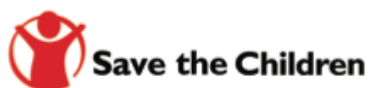


Better Volunteering, Better Care

Collected viewpoints on
international volunteering in
residential care centres

Country focus:
Guatemala

**Better
Care
Network**



**Better
Care
Network
Netherlands**



**FAITH
ACTION
INITIATIVE**



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Methodology and limitations

This overview is intended to contribute to discussions on international volunteering in residential care centres as an anecdotal research piece on the situation in Guatemala. Guatemala was chosen as a focus country due to recommendations from a range of informants who raised concerns about the practice in centres in Guatemala. Availability of research and connections also contributed to the choice of Guatemala as a country focus.

This overview was informed by online resources, academic and institutional literature, and interviews and email correspondence with informants. A limitation of this study is the limited input from in-country child protection specialists, who were not available during the period of research.

Guatemalan context

Situated in Central America, Guatemala has a culturally diverse population of 15 million (World Bank, 2014). While the majority of the population is of mixed Spanish heritage (referred to as *Ladino*) (55%), a significant portion is comprised of indigenous Mayan groups (45%) (Bunkers & Groza, 2012). The country has 24 officially recognised languages.

Guatemala experienced a violent, 36-year civil war that resulted in the murder or disappearance of an estimated 200,000 civilians, many of whom were indigenous Mayans (Bunkers et al, 2012). Thousands more were internally displaced; human rights abuses were widespread. While the war came to an end with the 1996 Peace Accord, violence in Guatemala – particularly through gangs and organised crime – has persisted.

Despite this history, Guatemala has made progress in achieving macroeconomic and political stability (World Bank, 2014). It boasts the largest economy in Central America, and its economic growth has been steady over the last several years. However, the benefits of economic growth are not evenly distributed. More than half of the population lives below the national poverty line (World Bank, 2011). Poverty is most concentrated amongst indigenous communities living in rural and remote highland areas (International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), 2012). Economic pressures have contributed to high levels of rural-to-urban, as well as international, migration.

Ranking 133rd of 187 countries in Human Development Index, Guatemala lags behind all of Latin America in terms of social outcomes (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2013). Nationally, chronic malnutrition affects half of children under five years of age, and more than six of ten indigenous children are severely malnourished (Barrientos et al, 2011). Education quality is low; one third of children do not complete primary school (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) & Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Fiscales (ICEFI), 2012).

Guatemala has the highest fertility rate of all countries in Latin America, with an average of 4 children per mother (World Bank, 2014). Almost half of births occur out of wedlock (Bunkers et al, 2009). Adolescent pregnancy is common; 33% of 19-year old women have had at least one child (UNICEF & Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2007).

“It’s not a secret that today we have girls raising infants. Unwanted pregnancy, family disintegration, and rape are also increasing. Seeing these problems we can see the reasons that girls...abandon their children.”

Miriam Rodriguez, Office of the Ombudsman for Human Rights
(Quoted in El Periódico, 2013)

<http://elperiodico.com.gt/es/20130212/pais/224634/>)

The reasons for family separation and child abandonment in Guatemala are complicated. However, a culture of violence, extreme poverty, migration, high birth rates, and the vulnerability of young mothers are among the factors contributing to these occurrences (Garcia, M.R, 2008).

Residential care in Guatemala

Inter-country adoption

For a number of years, inter-country adoption (ICA) was a prominent response to the problem of abandoned and orphaned children in Guatemala. After the end of the civil war, in the decade following 1996, the number of inter-country adoptions steadily increased until reaching a peak in 2007. At that point, Guatemala was processing more overseas adoptions per capita than any other country (Sherwell, P - *The Telegraph*, 2007). One of every 100 live births led to inter-country adoption (Selman, 2009). It is estimated that, up until 2008, by which time inter-country adoption was suspended, 36,000 Guatemalan children left their country of birth with adoptive parents (RELA, SOS International, 2010); the vast majority of children went to the United States (Selman, 2009).

Inter-country adoption has influenced the country’s alternative care system. While children were awaiting adoption, it was common for them to be placed in children’s homes. These homes were unregulated and followed no recognised standards; similarly, caregivers had little to no training or supervision (Rotabi & Bunkers, 2008).

