SOME ASPECTS OF DIFFERENTIAL PLACEMENT:
A STUDY OF ONE LONG-TERM CAS FOSTER HOME
IN WHICH MANY CHILDREN HAVE BEEN PLACED

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of an individual, long-term foster home which served a large child placement agency until a few years ago. The foster home was regarded by agency workers as an eminently successful one, both quantitatively and qualitatively, particularly with adolescent boys, who are placement problems for any child-placing agency.

The study was undertaken as an investigation into the reasons for the foster home's success with adolescent boys, in order to provide a point of departure for more controlled scientific study in the future.

The study was done at the Vancouver Children's Aid Society, one of several agencies of its kind in Canada which is responsible for foster home and other forms of placement planning for many children who come into its care, and for the administration of various statutes related to the protection of children.

The study includes:

1. An account of the historical development of foster home placement practice, an account of the needs and problems of children (with particular reference to those who require foster home care), and a description of the agency in which the study took place;

2. A survey of the children placed in the foster home and a qualitative study of the foster home, focussing on the twenty-one-year period of its active service to the agency;

3. An examination of the agency's case records of the foster children, their own families, and the foster family. Additional material for the study was obtained from interviews with the foster mother, her own two children, and four of her former foster children.

This study sought to examine the foster home in order to provide some formulation of the dynamics of a good foster home, particularly for adolescent boys. The findings suggest a number of important factors to be sought in any such foster home, including steady and consistent affection for all children, foster and own, an assumption of adult
humility, interest, responsibility and leadership on the part of the foster parents, and the importance of strong community roots for the foster home. These findings, in addition to having implications for future research, may provide a basis for a further refinement of diagnostic efficiency in the agency's future foster home placement programs.
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CHAPTER I

FOSTER HOME PLACEMENT

Child Placement Practice Today

Child placement practice today is an art. Dorothy Hutchinson expresses this view in her Introduction to Jean Charnley’s book *The Art of Child Placement*, when she states:

Child placement compounds scientific theory and its application to practice with an additional ingredient—an easy, creative, and imaginative use of the theory as this expressed through the personality of the social worker. To have any real potency in the lives of people, the theories of child placement must be expressed through the disciplined emotions of those who practice. It is this creative use of theory which earns this book its title—*The Art of Child Placement.*

Miss Hutchinson goes on to say that the role of the placement worker, as she guides and steers the placement process, can be clearly seen:

Like the hub of a wheel, she holds together the several radiating bars of placement. To the child, to his natural parents, she lends her strength, her identifications and her understanding, so that the process can proceed with greater help to all. She makes use of a great fund of knowledge. To this knowledge she adds an individual and creative touch which springs from the wisdom of life experience. She is the true professional in that she blends an objective knowledge of placement with self-knowledge and puts both to use in this business of helping people through foster care.

Miss Charnley, in the same book, and in the same vein, states:

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2 Ibid., Introduction, p. viii.
In no other area of her work is the child placement worker more aware that this is an art she is practicing—not a science. One envies the exactness of chemistry; but chemists, for all their miracles, cannot make gold. And yet the social worker who succeeds in making a good placement is a real alchemist, for to a troubled child a good foster home placement is pure gold.1

In relation to what has already been said, it follows that social casework, an integral part of child placement today, is also an art. Swithun Bowers, in his article "The Nature and Definition of Social Casework," in the book Principles and Techniques of Social Casework, states:

Social casework is an art in which knowledge of the science of human relations and skill in relationship are used to mobilize capacities in the individual and resources in the community appropriate for better adjustment between the client and all or any part of his total environment.2

Child placement practice has reached its present stage of evolution after a long period of haphazard placement of children who required care away from their own homes. Today one finds children who require placement, temporarily or permanently, going into specialized adoption and foster homes, and institutions, best suited to their various intrinsic and extrinsic needs. The refinement of social work skills today, in this area of child welfare, has made specialized placements possible. However, the refined child placement practices of today have had only a very recent history—a matter of several decades—and have been preceded by centuries

1 Ibid., p. 191.
of slow, uneven progress and improvement in care for the child away from his own home.

As this thesis will focus its attention on one type of child placement, the placement of children in a foster home, the following description of the historical development of child placement will concentrate largely on the placement of children in foster homes.

In England, in the year 1601, the Act of 43 Elizabeth was passed as the government's answer to the need, at that time, of state-shared responsibility for children. The Act made provision for the child who could not remain in his own home by indenturing him or confining him to the ill-famed poorhouse. If a child was to be indentured, he was placed by his own parents in another home, usually at an early age, so that he could learn a trade or otherwise equip himself to face the world. The child was bound over to another person or family when he was indentured. However, there was generally no real concern for his welfare, which was only incidental. An indentured placement was a far cry from the foster home placement of today. The care of the indentured child depended on the needs and wishes of the Master. The rights and welfare of the child depended on the character of this person. The development and usefulness of the child as a worker and as a source of labour, in the present and in the future, was the main focus of the Master-child relationship.
The system of indenture was a pronounced development in England after 1601, and spread to America, with its English settlements, in the 1630's. To the early colonists, such as the Puritans and the Quakers, who regarded work as an essential part of the training of all children, indenturing served a two-fold purpose. It was beneficial to the child and at the same time economical for the community.

After 1700, in America, according to Arthur Fink, public and private institutions, as methods of care for children, began to appear in the face of changing social conditions and the growth of large cities, where homeless and helpless children began to appear in large numbers. While indenturing continued on a gradually decreasing scale, the notorious public almshouse and the private orphanage came to the fore. After 1800, state homes for children, as a break in almshouse care for children, were established. Another movement that contributed to the reduction of almshouse care for children was the introduction of the principles and practices of foster home placement during the last half of the nineteenth century.

