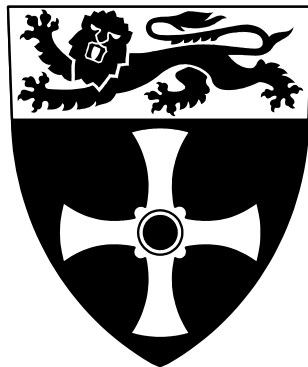


UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE



Intercountry Adoption in Europe 1998- 2006: patterns, trends and issues.

**Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the
Social Policy Association, Edinburgh, June 2008**

Peter Selman

**Visiting Fellow, School of Geography,
Politics & Sociology, Newcastle University**

Data presented are subject to checking and modification.
Not to be quoted without permission of the author.

06.06.2008

The author can be contacted at;
School of Geography, Politics &
Sociology, Newcastle University,
Claremont Bridge level 5
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU,
Tel +44 191 222 7538;
e-mail p.f.selman@ncl.ac.uk
or pfselman@yahoo.co.uk

Intercountry Adoption in Europe 1998-2006: patterns, trends and issues.

Peter Selman

School of Geography, Politics and Sociology
Newcastle University

1. Introduction

Critics have raised many doubts about the movement of children for intercountry adoption, asking whether it is a “global gift or global trade ?” (Triseliotis 2000): “a global problem or a global solution?” (Masson 2001). In this paper I want to explore this question in Europe which shares with America the pattern of being a continent with major movements of children between countries – in America from South to North; in Europe from East to West. However, Europe is of particular interest in the context of the enlarged EU which contains both receiving States and States of origin. I shall look in particular at the pressures on Romania and Bulgaria to reduce the number of children sent for intercountry adoption in the years preceding their accession in January 2007, which resulted in the suspension of adoptions from Romania in 2005 and a major reduction in the movement of children from Belarus and Bulgaria after 2003.

The main contribution of the paper is to provide the first detailed analysis of the movement of children to and from European countries in the context of the total movement of at least 45,000 children in 2004. The paper starts with a statement of the countries defined as “European” and clarification of the identification of these as primarily receiving States or States of origin. There will be a brief consideration of the history of intercountry adoption (ICA) in Europe since the Second World War, a more detailed account of which can be found in earlier paper (Selman 1998), but the paper will concentrate on the pattern of movement in the first six years of the twentieth century.

1.1 Countries studied and Classification as sending or receiving States

The study is concerned with the movement of children for intercountry adoption to and from European countries. The countries chosen were the 46 member states of the Council of Europe in 2004 (Montenegro was still a part of Serbia & Montenegro in that year), with the addition of Belarus as a candidate for membership. The Holy See was not included. This made a total of 47 states for which data were sought.

In order to carry out the analysis countries were divided into receiving States and States of origin. Where countries had responded to the Hague Special Commission questionnaire of 2005 their own definition was taken; - although many receiving States send some children as well, only the Czech Republic and Portugal described themselves as “both a receiving State and a State of origin”. Available information indicates that both countries currently send more children than they receive. Other States – those not responding to the Hague questionnaire - were classified in accordance with the available data – i.e. whether, on the basis of available statistics, they sent or received more children. Most States were involved in intercountry adoption with the exception of Liechtenstein, San Marino and Slovenia, which had sent no children in the period studied and appeared not to have received children from any of the European sending countries. Table 1 below shows the division of states.

The division resulted in 21 States being classified as receiving States and 21 as States of origin. The Czech Republic and Portugal were self-classified as “both a receiving State and a State of origin”, but have been treated as States of origin for the purpose of data analysis. Liechtenstein, San Marino, Slovenia and Vatican City have been excluded as there was no statistical evidence of any children being sent or received.

The resultant division is, not surprisingly, between the rich and poor countries of Europe (See Appendix 1). The poorest receiving country (Malta) had a per capita GNI of \$12,250 in 2004. In the richest sending country (Hungary) the per capita figures was \$8,270. The two countries classifying themselves as “both sending and receiving”, the Czech Republic and Portugal had figures of \$9,150 and \$10,441 respectively! Although the flow of children was out, the sending countries had a consistently lower total fertility rate.

Table 1: European States and Intercountry Adoption in 2008.

Classification as receiving State or State of origin; by membership of European Union and ratification of 1993 Hague Convention

Receiving States			States of Origin		
Countries self-classified by Hague Questionnaire					
Country	EU	Hague*	Country	EU	Hague*
Andorra	NO	YES	Estonia	YES	YES
Austria	YES	YES	Hungary	YES	YES
Cyprus	YES	YES	Latvia	YES	YES
Denmark	YES	YES	Lithuania	YES	YES
Finland	YES	YES	Moldova	NO	YES
France	YES	YES	Poland	YES	YES
Germany	YES	YES	Romania	YES (2007)	YES
Italy	YES	YES	Serbia-Montenegro	NO	YES
Luxembourg	YES	YES	Slovak Republic	YES	YES
Malta	YES	YES	Turkey	NO	YES
Monaco	NO	YES	10	7	(10)
Netherlands	YES	YES			
Norway	NO	YES			
Spain	YES	YES			
Sweden	YES	YES			
Switzerland	NO	YES			
16	(12)	(16)			
Hague Countries stating "both receiving State and State of Origin"					
			Czech Republic	YES	YES
			Portugal	YES	YES
			12	9	12
Countries classified by predominance of adoptions					
Belgium	YES	YES	Albania	NO	YES
Greece	YES	YES	Armenia	NO	NO
Iceland	NO	YES	Azerbaijan	NO	YES
Ireland	YES	Signed	Belarus	NO	YES
UK	YES	YES	Bosnia	NO	NO
21	(16)	(19)	Bulgaria	YES (2007)	YES
			Croatia	NO	NO
			Georgia	NO	NO
			Macedonia	NO	NO
			Russia	NO	Signed
			Ukraine	NO	NO
			23	(10)	(16)
Countries with no evidence of sending or receiving children					
Liechtenstein	NO	NO	Slovenia	YES	NO
San Marino	NO	YES	(Vatican city)	NO	NO
* Countries who have ratified (or acceded to) the 1993 Hague Convention					
N.B. All Listed States are members of Council of Europe except Belarus					

