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Hugues Fulchiron (dir.)



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Remerciements	5
Thanks	7
Avant-propos	9
Foreword	13
Les solidarités entre générations et la transmission familiale	23
Intergenerational solidarity	35
PREMIÈRE PARTIE. – L'ENFANT AU CŒUR DES SOLIDARITÉS FAMILIALES FIRST PART. – THE CHILD, CENTRE OF FAMILY SOLIDARITIES	
Chapitre 1. – Enfant, famille et société Chapter 1. – Child, family and society	
Economic protection of the children and women: protection of the family and principle of subsidiarity of the state – old fashioned views forcedly revisited	51
Les droits fondamentaux dans la configuration de l'intérêt de l'enfant	71
Family instability, mental health and the emerging financial crisis for the welfare state	85
The protection of the economic interests of children living in child-headed households in South Africa	105
"State orphans" in the United States: a failure of intergenerational solidarity	121
State responsibility for the child in need of care	141
Chapitre 2. – Solidarités familiales et nouvelles formes de vie familiales	
Chapter 2. – Family solidaries and new forms of family life	
Le devoir de solidarité des parents psychologiques et les fondements possibles de leur éventuelle obligation alimentaire	163
型 Live 物性 Live in the control of t	

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Marital contracts and the changing meaning of marriage	177
Furning hearts of children and fathers: legal recognition of extended families	203
Emergency alert: this is not a test! An international disaster relief plan for protecting children and families	213
Obligations towards next generations: the protection of unborn human life	233
Legal study on inter-generational solidarities (Kinsmanship) in multicultural families of South Korea	243
Adoption and foster care: doubled family solidarities?	257
Promoting intergenerational solidarity in croatian family law system: in search of coherent and efficient solutions	281
Chapitre 3. – Solidarités familiales et séparation Chapter 3. – Family solidarities and separation	
Child maintenance in shared residence arrangements from a comparative perspective: care instead of money?	299
Protecting generational solidarities through interventions with divorcing families – the research and practice	eory, 313
The pro-active role of the judge in family law cases	323
Teen parents in Russia: are they children or adults?	343
Revisiting Mary Ann Glendon: abortion, divorce, and rights talk in western law	349
Problems of gender and solidarity in post-divorce	367
Chapitre 4. – Les grands-parents, acteurs des solidarités familiales Chapter 4. – Grandparents, family solidarity actors	
Children and grandparents: an overrated attachment?	389
Personal relationship between the child and his/her grandparents in comparative family law	407
Affective and financial solidarity: grandparents' rights and duties	423
Dawn or twilight of rights and duties between grandparents and grandchildren in Central Europe	435

Le droit de l'enfant d'e dans le Code civil espe The vicaorius role of g Intergenerational fina The legal status of gra and succession law w

Chapitre

Chaj

Intergenerational obliand the United States. Fathers responsible foin the customary law Support obligations to

Maintenance of study

Chap: , ~Cha_l

Parents séparés et obli une table de référence Generation solidarity

Le recouvrement des a

Chapter 7

Balancing the protecti – the role played by the an overview of the Por

The family's "legacy": i in multi-jurisdictiona

Solidarités familiales

-	SOMMAIRE	19
177	Le droit de l'enfant d'entretenir des relations personnelles avec ses grands-parents dans le Code civil espagnol	443
nilies 203	The vicaorius role of grandparents social evolution and legal rules	459
213	Intergenerational financial support in english law – legal or moral?	467
life233	The legal status of grandparents within the scope of croatian family and succession law with the practice of the european court of human rights	479
243	Chapitre 5. – Solidarités familiales et prise en charge	
257	du jeune adulte Chapter 5. – Family solidarities and support for the young adult	
281	Intergenerational obligations: post- majority child support in Poland and the United States	493
aration aration	Fathers responsible for the sins of their children? Accessory liability of a family head in the customary law of delict in South Africa	505
ative perspective:	Support obligations towards adult children	519
cing families - theory,	Maintenance of studying grown up children in Hungary	527
323	Chapitre 6. – Solidarités familiales et aliments Chapter 6. – Family solidarities and alimony	
343	Parents séparés et obligation de contribuer à l'entretien et l'éducation des enfants : une table de référence pour fixer le montant des pensions alimentaires	537
western law 349	Generation solidarity? Legal consequences of new family forms in Denmark	551
	Le recouvrement des aliments destinés aux enfants dans l'Union européenne	559
teurs	Chapitre 7. – Solidarités familiales	
rity actors	et transmissions patrimoniales Chapter 7. – Family solidarities and transfers of assets	
389	Balancing the protection of the partner and of the descendants in case of death	
407	- the role played by the law of successions in the decision to marry again: an overview of the Portuguese legal system	571
423	The family's "legacy": exit costs and matrimonial property arrangements in multi-jurisdictional contexts	585
yrandchildren 435	Solidarités familiales – volontaires ou imposées – en droit successoral québécois	599

$\overline{}$	\sim
٠,	łΙ
盔	u

How to additionally protect minors and young adults in case of unlawful	400	Cnapitre
disinheritance?	609	Chapter 3
Justifying imperative inheritance law in the twenty-first century	623	Guardians of gre
Réserve héréditaire et solidarité familiale	641	5
	_	Alimony respons
La substitution, mécanisme d'affectation familiale des biens	663	Alimony respons children by the l
		. Dis a procession p
SECONDE PARTIE. – LA PRISE EN CHARGE DES AÎNÉS	a.	dans le code civi
PAR LA FAMILLE : LES DÉFIS DU MONDE MODERNE		· -
SECOND PART SUPPORT FOR ELDERS		Chapitre 4
BY FAMILY: THE CHALLENGES OF THE MODERN WORLD)	· ·
BY FAMILY: THE CHALLENGES OF THE MODERN WORLD	•	Chapter
t thique		The provision of
Chapitre 1. – Un enjeu politique, économique et éthique		The provision of
Chapter 1. – A political, economical and ethical issue		La prise en char
	683	E Da prise en una
Solidarité familiale, solidarités collectives à l'âge de la mondialisation	000	La solidarité far.
	693	i na coman mojam
L'état « social » et la nécessité de l'éducation de la solidarité entre générations		L'entrée en insti
La dette et le don : actualité morale de la solidarité inter-générationnelle	705	personnelle
Refamilialisation of care and support: Scope and limits of family solidarity	500	Extended family
in ageing societies	709	concept in Niger
		¥ Y
Prise en charge des personnes âgées : choix d'échelles, de jeux de compétences,	725	Les personnes âț
modélisation et solidarité	, ,	
		Dépendance des
Chapitre 2. – Solidarités familiales contre solidarités collectiv	es?	
Chapter 2. – Family solidarities against collective solidaritie	\mathbf{s} ?	La protection de
Chapter 2. – Failing Solidarides against concours 2011		
L'articulation des solidarités familiales et collective : entre subsidiarité		(C)
Exticulation des solidarites jamitules et concerne et socialisation du droit aux aliments	747	Chapitre
Le rôle de la réciprocité dans la solidarité financière entre ascendants et descendants		Chapter
– vu d'Allemagne et de France	763	
	·	La place de la fa
Solidarité des générations et protection des personnes âgées en Espagne :	γ 	
droit civil ou droit social? Alternative ou cumul?	771	La famille et la :
One mother is enough for the needs of ten children, but not the contrary! Familial		A brief compari
(in) recommendation and financial (in) ability of the Italian weight state about	707	New Zealand pe
the elders' medical care expenses	787	I = totalla des es
		La tutelle des pe
Elderly caretaking: badanti versus welfare policies – Family needs have only private	795	La place de la ve
answers	100	na pave ae a v

