b>		Antenna 2	00:58:48
11/23/1988		<b>Adoption. When the child appears or the real questions about adoption</b>		Antenna 2	00:59:13
08/10/1990	Colombia, United States	<b>Octavio</b>		Antenna 2	00:55:30
09/18/1994	Colombia, USA	<b>The children of Medellin</b>	First line	France 2	00:50:01
13/11/1994	Meeting	<b>Adoption: the black children of La Creuse</b>	First line	France 2	00:48:15
12/01/1995	Meeting	<b>Imagine we survived</b>	Company Facts	ARTE	00:51:52
20/01/1996	Ethiopia, Romania, Sri Lanka, South Korea	<b>Adoption: another life</b>	The 25th hour	France 2	00:51:00
05/10/1996		<b>These mothers that we forget</b>	The baby is a TF1 fight		00:59:08

12/23/1996		<b>In search of family</b>	Is this how men live Forbidden Zone.	France 2	00:52:55
05/18/1997	Madagascar, Ethiopia	<b>Paths to Adoption</b>	THE Prohibited Area documents	M6	02:06:51
09/14/1997	Vietnam, India	<b>God what families</b>	life lines	France 2	00:53:40
08/03/1998	Brazil	<b>children at heart</b>	life lines	France 2	00:57:41
12/10/1998		<b>Europe in need of children = Adoption in Europe</b>		ARTE	01:08:08
10/12/1998	Russia	<b>The chance of our life = die chance unseres Lebens</b>	Theme. Adoption: Europe in need of children	ARTE	00:53:57
22/03/1999	Europe	<b>Our silent tracks</b>	Theme. Adoption: Europe in need of children	France 3	00:56:04
11/05/1999	South Korea	<b>children at heart</b>	Uncle Doc's Cabin	There Fifth	00:56:52
05/23/2000	Brazil	<b>A family for a child</b>	The fifth meeting. family, school	There Fifth	00:13:20
02/10/2000		<b>Looking for Xose</b>	knowledge screens	France 2	00:24:44
27/10/2000	Mozambique, Portugal	<b>I want a baby, not his father</b>	People's dance	There Fifth	00:56:08
02/13/2001	South Korea	<b>Separated = Getrent</b>	Lost family, found family	ARTE	01:23:16
01/12/2001	Japan	<b>In his arms = Ni Tsutsumarete</b>	The skylight	ARTE	00:40:13
02/02/2002	Ivory Coast	<b>Little Paul in Korhogo</b>		France 3	00:51:27
08/04/2002	Colombia, Romania, Ukraine, Germany	<b>A child from elsewhere</b>	Serial life = Das Leben eine Serie	ARTE	00:26:00
08/04/2002	Colombia, Romania, Ukraine, Germany	<b>two little brothers</b>	Serial life = Das Leben eine Serie	ARTE	00:26:10
09/04/2002	Colombia, Romania, Ukraine, Germany	<b>The first photo</b>	Serial life = Das Leben eine Serie	ARTE	00:26:17
04/10/2002	Colombia, Romania, Ukraine, Germany	<b>Direction: Colombia</b>	Serial life = Das Leben eine Serie	ARTE	00:26:13

04/11/2002	Colombia, Romania, Ukraine, Germany	<b>The last wait</b>	Serial life = Das Leben eine Serie	ARTE	00:26:12
04/12/2002	Colombia, Romania, Ukraine, Germany	<b>A new life</b>	Serial life = Das Leben eine Serie	ARTE	00:26:02
09/29/2002	Meeting	<b>Torn from her island</b>	Documents x 2. Company	France 5	00:52:04
10/14/2002		<b>Therese</b>	Kindergartens. The Diary of a Mother doc series	France 5	00:13:05
04/16/2004	Latin America	<b>The Condor Orphans</b>	countercurrent	France 2	00:56:17
09/07/2004	Brazil	<b>Large format adoption</b>		France 3	01:32:02
09/13/2004	Guatemala, Madagascar, Romania	<b>Adoption: the underside of traffic</b>	Investigation Monday	Canal +	00:56:07
10/16/2004	South Korea	<b>Foreign body</b>	The skylight	ARTE	01:08:07
08/12/2004	Haiti, South Korea	<b>The child of another...two years later</b>	Roots & wings The child of another... two years later	France 3	01:54:55
01/04/2005	Africa	<b>The Dragon's Seal</b>	countercurrent	France 2	00:51:29
04/12/2005	Haiti	<b>The baby who will change my life</b>	life documentaries	M6	01:41:43
19/05/2005	Democratic Republic of Congo	<b>Gaspard of the night</b>	life lines	France 5	00:53:52
21/11/2006	Bhutan	<b>Chencho's Journey</b>	Papers x 3	France 5	00:52:21
04/07/2007	Colombia	<b>If you too abandon me...</b>	Uncle Doc's hut	France 3	00:47:55
30/04/2007	Nepal, South Korea, Romania, Colombia, Ukraine, Germany	<b>A child from elsewhere = Ein Kind aus der Ferne</b>	Feuilleton documentary = Doku soap	ARTE	00:25:00
30/04/2007	Nepal, South Korea, Romania, Colombia, Ukraine, Germany	<b>Back to basics</b>	Documentary soap opera = Doku soap	ARTE	00:25:50
05/01/2007	Nepal, South Korea, Romania, Colombia, Ukraine, Germany	<b>glimmers of hope</b>	Documentary soap opera = Doku soap	ARTE	00:26:04

02/05/2007	Nepal, South Korea, Romania, Colombia, Ukraine, Germany	<b>One way, difficult return</b>	Documentary series = Doku Soap Documentary	ARTE	00:26:08
05/03/2007	Nepal, South Korea, Romania, Colombia, Ukraine, Germany	<b>A committed family</b>	series = Doku Soap Documentary series = Doku Soap First day	ARTE	00:26:05
05/04/2007	Nepal, South Korea, Romania, Colombia, Ukraine, Germany	<b>Big children, big torments</b>	Tuesday AFP company, profession photographer Kindergartens. The	ARTE	00:26:09
09/07/2007	Switzerland	<b>The arrival</b>	documentary series	ARTE	00:10:00
02/05/2008	Chad	<b>AFP, profession photographer: 2nd part</b>	Kindergartens. There	France 5	00:51:08
03/10/2008	Cambodia, Vietnam, Haiti, Ethiopia	<b>Born there and raised here</b>		France 5	00:13:08
03/10/2008	Vietnam, Haiti	<b>Nathalie and Emmanuel remember</b>	serie doc Born there and raised here Kindergartens.	France 5	00:13:08
03/11/2008	Cambodia	<b>This is where Cambodia</b>	The doc series Born there and raised here Kindergartens. The doc	France 5	00:13:19
03/13/2008	Haiti	<b>Call in Haiti...</b>	series Born there and raised here Kindergartens. The doc series Born there	France 5	00:13:16
03/14/2008	Cambodia, Vietnam, Haiti, Ethiopia	<b>Reunion of Elisa, Emma and the others</b>	and raised here Kindergartens. The doc series Born there and	France 5	00:12:42
17/03/2008	Ethiopia	<b>Nathalie, future mother of Yohanes and Michael</b>	raised here Kindergartens. The doc series Born there and raised here	France 5	00:12:47
03/18/2008	Cambodia, Vietnam, Haiti, Ethiopia	<b>10 months of waiting and new photos</b>		France 5	00:13:11