In the United States, in 1853, Charles Loring Brace, introduced a new concept of foster care by being the first person in that country to institute the use of the private home rather than the institution for homeless children.

Although his methods of foster home planning were crude by today’s standards, his ideas were original and provided a starting-point for the movement towards the specialized foster home care of today. Brace, who headed a children's mission, began, in 1853, to pick up vagrant and destitute children from the streets of New York City, with the idea of putting them into suitable homes elsewhere. Many were sent to the frontier area to live with rural families. His plan envisaged the child carrying a share of the work in his foster home to relieve the foster parents of certain work cares. The children's mission would be financially responsible for moving the child to his foster home and returning him, if necessary. Those who planned and organized the movements of these children under Brace were chiefly concerned with gathering the children together and moving them to homes where they would be housed and fed in the belief that the children's entire need was merely that of a move to a family of good morals in a rural setting. There was no investigation or study of the homes. There was no recognition of the problems created for these children as they were moved about; i.e., as a result of separation from their own families and friends, and the need to adjust to new environments with strangers. Also, these children were made more prone to unhappiness in the future in that the foster homes chosen for them were not evaluated to any extent in terms of the foster parents' motivations for desiring foster children. Some had
a worthy motivation—they wanted the child for the child's sake; others had mercenary and other selfish motives.

Two other American pioneers in the field of child placement in foster homes are worthy of mention. Both were active in the latter half of the 19th century. Martin Van Buren Van Arsdale, in 1883, established the first foster care agency in Illinois, a state-wide children's home society, and began to select family homes to meet the needs of individual children. Charles Birtwell, of the Boston Children's Aid Society, reported in 1888 that foster homes should be studied so that the physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual needs of the child should be met. He recognized that good foster parents must have skill, patience, understanding of and a generosity of spirit with children. He was a pioneer of the use of study and skills in child placement and presented the most refined approach to foster home placement in the 19th century.

All in all, only sporadic efforts were made to place children in foster family homes in the United States by the end of the 19th century. In the meantime, welfare legislation, an individual state matter, became more child-centered, and individual states began to assume more public responsibility towards foster home placement and the protection of children. The first White House Conference of 1909 was an original attempt to organize thinking about child welfare matters at a national level. Also, as Leon Richman states, this
conference had implications for foster home placement:

The most direct stimulus to foster home placement was the first White House Conference of 1909 which enunciated the principle that children deprived of their parents were better off under the care of foster families than in institutions.¹

This statement voiced the feelings of American foster care agencies at that time, who also emphasized that the needs of the individual child in care must be met and were aware of the importance of maintaining ties with own parents, relatives and friends, when possible, and urged that only children without family ties be separated permanently.

The foster home movement experienced its greatest development during the early years following World War I. Then there followed a period, which has extended up to recent years, of controversy as to the advantages and disadvantages of foster home placement over institutional care. The two schools of thought stubbornly refused to see each other's point of view. Foster care agencies were accused of propagandizing to keep children from institutions, which were, in turn, accused of taking children to fill empty beds. In the struggle for children, the welfare of the child was lost from sight.

At the present time, most child placement workers realize that both types of care are needed in child placement; i.e., that the institution is more suitable for certain

types of children who require a conditioned environment and for many adolescents, and that the foster home is more suitable for less disturbed and all pre-school children.

Today, when standards of practice are good, when an agency worker places a child in a foster home, he looks for a home that will provide the child with the "tangibles and intangibles" best suited to meet his needs as a child and as an individual. Such a home is chosen after careful study and acceptance of the home as a foster home, and as a facility for the child in question. Both the placement worker and the foster parents must be aware of the emotional impact that placement will have on the child and his own parents. Skilled and experienced workers are believed to be essential in the study and evaluation of the homes and families of those who offer to provide foster home care, to assess their suitability as foster parents, to care for children not their own, who have suffered deprivation, and who usually have other ties. The child being moved is studied in the same way. The placement worker tries to select as suitable a home as possible from those available, and then tries to make a careful preparation of the child, his own parents, if possible, and foster parents, for the move. After the child is in the foster home, continued casework is given to help him through the difficulties of adjustment to a totally new situation. Continued casework with the foster parents helps them to understand the child's problems and
their role of day-by-day care to assist the agency in implementing a long-term plan for the child.

Placement is only one of the many types of service given to children today. Common to all types of service given to children is the basic social work philosophy of the inherent worth of the client, and his right to acceptance as an individual, with unique needs and characteristics. Over the years, the focus has finally come to rest on the child as a client, with rights and needs of his own. It is recognized that the child has a right to his own home and the security which membership in one's own family means. This has become a basic concept in working with children, and social work has evolved resources and techniques in working with families to prevent a breakdown of the home with which so much of the child's feelings of being wanted and belonging are involved. As a result, social workers have refined their skills in child protection and are carrying out, within available staff-time and skills, preventive work, whereby children may remain with their own families while professional help is being given to enable children and their families to be helped towards living more satisfying and socially-acceptable lives. Public financial assistance has become an important tool in preventing family breakdowns. Also, family counselling is now providing strength and support to families struggling to remain as a unit. Psychiatric diagnosis and treatment are recognized as further aids in preventing unnecessary removal
of a child from his own parents. Further, it has been recognized that such skilled professional social work help requires a special body of scientific knowledge and training, which is now being given in schools of social work. Effective professional service to children makes use of these various resources before resorting to actual placement of the child in a foster home.