ful	609	Chapitre 3. – La famille solidaire de l'enfant adulte handicapé Chapter 3. – Solidarity of the family to the disabled adult child	
	623	Guardians of grown up children with a mental handicap – a danish perspective	809
	641	Alimony responsibility of parents and other family members towards disabled adult	
	663	children by the legislation of Kazakhstan	827
DES AÎNÉS MODERNE		La « protection patrimoniale des personnes handicapées ou dépendantes » dans le code civil catalan : le patrimoine protégé	833
DERS DERN WORLD)	Chapitre 4. – Vieillissement de la population et solidarités familia Chapter 4. – Aging of the population and family solidarities	ales
e et éthique		The provision of support between adult family members in Japan	845
hical issue		La prise en charge des soins des parents âgés par l'épouse du fils aîné au Japon	853
on	683	La solidarité familiale ascendante : jusqu'où ?	857
rérations	693 705	L'entrée en institution de la personne âgée vulnérable : protection et autonomie personnelle	867
lidarity	709	Extended family system as social protection for the elderly: a fast-evanescing concept in Nigeria	883
npétences,	725	Les personnes âgées en Iran	899
		Dépendance des personnes âgées et solidarité dans le droit contemporain	903
rités collectiv		La protection des personnes âgées par la famille en Afrique francophone	915
zrité 	747	Chapitre 5. – La place de la famille dans les systèmes légaux de protection	
nts et descendants	729	Chapter 5. – Place of the family in legal systems of protection	a
	-	La place de la famille dans le système légal français de protection	939
oagne :	. 771	La famille et la remise en cause des actes de la personne âgée en droit français	947
trary! Familial state about	787	A brief comparison between adult guardianship and the law of children: New Zealand perspectives	955
		La tutelle des personnes âgées incapables réalisée par l'entité juridique en Espagne	971
s have only privat	TOE	La place de la volonté dans le système légal français de protection des majeurs	983

Protection et autonomie des personnes vulnérables entre droit des incapacités	993
t droits de l'incapable	*****
s there any (legal) future for the elderly?	1005
Chapitre 6. – L'accompagnement de la fin de vie	
Chapter 6. – Accompanying the end of life	A
La personne de l'ascendant en droit hellénique	1017
Legal rules and practical aspects of the end-of-life care practice in family relationship	1027
in Italy	•
Le statut du tiers accompagnant	1037
La protection en Espagne de la personne âgée internée dans un centre gériatrique	1043
L'Euthanasie : le droit comparé, source d'inspiration pour la législation française ?	1061
Chapitre 7. – Anticiper les besoins de protection Chapter 7. – Anticipating the needs of protection	
La convention comme mode de transmission patrimoniale : le pacte de famille	1069
Le mandat de protection future, instrument contractuel d'anticipation patrimoniale	1079
Le dernier pari : l'aléa du contrat d'assistance entre les personnes âgées et leurs proch et/ou une tierce personne dans le système juridique italien	es 1093
Rapport de synthèse – Summary report	
Quelles solidarités pour demain ?	1101
Which solidarities for tomorrow?	1119
Postlude : Solidarities between generations	1137
Table des matières	1139

LES

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ADOPTION AND FOSTER CARE: DOUBLED FAMILY SOLIDARITIES?

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INTRODUCTION

The role of the elderly, and in particular of grandparents, is of fundamental importance within international adoption. Given that life expectancy has increased and still continues to do so, nowadays families are growing in size, members and average age. In other words, families are becoming extended, and are no longer nuclear but include grandparents as well. The new family environment, reshaped by science and improved living conditions, has led to a change in the laws of the family, which have been updated and adjusted to follow the most recent developments in society.

Worldwide legislators have introduced new rules to govern grandparents' visiting rights and duty of support towards their grandchildren, so as to protect the two weaker parties (grandparents and grandchildren) in the event of relationship breakdown between parents. The intervention of the legislator has gone even further, requiring grandparents to provide their consent (rectius, prior consent) for international adoption. Can such consent be considered invasive or against the best interest of the child? Does it alter the parental free choice between adoption and foster care? In other words, what happens if the parent-grandparent relationship is dreadful or non-existent and it is unlikely that the grandparents will provide their consent?

Differences between adoption and foster care are substantial both in terms of motivations and procedures. However, many cases of transfer from one procedure to the other are registered nowadays, due to the strict and stringent requirements set out by the Hague convention which may operate as a deterrent in the case of international adoption.

I. - HISTORY

Earthquakes, tsunamis, epidemic diseases and wars have always occurred in human history; however, no attention was ever paid in the past centuries

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to children's conditions during and after any calamitous or devastating event. Beginning with World War II, global attention was for the first time ever catalyzed by shocking images of children living on the streets of the defeated countries in questionable hygienic conditions, with no family, no education and no assistance. With the contribution of the global press and media, through their direct and constant coverage of devastating events, a widespread feeling of affection and solidarity towards the blameless minors deprived of their own future has slowly arisen. Eventually, intercountry adoption, often presented as a way for well-off people to support and sustain orphans in need, has become a worldwide phenomenon, steadily increasing in scope and geographical areas of practice.

In fact, whereas until the 20th century adoption was a customary practice for property transfer in the absence of male heirs (1), it then became a tool operating for the benefit of orphans and childless families. Emblematic was its rise in numbers after the crash and fall of the communist bloc, when the awful and crumbling conditions of overcrowded orphanages with no heating, food or medical supplies, abandoned by the state, became public knowledge. Thanks to the absence of international binding treaties, with the subsequent possibility for governments of the sending and receiving countries to rule independently and sign bilateral agreements on cross-border adoption, many orphans entered western countries to join adoptive families. Such an occurrence came to an abrupt halt once many cases of corruption within the system were discovered (2), and the indefensible situation called for a new law to provide minors with better protection. The lurking risk of child trafficking and child laundering eventually led to detailed and strict regulations, on both the domestic and international stage.

II. - INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION

In order to prevent the abduction, sale and traffic of children, and to establish safeguards against the risks of illegal, irregular, premature or ill-prepared adoptions abroad, on May 29th 1993 the Hague convention on protection of children and co-operation in respect of intercountry adoption was concluded. Eighty-five States have already ratified or acceded to this convention to date.

at the 13th World Conference of the International Society of Family Law, Vienna, Jan Sramek Verlag, 2009, pp. 217-219.

