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# Assessing Family Policies around the World: <br> A Focus on Eastern Europe 

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## Introduction

The central role of families in society emphasizes the need for sound and effective family policies. Although there is a universal recognition of the importance of the family, there is a wide variation among countries in terms of developing explicit family policy frameworks, implementing and evaluating them. The central role that families play in society needs to be recognized at the institutional levels, by strengthening national institutional mechanisms that specifically address family issues. Countries need to choose appropriate and effective arrangements which can influence socio-economic policy design, budget allocation, better data collection, and evidence based evaluation (UN EGM Report, 2009).

Evidence-based policy is an approach that helps decision makers develop policies by putting the evidence at the center of the policymaking process (Segone, 2008). Evidence includes information obtained from research, good practices, and evaluation. The policymaking process is also political, meaning that public policies are developed through the use of power (Segone, 2008). Policymaking and implementation occurs within the context of limited resources, and as such it is important to understand not only what works, but what works at what costs and with what results. As such there is a need for information on cost-effectiveness and cost-benefits of different policy proposals.

Eastern European countries have been confronted with significant socio-political and economic changes during the post-communist transition, which shaped the policies impacting families. The fall of the totalitarian political systems in the area provided autonomy and determined a widening variation in the economic and social reforms in the region (Robila, 2004). For example there are wide differences in the Gross Domestic Product per capita varying between $\$ 27,000$ in Slovenia, \$25,100 in Czech Republic to \$6,400 in Ukraine, \$6,300 in Bosnia-Herzegovina or \$2,300 in Moldova (U.S. GDP per capita: \$45,800) (CIA, 2010). However, Eastern European countries and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) have registered a significant economic growth after 1990s, surpassing the significant economic challenges of the transition period from the communism to democracy. The distribution of economic growth has been, however, unequal, with children, for example, benefiting significantly less than the adults in the region (UNICEF, 2006).

These economic and social changes had complex implications at the family level, such as, the reduction of fertility rate or increase in international migration across the area. Total fertility rate (children born/woman) is low at 1.24 in Lithuania, 1.25 in Czech Republic, 1.26 in Bosnia/Herzegovina and just a little higher at 1.58 in Macedonia and 1.43 in Estonia (CIA 2010). International migration is significant, with for example, about $17 \%$ of Moldova's population having left the country in search of work (Lozinski 2006), and about 30\% children living without one or both parents (Sarbu 2007). Similarly, in Romania, about 20\% of the children between 10 and 15 years old have one or both parents working abroad (Toth et al. 2007). Stimulating economic growth in the region is necessary by creating job opportunities and increase economic growth in all sectors. While remittances can increase economic growth in the short term, they cannot support sustainable and equitable development (UNICEF, 2006).

Developing and revising explicit family policies to address these socio-economic transformations in Eastern Europe need to be at the forefront of the policy making agenda of the Governments in the region. Eastern European countries are increasingly heterogeneous, and while some common trends emerge, the general policy recommendations need to be adjusted specifically by each country. Explicit family policies are organized around the four main functions of families: family formation, childrearing, financial support and family care-giving (Bogenschneider, 2006).
A review of family policies in Eastern Europe and recommendations (Robila, 2009) organized around these four family functions was presented at the 2009 United Nations Expert Group Meeting on "Family Policy in a Changing World: Promoting Social Protection and Intergenerational Solidarity" organized by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and the Doha International Institute for Family Studies in Doha, Qatar. The goal of the present paper is to discuss family policies in Eastern Europe with a focus on those targeting poverty and work-family balance. The paper will also underline the importance of developing a comprehensive system of assessing family policies in general and in Eastern Europe in particular.

## Family Policies in Eastern Europe: Confronting Family Poverty and Ensuring WorkFamily Balance

A system of explicit and institutionalized family policy implies legal recognition of the family as a social institution playing a major part in the maintenance of social cohesion (Zimmerman 2001). Explicit family policies are organized around the four main functions of families: family formation, childrearing, financial support and family care-giving (Bogenschneider, 2006). For the social policies not targeted specifically towards family, but impacting them indirectly (implicit family policies) it is recommended to use a family perspective in policymaking, which analyzes the consequences of policies on family wellbeing.