03/20/2008	Ethiopia, Cambodia	<b>Back to Paris</b>	Kindergartens. The doc series Born there and raised here Born there and	France 5	00:12:47
03/21/2008	Cambodia, Vietnam, Haiti, Ethiopia	<b>First meeting...</b>	raised here	France 5	00:13:08
03/24/2008	Cambodia, Vietnam, Haiti, Ethiopia	<b>Snack at Mickaël's cousins and Yohanes</b>	Kindergartens. The doc series Born there and raised here	France 5	00:12:49
03/25/2008	Cambodia, Vietnam, Haiti, Ethiopia	<b>First visit of the specialized educator, 1 month after Kim's arrival</b>	Kindergartens. The series doc Born there and grow here	France 5	00:13:09
03/27/2008	Viet Nam	<b>Souvenirs from Vietnam</b>	Born there and raised here	France 5	00:12:58
03/28/2008	Cambodia, Vietnam, Haiti, Ethiopia	<b>2 months after the arrival in France of Mickaël and Yohanes</b>	Kindergartens. The series doc Born there and grow here	France 5	00:13:11
25/04/2008	Rwanda	<b>Clavel, the child n°13</b>		France 3	00:51:52
27/04/2008	Rwanda	<b>Clavel the child n°13</b>		France 3	00:52:26
07/26/2008	Ethiopia, Poland, Vietnam, Brazil	<b>I am an adopted</b>	KD2A	France 2	00:26:00
09/21/2008	China	<b>When is happiness: 3rd episode</b>	When is happiness	France 3	00:50:29
09/21/2008	China	<b>When is happiness: 4th episode</b>	When is happiness	France 3	00:52:19
28/11/2008	Lesotho, Switzerland	<b>Dreams of Africa</b>	In the footsteps of the past Berchtold & archassal	ARTE	00:43:15
11/30/2008	Cambodia	<b>Adoption stories, stories from Cambodia</b>	The nights of France 5 France 5		00:52:48
02/23/2009		<b>A baby at all costs: [1st part]</b>	A baby at all costs	M6	00:53:35
02/23/2009		<b>A baby at all costs: [2nd part]</b>	A baby at all costs	M6	01:00:39
03/17/2009	Burkina Faso	<b>Adopt me: episode 1</b>	Society Tuesday	France 5	00:52:57
03/17/2009	Burkina Faso	<b>Adopt me: episode 2</b>	Society Tuesday	France 5	00:52:55
03/24/2009	Burkina Faso	<b>Adopt me: episode 3</b>	Society Tuesday	France 5	00:53:30
03/24/2009	Burkina Faso	<b>Adopt me: episode 4</b>	Society Tuesday	France 5	00:53:15

27/04/2010	Polynesia	<b>Native land: return to Rurutu</b>	The world in front	France 5	00:52:48
03/04/2011	Brazil	<b>Deborah's two trees</b>	The paths of faith	France 2	00:25:33
01/05/2011	Ethiopia	<b>Adoption: Secret Wounds</b>		France 3	01:30:56
06/19/2011	France	<b>Born abandoned</b>		France 3	00:58:48
15/11/2011	Haiti	<b>A baby at all costs, two years later: 1st episode</b>	A baby at all costs	M6	01:11:10
15/11/2011	Haiti	<b>A baby at all costs, two years later: 2nd episode</b>	A baby at all costs	M6	01:02:53
14/01/2013	Great Britain	<b>England: the kingdom of lost children</b> Special investigation		Canal +	00:52:17
03/19/2013	Argentina	<b>Argentina, the 500 stolen babies of the dictatorship</b>	The world in front	France 5	01:33:15
09/10/2013	Haiti	<b>A baby at any cost, 4 years later: Part 1</b> A baby at any cost, 4 years later		M6	01:22:13
09/10/2013	Haiti	<b>A baby at all costs, 4 years later: part 2</b>	A baby at all costs, 4 years later	M6	01:07:03
27/10/2015	Worldwide	<b>Adoption, the choice of nations</b>	Theme	ARTE	01:26:19
06/12/2015	France	<b>children of shadow</b>	Shadow Children	France 2	00:38:50
04/12/2016	United States	<b>United States, disposable</b>	The world in front	France 5	00:53:06
15/11/2016	Great Britain	<b>children The stolen children of</b>	The world in front	France 5	01:06:07
25/10/2017	Colombia, Chile, India, Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria	<b>England Adoption, I love you... me neither</b>	The world in front	France 5	01:13:27
07/19/2018	Vietnam, USA	<b>Balances</b>	D-hour	France 3	20:51:18
23/04/2019	Germany	<b>Family secrets, the invisible heritage</b>	The world in front	France 5	01:10:03
07/04/2020	Romania, Belgium	<b>valentine child of europe</b>	25 shades of doc	France 2	00:54:59
06/15/2021	Brazil	<b>Renan's novel</b>	Infrared	France 2	01:03:25
10/01/2022	Meeting	<b>Lost children of Reunion: the time of reconciliation</b>	Outremer.ledoc	France 3	00:51:57
01/18/2022	Germany, France	<b>Born under the occupation: babies for the France</b>	Theme	ARTE	00:52:12
03/07/2022	Ireland	<b>Philomena Lee, a sacrificed mother</b>	Based on a true story	ARTE	00:26:02
06/07/2022	Sri Lanka	<b>Sri landaise</b>		France 3	01:14:19

### *The need to cross sources*

In this guide, respect for the integrity of archival holdings, a fundamental principle in archival science, leads to the dissemination of elements relating to the same country, the same intermediary, the same period. Gymnastics is therefore necessary to collect all the information relating to a fact.

The descriptions of the contents of the boxes of archives do not allow at this stage precise and pointed investigations, on the other hand, they give to see the extent of the phenomenon of illicit practices, as well as the number of actors and countries concerned. In fact, every box – or almost – that has been opened has given rise to the discovery of facts, has been food for thought. And yet, this guide is far from being exhaustive. Firstly because many archives are not yet available for consultation, then because those which are by derogation cannot be fully decrypted publicly.