⁽¹⁾ Under Roman law (Codex Iustinianus), adoption took place mainly in favour of adults to facilitate the transition of property or power. In fact, the code provided two forms of adoption, the so-called plena and minus plena; the latter was accorded without the need for the actual physical move to the house of the adoptive father, but still gave the adopted the right to inherit.

(2) K. Bagan-Kurluta, "Adoption in a Globalized World," Family Finances, papers presented

The Convention has established a comprehensive set of strict rules in order to ensure that adoption takes place in the best interest of the child and with respect for his fundamental rights; it sets out clear procedures and prohibits improper financial gain. It also imposes security, predictability and transparency for all parties to the adoption, in order to fully eliminate situations of abuse and guarantee the development of an integrated multi-national child-care and protection system.

Whilst in theory the Convention operates for the benefit of minors, none-theless there is a consistent part of western doctrine (especially American (3)) which has deeply criticized the new rules, as they lead to a lengthening of the overall procedure. In fact, the Convention requires ex-ante eligibility qualifications, obligatory consents and post-adoption checks, which may be of impediment to the final purpose, that is taking children out of institutions.

Hence, whereas the press tends to convey the idea that intercountry adoption works as a ready-made panacea which may immediately link a family to homeless children, this is not really the case since the adoptive praxis do not progress as quickly as before the Hague convention entered into force. As a consequence, orphanages remain crowded, and adoption agencies, still overworked, are not able to satisfy the many requests to adopt that they receive each day.

In the end, international adoption turns out not to be the effective tool that the media depict at all. This is especially the case for the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, the 2010 Haiti earthquake and the 2011 earthquake and nuclear disaster in Japan: catastrophes leaving thousands of children orphans and unattended, and yet non suitable for intercountry adoption (4).

III. - ORGANS AND ENTITIES ACTING UNDER THE HAGUE CONVENTION

The Convention provides for a system of "Central authorities" and "Accredited bodies," operating under the exclusive responsibility of the respective contracting States.

Central authorities are designated at the national level, and are supposed "to discharge the duties which are imposed by the Convention" (art. 6): in

⁽³⁾ E. Bartholet, "International Adoption: The Child's Story," 24 Ga. St. U. L. Rev., 2008, p. 333, § IB, III, IV; E. Bartholet, "Beyond Biology," 2 Duke Gender, Law & Policy, 1995, v. 5, p. 5-14; K. Sorr, "Difficulties Implementing the Hague Convention on the Protection of Children and Co-Operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption: A Criticism of the Proposed Ortega's Law and an Advocacy for Moderate Adoption Reform in Guatemala," Pace Int'l L. Rev., 2006, v. 18, p. 559.

⁽⁴⁾ The non-qualification for adoption is due to the concrete impossibility of finding the natural parents, who may be missing or deceased after the event. In fact, until a certificate from the natural parents is issued (either of abandonment or of death), adoption is not legally practicable.

other words, they must ensure the enforcement of the Convention's rules within domestic borders, imposing penalties in the case of violations. At an international level, all Central authorities are required to cooperate with one another in order to facilitate the exchange of information amongst countries for the purpose of adoption.

Art. 9 and 10 provide central authorities with the possibility of delegating functions to public authorities (5) or other accredited bodies, which must liaise with each other on children and prospective adoptive parents, replying to foreign Central authorities' or public authorities' requests on specific cases, and monitoring the post-adoption phases. The appointment of the bodies is subject to accreditation and periodical renewal, in order to ensure competence, honesty and expertise. In particular, the bodies must be non-profit organizations, governed by persons qualified on a personal and ethical level and with competence in the field. In the event that the accredited body is willing to act in another country, the authorization of the receiving country is also needed. (This is often the case for accredited bodies of receiving countries, placing a local office in the sending country as an assistance post, for the stage when the adoptive parents are ready to travel to the receiving country, in order to ensure compliance with the final steps of the adoption procedure)

The full list of names and references of all accredited bodies is updated by the Permanent bureau of the Hague conference on private international law, and can be consulted online (6).

IV. - STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURE

The Central authority (or accredited body) of the sending country must obtain the written consent of the child's parents or caregivers to give the minor up for adoption, and only after the necessary verification that intercountry adoption is appropriate in regard to the subsidiarity principle on the basis that there is no possibility of domestic adoption, can it declare the adoptability of the child.

Contemporaneously, the Central authority of the receiving country has the duty to check whether prospective adopting parents are legally eligible in accordance with the requirements of the Hague convention and the various national laws, as well as being suitable on a social, economic and psychological level. Amongst the prerequisites set out by the Hague convention,

(6) http://www.hcch.net/index_en.php?act=conventions.authorities&cld=69.

⁽⁵⁾ Public authorities are indicated by each State, from Juvenile courts, social services, municipal/parish courts, etc.

the prospective parents must supply the adoptive grandparents' obligatory consent (or death certificate[s]).

Then, the two abovementioned Central authorities collect, preserve and exchange the respective information gathered, and end up with prospective matches. At this stage, whilst the authorities take care of all formalities, contact between the minor and the adopting parents begins, so as to facilitate the integration of the minor in preparation for the time when he will be moved to his new family.

Eventually, the adopting parents travel to the sending country, get to know the child and comply with all the local bureaucracy: they sign the adoption certificate in front of a notary, hand in the certificate to their local embassy or consulate, and once the adoption is certified as being in accordance with the Hague Convention, return home together with the newly adopted child.

The adoption, complying with all the above requirements, is recognized ex lege in all member States and gives the child the right to enter national borders (7).

V. - HITCHES: REQUIRED CONSENTS TO INTER-COUNTRY ADOPTION

An essential prerequisite for the Hague convention to operate is respect for the subsidiarity principle: the Convention can be applied only in the event that any other domestic solution, such as national adoption or foster care, is not practicable.

Specifically, art. 4 provides the central authority of the State of origin with the possibility of declaring the child adoptable exclusively if either the biological parents have released their consent to adoption, or the institution taking care of the child has signed the official certificate of abandonment. In addition, the minor (if mature enough) must be duly informed, so as to express his overall opinion and personal consent to adoption (the latter only if necessary under domestic laws).

At the same time, the central authority of the receiving country must collect data regarding the adopting parents in order to make sure they

⁽⁷⁾ Recommendation No. 17/2005 of the Meeting of the Special Commission on the practical operation of the Hague Convention of 29th May 1993 on Protection of children and cooperation in respect of intercountry adoption, declared that "The Special Commission recommends that the child be accorded automatically the nationality of one of the adoptive parents or of the receiving State, without the need to rely on any action of the adoptive parents. Where this is not possible, the receiving States are encouraged to provide the necessary assistance to ensure the child obtains such citizenship. The policy of Contracting States regarding the nationality of the child should be guided by the overriding importance of avoiding a situation in which an adopted child is stateless."

are suitable to adopt. Such an evaluation involves the meticulous analysis of their health, and economic and psychological conditions, their true desire to become a parent, and lastly, the consent to adoption or the death certificate(s) of the adoptive grandparents must also be obtained.