When the professional efforts of the social workers and their colleagues in allied professional fields fail to keep a home intact, the child must be moved from his family and a substitute home found for him, for a short or a long period of time. As already mentioned, present-day placement programs make use of two separate types of care, institutional and family. The choice of one type of care or the other depends on the specific needs of the child at a specific period in terms of his adjustment. The range within each kind of foster care setting is wide. For a long time, large institutions existed for the sole purpose of providing shelter for children without a home. As mentioned earlier, there was a swing in professional thinking after World War I to a theory that the foster family was the panacea for the needs of all homeless children requiring placement. Today, psychiatric and casework evaluation of the child help to determine his immediate and long-term needs, and ideally, if both resources are available, the merits of each type of placement are considered in the light of the evaluation.
As child-placing techniques have become more refined, with respect to matching the foster home to the needs of the child to be placed, child placement has become an art. The artist is the child placement worker, who, according to Jean Charmley, is a professional person with an understanding heart, an ability to emphasize and communicate with children, foster and his own parents, and with a sure, unfaltering belief in the philosophy and the techniques supporting child placement.

Child Placement Practice in Canada and British Columbia

Child placement practice in Canada has followed a pattern of thinking and method similar to that experienced in the United States. Because of its more recent history, Canada did not come abreast of its neighbor with respect to foster care until about the beginning of the present century, following the passage of the Children's Act, in 1893, in Ontario, which in addition to providing protective legislation for children, made provision for the establishment of the first children's aid society in Canada to take care of homeless children affected by the Act. Children's legislation and children's aid societies, have spread across Canada during the last sixty-odd years to every part of the country, and in general, foster home programs are closely related, in theory

and practice, to those found in the United States today. In both countries, practice varies extremely.

At the beginning of the present century, in Canada, those agencies responsible for the care of children who were neglected and abandoned made an almost complete use of institutions. However, these agencies were aware of the new concept of child care which had emerged in the United States; i.e., that specially-selected foster homes were the best placement resource for a child away from his own home and family. Nevertheless, this new concept was not applied to child placement practice to any extent for many years. Less than thirty-five years ago, according to Anne Margaret Angus, adolescent children in British Columbia were being placed in homes on a free or wage-earning basis, partly to reduce maintenance costs. In this province little in the way of follow-up studies were made of such children; there was no supervision of such homes; many children were lost track of because records of their whereabouts were not kept. There were few trained workers. There was little or no investigation of prospective foster homes. However, as a result of the spread of American thinking, Canadian foster home programs began to take on a new look after World War I and have seen a period of development, improvement, and refinement in techniques, in the last thirty-five years, similar to that

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1 Angus, Anne Margaret, *Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, B.C., 1901-1971*. 
which occurred in the United States and often concurrent with beneficial, child-centred legislation.

In 1926-27, trained and experienced child welfare workers from Ontario came to British Columbia to conduct a survey of child welfare resources and practices in the province at the request of the Vancouver Children's Aid Society. Up until this time institutional care for homeless children had been largely used as a placement resource. Such care was often ineffectual because of overloading and overcrowding, poor, untrained personnel, program, and facilities. As a result of the Survey, private boarding home care came into prominence and began to take precedence over institutional placements. Also, the Survey recommended that there should be a complete re-orientation of the Vancouver Children's Aid Society's child placement program.* One of its many suggestions was that a boarding home system be established. This suggestion was acted upon, although antagonism and apprehension on the part of many was apparent. Regular supervision of children already in free foster homes began for the first time in the province. In previous years, foster home placements had acquired a poor reputation in British Columbia because they had been used as an inexpensive method of disposing of a child in a free or wage home in a very haphazard manner.

*Hereafter the Vancouver Children's Aid Society will be referred to as the CAS.
Until the latter years of World War II, the Vancouver CAS and the Victoria Family and Children's Service were responsible for most foster home placements in the province. Since then the Vancouver Catholic Children's Aid Society (whose program after the 1920's was influenced by the Child Welfare Survey of 1926-27) and the provincial department of Health and Welfare's Social Welfare Branch have been active in this area of child welfare, with the provincial government being largely responsible for foster home placements outside of Vancouver.

The Vancouver CAS, a private agency, began to receive provincial government financial support for children in care in the years following World War II, though efforts had been made to obtain such assistance after the Child Welfare Survey of 1926-27. In 1947, the provincial government began to assume 80 per cent of all social assistance costs, which included the costs of maintaining wards. Earlier legislation provided that municipalities in the province, where such wards had legal residence, underwrite the total maintenance costs. There had been much resistance to this arrangement. This resistance disappeared after 1947.

During the last eight years there has been a gradual refining of child welfare practices in British Columbia, with increasing emphasis on the use of professional social work and child placement skills in the finding of foster homes, placement, and continuing assessment.
Children Have Basic Needs

All children have basic physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual needs. The adequate meeting of these needs is largely the responsibility of their parents—when parents fail the responsibility lies with the community, state, and church. From infancy, the child depends on his parents' care to meet these needs in order to grow and develop into a healthy, mature individual to the extent of his potentiality. His reaction to the world about him, as an infant, depends on how his needs are satisfied. If he is reared in a healthy physical environment, and receives consistent affection, he has a pleasant expectation of the world. He expects those who live in it to be loving creatures who are interested in and want him. He develops feeling of security in a pleasant atmosphere. He feels that he belongs. He finds it an easy matter to respond to those who have made life so pleasant for him, in the first instance his mother, who provides him with his earliest tender, protective experience of comfort and satisfaction, and later his father, siblings, and so forth.

From the love experience with his mother, or mother-substitute, the child develops the capacity, as he grows older, to enter into affectional relationships with other members of his family, and gradually beyond his family to those outside it. The experience is an emotionally-maturing one and enables him to gradually give in return, to do, and to expect and receive, as he progresses towards and reaches adulthood,
physically, intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually.

The child, in order to mature into a well-rounded adult, must learn at an early age to resolve the pleasure principle-reality principle conflict described by August Alchorn. He must learn to deny himself immediate satisfaction of needs by finding that denial is, perhaps, more emotionally satisfying than instant gratification. He finds emotional satisfaction from the love and approval he receives from his parents when he shows conformity to their wishes for socially-acceptable behaviour on his part. The child also must, in a similar manner, resolve the psychosexual conflict of the Oedipal period at the time it is being experienced if he is to achieve emotional maturity in adulthood. Patience and understanding on the part of his parents will make this possible.