Guatemala’s inter-country adoption (ICA) system was privately operated with little oversight by the state. In the early 2000s, there were increasing concerns about reports of child trafficking and child laundering (the falsification of children’s identities to make them appear to be orphans) to fulfil ICA demand. Indigenous mothers living in poverty were the most vulnerable to fraudulent systems (Rotabi et al, 2008).

“We found that in many situations there was a financial incentive to participate in the adoption process. That turned the child into merchandise, which went against the child’s rights as a human being.”

Jaime Tecu, Former Bureaucrat, National Council on Adoptions
– (as featured on reason.tv)

Reports of corruption and coercion (Comisión Internacional contra la Impunidad en Guatemala (CICIG), 2010) led to Guatemala’s ratification of the *Hague Convention on the Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Inter-country Adoption* and a temporary moratorium on inter-country adoptions in 2007. As part of its reform efforts to achieve compliance with the Hague Convention, the government of Guatemala introduced new legislation to complement existing laws, with the aim of strengthening child protection systems.

Residential care centres

According to the National Council on Adoptions (CAN), there are 141 children’s homes providing care to 5,566 children in Guatemala (UNICEF, 2013). However, sources caution that registration of residential care centres and records of the children in their care are not kept up to date, so these figures are best treated as estimates. What is clear, though, is that the vast majority of homes are privately operated (134), as opposed to public residential care centres (7) (UNICEF, 2013). According to a 2007-08 study, more than 90% of private facilities are funded by international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), while the remainder are supported by religious congregations (Perez, 2008). Regulation of residential care centres has improved little since the days of ICA. As of 2010, only seven private homes were registered with the CAN (RELAF, 2011). Many do not meet the government’s established minimum standards of care, and most are unaware of relevant legislation (Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos (CIDH), Organización de los Estados Americanos, and UNICEF, 2013). They are under-staffed and lack competent, specialised technical support personnel, including social workers and psychologists (Perez, 2008).

The 2007-08 study from Perez, which was the first, and only, comprehensive research on residential care centres and the children in their care, found that the most common reasons for children’s institutionalisation were domestic violence and/or abuse (25%) and abandonment (21%); only 6% of children in care had lost one or both of their parents. More recently, UNICEF has noted that “many” children who are put in residential care are done so through agreement between the residential facility and the child’s parents, without involvement of the state (UNICEF, 2013). There are reports of children’s homes actively recruiting children (see *Issues associated with residential care/Unnecessary family separation*).

According to the 2007-08 research study, children’s homes are mostly concentrated in the capital of Guatemala City, or elsewhere in the department of Guatemala (43%), followed by Sacatepéquez (12%), Quetzaltenango (9%), and Chimaltenango (8%). These departments are among the areas with popular tourist attractions (including Antigua and the city of Quetzaltenango), though there is not sufficient evidence to

suggest a correlation. However, speaking generally about NGO programs targeted at children, an informant shared:

“... the industry of finding children to be aid cases continues to be very strong. The odd thing is that these programs tend to be focused around places like Atitlan. Fun places for NGO leaders to live. When we go out to places where they really could use some assistance, there is none.”

Ben Blevins, Executive Director of Highland Support Project

Issues associated with residential care in Guatemala

While some residential care facilities in Guatemala may strive to meet established standards of care, the informants consulted for this review identified several issues, specific to the Guatemalan context, that are characteristic of at least some residential care centres.

Unnecessary family separation

One informant explained that some residential care centres actively recruit children from rural communities, enticing parents to put their children in care by promising education and food:

“The other thing we’ve seen first-hand is that the orphanages around Cantel, Quetzaltenango, and Salcaja go up into mountain communities and advertise that parents can send their young children to be educated and fed. [...] We talk to families we know and ask where their child has gone. We are then informed that they are now orphans. It is only a thing with us because it was a linguistic curiosity how the kids and parents were saying that they are now orphans. We found that neither had an understanding of what an orphan actually is.”

- Ben Blevins, Executive Director of Highland Support Project

Macro institutions: over-crowding and neglect

The issue that has attracted the most attention in Guatemala is that of macro institutions. While the Latin American Network of Foster Care (RELAF) recognises the challenge in defining a “macro institution,” it identifies them as facilities with more than 80 resident children (RELAF, 2011). The large size of these homes has negative implications for the level of individualised attention given to children, and therefore for children’s development (UNICEF, 2013).