The procedure per se is clear and coherent. However paying attention to the listed requirements individually, when and why problems actually arise can be seen, with the result that the Hague convention is often blamed for slowing down or disrupting the adoption procedure. The stumbling blocks are twofold: the Hague Convention requires the prior provision of official consent to adoption by the biological parents and the adopting grandparents.

As far as natural parents' consent to adoption is concerned, it is immediately evident that it is necessary only in the event that the minor is not an orphan, but abandoned. However, if the minor has been abandoned, it may be extremely complicated to track his parents down, especially in countries (e.g. China, Brazil) where women often give birth at home without any subsequent postnatal registration. Furthermore, biological parents may not want, nor have the means, to travel all the way to an accredited body, missing a working day in order to sign a certificate which makes their unwanted child adoptable. This problem is particularly consistent amongst men, who become biological parents from a non-official relationship, and leave the mother and child alone. In such cases (unfortunately occurring frequently), although the woman can identify the biological father, it may be complex to get in touch with him and make him sign the abandonment certificate, because he has left the region, or may be married to someone else, or in any event he does not wish to reveal his child born of adultery. As a result, the minor cannot be declared adoptable and is placed in residential care.

The second consent, required under the Hague Convention, is that of the adopting grandparents (unless they are deceased, in which case their death certificate[s] must be produced). Tracing grandparents is not complicated; however, it may be hard to get them to provide the necessary consent to adoption, since their relationship with the adoptive parents may be not harmonious. Moreover, inheritance issues may arise, given that the adopted child becomes a legal child of the adoptive parents. In other words, adoption equates with having biological ties for adopted children, with the consequence that both adopted and biological children have a right to support that, in the absence or unavailability of parents, is enforceable against grandparents. At the same time, upon grandparents' death, both adopted and biological children are entitled to inherit (8). In fact, notwithstanding the general provision on freedom of testation existing

⁽⁸⁾ Inheritance rights are subject to the prior death of the parents.

in many countries nowadays, various civil law systems (9) still provide for an inheritance reserve in favour of close relatives to the deceased.

Considering that most international adoptions take place towards western countries, where family members are often in dispute over inheritance and property issues, it is clear that grandparents' consent cannot be taken for granted. The media have reported many cases of contested property claims amongst the deceaseds' relatives, such as Liliane Bettencourt from L'Oreal and Agnelli and Pavarotti in Italy. And many more disputes take place every day before domestic courts within less famous families. Property issues are of central importance in today's economic world, usually handled by attorneys and consultants who tend to view even the consent to adoption as an economically computable affair. The technicalities of the issue, together with the frequent presence of professionals involved in the decision, may work as a deterrent to the provision of consent by grandparents.

As a result, irrespective of whether it is the natural parents' or the adopting grandparents' consent that is missing, the inter-country adoption procedure is disrupted. Whilst children are unable to take any further steps, adopting families have a way out from the above impasse: they may apply for foster care instead, within their respective domestic jurisdictions.

VI. - FOSTER CARE: A POSSIBLE REMEDY?

Foster care relies solely upon domestic legislation, as no international convention has been enacted to the present date (10). Under the current legislations, the minor is placed in the private home of a state-certified caregiver, who may be either a single person or a couple, and who does not have any parental responsibility, as any important decision regarding the minor are up to the biological parents or the court.

The placement in foster care is mainly motivated by poverty, protection from individual abuse, or other socio-economic obstacles that prevent biological parents from taking care of the minor. It differs from adoption, since it preserves the parental relationship and contact; it also differs from kinship care, which occurs within the child's extended family or with family friends who are close to the minor.

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⁽⁹⁾ Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, etc.

⁽¹⁰⁾ The existing inter-state legislations in fact deal with foster care cases crossing borders within the entities (provinces, districts, states or regions) of a federal state or central authority: for example, in Canada and New Zealand cross-border placements for foster care and kinship care may be issued under circumstances provided by the law, in order to facilitate the integration and development of the minor.

Whereas laws generally provide for short term foster, cases in which the term is subject to subsequent extensions are frequent nonetheless. Furthermore, considering that medical knowledge has shown the negative impact that institutionalization has on children (11), especially for those under the age of three or with disabilities, foster care is to be referred to as an alternative solution to orphanages and residential care.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, with its Resolution No. A/RES/64/142 adopted on February 24, 2010, stated under art. 22:

"In accordance with the predominant opinion of experts, alternative care for young children, especially those under the age of 3 years, should be provided in family-based settings. Exceptions to this principle may be warranted in order to prevent the separation of siblings and in cases where the placement is of an emergency nature or is for a predetermined and very limited duration, with planned family reintegration or other appropriate long-term care solution as its outcome."

Family-based foster care is especially requested by the UN Department dealing with minors' issues, UNICEF, which in the name of its local office CEECIS (12) calls for governments to reform the child care system in order to put an end to sending children into institutional care, especially under the age of three or if handicapped. At the same time, UNICEF requires a stricter control on foster care and other forms of care, to ensure transparency for the benefit of the child, who is otherwise in danger of corruption, child laundering or abduction.

The stringent requests made by the United Nations (by means of non-binding recommendations), together with the compelling limits of inter-country adoption as seen above, have resulted in widespread use of foster care as a substitute for longer term forms of care that may not be available for various reasons. The resulting benefits are clear, since foster care permits the immediate placement of a child in a family context, avoiding the negative impact of institutionalization. Furthermore, foster care is applicable also in those cases in which, due to the absence of the requisite consent (of either the natural parents or adopting grandparents), inter-country adoption is not a practicable option.

⁽¹¹⁾ D.A. Frank, P.E. Klass, F. Earls and L. Eisenberg, "Infants and Young Children in Orphanages: One View From Pediatrics and Child Psychiatry," Pediatrics, 1996, v. 4, p. 569-576; R.P. Barth, Institutions v. Foster Homes: The Empirical Base for the Second Century of Debate, Chapel Hill, NC: UNC, School of Social Work, Jordan Institute for Families, 2002.