Children's physical needs include a suitable physical environment in which to live, an adequate amount of food, proper clothing, medical attention, and health training. In addition to what has already been said, their emotional needs include reciprocating love and acceptance, a feeling of being wanted and belonging, a feeling of having status and importance within and without the family (particularly as they grow older and begin to emancipate from the home and family), a feeling of being adequate, achieving, and worthy,

a feeling of being willing to face adulthood with its mysteries and responsibilities. Children's intellectual needs include the need for a continuous learning experience and creative thinking as they grow older. They need encouragement from their parents and teachers to attain their intellectual and physical potentiality. They need to learn about sex from their parents or parent-surrogates when they question it, if they are to have an intelligent attitude towards it. Children need to be guided by wise, mature parents and others, who can make them feel secure within certain limits and obtain the cooperation of children through understanding and consistent, just discipline. By identifying with their parents and other adults, and internalizing their standards, children can satisfy their need for moral standards and the ability to give-and-take in social interaction, so as to derive happiness from living and develop towards maturity and independence. Children in the adolescent period, a stormy one, require mature parental and community understanding, and acceptance. They are in a half-child-half-adult phase of development. They are insecure and uncertain as they struggle for emancipation from childhood and family dependency. In the opinion of many authorities, they need expert guidance at this time. Children's religious needs include instruction in doctrine and an appreciation of religious values to provide them with a spiritual anchor to deal with the emotional problems of living.
To go on, every child has need of adequate academic, vocational, moral, and religious training, as well as group and community-life experience at appropriate ages, if he is to reach his potentiality for growth and occupy his rightful place in society.

The paramount importance of the family, the basic social unit, as a prime contributing factor to the successful development of the child into a healthy, normal, adult cannot be over-emphasized. The child and the family are a part of each other. The atmosphere of family life determines the emotional interaction between the child and his parents and between the parents themselves. If there is a lack of mutual concern or over-concern for each other's well-being, emotional deprivation of the child will result, depending on the age levels of the parents and children involved.

The child, ideally, needs emotionally well-balanced parents. The good mother will provide him with his earliest emotional ties, emotional and physical security, and sufficient nourishment for his body. She continues to carry out this function as he grows older and helps him to develop an aesthetic appreciation of life through love, understanding, and guidance. The good father also shows concern for and interest in the child, although his inspiration is not usually felt in the earliest stages of infancy, when the mother is the principal love-object. The good father will manifest inspiration and companionship for the mother but at the same
time bestow his love on the child. He is particularly understanding and loving, along with the mother, during the child's growth from the pleasure principle to the reality principle and during his Oedipal conflict. The parents will help the child to resolve these conflicts at an early age by clarifying his role in the family group. The good father aids the good mother in the child's physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual development and becomes his best friend and teacher. He enables the child to identify with him or see him as an ego-ideal for masculine behaviour.

The good parents, where siblings are involved, will recognize the uniqueness and individuality of each, but see in each the basic needs of every child. They will understand the basis of sibling rivalry and spread their love and attention accordingly.

Unfortunately, all families are not happy ones. Marital conflict, parental rejection, separation, divorce, and death (in some cases) can create an unhealthy emotional atmosphere for the child or children involved. A child's basic needs may go unheeded and his all-round development may be halted. If a child, for instance, is deprived of love from a very early age, he may make a withdrawal from human relationships in infancy. He may only fear other humans and may eventually die a morassic death or become narcissistic and protect himself from the pain of deprivation of love by loving only himself. All his energies are
directed towards self-satisfaction and self-aggrandizment. He uses other humans as a useful means to an end.

According to different authorities, children who experience emotional deprivation in infancy often continue to remain emotionally thwarted during the pre-school period because of poor inter-personal relationships within the family. Disturbed parental relationships can warp the child emotionally. While he is capable of independent action, he relies on socially-acceptable parental approval for such action. If such approval is not forthcoming, his social behaviour becomes critically affected. If he reaches adolescence after a normal development, undue interference, sometimes by well-meaning parents, with his accelerated need for social expression, can be emotionally depriving and harmful. He will be overcome in his struggle to find a place in the adult world and to develop appropriate physical, intellectual, artistic, and social skills. In adolescence, he particularly needs a sense of belonging to his family, school, and community groups.

When a child's basic needs for healthy, all-round growth are not met, he may develop a hostile behaviour pattern. He may find aggressive, destructive, and socially-unacceptable outlets for his drives because he can not obtain satisfaction in any other way. He may feel, from experience, that adults can satisfy his needs, and when they deprive him he may think that they are his aggressors and
frustrating to him. He, may, therefore, react aggressively towards them.

Children who are deprived of the meeting of their basic needs in one way or another indicate this deprivation by various symptoms of disturbed behaviour, such as compulsive cruelty, exaggerated sexual preoccupation, excessive sexual activity or perversion, truancy, erratic behaviour, and such neurotic symptoms as acute generalized fears, specific phobias, depressions, compulsions, learning inhibitions, as well as such psychosomatic complaints as asthma, enuresis, ulcers, colitis, and so forth. When they reach adolescence, they may become juvenile delinquents, sex offenders, and rebel against their parents and those who are parent-substitutes, such as teachers, neighbours and the police. Other disturbed adolescents develop schizoid personalities and gradually withdraw from human relationships as they give up the struggle for satisfying social interaction. When adulthood is reached, those were deprived as children often drift into hoboing, criminality, chronic mental illness, or become greedy, inadequate, unloving, unsatisfied people.