## Financial Support: Combating Family and Child Poverty

The policies supporting families’ financial function are at the center of family policies frameworks since they are aimed at helping families fight poverty. There has been an increase in the international focus on poverty reduction due to the Millennium Declaration and Millennium Development Goals. Most of the countries in Eastern Europe developed Poverty Reduction Strategies that provide medium-term macro frameworks within which policies to reduce poverty are included. For example, Romania and Bulgaria formulated national plans to combat poverty and social exclusion as part of their integration process into European Union in 2007.

Family policies need to underline the impact of social policies on all the family members. For example, specific attention needs to be brought on the impact of policies on children and the need for children to be more visible in the social policy arena. Within the Poverty Reduction Strategies developed by the Governments in the region, policies to reduce poverty among children could be specifically elaborated, and therefore, it is recommended to prioritize policy measures and to reach all age groups, including children. Bringing child poverty on the policy agenda is recommended for addressing child-wellbeing as a human right principle and distinguishing adult and child poverty (UNICEF, 2006). There are major differences between adult and child poverty: children are not usually able to improve their situation as they rely their
wellbeing on the decisions and actions of their families and societies, and as such this agency aspect is very important. Specific policy provisions are need, since the impact of poverty on children is not only immediate but it has a longitudinal effect as well, placing them at risk of being poor as adults.

Despite the economic progress registered in Eastern Europe, a large number of children in the region are confronted with poverty and deprivation. A UNICEF (2006) study indicated that one in four children in the region is living in absolute poverty (below the poverty threshold of $\$ 2.15$ per day) although between 1998 and 2003 the number of children ( $0-15$ years old) living in households with a per capita consumption lever lower than $\$ 2.15$ a day decreased from 32 million to 18 million. UNICEF (2006) report indicated that there are wide disparities in children wellbeing across the region, between and within countries. Within countries there are major differences between households of different sizes and structures (e.g., large versus small families, single versus two-parent families) and between urban and rural areas. For example, in Russia the poverty rate for households with two adults and one child is $9 \%$ and for households with two adults and three or more children is $34 \%$. In Tajikistan children represent slightly less than half of the population and $76 \%$ of them live in poverty. Given the recent economic growth in the region there is a real opportunity for States to develop appropriate measure to tackle child poverty, by prioritizing and efficiently using their resources (UNICEF, 2006).

Governments in the region need to find ways to assist families who do not have enough material resources to protect their child from poverty and to improve the access to quality public services directly impacting children's wellbeing, especially education and health care. While provisions of direct income support to households with children are common throughout the region, allowing the majority of children to live in households that receive some type of public support the level of expenditure is low and as such children are not taken out of poverty (UNICEF, 2006). Similarly, the public spending on education and health remain low in Eastern Europe and thus countries need to spend more resources on children in order to ensure that children receive a fair amount of resources. Therefore, national strategies are required to include concrete plans to combat child poverty and inequality.

The ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by the countries in the area engages them to ensure the realization of children's economic, social and cultural rights. Explicitly addressing children's needs is necessary as part of policy development. Child-centered approach would allow placing poverty analysis in the broad framework of children's human rights, focusing on the individual child. This is closely related to family and household poverty, since children are heavily dependent on their families. The Convention explicitly recognizes the primary responsibility of the parents to provide for their children and the responsibility of the States in assisting parents in their child-rearing responsibilities. This "duality of children as individuals and as members of their families and the responsibility of parents and States to provide for them suggests the need for a multidimensional approach" (UNICEF, 2006, p. 10). Two main areas of policy intervention are recommended: provision of more generous and better targeted child benefits and an increase in the material support provided to families with children, and investment in children's human capital (UNICEF, 2006).

Poverty is closely related to child abandonment and institutionalization. This phenomenon persists in Eastern Europe regardless of its consequences in hindering child development and perpetuation of poverty. States need to encourage families to keep the child by providing financial assistance to families at risk and education and social support through social services. In Armenia, where $48 \%$ of families with infants are living in extreme poverty, there is an alarming growing trend of parents abandoning their children and placing them in institutions (Annual Statistics, 2004). These parents feel they are unable to raise their children, provide food, clothes and schooling and they are under the impression that the children would receive better treatment and care in an institution than at home. Education and information on the consequences of child abandonment and consequences of growing up in orphanages should be provided in order to educate the parent that the child might not "fare better in the orphanage", a misconception often present in Eastern Europe since the communist times. Strategies for reforming the residential system in the region are in full process and the number of deinstitutionalized children has decreased. In Moldova, for example, the regulations for the Family-Type Houses for Children without parental care have been approved by the Government in 2002 (Moldovan Government, 2002). Regulations for the Professional Parental Care have been approved by the Moldovan Government in 2007 (Moldovan Government, 2007). A monitoring system for the quality of care needs to be developed.