⁽¹²⁾ CEECIS stands for Central, Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. It is an office coordinating and supervising UNICEF's work in 22 countries and entities, and specifically in: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo under UNSCR 1244, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Montenegro, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

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6,0

Table a) Children in residential care, at the end of the year (in 1,000s)

2009 23,4 6,9 62,8	1,8 1,8 2,2 8,7	6,9 8,58	6 '0	*	80
2008 23,4 7,2 51,8	1,3 1,3 2,5 9,6	7,5	-	2,4 6,3 0,5	
2007 23,5 7,2 53,0	1,4 1,6 2,6 9,7	8,8 25,5 8,5		8. 8.	6
2006 7,4 7,4 7,4	1,4 1,6 2,6 10,4	8,7 26,3	6,0	2,3 6,2 - 0,6 ~ 5,7 -	
2005 23,5 7,8 56,8	1,7 2,9 10,6	9,8 29,1	8,0	er er	60
2004 23,5 8,0 56,8	1,5 3,1 10,3	10,8 33,1	9'0	2,2 6,1 – 0,5 – 5,1 –	
20 03 22,8 8,8 67,4	1,5 3,4 10,8	10,9 38,2	7.0	 i	6,0
2002 22,7 8,1 59,5 8,5	1,8 8,6 10,7	11,9 44,1	7,0	6,2 – 0,5 – 5,1 ~	6'0
2001 22,6 8,6 81,4 9,2	1,8 3,6 11,0	12,8 61,0	7,0		6'0
2060 22,9 8,4 61,1 9,1	1,7 3,7 11,5	13,4 58,4	0,7	6,2 ~ 0,6 – 5,3 –	0'1
22,6 22,6 8,8 76,9 8,8	1,7 8,7 12,1	28,7 88,8	0,0 1,7	J 1	60
1998 22,0 9,6 77,6 8,8 1,2	1,7 3,7 12,2	23,6 44,7	2'0	4. 18. 1 1	1,0
1397 21,9 8,3 6,4 9,3	1,7 3,3 12,1	24,4 ·51,8	1	1 1	1,2
1996 21,8 8,9 76,5 9,3	1,7 8,8 11,4	27,2 62,0	1 1	84 1 1 1	T
21,3 21,3 9,2 77,0 9,8	1,6 2,9 11,0	26,6 49,5	1 1		ī,
1994 20,6 9,4 67,2 8,7	1,5 2,3 11,0	26,9 53,0	t i	- 20-	7,4
1993 19,9 10,0 64,4 8,7	2,0	44,9	J		7.
1992 10,2 63,5 8,6 2,0	1,4 1,8 12,8	43,0	ł	1.47-	ļ.
1991 18,8 11,0 63,4 8,7	1,4	47,0	1	1 1 5	
1990 18,2 12,6 64,8 8,6 1,8	1,5 1,7 17,0	47,4	2,9	6,9 – 	•
1989 14,0 62,9 8,0 1,8	1,6 0,9	1		1 + 2	
		1 4	1	1 1 1	
Czech Republic Hungary Poland Slovakia	Estonia Latria Lithuania Bulgaria	Romanie Albania	Bosnia and Herregovina	Granta Montenegro Serbia TPTR	

2009	8,4 345,6	4,9	21,0
20 08	9,8 323,5 81.6	5,3	79,5- 21,5 9,8
2007	10,2 834,4 84,5	5,4	,
2006 23,8	361,0 88,8	7,6 17,0	79,0 20,8 11,6 3,3 –
2006 25,5	12,1 372,8 92,6	8,8 23,3	84,1 16,3 12,1 3,4 33,1
26,3	12,b 398,2 96,2	7,3 23,1	85,9 16,6 12,6 3,5
2003	403,6	5,2 23,5	81,6 13,4 12,1 3,4 33,2
2002	421,6 99,4	4,8 28,5	75,5 14,6 11,3 3,4 38,5
2001 29,8	424,7 98,8	4,8 22,3 8,0	69,2 14,6 8,5
2000 29,8 12.1	423,5 99,1	6,0 22,1 8,0	67,2 15,1 - 3,5 87,0
1999 29,8 7,6	431,7	5,7 21,2 8,0	
1998 29,7 8,2	432,8	5,8 20,1 8,4	13,4 2,8 1,2 32,9
1997 28,5 8,3	430,8	4,8 20,1 8,0	- 12,9 2,0 1,0 32,1
1996 28,4 8,5	487,0 36,8	4,0 19,6 8,7	- 13,0 2,7 1,0 30,2
1996 28,0 8,0	428,2	3,9 18,2 8,7	12,0 1,7 1,1 28,4
19 94 27,7 8,2	416,6 32,4	3,6 18,6 8,1	- 12,1 2,5 0,8
1998 27,6 7,7	412,5	3,8 18,8	- 14,4 3,0 1,0 30,3
1992 28,6 8,7	429,7 31,1	3,8 20,3 13,4~	- 17,5 4,0 0,9 31,8
1891 28,5 12,5	447,2	4,2 22,3 16,1	- 7,8 4,6 0,9 29,2
1990 30,9 14,3	496,2 29,2	4,4 24,3 38,1	- 8,4 4,9 1,0
1989 82,7 15,6	504,6 30,0	24,4	- 5,1 0,3
Belarus Molova, Republic of Precion	Federation Ukraine	Armenia Azerbaljan Georgia	Kazakhstan Kyrgyzstan Tajikistan Turkmenistan Uebekistan

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;			1991	1992	1998	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	9008	6 490		9
Crech Republic	2.792	2 2.626		2.334	2.276	2.266	2.285	2.208	2.113	2.136	2.064	1 798	1655	409	169						A002
Hungary	2.376	5 2.147		1.898	1.933	1.881	1,795	1.755	1 670	1 500	1 461	1	3 .	1.00	F.0.24	D.QT	1.565	1.470	1.407	1.418	1.391
Poland	4.319	B 4.400	4.400	-	4.059	ı	}	3	2	1.080	106-1	1.2.10	1.167	1.128	1.079	11011	382	季	188	614	482
Slovakia	689				628	Ş	į	,	ì	1	ı	1	1	ı	ı	1	ı	1	1	ı	
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Estonia	288	286	290	301	305	296	317	838	85 85 85	뒤		131	ĕ	٤	5	8	;	;			
Latvia	1	ł	ī	ı	1	1	ı		397	8	306	. 4	9 9	ì	7 5	,	33	8		ı	
Lithuania	848	470	496	491	628	437	473	516	910	8 8	479	42 426	}	280 247	<u>\$</u>	168	\$ \$	321	382		7
Bulgarla	4.030	3,803	8.633	3 632	3.719	1048	9 500	9		;						•	Ī			710	3
Domon					25.50	0.611	3.078	3.700	3.711	3.593	3.448	3.375	3,563	3.141	2,006	2.882	2.960	2743	2.716 9	9.440 9	700
Bullwallin	ı	8.558	8.028	7.878	8.245	10.956	8.715	8.960	8.810-	1	,		2.880	2.346	1.881					-	676
Albania	I I	ı	ı	ı		174	226	228	949	184	Ā	9	9	į		ļ					
Bosnia and								}	i S	3	\$	ş	200	\$	159	£	124	148	184]	163	181
Herzegovina	; I	ı	I,	1	1	ı	ı	ı	1	t		328	353	\$	343	371	088	103	207 2	217 8	287
Croatia	1	144—		182~		117		85		<u>-791</u>	ŧ	ı	ı	1							
Montenegro	1	I	1	1	ı	I		1	,	ı	1	ı	ı	ı	'	ŀ	ı	j.		ı	
Serbia	1	1	1	J	ı	ı		ı	ı			500		۱ ;	I	ı	1	1	ı	ı	
TFYR	į	1								,		-)60		-623		88 88	83	366	8	1	
Macedonia	2	20	2	₹ .	8	8	107	8	96	%	88	29	13	35	26	120	66	26	106 8	87 8	88
Belarus	1.102	1.047	066	973	986	1.037	1.048	1.063	1.165	1250	1301	300	1 20K	. 916							
															1.20.	1.268 1.	1.302	1266 1	1.134 1.144	44 1.113	81

ADOPTION AND FOSTER CARE: DOUBLED FAMILY SOLIDARITIES?