In Guatemala, out of a total of 114 facilities with records on the children in their care, 22 have between 80 and 330 children (RELAF, 2011). One state-run institution in Guatemala City – Hogar Seguro (previously Hogar Solidario) – has up to 1,200 children, including large numbers with mental and physical disabilities, yet it only has the capacity to hold 900 children. Due to its size, Hogar Seguro was specifically identified as a concern by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child in its 2010 report. A visitor to Hogar Seguro recounted signs of children’s neglect:

“In the room where the boys aged between 3 and 6 years are accommodated, there were two carers for all 35 children. The little ones found themselves wandering around, with no games in sight... a plasma [television] onto which a children’s film was projected in a corner. Some rushed towards us, the visitors, asking us to pick them up... others didn’t and were absolutely indifferent, sitting on their own in the corner. The depression was evident in their faces and attitudes, in the same way that the first ones manically searched for an embrace.”

Visitor to Hogar Seguro (RELAF, 2011)

Isolation from community

Some residential care centres are severely isolated from their surrounding communities. One account from a volunteer experience references the “30-foot wall and armed guards surrounding the block-wide orphanage” (One World, One People, undated). This is also the case at Hogar Seguro residential care centre:

“The children and adolescents accommodated there have no type of community insertion whatsoever, their lives pass by ‘inside doors.’”

RELAF, 2011

Abusive environments

Children and adolescents from several homes have reported cases of physical, sexual, and psychological abuse carried out by personnel (Secretaria de Bienestar Social, 2010). They reported monitors using sticks to maintain order; physical punishments such as being forced to stand in the hot sun; food restrictions; and physical injury and burns caused by chemicals and pepper being applied to their naked bodies.

It is not only staff who contribute to abusive environments. An informant shared that children who are considered “difficult” or who have exhibited criminal behaviours are placed in the same homes as other children. They are not separated, and the former can cause harm to others who are in care.

Legitimisation of residential care centres

Despite these known and documented violations to children’s rights, there is a tendency by some NGOs, the state, and other stakeholders to legitimise residential care facilities. An informant suggested that this is at least in part driven by financial incentives. For example, there is so much money in contracts for supplies to macro institutions that the parties involved are amongst those who advocate the need for the shelter. In response to an NGO coalition audit report that documented human rights violations in institutions, but then recommended the improvement and extension of institutions without exploring alternatives to residential care, RELAF said:

“...It seems to be a mechanism of self-legitimisation and co-optation of the NGOs by the State and other organisations that hold power, rather than an autonomous mechanism of surveillance.”

Visitors to residential care centres

Guatemala is seeing increasing numbers of international visitors. In 2013, arrivals exceeded 2 million people, which was a 2.5% increase from 2012 (INGUAT, 2013). While over half of visitors originate from Central America, many come from the United States and Canada (33%) followed by Europe (9%, primarily from the UK and Spain, but also France, Germany, and Italy).

Guatemala is particularly attractive to organised volunteer groups from the United States because of the country's proximity.

"You can't fly [from the USA] to Guatemala without having 50 green shirts on your flight."

- Sonya Fultz, Berhorst Partners for Development

While there is no data on the number of volunteers coming to Guatemala, there also is not a clear distinction between visitors and volunteers, particularly as they relate to residential care facilities. Day visits to residential care centres are offered by tour companies and are amongst the shore excursions for luxury cruise passengers (e.g. www.familytravelnetwork.com/articles/helping_others_cruise_vacations.asp), while residential care centres also feature as placements for both short and long-term visitors wanting to "do good" or "give back." All allow opportunities to spend time with children in care.

How volunteers hear about placements

Informants observe that the majority of volunteers are students and mission trip participants, though there is also evidence that volunteering in residential care centres is popular amongst backpackers. Ways that volunteers hear about opportunities to visit and volunteer at both private and state-run residential care centres in Guatemala include the following:

School-organised trips: High schools and universities in North America, particularly the USA, organise service trips, often featuring residential care centres, for student groups (Dykhuis, C., 2010). These tend to be short-term visits (generally a week to ten days), many of which are organised as "alternative breaks." Schools are known to partner with student travel companies, non-profit organisations, or volunteer placement agencies to coordinate these trips.