Children often experience frightful and painful episodes in their lives, in addition to deprivation of their basic needs. These experiences are very damaging to their personality integration, as they are forced to face suffering before they can master it. In order to minimize or avoid pain, the child may show disturbed behaviour and personality
distortion, or social withdrawal, by becoming pathologically self-sufficient and self-centred. Adults are often misled by the latter type of child; they interpret his self-centred conformity and superficially good behaviour as evidence of good adjustment. A child may be exposed to many and various forms of traumatic and hurtful experiences, such as physical cruelty, inconsistent and unreliable care, sexual attacks, or premature seduction, intermittent physical neglect, adult quarrelling, frightening sexual activities, and so forth. These various traumata leave psychic scars and negatively affect the general growth and optimum functioning of children.

This thesis will deal with children, their own parents, or parent-surrogates, and a particular pair of foster parents who provided a foster home for the CAS, temporarily and longer, for 117 children over a 21-year period, from 1931 to 1952. In the case histories of each child there is evidence of disturbance, either family or personal, or both, in one form or another and varying in quality and quantity. It is a well-known fact that only a few children come to the attention of the CAS, or any other children's agency, who have had normal, healthy lives, protected and guided by wise mature parents. Many of the children being dealt with in this thesis come from broken homes, because of parental inability to establish and maintain mature marital and social relationships. In many cases these children have been the victims of neglect, frequent rejection, cruelty, poor physical environments, careless adult
sexual behaviour, desertion, and movement from one foster home to another.

The foster home being studied in this thesis took in 117 children from 1931 to 1952. All but two were boys. Some children remained for only a few days, or weeks, or months; others remained for years. The home served as a temporary foster home for emergency placements but it also served for quite a number of long-term placements. The foster parents have had particular success with adolescent boys. They are unable to serve the CAS and the community now. They had reached an elderly age in 1952 when the last boy was placed. Unfortunately, the foster father died last autumn, after this thesis was planned.

The Necessity of Foster Home Placement for Children

Some children, temporarily or permanently, cannot be cared for in their own homes by their natural parents, for one reason or another, such as death, temporary or permanent illness of the parent, separation, divorce, desertion, neglect, behavioural problems of children, and so forth. In some cases, court action is taken which requires a social agency to make children wards and provide them with a substitute home. In other cases, natural parents or parent-surrogates ask the social agency to provide foster homes for children on a non-ward basis.

It is generally agreed today that the best interests
of such children can be served, if they are not too seriously disturbed emotionally, and particularly if they have not reached adolescence, if they can live with and be a part of another family. Refined foster home care today refers to the placement of a child, whose own home has failed him, temporarily sometimes, into another family setting which will try to give him the positive elements of his own home and family, as well as those elements which were lacking. However, it is also recognized that, although a foster home might offer more than the own home in the way of affection, understanding, guidance, and acceptance, what the foster parents have to give is not as essential to the child's sense of well being as even ambivalent acceptance from his own parents, particularly when he has deep psychological roots in his own home which must be torn up when he is moved, and which may affect his ability to satisfy his basic needs.

Any child who is separated from his parents for any cause has felt unwanted and needs considerable reassurance that he is wanted. Placement of the child indicates that the family situation has reached a critical stage, temporarily or permanently, and the child must be helped by removing him from his own home. When a parent dies, it is a serious loss to the child. However, if he has had an earlier satisfying experience with his parents, it would help him to accept a placement relationship with foster parents. However, many children (including some of those to be discussed in this thesis) came
into placement because their homes were broken through divorce, separation, desertion, or neglect. Placement to these children sometimes represents parental rejection. Sometimes these children have guilt feelings about being placed. They feel they are being moved because they have been bad. Some of these children, prior to placement, have been exposed to family friction and hostilities which have undermined their emotional security beforehand. A child can accept the loss of a parent through death as an Act of God, depending on his age, although he is unconsciously resentful at being "deserted." However, a family break-up by living parents leaves a stigma and loss which is difficult to bear, internally and externally (in relation to his peers who are not in his peculiar situation). Although his own home has inadequacies, it is still a place he can call his own. When a child is placed in a foster home he has to make a change from the known to the unknown. Therefore, preparations for moving the child into the unknown require keen understanding of the child by the placement worker and skill in the helping process through the use of relationship.

Moving a child into a foster home is difficult and requires the services of a skilled placement worker. The foster parents, naturally, tend to have pre-conceived ideas of their own in relation to the child and the satisfaction they will experience in caring for him. Considerable feeling for the child, on their part, will go into planning and carrying
out routine activities, and they expect feeling from the child in return. If there is no two-way flow of feeling, the foster-parent-child relationship may have little value. Not all children have the capacity to take on the relationship required of foster family life. Children whose confidence in adults has been shaken by traumatic experiences with their own parents might not be able to take on the personalized environment of the foster family, at first, perhaps never. These children build up strong defences as if to protect themselves from the hostile world they have known, because they expect to be hurt. They cannot give, because their experience in receiving has been so little and so late. Their unhappiness is expressed through many symptoms. Those that disturb foster parents the most seem to be disobedience, enuresis, stealing, lying, and sex problems. Therefore, foster homes are not a panacea for all children requiring placement. The institution or the temporary subsidized foster home is indicated for such disturbed children. The temporary foster home can be used to determine if a disturbed child can take placement and tests the ability of own parents to accept separation from their children.

Placement obviously indicates that the parent-child relationship has been disturbed. Commenting on placement, Dorothy Hutchinson, in her article, "The Parent-Child Relationship as a Factor in Child Placement," says:
Child placement deals with differently types of parent-child relationships. Its service to both parents and child is fruitful and salutary in some types, while in others it is unprofitable and futile.

Miss Hutchinson also mentioned, in the same article, that only serious research will determine which children can be reasonably certain of being helped by separation and placement, and also which parents can endure it, on what terms, and under what conditions.