2. Intercountry Adoption in Europe from the Second World War to the Hague Convention

The movement of children from Europe to distant lands has a long history, notably in the 160,000 “child migrants” sent by the UK to Australia, Canada and New Zealand and the United States between 1618 and 1967 (Bean & Melville 1989; Parker 2007), but intercountry adoption as a legal phenomenon involving formal agreements between sending and receiving countries is usually seen as developing in the aftermath of the second world war “primarily as a North American philanthropic response to the devastation of Europe in World War II that resulted in thousands of orphaned children”. (Altstein & Simon 1991), although during the war itself there were movements of children within Europe – e.g. from Finland to Sweden – and the widespread “adoption” in Germany of children fathered by German soldiers (Textor 1991).

Adoption from Europe to the United States 1948 to 1989;

During the period 1948 to 1962 US parents adopted nearly 20,000 children from abroad. Many of these came from European countries - 3,116 from Greece (influenced also by the Greek Civil War); 1,845 from Germany; 744 from Austria - but there were also nearly 3,000 children adopted from Japan and a new source of adopted children emerged in the mid 1950s following the Korean War with over 4,000 children adopted from Korea by 1962 (Altstein & Simon 1991) . The peak of "European" adoptions came in the period 1947 - 1957 when around 70 per cent of children adopted in the United States were of European origin” (Carstens & Julia 1995). In the next 12 years - from 1963 to 1974 - a further 30,000 children were adopted by American citizens, the majority from Korea but some 20-25 per cent from Europe (most from Germany, Italy and Greece but also from England and Ireland). After 1975 the number of adoptions to USA from Europe fell dramatically while those from Asia and Latin America rose (see Table 2). There was also a movement of children within Europe. As late as 1974 a quarter of all intercountry adoptions in the Netherlands involved European children and during the thirty years following World War II a total of 576 Greek and 291 Austrian children are recorded as being adopted by Dutch parents. In Denmark 80 per cent of intercountry adoptions in 1970 involved children from other European countries; ten years later only 24 of the 766 ICAs in 1980 were of European children.

Table 2: United States: Major Countries of Origin for children granted orphan visas + % of total: selected years 1948 - 1987 (European in Bold)

1948-1962	1967	1972	1982	1987
Korea 22%	Germany 30%	Korea 52%	Korea 57%	Korea 58%
Greece 16%	Korea 25%	Canada 12%	Colombia 9%	India 8%
Japan 13%	Italy 7%	Germany 7%	India 7%	Philippines 6%
Germany 10%	Japan 5%	Philippines 4%	Philippines 6%	Guatemala 3%
Austria 4%	England 4%	Vietnam 4%	El Salvador 3%	Mexico 2%
19,230	1,905	3,023	5,749	10,097

By the late 1980s Europe had become insignificant as a source of children for international adoption. Many of the former states of origin had become receiving states; - e.g. Germany and Italy were receiving more than 500 children a year and the only European country sending children on a significant scale was Poland. It is only in the last 15 years that Europe has once again become a significant source initially with adoptions from Romania and later from other Eastern European countries, such as Russia and Ukraine. In 1991 a third of all intercountry adoptees who entered the USA were from Romania alone. Table 3 shows the renewed importance of European countries as a source of children in the USA from 1991 to 2006 (see also Ruggeiro 2007).

Table 3: United States: Major Countries of Origin for children granted orphan visas: selected years 1991 - 1982 (European in Bold)

1991	1996	2001	2006
Romania 28%	China 29%	China 24%	China 31%
Korea 20%	Russia 22%	Russia 22%	Guatemala 20%
Peru 8%	Korea 14%	Korea 10%	Russia 18%
Colombia 6%	Romania 5%	Guatemala 8%	Korea 7%
India 5%	Guatemala 4%	Ukraine 6%	Ethiopia 5%
9,008	11,316	19,237	20,679

3. Intercountry Adoption to and from Europe 1970 - 1993

In this period intercountry adoption in Europe became largely about children moving from third world countries and was increasingly seen as a response to the needs of childless couples for whom the availability of young children for domestic adoption had diminished dramatically following the liberalisation of abortion laws in the 1970s. Although substantial numbers of children from overseas were adopted in France, Italy and Germany, the level of adoption in relation to population size was highest in the Netherlands and Scandinavia, where rates were several times higher than in the United States. In Sweden it has been estimated that during the period 1977 to 1985 out of every hundred children added to its population two were adopted from abroad (Andersson 1986). Large scale intercountry adoption was first seen in Sweden in the 1960s but by the 1970s was well established in Scandinavia and the Netherlands. By 1980 the four European countries were receiving almost as many children as the United States (see Table 4); 13 years later they received less than a third of the total in the United States.

Table 4 Annual number of intercountry adoptions in USA, Sweden, Netherlands, Denmark and Norway, 1970 – 1993; ranked by number in 1980

Receiving country	1970	1975	1980	1987	1993
USA	2,409	5,633	5,139	10,097	7,377
Sweden	1,150	1,517	1,704	1,355	934
Netherlands	192	1,018	1,559	872	574
Denmark	226	770	766	537	473
Norway	115	397	384	465	541

Source: Selman (2006)

In the 1980s the number of adoptions to the United States rose sharply, while in Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands numbers were falling. However from the late 1980s the number of children going to America also began to fall, reaching a low point of 7,093 visas granted in fiscal year 1990. During this period European countries had been major recipients of children but contributed little in the way of sending children for

intercountry adoption. Intercountry adoption in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s was largely about children moving from Asia and Latin America. Kane's study of the 1980s (Kane 1993) shows that Korea (61,235) alone accounted for about a third of all intercountry adoptions and that, of the other 13 countries sending at least 1,000 children between 1980 and 1989, the only European country was Poland (1,480).