267

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	2003	88	17.767	3.704	79	7 EE	120		980	808	}	
	8008	Š		3.951	Æ	124	126	:	2.106-		1	88
9		i o	_	4.454	8	106	120		7 7 88 88	160	1	762
9006	3	}		0.011	77	142	222		258 258	163	-912	732
2005	38.1		20.621		74	156	224	2,005		174	282	306
2004	89		19.962 5.867		92	144	170	2.120		164	220	101
2003	378		19.113 5.261		ę	152	99	2,120		157	216	743
2002	405	16 995	5.177		22	173	179	2.841	243	188	214	784
2001	398	19.956	4.092		81	181	197	2.436	234	175	202	79
2000	388	19.345	4.969		8	197	/g _T	2.476	254	192	752 766	3
1999	414	19.288	5.104		3	184	\$	2.676	228	165	263	3
1998	421	19.250	5.049	į	8 5	101	3	2,549	217	901	740	i
1997	318	18.097	4.620	ş	8 5	124		2.230	217	6%T	763	
1996	314	18.498	4.629	ņ	8 2	162		2.236	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	191	776	
1995	406	18.846	4,487	Ş	9 <u>9</u>	103		2.048	197	8	776	
1994	687	18.021	4.205	82	191	66		1.880	232	215	847	
1993	220	17.749	4.045	123	193	134		1.780 26.	287	292	869	
1992	622	17.667	4.007	90	191	125	ļ	1.576 236	8	230	891	
	585	17.783	4,181	60	236	205	į	1.78 26 28 28 28	439	255	868	
1989 1990	2	19.344 18.506		껿	241	254	90	236 236	439	287	923	ı
68.6T	<u> </u>	19.344	1	8	248	277	1 006	7.000	463	230	88	-
Moldova,	Republic of Rassian	Federation	Ukraine	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Georgia	Kazakhsten	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	ing says of the sa	Date mendel 1

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Table c) Children in care of foster parents or guardians (in 1,000s), at the end of the year

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2009	0,8	20,3 7,2 1,2	8,8 9,9	6,4 43,5	1,4	4,6
2008		19,2 63,4 8,3	1,3 – 8,7 7,2	6,1 46,1	1 % 1 5	3,9 1,1
2007	7,6	18,2 52,7 8,2 1,2	7,2	6,0 48,2	1 % 1 5	3, 7, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1,
2006	7,1	18,6 51,3 7,6 1,2	2,0 8,8 7,7	5,6 48,1	3 8 1 1 5	2,9
2002	6'9	18,6 48,7 7,3 1,2	8, 8, 6, 8, 6, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8, 8,	47,7	1 8 1 G	2,7
2004	ō,ō	18,1 48,4 7,1 1,2	8,0 8,0	2,0 50,2	1 % 1 G	1,0
2008	9,9	17,4 47,7 6,9 1,4	2,9 12,3 7,8	1,9 46,6	1 8, 100) of
2002	9'9	16,0 47,3 6,4 1,4	8,8 9,6 7,6	0,9 43,1	1.8 1.0	+ 1
2001	6,4	15,5 47,9 6,8 1,4	8,0 9,2 7,7	37,6	1,19	· / 그
2000	6,0	15,2 50,1 6,1 1,5	8,8 7,6	- 2 9 '8	1 25 1 25	- 1
1999	6,0	7,6 55,8 2,6 3,3	3,5 7,9	I	1 3	- 1,t
1998	5,9	7,9 52,5 2,4 3,3	3,6 7,7 7,0	1 1	1 1 1 1	- 8 ¹
1997	5,7	8,0 61,2 2,2 3,5	3,7 8,6 8,6	t I	() 1 f	1,4
1996	5,8	7,9 49,4 2,3 3,5	လေး လုံ လုံ လုံ	1 1	t 1 t	- Ā,Ĭ
1996	5,6	8,0 46,1 3,2 3,2	2,1 5,5 5,9	1 1	1 1 1	- 칼
1994	5.5	8,3 43,9 2,4 3,3	2,1 4,6 5,3	1 1	1 1 1	1 27
1993	5,	8,4 40,8 2,4 2,5	2,4 9,3 5,4	1	1 1 1	1 2,1
1992	5,2	8,5 38,7 2,4 2,6	1,8 5,2	J (1 1 1	1,4
1881	5, 3,	8,6 37,6 2,4 2,6	1 4,9	1 1		9,6
1990	5,3	8,9 87,2 2,8 2,6	1 1 %	t I	1 1 1	9'0
1989	5,3	83,4 2,3 2,0	1 1 4,	1 1	1 1 1 1	, <u>L</u>
			1 1	i i	41	1
	Czech Republic	Hungary Poland Slovakia Slovenia	Estonia Latvia Lithuania	Bulgaria Romania	Albania Bosnia and Herzegovina Croatia Montenegro	Serbia TFYR Macedonia

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2008 1, 4, 4, 0 %
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1 2002 13,9 5,0 5,0 65,5 0,01 24,8 1,2 -
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19 1 19 1 19 1 19 1
4 1996 7,1 4,0 47,1 - 8,0 - 18,4 1.
8,2 226,5 8,2 6,1 7,5 7,5 7,5 7,5 7,5 7,5 7,5 7,5 7,5 7,5
9 9 1
1992 10,4 4,0 4,0 41,3 - 7,6 - 7,6 - 7,7 - 7,2 - 17
1991 10,3 10,3 16,0 16,2 41,2 41,2 41,2 41,2 41,2 41,2 41,2 41
1990 1 10,6 1 170,6 18 38,6 40,6 7,7 7,2 6,7 7,2
11,4 10,6 11,4 10,6 174,0 170,6 38,1 38,6 6,5 5,7
1989 1990 1992 1992 1992 1993 1994 1994 1994 1995 1995 1994 1995
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Belarus Holdova, Republic of Russian Pederation Ukraine Armenia Azerbaijan Georgia Kazakhstan Turkmenistan Ukbeldstan
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33

42

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Table d) Adoptions (absolute number, including intercountry adoptions, during the year)