Under normal conditions, gradual separation of the child from a loved parent is part of the growth process at adolescence, although some separation begins with entrance to school. Growing up is a growing away from the parents and family towards responsibility for self and eventual beginning of a new family. When a child is placed, however, separation is something altogether different. He will usually regress to babyish behaviour if the experience is especially humiliating or frightening.

Often a foster child has already been separated from his parents by overt rejection long before placement. He has actually been an outsider in his own family. The actual physical separation is often the climax to a long series of traumatic events. It often confirms his own fears of being unwanted, unloved, of not belonging, and his own "badness" or that of his parents. If a child has an emotional

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tie with his parents because of guilt feelings towards them or their ambivalent feelings towards him, he may still be determined to win, in many cases from his mother, the emotional satisfactions that have been denied to him. He will cling to his unloving parent but in so doing will usually find the experience frustrating and destructive emotionally.

As mentioned earlier, children in placement sometimes feel that they have been moved because they were bad. Some of the basis of this feeling is due to guilt feelings the child has as a result of wishing for the destruction of his parents when angry with them. He believes that placement is a just retaliation for such bad thoughts. Normally, parental love will counteract such wishes and expectation of retaliation. With the foster child, however, the fear of retaliation is not dispelled by parental affection but is confirmed by the real loss of his parents.

Authorities agree that separation is traumatic—with differing effects on children of different ages. Separation is an uprooting experience and a breaking of family ties. It is known how important parents are to children and attempts are made to keep families intact, or to make foster home placement as temporary as possible, although not always. When it is permanent, visiting by the parents to the foster home is often encouraged but not always. In many cases, the very nature of the parent-child relation, ship, due to parental feelings, illnesses, and limitations,
that make placement necessary, make it impossible or inexpedient to return the child to his family. The most difficult parent-child relationship that the foster parents must deal with is the complicated one of the guilty mother, or father, who is more hindering to successful placement than the rejecting mother, or father, who steps out of the child's life altogether. The guilty mother or father is more difficult. For instance, a guilty mother's conscience makes her belittle the foster mother's efforts while she makes false promises to her child that he will return to her because she wants him to. The child is "caught in the middle" and does not know where he stands. He might make little or no progress in placement. This type of child is apt to pass through many foster homes. He is caught in the vicious circle of his guilty mother's rejection, guilt, and promises. As a result, his growth and personality integration may be damaged, because of emotional conflict. In such cases, only physical but not psychological separation can occur. The child is deceived by his mother's actions and motivations. He has never had her love but eventually hopes he will. He may defend her blindly and only strengthen an already poor parent-child relationship while making an unsuccessful placement. Such a child might not be helped successfully in a foster home. He cannot assimilate the foster mother's love while still striving to win his own mother. He cannot give up what he never had without psychiatric and casework help.
The most successful children in placement are those who understand the necessity of placement. In some cases, the child, with casework and psychiatric help, can be freed from his mother to accept the affection of the foster mother. Sometimes, his parents might help him to understand his situation. In other cases, when a child is not too strongly tied to his mother, the foster mother and father may act as a foil against which the child may compare his own mother. The emotional satisfaction he receives from them may reduce his frustration to reasonable limits. Sometimes, the child can be helped by giving casework help to his mother, so that she will accept the foster mother, especially if the latter is an older woman who could be a foster mother to both the mother and the child.

In foster home placement, it is important that the placement worker understand the parents, their wishes and the part they played in the breakdown of family life. When there is resistance to placement and interference after placement, where legal commitments are involved, it is probable that emotional ties exist, positive, negative, or both, and that the parent continues to be an active force in the child's life and should always participate in placement, if possible, so that the child will not be further demoralized by a feeling that he was abruptly snatched from his parents without their participation in the placement plan. Such natural parents, as those who request foster home placement for a child, should be
helped through casework to maintain their self-esteem while their child is in placement. Casework can help the natural parents to form a friendly, cooperative relationship with the foster parents, which could prevent unnecessary interference in the foster home routine by the natural parents to ensure that the child will have some chance to benefit from placement.

The foster parents should receive regular and continuing casework to help them understand and meet the child's needs and to help him accept and understand his placement, as well as respecting the existence of his own parents at the same time. Foster parents sometimes experience conflict when the foster parent-child relationship ends, even though this has been planned for at the beginning of placement. Foster parents need to remain aware that they will have to give up the child at some time. When this is the case, it is more difficult to give affection and care to a child knowing that, after a limited time, one must give him up. Sometimes foster parents feel resentful that, after all the care they have given a child the natural parents will take him home when he is mature enough to look after himself. This is especially difficult for foster parents who have no children of their own. However, as Leon Richman says:

As long as the child is not adopted, the agency remains a reality to the child, foster parents, and natural parents. To deny this reality is an evasion
of the responsibility the agency assumes when it removes a child from his home and selects a foster home for him.\footnote{1}

It is felt by many that foster care is clearly indicated for those children whose needs can be met in a foster home specially-selected for them and whose parent-child relationship is reconcilable with foster family care. It has certain healing qualities. It gives the child the opportunity to form a healthy relationship, if he is still able to do so, with specially-selected, emotionally well-balanced adults, often when he has never known this experience. It is only through warm, affectional ties and identifications with parents or their substitutes that a child can grow into healthy adulthood. The foster home is also advantageous for children who need foster care in that it is a part of the community and therefore a more realistic preparation for life as it enables the foster child to live like other children in a home with a family group.

\footnote{1 Richman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 7.}
CHAPTER II

FOSTER HOME PLACEMENT

(Continued)

The Problems of Latency and Adolescence

As all the children placed in the foster home being studied in this thesis were in either the latency or adolescent stage of development, with one exception, a preschool-aged child, it seems timely to discuss the problems of these personality development periods in some detail.