This pattern was then reversed dramatically with the collapse of the Ceausescu regime in December 1989 and the huge wave of adoptions that ensued in the following two years (see Selman 1998; 2008). "UNICEF (1999) has estimated that more than 10,000 children were taken from the country between January 1990 and July 1991, when the newly established Romanian Adoption Committee finally imposed a moratorium" (Selman 2008). The arrival of 2,594 children from Romania in fiscal year 1991 had boosted the number of orphan visas issued in the United States to 8,481, but a year later the number had fallen to 6,472 in 1992, less than two-thirds of the number granted in 1987, and many commentators were talking about an end to intercountry adoption. A similar pattern is found in European countries. During the 5 months from August 1990 to February 1991, 500 or more Romanian children went to France, Germany and Italy and at least 200 to Greece, Switzerland and the United Kingdom (Defence for Children International 1991). Thereafter numbers fell back sharply.

However by the end of the decade other Eastern European countries – Belarus, Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine - had become important new sources of children, alongside China and in the United States the number of orphan visas had risen to 22,824 in fiscal year 2004, while global numbers were estimated as over 45,000 (Selman 2006). In that year European sending countries accounted for over 30 per cent of all intercountry adoptions despite a virtual cessation of adoptions from Romania. It is to an analysis of trends in this period that I will devote the rest of the paper.

4. Receiving States in Europe 1995-2006

From the mid 1990s the number of children adopted internationally began to rise in all European countries, including those which had experienced major falls in the previous fifteen years (Table 5 below)

Table 5: Intercountry Adoption to the United States and selected European receiving countries 1995 to 2006: By rank in 1999

Country	1995	1999	2003	2004	2006
United States	8,987	16,363	21,616	22,884	20,679
France	3,034	3,597	3,995	4,079	3,977
Italy	2,161	2,177	2,772	3,402	3,188
Spain	815	2,006	3,951	5,541	4,472
Sweden	895	1,019	1,046	1,109	879
Netherlands	661	993	1,154	1,307	816
Germany	537	977	674	650	583
Denmark	548	697	523	528	450
Norway	488	589	714	706	448
Belgium	430	450	430	470	383
UK	154	312	301	334	364
Ireland	52	191	358	398	313
Total to Europe	10,429	13,716	16,922	19,501	16,561
Total to all Countries¹	22,161 (19)²	32,912 (22)	41,529 (23)	45,287 (23)	39,736² (22)
% to Europe	47%	42%	41%	43%	42%
% to USA	41%	49%	52%	51%	52%
Other states³	12%	9%	7%	6%	6%

1. The other countries include in the overall totals are Australia, Canada, Finland, Iceland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, and Switzerland - with addition of Cyprus, Israel and Malta from 1999 and Andorra from 2001.
2. Figures in brackets indicate number of countries for which data were available each year.
3. Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Israel

Throughout the period France, Italy and Spain accounted for more than half of the total intercountry adoptions to Europe, with Sweden and the Netherlands being the next most important receiving countries. Since 1998 about half of all children sent for international adoption during this period have gone to the United States, but throughout the period the highest level of intercountry adoption (per 100,000 population) has been found in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and (since 2001) Spain and Ireland (see Table 6 below).

Table 6: Crude intercountry adoption rates (per 100,000 population): selected receiving countries 1998-2005 – ranked by 2005 rate

Country	Number of Adoptions 2005	Population (1,000s) 2005	Adoptions Per 100,000 Population 2005	Adoptions Per 1,000 population 2001	Adoptions Per 1,000 population 1998
Spain	5,423	43,064	12.6	8.6	3.8
Norway	582	4,620	12.6	15.9	14.6
Sweden	1,083	9,041	12.0	11.8	10.5
Denmark	586	5,431	10.8	9.8	11.8
Ireland	366	4,148	8.8	9.3	3.3
U.S.A.	22,728	298,213	7.6	7.6	5.8
Netherlands	1,185	16,229	7.3	7.2	5.3
France	4,136	60,496	6.8	6.7	6.4
U.K.	367	59,668	0.6	0.5	0.4

The differing levels of intercountry adoption are very striking and merit further examination, especially the dramatic rise in Spain and Ireland (see Table 7) and the continuing low rate in the UK, which has been variously attributed to official policies (Weil 1984), attitudes of professionals (Hayes 2000), costs (Halifax 2006), the continuation of domestic adoption in contrast to most of mainland Europe and past experience of sending children to other countries. .

4.1 The growth of intercountry adoption 1998 – 2004

The number of international adoptions worldwide doubled between 1995 and 2004 (see Table 5). Between 1998 and 2004 the overall increase was 42 per cent but there was wide variation between receiving countries, with Spain experiencing a rise of 273 per cent and Ireland a rise of 171 per cent (see Table 7 below). In contrast total numbers fell in Canada and Denmark

**Table 7: Percentage Change in Number of Adoptions
1998 - 2004: Selected Receiving States**

Country	Adoptions 1998	Adoptions 2001	Adoptions 2004	Change 1998-2004
				%
Spain	1,487	3,428	5,541	+ 273
Ireland	147	179	398	+ 171
Netherlands	825	1,122	1,307	+ 58.4
Italy	2,233	1,797	3,403	+ 52.3
Europe (17 countries)	13,098	14,349	19,502	+ 48.9
USA	15,774	19,237	22,884	+ 45.1
Total (22 countries)	31,924	36,376	45,265	+ 41.8
UK	258	326	332	+ 28.7
Sweden	928	1,044	1,109	+ 19.5
France	3,777	3,094	4,079	+ 8.0
Canada	2,222	1,874	1,955	- 12.0
Denmark	624	631	528	- 15.0

3. *Source: Selman (2006)*

4.1 The decline of intercountry adoption in Europe 2004 - 2006

The steady increase in the global number of intercountry adoptions was reversed in 2005 and the decline accelerated in 2006 by which time almost all the major receiving countries had experienced a fall in numbers. Overall there was a fall of 12 per cent across 22 states but there was substantial variation between countries (see Table 8) with the largest decline in Netherlands and Norway and a smallest in France and the United Kingdom (although the figures for the UK are for applications only).