A major concern in Eastern Europe is housing since there are shortages of housing throughout the region coupled with very high and unaffordable costs for young families. In Armenia the legislation regarding the right to housing has several gaps (Armenian National Statistic Agency, 2004). Similarly, in Belarus most of the married young couples do not have their own homes. In a survey of newlyweds in Minsk, more than half of them were living with their parents, one third in dorms, some of them were renting apartments and only $3 \%$ had their own housing (Nikiforovna, 2008). There are provisions for large families for preferential loans to allow them to buy apartments. One of the most important factors in determining quality of family life is availability of housing. This housing problem interferes with family functioning, discouraging married couples to have children. Governments need to develop programs to assure affordable housing to young couples.

Due to economic difficulties, international migration is a significant phenomenon in the region. For example, many people from Moldova travel abroad to work. Sixteen percent of the active labor force in Moldova is working abroad (Luecke, Mahmoud, and Steinmayr, 2009). About $30 \%$ of Moldovan children are living without one or both parents (Sarbu, 2007). The number of children without family care considerably increased due to parents’ migration (177,069 in 2006 and more than 200,000 in 2007). Policies and support programs targeting immigrant families need to be developed, with specific modules for the migrants themselves, as well as for the family members left behind (e.g., spouse, children) (Robila, 2011).

## Policies Supporting Childrearing

One of the main concerns in Eastern Europe is the very low fertility rates (1.g., 1.2 in Moldova, 1.4. in Croatia; CIA, 2010). In most of these countries, the long-term effect of the significant falls in birth rates could have negative implications on economic growth and on the social protection system. Many governments in Eastern Europe report dissatisfaction with the current
demographic trends in their countries, some referring to it as a "demographic crisis" or even as a "demographic security crisis" (Lutz, 2010). As such it is important for these countries to spend more on children and families as an important investment in economic development. For example, in Belarus over the past decade there has been a decrease in the population size (fertility rate 1.2) and in addition to developing measures to increase the birth rate, the National Program on Demographic Security for 2006 - 2010 includes obligations to carry out research on the population's reproductive health needs and reproductive behavior (Newport, 2010).

In order to reverse the trends of low fertility rates in Eastern Europe, policy makers need to provide young families explicit incentives and material support. The size of child benefit should be raised across the region so that they provide a real poverty reduction effect. Targeting and using means testing mechanisms are employed across the region and their effectiveness should be measured (UNICEF, 2006). Maternal benefits are paid in the countries in the region but most of them are linked to formal employment, and are not received by mothers who are unemployed or are employed in the informal economy. Therefore, the benefits supporting mothers with young children should be universal. Having a second child increases the risk of household of being poor and thus, these countries have to develop social policy that would prevent these families fall in poverty and to provide support to reverse the current fertility trends (UNICEF, 2006).

Parents have the primary responsibility for their child's care and development. Society's responsibility is to support and when necessary to supplement the parents so that the child's interests are protected throughout childhood. It is recommended that States promote universal family assistance practices (IPF, 2008). Family policy should help alleviate the direct and indirect costs of children for families through family allowance and family cash benefits for caring for a child. Eastern European countries have a relatively extensive system of family policy in terms of the coverage and benefits granted to families (Cerami, 2008). In most of the countries allowances are offered until the child is two or three years old and child benefits until the child has completed secondary school or university (up to 18 - 22 years old). However, the benefits are relatively small in value and should be increased.