Adolescence is a period of conflicting needs, tensions, and anxieties. It is a period of transition from the dependency of childhood to the independence of adulthood. The adolescent wishes to achieve maturity, but is reluctant to give up the security of childhood. He attempts poise and accomplishments beyond his psychological and physiological maturity. In retrospect, he will often regard his actions as childish, but at the same time he longs for the protection of his childhood. He often wants the privileges of adulthood; however, he is not fully prepared to accept its responsibilities. Adults, on the other hand, often expect him to take the responsibilities without having the privileges.

The adolescent advances towards maturity driven by the new physical and emotional drives he experiences. At the same time he is trying to erect a new behavioural structure.
and a new standard of values and principles to act as a
guide for his new drives. Due to his inadequate handling
of these new drives and because of a residue of problems
from earlier developmental periods with which he is faced
once more, he experiences tensions, anxieties, and fears.
He may become aggressive one moment and withdrawing another
moment as he tests himself and those around him. He
characteristically displays strikingly contradictory and
mutually exclusive trends. This lack of consistency arouses
in the adolescent the fear of being misunderstood, especially
since he has difficulty in understanding himself, and this
further increases his inner conflict as he tries to adjust
to new demands.

Those working with adolescents meet these conflicting facets in them and must be prepared to accept and enable
the adolescent to understand this conflict and to adjust to
it. Charlotte Towle says that condemnation of adolescent
behaviour should be avoided whenever possible. She also
says that "it is well recognized, however, by those who have
had a wide experience in helping adolescents that frequently
they need definite guidance and supportive judgments as to the
right way of doing things; this preferably should come from

someone whom they admire and respect.

When adolescents have experienced many traumatic events, such as rejection and abuse from their own and substitute parents, greater inconsistencies and confusions will be apparent in their personalities and actions. They will tend to be more extreme in their reactions, have greater swings of mood and difficulty in forming relationships. Many of the difficulties of the adolescent can be traced back to the problems of earlier developmental phases, and to new stresses and anxieties which appear in adolescence, but which are affected by earlier adjustment. This is especially true of the adolescent in placement who has, in some form or other, suffered the loss of love and affection of his own parents.

The problems of the adolescent depend on the character and severity of the anxieties of infancy and early childhood which have been mentioned earlier in this chapter, because in adolescence the child is again faced with increased id desires because of glandular changes. He is better able to adjust to these desires if he has previously developed feelings of self-worth based first on his mother's love in the oral period. Otherwise, since in adolescence the child experiences increased feelings of insecurity, he may regress to infantile securities, now considered behaviour problems, and experience great confusion and difficulty in

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1 Ibid., p. 47.
seeking a socially-acceptable adjustment.

A child living at home may regress to the oral period again at adolescence. However, a foster child may re-experience it to a greater degree because of the separation involved in placement. If a child comes into agency care during the oral period he has the best chance of succeeding in placement if loving, permanent foster parents can be found for him. Because of his age, he will not have experienced anxieties, maltreatment, and rejection over as long a period of time as the older child. However, he may experience continual frustration if his basic needs for love and care are not met. His affective appetite may be starved, and this, combined with the trauma of placement will arouse tensions, fears, and anxieties in him far beyond what the average child experiences. His disturbance may be revealed in aggressive, demanding behaviour, or in depressed, withdrawn behaviour. Unless the foster parents are greatly helped by the social worker prior to, during, and after placement, they may not be able to understand, cope with or accept the reactions of the foster child to them. This may result in a further rejection to the child and replacement may serve only to increase his anxieties, and to delay his progress to the next developmental phase.

The adolescent who has not earlier learned to gain satisfaction of his id drives through sublimation will strive for this satisfaction and will tend to operate on the pleasure principle. This is seen in adolescents with
aggressive tendencies, who want something and see no reason why they should not get it when they want it. On the other hand, if the adolescent's childhood reaction to deprivation was withdrawal and resignation, this is likely to re-appear in adolescence in a similar form.

The adolescent who has suffered considerably from the anxieties of the oral phase of development is further handicapped in that he undoubtedly will have experienced difficulty in the anal and oedipal phases. This will result in improper and insufficient development and even separation of the ego and superego. When this development is weak, the adolescent will have further difficulty in controlling his id desires, which are so strong in adolescence. The strength of the id, when the ego and superego are weak, creates further tension in the adolescent and is a major problem of many adolescents.

Following the anxieties of the oral period, the child experiences the anxieties of the next developmental period, the anal period. Between the ages of two and four the child begins to develop his conscious ability to deal with reality, to conform to the demands of society, and to develop habits which his environment urges upon him. If toilet training and other social controls are not carried out successfully but are rigidly imposed, the child, in trying to achieve control, may develop an anxiety that he is incompetent. He experiences low feelings of personal worth and develops a weak ego. If the ego is unable to
meet reality demands comfortably, the child may become extremely conforming or non-conforming, aggressive or withdrawn. In this way he tries to relieve himself of the anxiety created by the demands of his environment and protect his ego. This anxiety will be increased in adolescence when he is struggling for adult status. He may have difficulty in conforming to the expectations and demands of society. He may withdraw into his own world, or he may have conflicts with authority and difficulty in accepting guidance and help from older people.

English and Pearson state that a child can only conform to societal demands when he feels secure in his love relationship with his parents and is willing to give up his own desires in exchange for parental love. When a child is separated from his parents or parent-substitutes during his second developmental period, and has not experienced the security of a continuing love relationship with foster parents, he will have more difficulty achieving self-control and the accompanying increased sense of personal worth. If he is unsuccessfully placed with foster parents and fears rejection or punishment, he is likely to feel himself of little personal worth. If a child has not been able to achieve control and the acceptance of authority normal to the anal period prior to adolescence, he will, in

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this stressful period, develop acute anxieties with regard to authority, or reject it.