Table 8: Changes in number of adoptions 2004-2006; ranked by percentage decline in 2006 from 2004 or 2005

Country	2004	2005	2006	Reduction 2004/5 – 6
Netherlands	1,307	1,185	816	- 37%
Norway	706	582	448	- 37%
Finland	289	308	218	-29%
Denmark	528	585	450	- 24%
Sweden	1,109	1,083	879	-21%
Spain	5,541	5,423	4,472	- 20%
Belgium	470	471	383	- 19%
Europe (17 countries)	19,501	18,410	16,553	- 15%
All Countries (22)	45,287	43,821	39,728	- 12 %
United States	22,884	22,728	20,679	- 9.4%
Italy	3,402	2,840	3,188	- 6.3%
France	4,079	4,136	3,977	- 3.8%
UK	334	367	364	- 0.8%

5. States of Origin In Europe 1991 – 2006

In 1991 Romania alone accounted for 28 per cent of intercountry adoptions in the United States. Five years later Romanian adoptions contributed only 5 per cent but this had been more than compensated for by the contribution of Russia in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union (see Table 3 above). From 1989-1991 only two of the 20 countries sending most children to the US were European – Romania and Poland. By 1994 this had risen to six with the addition of Russia, Bulgaria, the Ukraine and Lithuania and in 1997 the total increased to seven, with Russia the most important source of children. In 2003 there were seven of the top 20 were still European countries, but three years later in 2006 only Russia, the Ukraine and Poland remained in the top 20. Table 9 below shows the number of orphan visas issued for children from European countries between 1991 and 2006.

**Table 9: Orphan Visas to USA: Fiscal years 1991 – 2006:
peak year in BOLD**

State of Origin	1991	1996	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006
Russia	<50	2,454	4,279	4,939	5,865	4,639	3,706
Ukraine	<50	<50	1,246	1,106	723	821	460
Romania	2,954	555	782	168	57	2	0
Bulgaria	<50	163	297	260	110	30	28
Belarus	<50	<50	129	169	202	21	0
Poland	92	64	86	101	102	73	67
Latvia	<50	82	27	33	15	27	24
Lithuania	<50	78	30	21	29	26	14
Total = 8 states	>3,000	3,233	6,876	7,536	7,103	5,639	4,299
All countries	8,841	10,641	18,477	19,224	21,616	22,739	20,632
8 states as %	>34%	30%	37%	39%	33%	25%	21%

There has also been an increased movement of children **within** Europe. From 2001-4 six of the 10 countries sending most children to Italy were European – the Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Belarus, Russia and Poland (in descending order). By 2006-7 this had reduced to three: Russia, Poland and the Ukraine. A similar pattern is found in France and Spain.

Statistics from EurAdopt¹ for 1993-2007 show that for member agencies the top ten sending countries included only two European countries – Russia and Romania. In 1993 the top ten were all from Asia or Latin America, with Colombia the most important source until 1998, since when China has sent most children. Romania was an important source from 1995-1999 and Russia since 1996. Ethiopia has been one of the top ten countries sending children throughout the period and was the second most important source of children in 2006 and 2007.

The impending accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU resulted in pressure on those countries to reduce the number of children sent, despite the fact that EU countries lead the way in receiving children and existing members such as Latvia, Lithuania and Poland continue to send many children. There is now clear evidence of the impact of these pressures on the total number of children sent by Romania and Bulgaria since 2002 (Table 10), but numbers have also fallen in the Ukraine and Belarus .

Table 10; Adoptions from Eastern Europe 2003-2006

	2003	2004	2005	2006
Russia	7,746	9,425	7,471	6,752
Ukraine	2,052	2,021	1,705	1,031
Bulgaria	962	368	115	96
Belarus	636	627	23	34
Romania	465	287	15	0
Poland	345	408	397	375
Lithuania	85	103	78	91
Hungary	69	68	24	90
Latvia	65	124	114	140

The changing pattern of sending countries in the period of decline in total numbers can be seen in Table 11 which lists the top ten states of origin for the US, Spain, France, Italy and the United States in 2004 and 2006.

¹ EurAdopt is an organisation of European adoption agencies, predominantly from the Nordic countries and the Netherlands, with the gradual addition of selected agencies from Belgium, Italy, France and other European countries

Table 11: Countries sending most children to USA, Spain, Catalonia, France, Italy and Euradopt agencies in 2004

USA	SPAIN	FRANCE	ITALY	EURADOPT
China	China	Haiti	Russia	China
Russia	Russia	China	Ukraine	Colombia
Guatemala	Ukraine	Russia	Colombia	India
S. Korea	Colombia	Ethiopia	Belarus	Ethiopia
Kazakhstan	Ethiopia	Vietnam	Brazil	South Africa
Ukraine	India	Colombia	Poland	Thailand
India	Bolivia	Madagascar	Ethiopia	Brazil
Haiti	Nepal	Ukraine	Romania	Russia
Ethiopia	Bulgaria	Latvia	Bulgaria	Taiwan
Colombia	Romania	Brazil	India	Belarus
22,884	5,541	4,079	3,998	4,204