It should also be remembered that individual adoption files, relating to adopters and adoptees, were not concerned by this review of sources. It is however obvious – having seen a certain number of them since the authors of this report have been working on international adoption – that some of them are very rich in documents relating to the methods of adoption. From this point of view, the departmental archives constitute a considerable reservoir. A survey will be conducted this spring with all the departmental services in order to make a statement of their funds relating to adoption. The symposium "A century of adoption of children, 1923-2023" which will be held in Angers on June 20 and 21, 2023 will be an opportunity to share the results of this survey.

Any history of the present time must also privilege interactions with the people concerned. The testimonies of all the protagonists of international adoption deserve to be heard and analyzed with the critical spirit of the historical method. It would be necessary to organize a major campaign to compile oral sources aimed at collecting the words of adoptees, adoptive parents, biological families (which is more complex to implement), association officials from OAA, APPO, EFA departmental associations, political leaders and agents of the French State, international observers, journalists, investigators and whistleblowers. By following a scientifically constructed approach, by applying a now well-established methodology to oral sources and by mobilizing substantial resources, it would be possible to gather a considerable amount of information. Thus, the archives could be cross-referenced with other complementary sources.

It is also essential not to be satisfied with French sources. As the review of scientific literature shows, the question of illegal practices in adoption between countries must be addressed, in essence, at least on a bilateral and even international and multilateral scale. France's point of view must be compared with the complex points of view of all the countries of origin sending children to France (interaction effects) and of all the other receiving countries (competition effects). Thus, certain realities of international adoption in certain receiving countries can completely shed light on the practices that took place in France, since sometimes the same intermediaries were at work in the countries of departure.

The archives of the countries of origin constitute sources which are rarely used, but it is true that, when they exist, they are not very accessible, unlike the archives of the foreign press. The files of adoptees can be consulted, depending on the case and the procedures, by querying the archives of orphanages, courts or the central authority of the country of origin. On site, additional elements relating to the collection of the child can be discovered. The file may also contain information on the birth family: the parents' consent to adoption and their identity, the existence of brothers and

sisters, marital status and the original first name of the child or even additional information such as a medical examination or photos. Folders can also be empty or not found.

The history of international adoption is too often that of an unbalanced North/South relationship, written from the point of view of the receiving countries. The realization of a connected and “equally shared” history between France and the countries of origin is essential to overcome unequal relations between States and condescension between peoples, or at least to take these mechanisms into consideration. . This requires being able to carry out real research abroad, by going to the countries of departure, working with researchers in the country, meeting birth families, intermediaries and local services. All this is not easy to achieve. Difficulties related to language, specific political and administrative structures, sometimes in uncertain contexts, often force researchers to give up. For their part, the persons concerned, especially adopted persons, individually or collectively, sometimes obtain results. This is why researchers, people concerned and other actors must unite their efforts to achieve a better understanding of the past and present realities of intercountry adoption.

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## Part Four | Analyzes and avenues of research

The constructive and critical cross-referencing of the scientific literature review (first part), the bibliography (second part) and the identified available sources (third part) makes it possible to propose some historical analyzes of illicit practices in international adoption in France since several decades. What has already been written on the phenomenon constitutes a very important documented set, which seems too little mobilized by people who are interested in its different dimensions. Based on the annotated guide to sources (consulted or identified archives, press sources, audiovisual sources) it is possible to define issues that constitute as many avenues of research to follow in order to better understand the realities of the phenomenon. The work of historians is to reconstruct the past from sources and methodically in order to produce a narrative. In this, it can make its contribution to the reflection which is essential today by specifying the evolutions of the normative framework and by noting the invariants of illicit practices. Without systematically referring to the information specified in part 3, it is a question of highlighting past situations, or those closer to us, in their context, without evaluating them according to current standards but trying to unravel the complex web of responsibilities.

In order to always be attentive to the historical context, it should be recalled in the preamble that until 1985, the adoption of a foreign child escaped what could be called the police of adoptive families since the control of the administrative procedure (prior to placement of the child) only concerned adoptions of wards of the State. The placements of foreign children could be carried out through multiple channels and according to very varied methods. The turning point of the mid-1980s is essential. It is a question of better regulating things: the law of July 25, 1985 indicates – finally – that “persons who wish to welcome, with a view to adoption, a foreign child, must request the authorization provided for in article 63 of the present code”, that is to say that required for the adoption of a ward of the State. Approval which becomes essential for the establishment of the entry visa of a child in France.

Administrative trial and error in matters of transnational adoption favored the development of an area with little supervision where the mode of constitution of adoptive families was able to free itself from certain rules, even after 1985. towards an adoption abroad, some departmental services follow a lighter, faster procedure. Thus, international adoption has created a space of possibilities for forming a family. This gray area, neglected for a time by the regulatory authorities, beyond offering options to "non-standard" candidates, has in fact maintained the idea that everything (or a lot) was possible and easier internationally. .

In the 1980s, with the expansion of international adoption, intermediaries and channels multiplied, and it became impossible to master, or simply to know, all the practices prevailing in Asia and South America, then to Africa.

Hence a wide spectrum of actions in which some people have knowingly operated illicitly, others simply ignoring the rules, and still others being merely victims of misdemeanors and crimes. At the end of the 1980s, the regulation of international adoption became imperative in the face of practices not framed by international standards and inefficient State policies. Hence the Hague Convention (1993), in accordance with the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), but whose erratic application has not prevented the continuation of deviations until today.

According to the times, what was known about illicit practices? Have international adoption actors done what is necessary to eradicate them? Can we establish responsibilities today? The following paragraphs provide some answers.

## ***1 - Numerous and frequent reports***

The study carried out confirms that reports of deviance in general (moral and normative) and illicit practices – as defined in our introduction – have been very numerous and very frequent since the 1980s. Their recurrence, even their repetition, shows that the phenomenon remained considerable at least until the 2000s. For the later period, the archives are not accessible, but other sources prove its persistence, even attenuated. These alarm signals emanate from all those involved in international adoption, according to a chronology now established thanks to the study.