Faith-based missions: There are many residential care centres advertising opportunities for mission trips to their facilities. Examples include www.casashalom.net/mission-teams, missionguatemala.com. Similarly, there are a range of international organisations that coordinate mission trips to residential care centres in Guatemala. Examples include:

- www.lifesongfororphans.org/get-involved/guatemala-mission-trips/
- www.orphanoutreach.co/mission-trips/find-a-mission-trip.asp

- www.orphanshearttrips.org/public/MissionTripsCalendar.aspx
- www.teenmissions.org/2013/07/05/guatemala-orphanage-missions-trip-14005/
- www.crosscatholic.org/pages/page.asp?page_id=222042
- www.thevillagechurch.net/flower-mound/about-us/

Volunteer placement organisations: Most agencies operate out of volunteers' home countries and offer a variety of placements in countries around the world. However, there are also locally based placement organisations – Entremundos (www.entremundos.org) being a particularly popular example. Most intermediary agencies charge fees to volunteers for their services; the fee amount varies by agency and program duration.

Volunteer hosting organisation websites: Some volunteers who were interviewed for this research arranged their volunteer experiences independently, through direct contact with the residential care facility. This was facilitated through the care centres' websites.

Direct marketing to tourists: Particularly in popular tourist areas, residential care centres market directly to travellers. Referring to Xela and Antigua, one informant shared that there are “no shortage of announcements around town.” Announcements are in the form of street signs, posters, and promotions at Spanish language schools. However, residential care centres also engage the children in their care in volunteer recruiting efforts. In Xela, for example, “kids from the orphanage go out to talk to people in the park.” Others use current volunteers to recruit additional volunteers.¹

Adoptive family networks: Adoptive families, many of whom are based in the USA, have an interest in maintaining a connection with their children's birth country. This often involves trips to Guatemala, which may be organised through companies specialising in adoptive family travel (e.g. www.adoptivfamilytravel.com/), through networks of adoptive families (e.g. sites.google.com/site/ftgadoption/), or independently. There is often a service component to these trips, which involves visits to residential care centres (e.g. midwest.antioch.edu/2014/aum-faculty-member-reconnects-with-childs-birth-country/).

Personal network referrals: Some volunteers who were interviewed for this research reported that they were referred to the residential care centre where they volunteered by friends or colleagues who had previously worked there.

Tour operators and affiliated businesses: Tour operators, including those catering to cruise ship passengers, advertise visits to residential care centres. Some examples include:

- www.adventuredestinations.com.au/ca_webfiles/Blount_Catalog_2014.pdf,
- www.facebook.com/pages/Our-Guatemala-Travel-with-Purpose/281969895276653?id=281969895276653&sk=info,
- barefootatlas.com/volunteer/quetzaltrekkers-xela-guatemala/,

¹ Information from interview with Ben Blevins, Highland Support Project

- www.do-guatemala.com/

At least one children's home is linked to a popular backpacker guesthouse and restaurant-bar, the proceeds of which are to support the residential care facility. These hospitality businesses also sell volunteer packages to the residential care centres.

How volunteer opportunities are advertised

The marketing used by agencies promoting visits to residential care centres and volunteering is noteworthy for several reasons. First, some agencies promote visits to residential care centres in a similar way to other tourist attractions. For example, Barefoot Atlas advertises opportunities to provide live-in support at a home for youth as "Hike Volcanoes to Help Street Children in Guatemala." Meanwhile, Blount Small Ship Adventures' brochure reads:

"In Guatemala cruise the gorgeous Rio Dulce, brimming with lush, dramatic gorges. Visit the Casa Guatemala orphanage and spend time with these inspiring and hopeful children."

Others use language to evoke emotional responses from prospective volunteers:

"Without loving parents to provide for Guatemalan orphans, these children live in dire conditions. Resources and manpower for orphanages are scarce. Your group can make a real difference even in just a few days. Teach English and direct games while laughing, encouraging and playing. Are you ready to change orphans' lives and your own? Then this is the project for you."

- Helping Abroad

While some placements do require specific experience or skill sets, others do not.

"There are no specific qualifications needed to join IFRE's volunteer orphanage project in Guatemala."