Table 11a: Countries sending most children to USA, Spain, Catalonia, France, Italy and Euradopt agencies in 2006

USA	SPAIN	FRANCE	ITALY	EURADOPT
China	China	Vietnam	Russia	China
Guatemala	Russia	Haiti	Brazil	Ethiopia
Russia	Ethiopia	Ethiopia	Colombia	Colombia
S. Korea	Colombia	Russia	Vietnam	Korea
Ethiopia	Ukraine	Colombia	Poland	South Africa
Kazakhstan	Nepal	China	Ethiopia	India
Ukraine	India	Madagascar	Ukraine	Thailand
Liberia	Kazakhstan	Mali	Cambodia	Russia
Colombia	Panama	Brazil	India	Vietnam
India	Peru	Burkina Faso	Nepal	Brazil
20,679	4,472	3,977	3,188	3,094

6: The movement of children within Europe 2003-2006

In order to provide an accurate picture of the current movement of children, the final part of this paper will concentrate on a detailed analysis of the movement of children to and from 47 European states between 2003 and 2006. As outlined in Section 1 these are the 46 countries in the Council of Europe in 2003 and Belarus. The list includes three countries – Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, which are often classed geographically as Asian. The data presented, therefore, concern a total of 19 European receiving countries (with partial data for Austria). This does not mean that countries listed as receiving States did not send children: e.g. in 2004 the United Kingdom sent children to the USA (12), New Zealand (9) and Sweden (2).

Table 12 shows the wide variation in the proportion of children going to eight European receiving countries from other members of the Council of Europe. Two smaller countries (Andorra and Cyprus) took children only from Europe and two (Iceland and Luxembourg) took only from outside Europe. Of the non-European receiving states, Israel took children only from European countries (mainly Russia and the Ukraine) while Australia took very few from Europe (none in 2003-4). The proportion of children received from Europe fell over the 4 years, as a result of the reduction in the number of children sent by Romania and Belarus

A similar wide variation was found in sending countries (Table 13). The figures cited for the states of origin are based on data provided by 22 receiving states (Selman 2007, 2008). The EU countries were most likely to send children to other European countries while the lowest proportion sent was found in Russia and the three European/Asian members of the Council of Europe, which sent children mainly to the United States. Serbia/ Montenegro and Croatia sent few children, all to other European countries in 2003. However, the proportion of children sent to other European countries has grown over the period from 43% to 47%.

A full listing of data for all receiving and sending countries is available on request.

Table 12 Proportion of children adopted in Europe who came from other European countries: selected receiving countries 2003 – 2006 ranked by proportion from Europe in 2004

Year>	2003		2004		2006	
Country v	Total Adoptions	% from Europe	Total Adoptions	% from Europe	Total Adoptions	% from Europe
Ireland	358	55%	398	65%	313	49%
Italy	2,772	62%	3,403	64%	3,188	45 %
Germany	674	33%	650	52%	583	29%
Spain	3,951	48%	5,541	38%	4,472	34%
18 States	16,898	34%	19,502	32%	116,553	25 %
All 23 states	41,259	32%	45,288	31%	39,738	21 %
France	3,995	22%	4,079	21%	3,977	14 %
Sweden	1,046	20%	1,109	16%	879	11%
Norway	714	6%	706	4%	448	6%
Netherlands	1,154	2%	1,307	2%	818	4%

Table 13 Proportion of children sent to other European countries: selected sending countries 2003 – 2006 ranked by proportion sent to Europe in 2004.

Year>	2003		2004		2006	
Country v	Number	% to Europe	Number	% to Europe	Number	% to Europe
Slovakia	42	98%	75	99%	28	100%
Latvia	65	77%	124	86%	140	83%
Poland	345	72%	408	74%	362	81%
Ukraine	2,052	60%	2,046	60%	1,031	49%
23 States	12,961	43%	13,956	45%	8,843	47%
All states	41,527	42%	45,288	42%	39,738	42%
Russia	7,746	30%	9,440	36%	6,752	42%
Moldova	18	33%	65	29%	34	56%
Armenia	73	25%	57	28%	64	31%
Georgia	156	2%	32	6%	9	0%

6.1 Summary

We can see from the above tables that European countries now receive substantially more children than they send. Between 2003 and 2006 European receiving countries accounted for about 42 per cent of all adoptions from abroad but the proportion of adoptions worldwide which involved children from Europe fell from 32 per cent in 2003 to 21 per cent in 2006. By that year only 25% of adoptions to Europe were from other European countries. This has been the result of a period in which Romania ended overseas adoption and a number of other East European countries reduced numbers significantly. The fall is most evident in Romania and Bulgaria, the two countries seeking membership of the EU during these years. However two of the existing EU members from the former Eastern block actually increased the number of children sent over the same period (see Table 10 above) . Nevertheless, if we consider only countries which were EU members in 2007 the proportion of intercountry adoptions from these states in 2006 was only 2 per cent worldwide (4 % for EU receiving states).

7: What has been the impact of intercountry adoption on the well-being of children in Europe ?

This is perhaps an impossible question to end with, but I shall try to begin a discussion by addressing a number of related issues;

- 1) What is the experience of the children adopted from outside Europe into European countries since WW2 ?
- 2) What has been the experience of children adopted out of European countries to North America or Oceania: has there been any difference in relation to children adopted within Europe ?
- 3) Has the practice of ICA adversely affected the development of childcare, including in-country adoption in States of origin ?
- 4) Has the growth of ICA discouraged receiving States from developing special needs adoption for children within these States ?

Debates over these issues has become part of the on-going debate about the future of international adoption in the expanding European Union.

7.1 What is the experience of the children adopted from outside Europe into European countries since World War 2

There is now a substantial number of “children” from Asia and Latin America who have grown up as European citizens – most still living in West. The long tradition of overseas adoption in the Nordic countries and the Netherlands has resulted in a large body of research which extends to the experience of adoptees as adults.