French diplomats posted in embassies and consulates abroad were the first, as early as the 1960s, to ask themselves what to do in the face of the novelty of adoptions between countries. The study of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs alone thus makes it possible to apprehend the development of the phenomenon in intensity and to follow its evolutions. Very regularly, and for some of them with great consistency, ambassadors and consuls alert the Quai d'Orsay to procedures that do not respect the laws of the countries in which they are accredited or French rules. All of these failings constitute illegal practices. They identify by name institutions, associations and people, French or foreign. They inform the Quai d'Orsay of ongoing police and legal proceedings in the countries where they are posted. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs acknowledges receipt and relays the information to the other ministries concerned and the protagonists of international adoption. From the 1980s, associations of adoptive parents, departmental associations or the national federation EFA above all, often wrote and telephoned the ministerial departments concerned, the MAI (created in 1987, which operates from 1988) to report irregularities, deviations, abuses, crimes. Aware that these "affairs" or "scandals" tarnish the whole of international adoption, it is with a certain zeal that the crudest illicit practices (supposition of children, absence of consent of the mother, trafficking, etc.) are denounced. It is a question of demonstrating that associations of adopters do not tolerate these practices and that black sheep have no place there. Most of these reports are based on feedback from prospective adopters or adoptive parents. Many of these reports relate to the exorbitant sums of money demanded by French or foreign intermediaries or to illegal practices of adoption intermediaries. The commodification of adoption is denounced as much for its immoral side as because it generates the risk of misdemeanors or crimes because of the profits generated.

To a lesser extent, AABs have also reported dubious practices by intermediaries to the authorities. They are clearly aiming for the adoption by individual approach which they are confronted with, in a certain competition, in the countries in which they work. These reports are in fact denunciations of unauthorized intermediaries who, according to the OAAs, would prosper while they themselves consider themselves subject to strict control by the French authorities. EFA, OAA and other players in international adoption are also found within the High Council for Adoption (CSA) which, since its creation in 1975, has questioned the practices of international adoption and in the 1980s writes several reports on the illicit acts listed.

The written and audiovisual press, French and foreign, sometimes falling into sensationalism, published from the 1980s incriminating articles, questioning the ethics of international adoption, relaying cases subject to legal proceedings. From the 1990s, then more in the 2000s and especially recently, real journalistic investigations are carried out, sometimes very documented, revealing to public opinion realities that until then were known only to the small world of adoption.

Since the 1990s, the CLH and the SSI have multiplied alarms, alerts, reports on illicit practices and illegal adoptions. Published, often easily accessible, these well-documented contributions, written by specialists in human rights and child protection, were known to the actors, as they were accessible to anyone wishing to learn about the issue. With the development of the Internet, this accessibility and information in general has increased considerably. A debate has even been instituted between pros and anti-international adoption which has undoubtedly blurred the message on illicit practices, used as a strong argument by people ideologically opposed to international adoption. This is the case of NGOs, which sometimes practiced international adoption before abandoning it and fighting it, such as Terre des Hommes-France.

Finally, since the 2000s, and especially for a few years now, associations of adopted persons (VDA in particular since 2005, AFOR, etc.) and collectives of adopted persons (RAIF, collective of French adoptees in Mali, collective Adopted from Sri Lanka, VAIA, IAM, etc.) have played and continue to play a decisive role in bringing to light emblematic individual or collective cases. The recent nature of these revelations and their impact can be explained by an obvious generational effect in the adoptees (the arrival of adulthood, the age of becoming a parent) but also the ease of communication and the resonance offered by social networks. The investigations carried out by the persons concerned, often initiated by a search for origins, result in finding families, witnesses, revealing documents, identifying inconsistencies, establishing proof of illegal practices. Sometimes, the people concerned interact with researchers in the humanities and social sciences who, from the mid-2000s, are working on these questions.

Reports are so numerous that one can wonder about the ordinary nature of illegal practices and their systemic nature. Analysis of the correspondence of French diplomats posted in Guatemala (1980s-2000s), Nepal (2000s), El Salvador (1980s-1990s), Sri Lanka (1980s-1990s) or Vietnam (1990s) show the ordinary nature of illicit practices at work in these countries during these periods. This is the existence of long-term delinquent or criminal networks specializing in the "trading" of children, which the States of origin and destination then struggle to repress effectively. Since the 1980s at least, and in particular major court cases and publicized in Peru or Brazil, all the structured actors of international adoption were aware of illicit practices perpetrated in international adoption. They could not therefore have been unaware of the risks of offenses relating to international adoption.

The many illicit practices brought to light in such and such a country, at such a time, with such and such intermediary(ies), certainly constitute specific cases, but are also generic, like a banal reality of international adoption. Sectors, crooked actors, weight of money, problem of consent are recurrent even if they cannot be generalized to all times and all fields. It therefore seems legitimate to raise the question of the systemic nature of illicit practices in international adoption, of the consubstantiality of these practices with the phenomenon itself. Hence the temptation to derive the axiom that wherever there has been international adoption, there may have been illicit practices. This certainly does not mean that all international adoptions are marred by illicit practices.

## ***2 - Logic of actors at work***

Reports have therefore been numerous, coming from all those involved in international adoption, each indicating more or less expressly that it is the others who are

responsible for the offences. For EFA, it is the intermediaries with whom the adopters have to deal who are mainly responsible for these deviations, especially in adoption by individual process, but also by AABs that are less scrupulous than others. As for the AABs, when they are questioned by the French authorities, they are particularly careful to discard themselves on the intermediaries with whom they work in the countries of origin of the children: but they did not know, trusted, no sign could suggest that there was a problem with due process, etc.

This questions the different logics of the protagonists in a “grey zone” of international adoption, a very broad register of action ranging from simple irregularity to crime. Each actor or group of actors in international adoption acts according to its own logic. These logics are sometimes in opposition to each other, sometimes convergent depending on the contexts or situations. These logics of actors imply positions, sometimes postures, on illicit practices, to denounce them – always publicly – or to sometimes put up with them. The candidates for adoption are in a logic of result: to find a child. In the 1980s, the many candidates from the countries of the North were in competition and some wanted to realize their desire for a child “at all costs”. In countries where poverty and corruption were endemic, the laws of the market applied. Demand created supply. Surely the adopters going to a country could they wonder in front of intermediaries making sure to find the child corresponding exactly to their expectations, against a large sum of money.

The logic of result pushed certain candidates to be accomplices or even instigators of illicit acts. For example, the French ambassador to Sri Lanka never ceased to address direct criticism from the end of the 1980s, to unscrupulous adoption candidates, as well as to all the actors and the system. Humanitarian, ideological or religious militancy pushed some of the adopters to act with motivations such that the end justified certain means in their eyes. A few activists, very few in number – and fewer and fewer given the current acuteness of the issues have admitted, more legally, to have participated in practices that they made it themselves or favored it for others, without it being a problem for them then. Other adopters were simply the victims of tortious or criminal practices that were all the more difficult to detect as they were sometimes adorned with all aspects of legality. For example, when a stolen child was then abandoned – “legally” – by a false mother. After the initial crime, the procedure could be followed perfectly and the adopters, even the most attentive and respectful of the rules, did not suspect anything. To avoid this, in Guatemala, the embassies of the United States and Canada set up in 1997 a DNA examination of the child and his presumed mother, while the French diplomats on the spot organized interviews with the mothers. and their lawyers to identify possible fraud.