Examples of child benefits in Eastern European countries vary, between 47 Euros ( $€$ ) per month in Hungary, $26 €$ in Slovenia, $25 €$ in Lithuania, $24 €$ in Romania, $19 €$ in Estonia, $18 €$ in Czech Republic, $15 €$ in Poland to $11 €$ in Bulgaria and $10 €$ in Slovakia (IPF, 2008). While sometimes the benefits for the subsequent children remain constant (such as in Slovakia), in most countries the benefits for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th child increase. The average of family financial benefits provided by family policies also vary from those provided in Slovenia - $278 €$ per month; Hungary 222€; Czech Rep. 172€, Slovakia -131€; Estonia -125€; Latvia -74€, Lithuania -72€; to Poland - 54€; Romania -50€; Bulgaria -30 €.

Maternity, paternity and parental leave to care for a biological or adopted child are important parts of family policy. It is recommended that family policy promote universal family assistance, directed at every family with no exclusions. States should recognize and promote the family and, therefore, support all families and not be exclusively welfare based, aimed only at disadvantaged families. Income-tested benefits have been replacing the universal benefits in some countries, where the higher income families are excluded from receiving the leave benefits (Rostgaard, 2004). Paternity leave has started to be introduced in the region, although it is shorter than the
two-weeks recommended length. In Bulgaria paternity leave is 15 days, in Latvia 10 days, in Romania 5 days (plus 10 more days if the father takes a child care course), in Poland and Hungary 5 days, Moldova 3 days (European Alliance for Families, 2010).

In Eastern Europe, extended family members, especially grandmothers and grandfathers, are very involved in the childrearing of their grandchildren. When available, families prefer to involve the grandparents in childrearing due to trust, convenience, and financial reasons, but also to strengthen family ties and to increase the child's attachment to his/her grandparents. It is strongly recommended that financial allowances be provided to support the care provided by grandparents, increasing thus the opportunity for social protection and intergenerational solidarity. In Hungary there is a child home care allowance for parents and grandparents caring for children under two, while in Bulgaria parental leave can also be taken by one of the grandparents until the child is two (European Alliance for Families, 2010).

## Family Policy Assessment

As family policies develop, a system of evaluation needs to be in place in order to assure effectiveness. Monitoring and evaluation is necessary in achieving evidence-based policymaking (Mackay, 2008). As part of policy making, national planning focus on government priorities among competing demands, and as such monitoring and evaluation support their deliberation by providing evidence of the most effective strategies and activities (e.g., employment programs, health plans). Monitoring and evaluation identifies the most effective use of available resources and identifies practices that are not performing, enhancing transparency and supporting accountability by showing the extent to which governments achieve objectives (Mackay, 2008).

There is a transition from traditional implementation-based approaches toward results-based approaches, examining not only the governments’ capacity to implement policies but also the effectiveness of these policies and whether they produced the intended results (Kusek \& Rist, 2008). This results-based monitoring and evaluation system assesses whether and how the goals are achieved over time. Monitoring refers to the measuring the progress toward short, intermediate and long-term goals, providing feedback on the progress made towards achieving the result. An evaluation system examines why results (translated in indicators) where achieved.

Kusek and Rist (2008, p.104) present a ten-step model to building a results monitoring and evaluation system:

1. "Conducting a readiness assessment (determining the capacity and willingness of the government to construct a results-based monitoring and evaluation system)
2. Agreeing on outcomes to monitor and evaluate
3. Developing key indicators to monitor outcomes (indicator development is a central activity and drives all subsequent data collection, analysis and reporting)
4. Gathering baseline data on indicators (the first measurement of the indicators)
5. Planning for improvements: setting realistic targets (most outcomes are long term and complex and therefore it is helpful to have interim targets)
6. Monitoring for results (data collection, analysis and reporting; establishing the tasks, who will be responsible for what activities, the timeline, the costs)
7. Evaluative information to support decision making (process evaluation, outcome and impact evaluation)
8. Analyzing and reporting findings (the format, the audience)
9. Using the findings (increases accountability, transparency and resource allocation) 10. Sustaining the monitoring and evaluation system within Government (ensuring utility)".

This ten-step model could be used by Eastern European policymakers to design sound and comprehensive assessment of family policy. Detecting the most effective approaches and policies is tremendously important in a region where significant economic struggles persist. Identifying the most successful programs and prioritizing the resources will allow Governments to make progress to more equitable societies and happier families.