Most of this research is positive although Dalen (1998) notes that in Scandinavia there is a substantial minority of adoptees who have major problems. Further evidence of this is found in the study by Hjern and his colleagues (2002) which showed an increased risk of suicide in adopted people in their late teens and early twenties. A longitudinal study by Verhulst (2000) of children adopted in the Netherlands showed generally good progress but an increase in problem behaviour in adolescence. Additional evidence of the outcomes for children adopted from overseas can be found in the work of Juffer & van Ijzendoorn in the Netherlands (2008) and Palacios (2006) on Spain.

Issues of identity have been identified as a problem for older adoptees, especially in the Nordic countries where the number of people from ethnic minorities was very few in the years when many children arrived for intercountry adoption. Even today a majority of Koreans living in Denmark were adopted by Danish parents and Dalen and Saetersdal (in Selman 2000) note some of the problems facing the Vietnamese adopted into Norway, who sought to distance themselves from immigrants, the “boat-people” who arrived at the same time.

7.2 What has been the experience of children adopted out of European countries to North America or Oceania: Has there been any difference in relation to children adopted within Europe?

The children adopted to the United States from war-torn Europe are now middle aged and yet there has been surprisingly little published research on them. There is, however a vivid account of one such adoption by Peter Dodds (1997), who was adopted in the United States after being “rescued” from a German orphanage in the 1950s, and articulates some of the problems not recognised by those who sent them away or who took them in. It is also often forgotten that many Finnish children moved to other Scandinavian countries during the Second World War; 70,000 to Sweden alone (Serenius 1995).

There has been a substantial amount of research on the children adopted from Romania to Canada and the United States (Haugaard, 2000). Most of this indicates positive gains, at least in the short term, and mirrors the experiences of children from Romania adopted within Europe (Hoksbergen 2002, Rutter et al, 1998; 2008)

There has been less research on children adopted from other European countries, but there have been suggestions of many problems associated with Russian children suffering from foetal alcohol syndrome and in the United States some of these appear to have led to major reactions from the adoptive parents with reports of a number who have killed their adopted children. The situation of children adopted from Russia in the UK is discussed by Farina (2004).

7.3 Has the practice of ICA adversely affected the development of childcare, including in-country adoption, in sending countries?

A number of researchers have argued that intercountry adoption has had a negative impact on the development of services for children in European states of origin. This has been most extensively argued in respect of Romania (Dickens 2002, 2006; Post 2007). In a recent article Chou and Browne (2008) have sought to extend this to all European sending countries by presenting a Spearman rank correlation which shows a significant relationship between the proportion of all adoptions which are intercountry and the number of under 3s in institutional care. However the data used is flawed and the exclusion, due to lack of data on adoption, of two key countries (Poland and the Czech Republic) makes the finding suspect (Paloma et al 2008)

Despite the lack of clear evidence for any country other than Romania, there seems to be a growing feeling within the European Parliament that it is somehow inappropriate for a member country to be sending large numbers of children for intercountry adoption, despite the fact that many go to other European countries..

This has been manifested in recent years by a determined campaign led by Baroness Emma Nicholson, but also by an interest in funding research into the area. In 2008 *Terre des Hommes* published a study of 6 European receiving countries (Lammerant & Hofsterre 2008) which is highly critical of some practices and calls for “political measures by the receiving countries, individually and collectively, in the interests of children, especially within the framework of the Hague Conference on Private International Law and the European Union”. One consequence of this report was that the European Parliament has commissioned a major study by ChildONEurope of all 27 member states and the Council of Europe has revised the 1967 *European Convention on the Adoption of Children*.

7.4 Has the growth of ICA discouraged receiving states from developing special needs adoption for children within these countries?

The Terre des Hommes study was focussed on European receiving states and we saw earlier in this paper that these countries account for about 42 per cent of all international adoptions. Although the United States continues to be the main receiver of children in absolute numbers, the countries with the highest rate of international adoption standardised against population or annual births are all from Western Europe – most notably Spain and the three major Scandinavian countries.

Amongst EU members only the UK and Portugal have a rate of less than 1 per 10,000 population. In recent years there has been a growing interest in the UK policy of encouraging domestic adoption as a solution to the failure of the care system, a policy shared with the United States but not found in any other European country. Domestic adoption is rare in many countries (Selman & Mason 2005) and this has been a trigger for childless couples in Spain and Italy to turn rather to intercountry adoption.

In the article mentioned in the previous section, Chou & Browne have argued that intercountry adoption has a negative impact also on children in receiving states. The authors accept that the correlation they find between international adoption and institutional care in receiving countries is ‘open to question’ (2008: 47), they nonetheless assert that ‘adopting healthy young children from abroad may distract attention from hard-to-place children within the receiving countries’ (2008: 47).

The weak correlation shown is only made possible by the exclusion of the UK, Iceland, Slovenia as well as, crucially, the European country with the highest rate of incoming intercountry adoption, Norway. Likewise, Sweden is wrongly shown as a country with a low proportion of intercountry adoptions despite having the highest proportion after Norway). Another missing country is Denmark, which has a low rate of institutional care (8 per 10,000 according to Browne 2005) and where 93 per cent of adoptions were international incoming in 2001 (ChildONEurope 2006).

8. Conclusion

The number of intercountry adoptions recorded worldwide has been falling since 2004 after a decade of continuous growth (Table 5). The fall in numbers has been greater in Europe than in the United States and within Europe has been greatest in Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands (Table 8). A major factor in this dramatic reversal has been the reduction in the number of children sent from Europe, although the impact of China's retrenchment has probably been more significant in total numbers (Selman 2008).