The intermediaries are in a logic of action and constitute two different groups. On the one hand, the French OAAs, authorized by the general and then departmental councils, are authorized by the MAI to work in such and such a country. They are therefore recognized and monitored by State services, in particular from decree 89-95 of February 10, 1989 relating to adoption centres. From 2005, the AFA is the French state agency for adoption and is in competition with the OAAs. On the other hand, there are associations or people operating in France or abroad and playing a role in the process of allocating children to candidates for adoption, particularly in adoptions by individual approach. The archives show that the French authorities fight against the illicit action of these intermediaries who have no authorization to play this role. In the early 1990s, the Association pour l'adoption internationale (AAI) was one of those associations that the authorities had to ban and that the courts condemned. Other associations such as Kasih Bunda or Une famille pour un enfant are authorized by the MAI after years of functioning outside the law.

first in 1998 for Sri Lanka, 13 years after starting its activities; the second in 1994 for Vietnam, before having its approval withdrawn in 1997 following malfunctions such as the invoicing of adoption fees deemed excessive by the MAI and the canvassing of adoptive families in departments where the association does not have permission.

The motivations that drive these different intermediaries are very diverse, ranging from the mission of rescuing children to the lure of profit. Undoubtedly, each actor considered he had better control of the risks than another, he thought that his own intermediaries were the safest, including in countries deemed “at risk” by the MAI. This is notably the case of Families of the World, Arc en Ciel and other OAAs operating in Brazil until the mid-1990s, those working in Guatemala until the early 2000s (whose children did not necessarily come from public orphanages deemed *a priori* safer but networks mobilized by their representatives on the spot – in particular “lawyer-notaries”), in Vietnam in the 1990s, in Sri Lanka until the 2000s. give a child to adoptive candidates in need of a child. This power has sometimes turned the heads of certain managers, made them lower their guard on ethics and has generated sometimes serious dysfunctions, abuses of power as witnessed by the internal struggles of certain OAAs.

International or inter-country adoption necessarily and strongly involves States. In the countries of departure of the children, the state and administrative apparatus is in the front line. When the State is all-powerful, as in Pinochet's Chile or Ceausescu's Romania, its responsibility for the illicit practices committed cannot be exonerated. More often than not, in many countries of origin, the state is rather bankrupt due to war, underdevelopment, natural disasters – as has been the case in Haiti, Guatemala, Nepal, El Salvador, in Sri Lanka, in Vietnam – and therefore *a priori* incapable of dealing with the commoditization of international adoption and the corruption that this entails. On the other hand, in Brazil, where the control is very heterogeneous according to the States of the federation or even within the same State, the administration oscillates between firmness, complicity and laissez-faire vis-à-vis foreigners before the 1990s. South Korea is a special case, since it delegated its power over children to a foreign private organization, the Holt organization, and this in a situation of quasi-monopoly between the end of the 1950s and the 1980s. Colombia is another special case. Despite the instability generated by guerrillas, drug trafficking and state repression, this country instituted a central authority in 1969, *the Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar* (ICBF), as well as an accreditation system for associations from the early 1970s. Foreign applicants (natural or legal persons) had to apply to the ICBF or an approved association. This does not mean the disappearance of illicit practices.

The French State has positioned itself in a logic of regulation of international adoption as a singular migration likely to have a strong impact on its bilateral relations with the countries of origin. From the 1960s, the attitude of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was very circumspect with regard to adoptions between countries, considering, correctly, that there were multiple occasions for conflicting laws. The position adopted in 1975, after a debate within the High Council for Adoption, was therefore to “neither prevent nor promote” these adoptions. Apart from short periods of procrastination and the display of a policy of development of international adoption at the end of the 1980s and during part of the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy – in 2009, France adopted a convention of objectives and management for international adoption this position has remained almost unchanged until today. A French specificity is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays the first role among all the other ministries concerned. Thus, the International Adoption Mission, created in 1987, operates from 1988 under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After the

ratification of the CLH by France, the central authority for international adoption provided for in the convention takes the form of an International Adoption Service which is placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With the creation of the AFA in 2005, the State itself became an adoption intermediary.

There remains a last logic of actors to decipher, much more difficult to grasp: that of biological families, who are with their children the first victims of illicit practices. However, some of them have deliberately misrepresented the facts in order to profit from international adoption. There is a major research project to be carried out here, which would require reflection and methodological and epistemological preparation.

### **3 - State, private interests and responsibilities**

The State, in its function of regulator, is of course the first actor concerned by the question of responsibilities when illicit practices were known, regularly denounced including and in the first place by its agents. What did he do ? What didn't he do?

What could he have done? Why such a longevity of illicit practices?

From 1989, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs authorizes and monitors AABs wishing to work abroad, and is therefore responsible for their actions. It is also he who grants entry visas to France for children adopted abroad, through the intermediary of the OAAs or individually, according to the procedures he has established and of which he is the guarantor. He is therefore responsible for this very important part of the adoption process. Visas can only be issued after verification of adoption records. Multiple exchanges between the Quai d'Orsay and diplomats posted abroad show that there is a fundamental question at the heart of international adoption and State responsibility.

Some adopters and intermediaries of intercountry adoption still continue to affirm today – particularly in the context of this study – that they have never been aware of illicit practices. We are not talking here about having committed unlawful acts, but only about having been aware that they existed. This denial is neither tenable nor responsible.

It would have been necessary to be blind and deaf to what was said, shared, written, published. This position is even less defensible coming from people or associations claiming experience and expertise in international adoption, a rigorous choice of their partners and in-depth knowledge of the contexts and procedures of the countries of origin in which they work. . In doing so, they bear an undeniable share of responsibility for certain deviations. But from when, from what act, can we consider that there is deviance in international adoption, that is to say individual or collective behavior that deviates from the norm? This notion of deviance implies a certain relativism. What is deviant for one person or society is not necessarily so for another; what is considered as deviant at such a date may no longer be so at a later time; and vice versa: what is not perceived as deviant at a given moment may become so a few years later with regard to the evolution of the normative framework. For example, while the crime of assuming a child is widely tolerated by Brazilian society and justice in the context of adoption, the arrival of foreign adopters from the 1970s completely calls into question its use; what is accepted between Brazilians is not necessarily so with foreigners, especially since scandals follow one another. If in its normative dimension ethics fixes what society accepts or not at a given moment - hence the need for a historical approach - good and evil are always defined, both on a collective and individual scale, by weighing

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actions taken and their consequences.