- IFRE Volunteers Abroad

Few of the organisations advertising volunteer opportunities in residential care centres demonstrate an awareness of child protection concerns:

"At the work site and the orphanage almost everyone will be happy to be photographed, especially the children. Save your film for them!"

- Mission Guatemala²

On conducting a brief Google search with the term "volunteer orphanage Guatemala", 20 organisations were found offering opportunities in residential care centres. Out of these 20 organisations, only 1 featured a child protection policy on their website. Only 3 requested volunteers provide a criminal background check (for one more organisation it

² Though the website does mention that children should be asked before their photograph is taken.
<http://missionguatemala.com/guatemala-mission-trips/team-resources/cultural-issues/>

wasn't clear whether this was required or not). Only 9 organisations gave any information about the local partner organisations or residential care centres themselves.

Volunteers' motivations

Volunteering in residential care centres in Guatemala attracts a wide range of people, including students, mission trip participants, backpackers, and adoptive families. Volunteers have vastly different backgrounds and interests, which influence their motivations. Given the limited scope of this research, only some motivating factors for orphanage volunteers were identified; these are not necessarily representative.

Of the former volunteers who were interviewed for this research, two were backpackers who were looking “to do something meaningful” on their travels. One of them also wanted an opportunity to practice and enhance his Spanish language skills. Another former volunteer, who was based in Guatemala for one year, was driven by professional ambitions and the opportunity for overseas experience. Her role as a volunteer was largely office-based, and required a specific skill set to support the communications of the residential care facility.

Other anecdotal research with volunteers in Guatemala identifies common motivations of volunteers as wanting to “help and see how local people live,” to develop “a social consciousness,” to further professional goals, or simply to “have something to do” while on vacation (Vrasti, undated).

The motivations of a group of Canadian high school students who volunteered at a residential care centre were not drastically different. They wanted to become more internationally aware, to learn, to have a rewarding experience, and to help people by “making a little difference (Dykhuis, 2010 – page 18).”

A former volunteer pointed out that some volunteers' motivations are not altruistic; about some backpackers, he shared:

“Some volunteers just come because they are on budget and it is a cheap place to stay.”

- Former Orphanage Volunteer

Volunteer experiences

Volunteer experiences vary by organisation and by the duration and nature of their placement. Former volunteer interviews, as well as former volunteer blogs, indicate that most volunteers have direct interaction with children in care.

Short-term volunteers reported overseeing library activities, helping children with homework, assisting children with chores, helping children get ready for school, monitoring and taking care of children at night, providing medical care (in the case of trained volunteers), and teaching physical education.

“We cleaned them. We bathed them. We fed them. We gave them one-on-one attention, which is missing from their lives.”

- Former Spring Break Orphanage Volunteer
(as detailed www.oneworlddonepeople.org/articles/guatemala_orphanage.htm)

The activities of high school student volunteers can be largely focused around the toys and other material donations that they bring (Dykhuis, 2010). At Hogar Seguro, Guatemala's largest institution, national and foreign volunteers arrange weekend activities (RELAF, 2011). Meanwhile, some travel coordinators arrange for visitors to take children in care on group field trips, for example to the movies or to the zoo.

Short-term volunteers who were interviewed shared that they received little orientation or preparation to take on their roles.

They just “threw us in there. They had no one to cover it [the library]. We had no idea what we were doing.”

- Former Orphanage Volunteer

Student trips, which are generally more focused on student learning, are also not always accompanied with appropriate preparatory discussion. A chaperone who was critical of a high school orphanage volunteering trip was frustrated by a lack of pre-departure training, which she thinks detracted from students' opportunity to learn from the experience.

“There was very little formal preparatory discussion on what the students would see and experience and how to try to understand their role. The students were instructed by the teacher to independently research the social and political history of Guatemala and all relevant contextual background information but my interviews revealed that few students took the initiative to do this. At the main preparatory meeting, the time was spent reviewing the schedule with parents and watching a slideshow of photographs of destitute Guatemalans, including orphans, contrasted with touristy images prepared by the parent organiser.” (Dykhuis, 2010)

Moreover, for volunteers without Spanish language skills, communication with children was a challenge.