One result of this largely unexpected change of direction has been that the number of people approved for intercountry adoption now far outstrips the number of children available. Prospective adoptive parents in France and Spain face a long wait for a child and many may never receive one. China's decision to end placements with single women means that this group will face particular difficulties. The fear is that this will bring out the market mechanisms which many have noted and lead to a trade in children as agencies seek new sources of adoptable children, the "price" of such children rises or - as is already happening in Italy - prospective parents take on older children with potential problems for which they have not been prepared.

Although most research into the outcome of intercountry adoption is positive, showing a remarkable developmental "catch-up" in children who had been in institutions (van Ijzendoorn & Juffer 2006), the findings from Hjern (2002) and others suggest considerable problems for a minority of those involved and evidence of trafficking has led one commentator to express the fear that "...the recurrent cycle of scandal, excuse, and ineffective "reform" will probably continue until intercountry adoption is finally abolished, with history labelling the entire enterprise as a neo-colonialist mistake" (Smolin 2004:35). We should, perhaps also ponder the words of Roy Parker in the conclusion to his devastating account of the 80,000 children shipped from Britain to Canada by Poor Law authorities and voluntary bodies between 1867 and 1917: "One cannot help wondering how the convictions that are entertained today about the needs of vulnerable children and how these should be met mightbe judged 100 years from now" (Parker 2008:293).

APPENDIX

Table A1 Intercountry Adoptions in Europe in 2004; Adoption Ratios (adoptions per 1,000 live births); GNI per capita and Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in 2004 - in order of ratio

RECEIVING STATES				STATES OF ORIGIN			
Country	Ratio	GNI per capita	TFR	Country	Ratio	GNI per capita	TFR
Norway	12.8	52,030	1.8	Russia	7.7	3,410	1.3
Spain	12.4	21,210	1.3	Belarus	7.1	2,120	1.2
Sweden	11.7	35,770	1.7	Bulgaria	6.3	2,740	1.2
Malta	11.5	12,250	1.5	Latvia	6.0	5,460	1.3
Luxembourg	9.3	56,230	1.7	Ukraine	5.0	1,260	1.1
Denmark	8.4	40,650	1.8	Lithuania	3.3	5,740	1.3
Switzerland	8.2	48,230	1.4	Armenia	1.7	3,720	1.3
Iceland	7.0	38,620	2.0	Slovakia	1.5	6,480	1.2
Netherlands	6.9	31,700	1.7	Moldova	1.5	710	1.2
Italy	6.4	26,120	1.3	Estonia	1.4	7,010	1.4
Ireland	6.3	34,280	1.9	Romania	1.2	2,920	1.3
France	5.5	30,090	1.9	Poland	1.1	6,090	1.2
Finland	5.3	32,790	1.7	Hungary	0.7	8,270	1.3
Belgium	4.2	31,030	1.7	Bosnia	0.6	2,040	1.3
Germany	1.0	30,120	1.4	Georgia	0.6	1,040	1.4
UK	0.5	33,940	1.7	Croatia	0.5	5,590	1.3
Cyprus	0.3	17,580	1.6	Albania	0.4	2,080	2.2
				Czech Rep*	0.4	9,150	1.2
				Serbia	0.4	2,620	1.8
				Azerbaijan	0.2	950	1.8
				Portugal*	0.08	10,441	1.5
				Turkey	0.03	3,750	2.4
Non-European receiving States				Non European States of origin			
				Guatemala	8.1	2,130	4.5
New Zealand	6.4	20,310	2.0	Haiti	4.6	390	3.9
Canada	6.0	28,390	1.5	Korea	4.0	13,980	1.2
USA	5.5	41,400	2.0	Colombia	1.8	2,000	2.6
Israel	1.7	17,380	2.8	China	0.8	1,290	1.7
Australia	1.5	26,900	1.7	Ethiopia	0.5	110	5.7
				India	0.04	620	3.0

- Countries stating that they were “both a receiving State and a State of origin”

8. References

- Altstein H. & Simon J. (1991) *Intercountry Adoption; a multinational perspective*, New York: Praeger.
- Andersson G (1986) "The adopting and adopted Swedes and their contemporary society" in R. Hoksbergen *Adoption in Worldwide Perspective*, Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Bean, P. & Melville, J. (1989) *Lost Children of the Empire*, London: Unwin Hyman.
- Carstens, C. & Julia, M. (1995) "Legal, policy and practice issues for intercountry adoptions in the United States" *Adoption & Fostering* 19 (4): 26-33
- ChildONEurope (2006) *Report on National and Intercountry Adoption*. Florence; Istituto degli Innocenti.
- Chou, S. & Browne, K. "The relationship between institutional care and the international adoption of children in Europe" *Adoption & Fostering* 32(1): 40-48
- Dalen, M. (1998) State of Knowledge of Foreign Adoptions 1998– available on internet at <http://www.comeunity.com/adoption/adopt/research.html>
- Defence for Children International (1991b) *ROMANIA; the adoption of Romanian children by foreigners* Geneva: DCI/ISS.
- Dickens, J. (2002) "The paradox of inter-country adoption: analysing Romania's experience as a sending country" *International Journal of Social Welfare* 11:
- Dickens J (2006) "The social policy contexts of intercountry adoption" Paper presented at Second International Conference on Adoption research, University of East Anglia,
- Dodds, P. (1997) *Outer Search/Inner Journey; An Orphan and Adoptee's Quest* . Pyallup, Washington: Aphrodite Publishing Company
- Farina, L. et al (2004) "Attachment and Behavioural difficulties in internationally adopted Russian children", *Adoption & Fostering* 2004, 28-2 pp 38-49
- Halifax J (2006) "Why are there so many international adoptions in France?" paper presented at the *Second International Conference on Adoption Research*, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 17-21 July 2006
- Haugard, J. et al (2000) "International Adoption; Children from Romania" *Adoption Quarterly* 3-3, pp 73-83
- Hayes, P. (2000) ' "Deterrents to Intercountry Adoption in Britain", *Family Relations*, 49,-4: 465-71
- Hjern, A, Vinnerljung, B and Lindbald F (2004) "Avoidable mortality among child welfare recipients and intercountry adoptees; a national cohort study" *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 58, 412-417
- Hjern, A. et al (2002) "Suicide, psychiatric illness and social maladjustment in intercountry adoptees in Sweden: a cohort study" *Lancet*, 2002, 360: 443-48