Vis-à-vis the OAAs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which grants them authorizations to work in such and such a country, can also withdraw them. Since the early 1990s

the MAE withdrew 117 authorisations. In the vast majority of cases (110) these are withdrawal decisions taken at the request of the OAA in the event of cessation or absence of activity for three years in the country concerned, for example 17 for Doctors of the World in 2020 when it ends its adoption mission in the 17 countries where the NGO was authorized as an OAA. This movement is linked to the decline in international adoption since 2005, which has led to a reduction in the activities of AABs. But it should be noted that sometimes AABs have chosen to cease their activity in a country following cases involving them.

Thus, out of the 117 authorization withdrawals, only 7 are taken "for lack of sufficient guarantee". Some correspond to the suspension of international adoption in certain countries. This is the case for OAA Vivre en Famille, whose authorization for the Democratic Republic of Congo was withdrawn in August 2016, the suspension concerning this country taking place in November of the same year. The archives consulted show that relations between the MAI and certain organizations are sometimes strained. For example, the calls to order by the OAA Solidarité fraternité and De pauline à Anaëlle in 1995, or Emmanuel in 1997 prove that in the 1990s, when France was putting itself in a position to respond to the procedures defined by the CLH, irregular practices still prevail.

**Figure 11 – Withdrawals of authorization from OAA taken for lack of sufficient guarantee**

Source: International Adoption Mission

OAA	Country	Authorization order	Authorization withdrawal order
Mutual aid of French women	Russia	08/13/93	04/07/1999
Living with family	Democratic Republic of Congo	08/25/08	24/11/2016
Welcome to the children of the world	Madagascar	04/26/90	24/10/2022
Welcome to the children of the world	Romania	12/13/90	24/10/2022
Welcome to the children of the world	Burkina Faso	06/20/06	24/10/2022
Foreign Child Sunbeam	Chile	06/18/92	21/12/2022
Foreign Child Sunbeam	South Korea	04/18/90	21/12/2022

With regard to individuals or associations who illegally practice the activity of adoption intermediary, the State services have the power, in addition to notifying the adoption candidates, to order them to stop their activities and prosecute them.

This was the case in the early 1990s with the Association Adoption Internationale. The sources retain many traces of these actions against intermediaries who most often play an intermediary role in the adoption of foreign children without admitting it.

Should the state have done more? Certainly.

However, the transfer of all responsibility to State services on the part of other intercountry adoption actors could appear contradictory with the expertise they claim. For example, the OAAs have always operated a selection of applicants with accreditation, as if this were not enough; but as far as procedures are concerned, they would have left it exclusively to state control. Some protagonists of international adoption (OAA, leaders of associations, adoptive parents) today claim the status of victims of these deviations, having known nothing, seen nothing, or even suspected anything, and having complete confidence in intermediaries whose ways of doing things they have not verified,

did not inquire about the sums requested, etc. But the State services should have seen everything, known everything, even what was knowingly hidden from them.

Furthermore, concerning the situations in certain source countries for international adoption to France, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs may prohibit applicants for adoption from turning to those whose internal situation and general economics of adoption do not guarantee the regularity and legality of the process. This absence of guarantees may be linked to the context of the country or to the adoptability of the children.

### Figure 12 - Suspensions of intercountry adoption proceedings with source countries

Source: International Adoption Mission

Country concerned	Order suspending international adoption procedures	Motives and goals
Central African Republic	January 10, 2014	Human and legal security conditions not met, in particular: absence of local authority identified in matters of international adoption, partner orphanages, lack of reliability of local civil status. Prevent possible abuses and in particular prevent children whose families have been displaced, or temporarily separated from their parents, from being offered for international adoption without guarantees as to their origin and their adoptability.
Democratic Republic of Congo	November 23, 2016	Serious irregularities in the adoption procedures relating to the civil status of the children or their adoptability. At the same time, suspension of international adoptions by the DRC by law of July 15, 2016 conditioning the resumption of adoption on the creation of a Congolese public body responsible for adoption, which has
Dominica	not yet taken place.	December 16, 2016 The ethical principles and rules of public order that govern international adoption are not respected there. The procedures do not meet the fundamental principles defined by the Convention on the Rights of the Child.
Haiti	March 11, 2020 extended by decrees of June 9, August 31 and December 18, 2020 and June 7 and 18, 2021	The context of insecurity and the general deterioration of the situation in Haiti constitute major risk factors both for the safety of our nationals and for the ethics of adoption procedures, the regularity of which, with regard to the requirements laid down by the The Hague of 29 May 1993 on the protection of children and cooperation in international adoption, can no longer be guaranteed. September 24, 2020 Questions about the regularity
Niger	of adoption procedures	in Niger, the reliability of local civil status and the very poor security situation in this country.  Preserving the future in a context where Niger's accession to the Hague Convention of 29 May 1993 on the protection of children and cooperation in respect of international adoption has not been recorded.
Russia	March 7, 2022 extended by decrees of June 7 and December 22, 2022	Contexts of crisis or armed conflict provide fertile ground for violations of children's rights and more particularly for illicit practices in international adoption. No international adoption procedure can be initiated in such contexts, given the difficulty in determining whether the children, who may appear to be orphans or permanently deprived of parental care, are truly eligible for adoption.  Moreover, since the invasion of Ukraine by Russia, any travel to these two countries is formally discouraged. In these circumstances, the conditions for pursuing an adoption process are not met.

Ukraine	March 7, 2022 extended by decrees of June 7 and December 22, 2022.	Contexts of crisis or armed conflict provide fertile ground for violations of children's rights and more particularly for illicit practices in international adoption. No international adoption procedure can be initiated in such contexts, given the difficulty in determining whether the children, who may appear to be orphans or permanently deprived of parental care, are truly eligible for adoption.  Moreover, since the invasion of Ukraine by Russia, any travel to these two countries is formally discouraged. In these circumstances, the conditions for pursuing an adoption process are not met.
Madagascar	October 24, 2022	Weaknesses of the Central Authority for adoption in Madagascar, noted by the report of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child of March 9, 2022. Risk of potential child trafficking, more necessary guarantees in terms of security and ethics of adoption procedures, as well as validity of civil status documents.  Give the Malagasy authorities the necessary time to strengthen procedural safeguards, in particular through an implementing decree for the 2017 adoption law.

Unfortunately, the MAI does not keep such a precise list of suspension orders issued before 2014. However, there were many others before that, as the archives show, for example, Peru (1982), El Salvador (1986), Chile (1992), Madagascar (1992), Sri Lanka (de facto 1995), Vietnam (1999), Haiti (2010), etc.