The World Bank and other donors (e.g., International Monetary Fund) are supporting developing countries efforts to measure their performance, especially as they prepare Poverty Reduction Strategies working to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other policy objectives. It is important for countries to measure the progress that they are achieving using specific indicators. This process needs continuous strengthening and most of the governments in developing countries need technical and financial assistance for this (Mackay, 2008). Developing monitoring and evaluation system of policymaking requires a demand from the governments, a culture that values them in order to successfully institutionalize these mechanisms. For example, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund allow for debt relief of developing countries if they show commitment towards reforms especially those that promote poverty reduction outlined in the Poverty Strategy Papers (Kusek \& Rist, 2008). Country-led evaluation reflects the importance of a country's assessment of its own development (Adrien, \& Jobin, 2008).The challenges of this process are the lack of financial resources to institute it by the developing countries, lack of consistent national monitoring and evaluation frameworks and methods, and very few specialists. Eastern European countries need to indicate this commitment and to adequately monitor and evaluate their policies.

In Eastern Europe there is a weak evaluation culture due to the political system and historical institutional framework and therefore developing local monitoring and evaluation capacity is essential (Adrien, \& Jobin, 2008). Governments need to be open in disseminating the evaluation results to promote credibility and transparency. There is a wide variation among the countries in the region regarding their evaluation capacity, with the EU member states (e.g., Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Romania) having better structures and capabilities than the ones which are aspiring to EU membership.

Evidence indicate that despite the significant resources devoted to policy and program evaluation and its importance, the utilization of evaluation results is low, the problem being that the available evaluation information is not organized and communicated effectively, or not disseminated at all to users and stakeholders (Bamberger, 2008). It is important to follow up after the evaluation and examine how the evaluation findings and recommendations are used by policymakers and how they influence decisions and actions. There is a need of evaluation capacity building in Eastern Europe. This requires strengthening the technical capacity of evaluators to conduct evaluations and also the capacity of stakeholders to interpret and use the findings of the evaluation (Bamberger, 2008). Moreover, for the recommendations to have
practical utility there is a need for an action plan with specific timeline, responsibilities and procedures.

## Conclusions

Eastern European countries need to develop explicit family policy frameworks. Given the current socio-economic context family policies confronting poverty and the ones addressing the workfamily balance occupy a central position. Besides good frameworks and formulations of family policies, a comprehensive system of their assessment is necessary. Since financial resources are limited in the area, prioritizing and adopting effective policy strategies would assure economic, social and demographic progress.

## Policy Recommendations

- Eastern European countries need to develop explicit family policy frameworks
- Decision makers should develop evidence-based family policies
- Given that in Eastern Europe policymaking and implementation occurs within a context of limited resources, is important to understand not only what works, but what works at what costs and with what results.
- Stimulating economic growth in the region is necessary so that people can find employment and not look for work abroad
- It is recommended to increase awareness of the impact of social policies on all family members and to prioritize policy measures and reach all age groups, including children (e.g., bringing child poverty on policy agenda)
- While provisions of direct income support to families with children are common throughout the region, the level of expenditure is low and should be increased
- Provision of more generous and better targeted child benefits and an increase in the material support provided to families with children, and investment in children's human capital are recommended
- In order to prevent child abandonment, States need to encourage families to keep the child by providing financial assistance to families at risk and education and social support through social services.
- Given the shortages of affordable housing throughout the region Governments need to develop programs to assist young couples with having independent housing
- Policies and support programs targeting immigrant families need to be developed, with specific modules for the migrants themselves, as well as for the family members left
- Maternal benefits are paid in the countries in the region but most of them are usually linked to formal employment, and as such are not received by unemployed mothers, and as such, the benefits should be universal
- Paternity leave and family friendly work policies (e.g., flexible hours) should be introduced in every country
- Financial allowances should be provided to support the care provided by grandparents, increasing thus the opportunity for social protection and intergenerational solidarity
- Family policies monitoring and evaluation should be conducted to identify the most effective use of available resources and identify the practices that are not performing
- Results-based approaches should be used to examine not only the governments’ capacity to implement policies but also the effectiveness of these policies and whether they produced the intended results
- Governments need to be open in disseminating the evaluation results to promote credibility and transparency
- It is recommended to follow up after the evaluation and examine how the evaluation findings and recommendations are used by policymakers and how they influence decisions and actions


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