- Juffer, F (2005) "Behaviour Problems and mental health referrals of international adoptees; a meta-analysis" *JAMA* 2005, Vol 293 pp 2501-2515
- Juffer, F. & van Ijzendoorn, M. H. (2008) "International Adoption Comes of Age: Development of International Adoptees from a Longitudinal and Meta-Analytical Perspective" in G. Wrobel & E. Neill, eds (2008) *International Advances in Adoption Research*, London: John Wiley
- Kane, S. (1993) "The Movement of Children for International Adoption: an epidemiological perspective", *The Social Science Journal*, 30-4, : 323-339.
- Lammerant, I & Hofstetter, M (2008) *Adoption: at what cost? For an ethical responsibility of receiving countries in international adoption*. Geneva: Terre des Hommes.
- Lovelock K (2000) "Intercountry Adoption as a Migratory Practice" *International Migration Review*, 34 (3) pp 907 – 949.
- Masson, J. (2001) "Intercountry Adoption: A Global Problem or a Global Solution?" *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 55
- Palacios J., Sanchez-Sandoval, Y & Leon, E. (2006) "Intercountry Adoption Disruptions in Spain" *Adoption Quarterly*, Volume 9-1: 35-55
- Parker, R. (2008) *Uprooted; The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867 – 1917*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Post, R. (2007) *Romania - for export only: The untold story of the Romanian 'orphans'*, Netherlands: EuroComment Diffusion.
- Ruggeiro, J. (2007) *Eastern European Adoption: Policies, Practice, and Strategies for Change*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Rutter M (2000) "Recovery & Deficit following profound early deprivation" in P. Selman P (ed) *Intercountry Adoption: Developments, Trends and Perspectives*. London: BAAF
- Rutter, M., Beckett, C., Castle, J., Colvert, E., Kreppner, J., Mehta, M., Stevens, S. & Sonuga-Barke, E. (2008) "Effects of profound early institutional deprivation : an overview of findings from a UK longitudinal study of Romanian adoption" in G. Wrobel & E. Neill eds (2008) *International Advances in Adoption Research*, London: John Wiley
- Sarri, R., Baik, Y. & Bombyk, M. (1998) "Goal Displacement and Dependency in South Korean-United States Intercountry Adoption" *Children & Youth Services Review* Vol 20 pp 87-114.
- Selman P. (1993) "Services for intercountry adoption in the UK: some lessons from Europe." *Adoption & Fostering* vol 17, no 3, pp 14 - 19.
- Selman P. (1998) "Intercountry Adoption in Europe after the Hague Convention" in R. Sykes and P. Alcock (eds) *Developments in European Social Policy : Convergence and Diversity* London: Policy Press
- Selman, P, ed, (2000) *Intercountry Adoption; development, trends and perspectives* London: BAAF
- Selman P. (2002) "Intercountry Adoption in the new millennium: the 'quiet migration' revisited" *Population Research & Policy Review* 21: 205-225

- Selman P (2006) "Trends in Intercountry Adoption 1998-2004: A demographic analysis of data from 20 receiving States" *Journal of Population Research* 23-2: 183-204
- Selman, P. (2007a) *The Impact of Intercountry Adoption on the well-being of children in Europe*. Paper presented at the final conference of the WELLCHI network, Barcelona, 8-10 February 2007.
- Selman, P. (2007b) "Intercountry Adoption in the Twenty-first Century: an examination of the rise and fall of countries of origin" in K Nelson, E Kim & M. Petersen (eds) *Proceedings of the First International Korean Adoption Studies Research Symposium*, Seoul: IKAA.
- Selman, P. (2008) "From Bucharest to Beijing: changes in countries sending children for international adoption 1990 to 2006" In G. Wrobel & E Neil (eds) *International Advances in Adoption Research for Practice*, London: John Wiley
- Selman P & Mason K (2005) "Alternatives to Adoption for Looked After Children" Annex C *Adoption; Better Choices for our Children*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.
- Selwyn, J. & Sturgess, W. (2001) *International Overview of Adoption: Policy and Practice*, Bristol: University of Bristol, 2001
- Serenius, M. (1995) "The Silent Cry: A Finnish Child during World War II and 50 Years Later" *International Forum of Psychoanalysis*, 4, 35-47
- Smolin, D. H. (2004) "Intercountry Adoption as Child Trafficking", *Valparaiso Law Review* 39.
- Textor, M. R. (1991) "International Adoptions in West Germany: A Private Affair" in H. Altstein & R. Simon (eds) *Intercountry Adoption; a multinational perspective*, New York: Praeger.
- The Hague Conference (2006) *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Special Commission of September 2005*, The Hague; Permanent Bureau of the Hague Conference
- Triseliotis, J. (2000) "Intercountry Adoption; Global Trade or Global Gift?" *Adoption & Fostering* 24 -2,
- Van Ijzendoorn M & Juffer F (2006) "Adoption as intervention: Meta-analytic evidence for massive catch-up and plasticity in physical, socio-emotional, and cognitive development" *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 47 (12): 1228-1245
- Verhulst F (2000) In P.Selman (ed) *Intercountry Adoption; development, trends and perspectives* London: BAAF
- Weil R H (1984) "International Adoptions: The Quiet Migration" *International Migration Review*, 18 (2) pp 276 - 293.