As with the withdrawals of authorizations from OAs, a careful study of each case would make it possible to define responsibilities.

Upstream of these suspension decisions, the pressure exerted on the State in order to reduce its regulatory efforts is very strong. The State is under constant pressure from two main players in international adoption: prospective adopters/adoptive parents and intermediaries. The sources consulted within the framework of this study prove that the adopters and their associations – often via elected officials, mayors or parliamentarians –, just like the MAI, tried to obtain a postponement of the suspension of adoptions in such and such a country. Influential people, in politics or business, have exerted strong pressure for international adoption to develop, for example François de Combret and his association Solidarité Enfants Roumains Abandonnés (SERA) in Romania. The cases of Vietnam in 1999 (suspension by the MAI) and Nepal in 2007 (suspension by the Nepalese authorities) are very explicit because they led to substantial opposition mobilizations on the part of these actors.

Reading the archives sometimes gives the impression of a kind of co-management of international adoption between the State (the MAI) and other actors. For example, from the 2000s, EFA took part in missions in foreign countries. Adoptive persons, involved in militant associations, contributed strongly, as editors, to the reports on adoption that dotted the 1990s and 2000s (Mattéi, Colombani, etc.). Admittedly, this is a recognition of their expertise, but there is a certain mixture of genres.

In Guatemala, following the publication by the UN and UNICEF of two incriminating reports against the excesses of international adoption in this country, in 2001, the MAI, probably on the defensive after the Vietnamese episode, examines the possibility of suspending adoptions on condition that it does not provoke “negative reactions” from adoptive families, associations or authorized bodies. What happened. On the Guatemalan file, the MAI will finally limit itself to drawing up a series of recommendations, while the French embassy there and the Hague Conference are asking for the suspension.

The argument of adoption candidates, adopters and associative structures is almost always the same: the adoption processes in progress must be able to be completed,

in the interest of the children concerned and the families expecting these children. In short, the state always closes a little too early. Or too late: it is easy to criticize a decision *a posteriori*, when sometimes a delay has been requested upstream by the very people who claim that it was taken too late. These are postures between actors that research must analyze to better understand the workings and the general functioning of international adoption in France.

However, for people affected by illicit practices that have led to the fact that adoptions have been made illegal, the responsibility of the State is engaged. In recent years, complaints have been filed by adoptees in Mali, Guatemala and Ethiopia against ABOs (which should have been more closely monitored by MAI) and the State itself. In addition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is supposed to verify the granting of visas, the MAI, which is supposed to monitor the procedures for exercising OAs, the Ministry of Social Affairs and that of Justice are accused of not having played their role. Often in the name of the interest of the child (set out in the declaration of the rights of the child of 1959, then enshrined in the convention of 1989), social services have taken decisions, courts have pronounced judgments on adoption, even though all the stages of the procedures were not respected and these services and institutions were aware of it.

The question of the responsibilities of French intercountry adoption actors in the illicit practices observed is very complex. It can only be approached by avoiding generalizations, hence the use in the above paragraphs of the indefinite articles "of" and "some", rather than the definite article encompassing "the". Established facts and historical truth are not compatible with the search for exclusive responsibility. All those involved in intercountry adoption and the State services involved must question their past attitudes in this regard.

#### ***4 - Visibility or invisibility of the phenomenon and the actors***

Sources show that certain countries of departure of children adopted in France appear to have been conducive to illicit practices. It should be noted from the outset that the presence of the countries of origin in the sources consulted certainly depends on the facts, but also on the zeal or at least the interest in international adoption of the French diplomatic and consular personnel who are accredited in these countries or ministry officials.

From the beginning of the 2000s, African countries were regularly singled out: Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Mali... And also, for more remote practices in time: Chile, Brazil, Peru, El Salvador, Vietnam, Romania, etc.. More recently, Sri Lanka, Guatemala and even Mali have focused the attention of the world of adoption, press inquiries, testimonial books, and legal proceedings in progress. What the work of analyzing the archives carried out within the framework of this study shows is that many countries, at one time or another, have been affected by illicit practices. It would therefore be necessary to re-examine the categories of "country at risk" and "safe country" taking due account of the chronology, reforms and national developments. The situations that have prevailed in at least sixty countries that have participated significantly in international adoption flows to France (more than 50 children) must be studied. This does not mean that countries which have sent few children to France are not affected by illicit practices. Sources show that this is particularly the case for Argentina and the Dominican Republic. In contrast to the most visible and targeted countries, South Korea, which since the end of the 1950s – and since the 1960s towards France – has been the most important source of international adoption, has long acts as a model. In the adoption space

international, we praised its centralized adoption procedures, the rigor of the keeping of children's files, an efficient system without bad surprises. Hence the absence of documents in the diplomatic archives dating from the 1980s or the 1990s mentioning illicit practices. The South Korean State, which for a long time delegated entirely the management of international adoptions to a private organization, the Holt, then had a very open policy towards adopted persons, considered as ambassadors of the country abroad, in particular in making it easier for them to return to Korea. But from the end of the 1980s, the foreign press, especially American, wondered about the reality of the status of orphans of children sent abroad. In 1999, Françoise Maury, a doctor of psychology and a former head of Terre des Hommes-France, precisely reports the criticisms made of the adoption system in South Korea but puts them into perspective a lot by evoking political accusations and fantasies. .

However, in recent years, adoptees have questioned the "model" representation of South Korea. In 2017, Korean Adoptees of the Diaspora (KAD) called on the South Korean President for "an immediate end to South Korea's international adoption industrial system". Foreign press articles relay individual investigations and the transnational mobilization initiated by people adopted in Denmark grouped in the Danish Korean Rights Group (DKRG). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which is responsible in South Korea for investigating state abuses between 1953 and the early 1990s, agreed in December 2022 to examine adoption files of children presented as orphans or abandoned and who adults have found their parents. In France, this approach is not widely relayed, perhaps because Racines Koreanes, the oldest association of adopted persons in France (created in 1995), by a press release in September 2022, did not join the DKRG's approach. .

The association prefers that this type of process be undertaken in agreement with the International Korean Adoptee Association (IKAA), a federation of associations of adopted persons of Korean origin created in 2004. There are also issues of power and of representation that has been found for several years between associations and collectives of adopted persons who act by different means, not concerted and sometimes in opposition, to advance the recognition of illegal adoptions.