However, these are not the experiences of all volunteers. One former volunteer who was interviewed for this research spent one year as the volunteer “Home Correspondent” for a large private residential care centre. Her role was primarily office-based, writing articles for the organisation's website, compiling statistics, taking photos, and responding to requests from international fund-raising offices. As a side role, she was also responsible for looking after a small group of teenage girls living in the home. Two volunteer coordinators, one based in the USA and the other in Guatemala, helped her prepare for her experience; training, particularly on expected behaviours, was also provided upon her arrival at the centre:

“It was good to have [the residential care centre staff] tell us ‘this is what we expect.’ If you don’t follow the rules, you couldn’t volunteer. It was different from other organisations who will take anyone they can get.”

- Former Orphanage Volunteer

Impacts of volunteers

Some volunteers acknowledged that their impact to children was “nothing huge;” others admitted wrestling with the question of whether they were “doing harm or doing good,” both during and after their volunteering. However, the in-country child protection specialist and other informants we spoke to for this study focused on negative impacts of volunteers.

Risk of abuse

There are volunteer activities and behaviours that increase the potential for harm to children in care. For example, in some centres, volunteers are allowed to sleep in the same quarters as children, without any supervision. Such activities create the potential for abuse and exploitation.

“Long-term volunteers stay at the orphanage. There is a separate house for volunteers, but they rotate turns sleeping in children’s rooms.”

- Former Orphanage Volunteer

A child protection specialist also expressed concern about volunteers’ tendency to take photos of themselves with children and post the pictures on social media.

“Volunteers do not understand that it is dangerous for the children.”

- Sully de Ucles, Buckner International

Informants also suggest that volunteer hosting organisations lack awareness of safety concerns for children.

Psychological effects

There are concerns about how volunteers contribute to children’s psychological well-being. A child protection specialist shared that in her experience, volunteers ask children questions that can remind them of traumatic experiences from their past. For example, it is common for volunteers to ask children why they are living in the centre. A separate issue relates to babies, who volunteers generally hold and give attention to. A specialist warned that when the volunteer leaves, even young babies feel a sense of abandonment.

Effect on institutionalisation of children

Informants to this research do not perceive visitors and volunteers at residential care centres to be increasing the institutionalisation of children, though there is a recognition that it is not helping to get children out of residential care:

“One of the problems is NGOs who are financed mainly by funds from international cooperation. As a result, they themselves sustain and reproduce the system of mass institutionalization that affects children and adolescents in this country.”

- RELAF, 2011 (page 22)

Separately, it is also worth noting that some related programs, including child sponsorship schemes and lucrative mission programs were perceived by informants to be characterised by an “absurd level of corruption.” However, in the limited scope of this research, corruption did not surface around practices directly related to orphanage volunteering.

Future activities and recommendations

Compared to countries like Nepal and Cambodia, the issue of international volunteering in residential care centres in Guatemala has received relatively little attention by the media, child protection groups or the government. Informants suggest that the government has not considered international volunteering in residential care centres as a concern, as they are still very much focused on reforming their care and adoption systems and in particular addressing the issues they faced related to unregulated inter-country adoption.

RELAF will be the first organisation to give some attention to the issue through a study that is designed to elaborate on their previous research about macro institutions in Latin America. As an element of this study, RELAF is investigating the practices and characteristics of volunteerism in large institutions. The study report is to be published in November 2014.

Those who are aware of the issues around international volunteering in residential care centres are particularly concerned about the effect of short-term volunteers. Recommendations are to eliminate short-term volunteering altogether and to ensure that long-term volunteers submit police background checks and are adequately trained to respond to children’s behaviours; to understand the culture and context; to communicate effectively in Spanish; and to be committed to child protection.

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Volunteers

David Brown (former orphanage volunteer in Guatemala)
Carrie Daut (former orphanage volunteer in Guatemala)
Dominic Abbott (former orphanage volunteer in Guatemala)

Child Protection Specialists

Sully de Ucles (Fostering Hope Program Director, Buckner International)
Kelley Bunkers (Maestral)

Other

Ben Blevins (Executive Director, Highland Support Project)
Sonya Fultz (Board of Director, Behrhorst Partners for Development; Coordinator)
Friends Through Guatemalan Adoption; Adoptive mother of Guatemalan son

Email Correspondence

Mara Tissera Luna (Technical Assistant, RELAF)

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