			_								•												
			2009	5	613	2.884	88 88	8			134	258		746	1.216		22	28			10	129	
			2008	575	612	2,838	346	83		,	117	209		674	1,300		8	69		ı	-		
			2007	533	88	2.662	414	34		ı	141	229			L204 I		i i				#		ì
ਜ਼ਿ		9	2006	919	280	-	678	88				23I						82		1 :	י מי	<u> </u>	OF.
re Xe		2005	900	619		~									8 1.421 8	•	7	63			2 6	S S	75
amme rate year)		2004		299					44 44		평 ;				1.138	8	5	엃	132	6	3 2	3	æ
		2003					6 a		102		173	ş	1.094	-		7		201	83	8	174	;	8
				88 -	566		48		29	8	3 15	3	1.858	L662		54	9	8	144	18	206	į	791
ł		1 2002			2.454		46		20	160	147	;	2.162	1.763		47	101	7	119	81 8	220	19.8	5
		2001	12	5 8	2,496	48	æ		101	156	66		2.229	2.795		88	177		<u>8</u>		178	164	
		2000	512	109	2.474	404	51		87	102	117			4.326		23	164						
		1999	566	928	2.344	679	59		92	338	135			4.286 4			Ä				0	186	
		1998	499	850	10	476	99	ļ	, 32 84 34 84		191					&		161		I		185	
	1007		634	911	_	1 451								7.00%	i	.e	1	164	1	ı	t	172	
	1996		212		_				40 40		797 797		2,130		ě.	9	ſ	157	1	1		186	
	1995					22 8		200		Ş	87	9 001			11.3	Ì	,	180	ı	1	į	202	
			628			2		88	387	220	Î	2.100	2.585		98		ı	175	,	1	Ä	9	
	3 1994				-	132		119	422	88		2.098			69	ı		303	ı	ı	187	5	
	1993	463		882	449	103		131	469	316		1.994	1			ı		_	,	ſ	108		
	1992	475		2 2 2 2 3	369	111		16	919	ŝ		2.191	ı		1	ı		9 1					
	1991	280	9.0	3.360	399	141			3			2,319 2	1		1					I	208		
	1990	499	958	3.629	395	2 <u>2</u> 2		1 }	5 64	,		Z.550 Z.	ı		•	•	107		ŀ		255		
	1999	546	23			<u>\$</u>		, 8							ı	1	232	1	1		8		
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	Czech	Republic	Hungary	Poland	Movakia Sloventa		Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania		Bulgaria	Romania	•	Albania	Bomia and	egovin.	tia	Montenegro	æ		lonia		
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13.178 13,229 13,683 13.187	8	13.523 12.050 14.270	15.264 16.310 13.528 12.050	12,964 13,942 15,264 16,310 13,523 12,050
5.479 3.451 4,243 4,671	井	7.567 4.801 5.441	6.765 7.765 7.567 4.801	7.765 7.567 4.801
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ADOPTION AND FOSTER CARE: DOUBLED FAMILY SOLIDARITIES?

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273

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	2009	8	2.816	1.451		8 2	- -				
	2008	89	4.125 3	1.617 I.			_			7	1
						2 0	• -		3 0	색	•
	3 2007	98	4.536	1701	4) 	49		777	.	23
	2006	22	6.689	1.134	ě	8 %	•		77.0	2	⊋
	2002	46	6.904	2.156	2	3 -	13		8 8	≅ ⊊	1
į	2007	3	9.419	2.061	8	. 0	83		1.016	. 1	ſ
9	20 20	2	7.852	2.242	2	_	76		1.022 7		
9006	2 .	-	-	2.341 2	82	16	7.		-	ŕ	1
2001		,		2.672			-	8		1	1
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				Z.Z00	1	1 \$	₽	88	1	t	ı
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1998	22	7	1979	i	ı	1 1		ı	J	ı	ı
1997	25	5 780	731		1	1 1		J	63	,	J ,
1996	7.1	3,251			F - 1			J	12		
1995	8	1.497	417		J 1						Ī
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Data provided by the TransMONEE 2011 Database, UNICEF Regional Office for CEECIS, Geneva

Data collected by UNICEF in the years 2000-2009 in the areas of CEECIS clearly represent the rapid change in numbers within the various forms of care set up for children: it is of immediate note that residential care has decreased over the years, as have placements in children's homes.

Focusing on the Russian Federation, for example, children in residential care went from 504,600 in 1989 to 345,600 in 2009, whilst those placed in children's homes went from 19,344 in 1989 to 17,767 twenty years later. On the contrary, the number of children in foster care gradually rose, passing from 174,000 in 1989 to 448,900 in 2009. During the same period, intercountry and domestic adoption remained fairly stable overall (12,329 in 1989 as compared to 12,753 in 2009), but recorded a growth in intercountry adoption (doubling from 1,485 in the year 1993 to 3,815 in 2009).

Thus, foster care has gradually replaced residential care, while no significant change has occurred in relation to adoption. Reasons for the increase in foster care can be traced back to the economy (since international financial statistics show the growth in gross domestic product per capita in the same period, especially after the fall of the communist bloc (13)) and to the newly-formed social awareness which made it possible for many couples to show solidarity within their own borders in regard to children, mostly due to increased medical knowledge of the negative impact of child institutionalization.

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In light of the change referred to above, it may be helpful for the child's best interest to be pursued with the shift towards foster care, by introducing an intercountry form of residential care (e.g. allowing the movement, for a fixed/variable term, of minors into residential care abroad). Obviously foster care does not solve problems arising after calamitous events; but what if a tailored tool was introduced falling between intercountry adoption and foster care, to permit the cross-border transfer of children placed in residential care?

VII. - A RECEIVING COUNTRY'S PERSPECTIVE: ITALY

The data above are confirmed by looking at numbers in one of the receiving countries with the highest proportion of adoption/live births: Italy (14).

(14) The proportion of adoption/live births in Italy is circa 0,8%.

⁽¹³⁾ Data are available on the International Monetary Fund warehouse at: http://elibrary-data.imf.org/FindDataReports.aspx?d=33061&e=169393

Considering that foster care was officially recognised within the Italian legal system relatively late, under the Law No. 184/1983, it was nevertheless already in use in practice, as a spontaneous form of child assistance provided by relatives, friends and neighbours. Foster care was originally introduced as a remedy for cases of questionable parental authority or poverty and penury, ordered by a court concluding that the biological family represented a negative environment for the minor. But the wider use of such an instrument was reached after December 31, 2006, with all orphanages being ordered to close by the provisions of Law No. 149/2001. All children were consequently moved from orphanages to foster families or communities (the so-called casa-famiglia, which provides for residential care), and foster care became available not only for minors whose parents were declared unsuitable by the court (based on the social welfare evaluation), but also for abandoned minors and orphans considered available for adoption (art. 8 (15)).

It is of course patent that as a consequence of the widespread application of foster care, the number of cases of the latter has risen exponentially. Yet the success of foster care also has other reasons, as a comparison to adoption may show. In fact, entrusting care to foster parents or institutions by order of the court does not need any other consent nor control apart from the psychological and socio-economical assessment of the foster parents or guardians. That is to say, no prior consent by third parties (such as grand-parents) is requested, nor does the applicant need to be married (requisite conditions for adoption, as set out by the Hague Convention 1993 and by Italian Law No. 184/1983).

The result is a quicker and easier procedure of wider application, which may lead to a family being expanded by circumventing the many incumbrances set up by the Hague Convention 1993.