Regarding intermediaries, there is also a magnifying glass effect to be avoided. Since the 2000s, a few OAAs have been in the crosshairs of the press and adoptees. We can cite Rayon de Soleil of the foreign child for business in Peru, Mali and other countries, Children of the Queen of Mercy in Ethiopia, Friends of the Children of the World in Guatemala. But very few are not cited on one occasion or another. It is true that it is much easier to target these intermediaries, who are authorized and empowered, and who must be accountable, or at least answer questions from state services, than to identify the multitude of intermediaries in individual adoptions most often located in the countries of origin. The current focus on ABOs, while justified, can also be explained as a means of diverting attention from the practices of individual adoptions. It would be necessary to study the attitudes of the various actors in the face of the revelations of illicit practices, and this over time, in order to clearly perceive the evolutions of the pendulum between sometimes a suspicious look which is focused on ABOs and sometimes on adoptions by individual approach.

## ***5 - Links between the search for origins and the discovery of illicit practices***

The question of illicit adoptions is closely linked to the question of the search for origins (RDO) by the adopted persons. Their legitimate claims and their thirst to know what

which constitutes their history and their identity must be understood by looking in the face at the illicit practices of international adoption which may have possibly concerned them. Cases of proven illicit practices were often discovered during RDOs and the people concerned then acted as whistleblowers.

In France, a double observation is necessary. On the one hand, the more than 120,000 international adoptions carried out are today, more or less, affected by the suspicion of illicit practices. On the other hand, among the demands expressed by some of the main associative players in adoption, such as the Voice of Adoptees (VDA), Recognition of Illegal International Adoptions in France (RAIF) and Childhood and Families of the adoption (EFA), includes a request to overhaul the system for researching origins. That is to say that well beyond an intimate approach relating to self-knowledge, the search for origins appears to be a central instrument to allow thousands of people to better understand the modalities of the process that has brought them about. brought to France in their childhood.

By recalling how an uprooting can leave significant scars in the individuals who were the object of it, even if the intention was benevolent, the current episode of international adoption questions the phenomenon as a measure of child protection.

As soon as it was authorized by a 1923 law, the question of adoption first concerned family law before child protection. Requests for legal security of the adoptive act by adoptive families emerge very quickly, in particular for fear of having the child withdrawn for the benefit of the biological family. The risk of seeing adoption marred by irregularities contributes to its entry into the government of the population and families. The concept of risk intersects with that of the child's vulnerability understood not only in relation to his parent family who abandoned him, but also vis-à-vis his adoptive family in order to ensure that he does not become, too, a risk for the child in terms of physical, psychological and material violence. In the search for their origins, adoptees are confronted with another risk, that of the opacity of the adoptive procedure, sufficient to disturb their subjectivity.

The National Council for Access to Personal Origins (CNAOP), created in 2002, does not seem suited to the requests of persons adopted internationally, a public for which it was not designed. There is no mention of international adoption on the CNAOP website, nor in the welcome booklet intended for applicants. Only the questionnaire for filing an application offers an item relating to the organization to which the person may have been entrusted: an "orphanage or adoption center abroad". But the CNAOP does not communicate on requests from people adopted internationally, while it does on the number of requests registered (11,496 between 2002 and 2020), the proportion of people born under secrecy having it seized (between 3 and 5% between 2002 and 2018), as well as on the success rate in identifying and locating spawners (58% between 2002 and 2018).

In a context where people adopted internationally in France find themselves caught in a vice between doubts about the terms of their adoption and the absence of an official system to guide their search for origins, it is necessary to understand and measure the proportion of people adopted internationally who are interested in researching their origins. In the Netherlands, in a survey carried out by the Commission of Inquiry into International Adoption, "more than four-fifths of adoptees believe that they should be entitled to research their origins", moreover "a half have already started to do so" and of the other half "a third would like to do so in the future". In France, among the 120,000 people adopted internationally, how many want to take this step (or have already taken it)? According to a survey of 268 people adopted internationally, the Voice of the Adoptees association suggests that 29% of respondents said they had information on the irregularity of the practices that led to their adoption. On a

A larger and more diverse sample than that of the activist VDA network, how many people adopted internationally have doubts about the legality of their adoption practices?

In addition, there is also a need to understand and measure current international origins research practices. What are the initiatives taken individually by the adopted persons themselves (use of social networks, DNA tests, but also private detectives, on-site visits, etc.), as well as those carried out or encouraged by associative actors? Faced with the shortcomings of the archives concerning them, and failing to find their family of origin and the reasons for their adoption, the persons concerned sometimes decide to turn to illegal fallback solutions in France such as the use of genetic tests called "recreational". The latter propose to retrace a "genealogy" through the identification of ethnic origins. According to VDA, 55% of the 268 people in their sample "have found or are looking for their biological family", while 39% "report using social networks and/or DNA tests".

However, there are more and more ways to publicize the information available. In particular, as regards the quest for origins, the actions are relayed by the associative fabric and the social networks built by the adopted persons themselves, operating primarily on the principle of mutual aid.

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This study, co-authored by two historians, does not claim to provide all the answers to the questions currently being asked about illicit practices in international adoption. The historical approach developed is based first on the analysis of available public archives, that is to say classified, inventoried and searchable. The many other sources in France and abroad (personal files, judgment files, administrative files, OAA, AFA, parents' associations, associations of adopted persons, natural or legal person intermediaries), more or less available, or to be created like the oral sources, have been mentioned and would of course deserve further in-depth historical work. There would also be, on the sidelines of the international, a study to be carried out on illicit practices in national adoption.

In the approach implemented, any caricature, simplism or simplification have been banned. Without seeking to artificially complicate things, it was necessary to present, beyond the facts, the complexity of the contexts, the issues and the interactions between actors. All the actors involved in international adoption have been confronted with illicit practices, some have been their perpetrators, others have covered them up or let them be, still others have fought them with varying degrees of results.

In history, because of the method used, it is difficult to understand the most recent years. In their respective scientific disciplines, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and lawyers could provide some answers to the question that prolongs this study: have illicit practices existed in recent years, still today? If the answer is affirmative with regard to facts denounced and documented by foreign reports, whistleblowers or the press, the scale of the phenomenon is quite different from that of previous periods. Today there are twenty times fewer arrivals of foreign children adopted in France than 20 years ago. The control of international adoption is therefore more feasible, with more efficient means within a well-established international normative framework. Any illicit practice is therefore intolerable.

To better understand illicit practices and those of today, open and participatory science can help researchers. In addition to the publication in *open access* of this research report, the database created as part of this study can constitute a real tool for creating knowledge. All persons interested in the subject can seize it, not only to consult it and question it, but also to enrich it by indicating elements which will be inserted there regularly.

The authors of this study hope that its reading will contribute to a better understanding of illicit practices in international adoption. And that the people concerned will be able to place their personal stories, all different, in a more global story of international adoption.

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