Focusing on the years 2003-2010, data collected by the Court of appeal of Turin (16) confirm that foster care is often considered as *ultima ratio*, chosen by adults who cannot fulfill the requirements set out for international adoption.

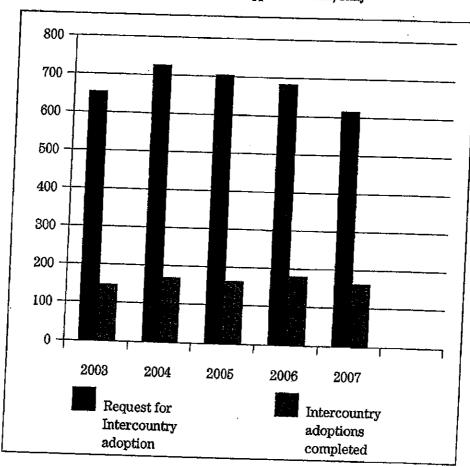
The tables show the actual status quo in Turin: the left side shows internationally and domestically adopted children in the years 2003-2010 as opposed

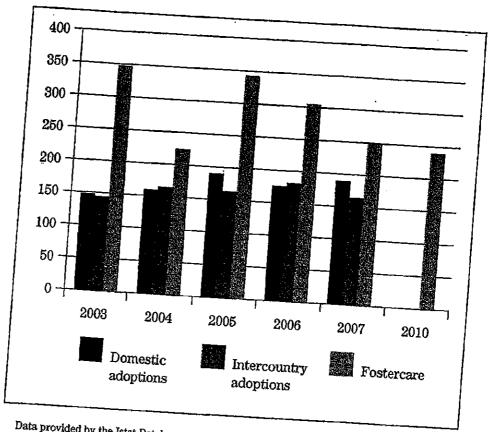
(16) Turin was chosen as an illustrative case, considering that it is a cosmopolitan metropolis with I million inhabitants located in the North of Italy, noting the legal bases for all adopting agencies operating in Italy.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Art. 8 Law No. 149/2001 establishes that minors are suitable for adoption whose abandonment has been ascertained, due to the total lack of moral and material support by parents and relatives, provided that such abandonment is considered to exist also in the event that the minor is placed in foster care or residential care.

to foster care placements (which include adoptable and non-adoptable children, daily and permanent placements), and the right side the discrepancy between requests for intercountry adoptions and procedures completed. The statistics differ enormously, since the number of foster care placements is consistently higher than that for adoption; in addition the latter are difficult to finalize due to their many obligatory prior requirements. The general prevalence of foster care over adoption (international and domestic) is also maintained notwithstanding the many cases of in-family adoptions, that is to say adoptions granted in favour of relatives or friends of the deceased natural parents.

Table f) Court of appeal of Turin, Italy





Data provided by the Istat Database on informations released by the Italian Ministry of Justice, National Office for Statistics

What these numbers show is that, despite the fact that so many adults were actually willing to welcome a child, they ended up being foster carers, either because of insufficient number of children available for international adoption, or because the requirements for adoption were too numerous or too selective. Moreover, Italian courts are increasingly recognizing so-called «mild adoption», that is to say foster care *sine die*, occurring as a result of subsequent continuous postponements of the legal termination of the placement (17): this presents a way to circumvent in practice the stringent encumbrances of the laws on foster care as well as the Hague convention.

⁽¹⁷⁾ The foster care order must establish the duration of the child's placement, with a maximum term of 24 months, having regard to the total interventions that must be taken to re-establish the natural family. In the event that the end to the foster care may result detrimental to the minor, the juvenile court postpones such an end.

VIII. - Possible scenario for a reform

In conclusion, returning to the initial topic regarding the role of the elderly within adoption, the grandparents' role is not only to give love and affection to the adopted, but most importantly to make the adoption itself possible by means of their obligatory prior consent. Reasons for such involvement of the elderly in the procedure are of course not only related to the best emotional interests of the child, but also have a lot to do with inheritance and succession rights – a minefield that can be found at the heart of many family disputes.

In general terms, foster care has therefore imposed itself as the practical solution outside of legal constraints: in the case of family conflict, foster care may still be practicable, rendering the consent of grandparents moot and irrelevant.

Instead of setting aside the Hague Convention, wouldn't it be preferable to correct and modify some of its provisions in order to exclude the grandparents' consent from the necessary requirements for adoption, and, by doing so, avoid the recurrent drain on foster care? In other words, are adopting grandparents really relevant for the purposes of the Hague convention?

Lastly, would it be practicable to implement a form of intercountry foster care, and by doing so, avoid having to obtain grandparents' consent?



Les solidarités entre générations Solidarities between Generations

'ampleur des enjeux humains, économiques et sociaux posés par la question des solidarités entre La discription des solidarités entre générations a conduit l'International society of Family Law (ISFL) à choisir ce thème pour son XV° congrès mondial.

Plus de 200 intervenants, venus de 50 pays, ont abordé ces questions sous l'angle juridique, mais aussi philosophique, économique et anthropologique. Cet ouvrage présente une partie de ces communications organisées autour de deux grands thèmes : l'enfant au cœur des solidarités familiales et la prise en charge des aînés par la famille.

Des phénomènes tels que l'allongement de la durée de la vie, l'urbanisation des populations, la difficulté d'entrée sur le marché du travail ou encore l'éclatement des modèles familiaux traditionnels marquent notre monde contemporain et impliquent la disparition d'anciennes solidarités et l'apparition de nouvelles solidarités redessinant les relations entre générations, posant alors le problème du sort des personnes les plus fragiles : les enfants, les malades, les handicapés et, surtout, les personnes âgées.

- Quel est alors le rôle de la famille et des collectivités dans la protection de ces personnes ?
- Quels rapports entre solidarités publiques et solidarités privées ?
- Quels sont les droits et libertés reconnus aux personnes que l'âge, la maladie ou le handicap,
 placent en situation de dépendances.

Telles sont les questions au cœur de cet ouvrage.

The importance of the human, economic and social issues caused by the question of generations' solidarities led the International Society of Family Law to choose this theme for its XVIth World Congress (Lyon, July 19-23rd 2011). More than 200 speakers from 50 countries studied these questions from the legal angle, but also philosophic, economic and anthropological. This work collects a part of these papers about two great issues: the child, as the center of family solidarities; and the support for elders by family.

Phenomena such as increasing life expectancy, population urbanization, labor-market entry barriers, decline of traditional family patterns, mark in depth our contemporary world and involve old solidarity disappearance and new solidarity emergence, reshaping relations between generations while bringing up the problem of the fate of the most vulnerable: children, the sick, disabled, and especially elderly people.

- What then is the role of families and communities in protecting these people?
- What is the relationship between public and private solidarity?
- What are the rights and freedoms of people placed by age, illness or disability in a dependence situation?

These are the issues addressed by the authors of this book.

✓ Droit international Droit européen Droit belge Droit français Droit luxembourgeois

ISFL International Society of Family Law

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