In adolescence, residual problems of the anal period create problems involving the adolescent's refusal to accept the authority and demands of society, together with self-centered behaviour of an aggressive or withdrawing nature. In this way the adolescent tries to escape societal demands. In addition, the adolescent may regress, showing renewed difficulty with excretory control through enuresis and soiling. This problem naturally increases his low sense of personal worth.

Between the ages of three and six the child passes through his third phase of personality development. This is the Oedipal phase, during which the child learns to develop his relationship to his parents, his relationship with his own and the opposite sex, and to develop his conscience or superego. His superego development culminates in the child's working out his love relationship with his parents. If the authority of the parents is conflicting and confusing to the child, he will have difficulty in integrating their authority into his behaviour pattern and the resulting struggle as to right and wrong and how to behave arouses anxiety in him. This anxiety may be expressed as a resentment of others or of himself. In adolescence, this anxiety may be expressed by aggression against himself and others.

As the parents are the original authority to the child, their influence is the most basic in the formation of
his conscience. If their authority is confusing and inconsistent, it may be reflected in weakness in the development of the child's superego. If it is rigid and severe, and not based on affection, it may make the child rebellious and delinquent. Where parents are affectionate but over-severe and perfectionistic in demands, the child is likely to feel worthless in meeting their demands, guilty and immobilized. When their authority is weak or vacillating, the child is likely to develop a weak superego, continue on the pleasure principle, and become vulnerable to the forces surrounding him.

The earlier development of the superego is very important at adolescence when the boy is normally making his break with parental authority. In adolescence he will experience great difficulty in conforming to society, if he has unstable standards. Also, if he has not accepted his sexual identity, and identity as a member of a generation beyond that of his parents, he will have difficulty in adolescence as his social life expands and his physiological drives encourage him to establish closer and more frequent contact with the opposite sex. While every child experiences Oedipal anxieties during his development, if they persist without amelioration the child, in adolescence, may find these anxieties intensified and creating problems.

When a child is placed between the ages of three and six, he may be delayed in or prevented in solving the problem of his identity in relation to his own and the opposite sex
because of a residue of anxieties and problems of earlier years. Also, because he is being separated from his first love objects and living with strangers, he may be further delayed in resolving his relationship with his parents. If he is unable to develop a strong enough relationship with his foster parents, or has insufficient contact with his own parents, he may never work out his relationship to both sexes. At adolescence, a boy may have difficulties in social relationships because he is still seeking from his mother the inappropriate affection she offers, or affection he has never received. He may also need a chance to identify with a father-person or to feel acceptance from and therefore for male adults, female adults, or both.

Foster parents are new authorities to the child. They may conflict with the parents he knew earlier. He will not be able to accept the foster parents' guidance unless he has a strong relationship with them. If he feels guilty over separation from his parents, this may also prevent him from accepting the authority of the foster parents. In any of these instances, his ability to develop standards for living will be affected. A poorly-developed conscience will hinder his development in adolescence. The adolescent must have a strong conscience if he is to keep his increased id drives in check in the face of a weakened ego.

The inherent dangers of the oral, anal, and oedipal periods of personality development make necessary the use of
extreme care in foster home placement during the pre-school years if serious problems are to be lessened or avoided. Unfortunately, it is easier for workers to place carelessly in this period, since children of this age are more easily controlled. Replacement may be necessary, but unless carefully made, only makes the child more confused. Each move, at first, means further rejection to the child by parent-persons and creates in the child a fear of showing normal love and anger. Each move increases his existing anxieties and lessens his ability to form a meaningful relationship with foster parents and society in general. These losses can only be overcome by especially careful replacements and extra patience, as well as affection, understanding, and firmness on the foster parents part. The child has a fundamental need to form sound human relationships if he is going to solve his problems.

The latency period of child personality development is a quiet one in terms of personality development but not in activity—some writers have called it the "Wild Injun Age." It occurs between the ages of six and eleven and precedes the adolescent period. The child's social horizons greatly broaden during the latency period. Prior to this period he spent most of his time at home. Now he spends considerably less time with his family. He goes to school, begins to participate in group activities, and discovers that much of his recreation, work, leadership, and authority originates
outside his life at home. As he becomes more independent of his parents in the latency period, the child finds that life is becoming more competitive. He also finds that the latency period is one in which he gains satisfaction from achievement, exploring the world around him and his own age and sex group. This period lays the basis for adult achievement and competitive and group activities with peers.

If a child is placed with foster parents during the latency period, he must feel secure in his relationship with his own parents or parent-surrogates, if his placement is to be a successful one. If he doubts their continued love and affection while he is separated from them, he will resist leaving them. If he is separating himself, or has separated affectionately from his parents or parent-surrogates, and if he has experienced much anxiety earlier through rejection or separation, he is likely to re-experience this anxiety in some measure. If his oedipal conflict has not been fully resolved, and he fears that his absence will cause his mother's affection to be moved even farther from him in his absence, he will have trouble leaving home to attend school in the latency period. In school his behaviour will indicate that he is troubled by anxiety. He may be aggressive, unwilling to learn, or become withdrawn and day-dreaming. These symptoms show that he does not feel secure enough to make the move from the home to the school. Further evidence of an unresolved oedipal situation is apparent when the child does
not identify with his father as his ideal and does not try to emulate him. This fact can be observed when a boy prefers to play with girls rather than with other boys. The boy has not accepted his father as his masculine ideal. If a boy is with foster parents and does not identify with the foster father he will not imitate him. When a boy does not enter this association with his peer group in their activities in the latency period, he will also be censured by his own playmates.

Although the development of the superego or conscience begins in the pre-school years, it is in the latency period that it is tested out and developed. Before he goes to school, the child has had the protection of his own home for his actions. When he goes to school, he is more responsible for his actions and finds a number of new limitations within which he must guide his behaviour. Also, he is confronted with the pressures of the group, which sometimes conflict with the limitations of authority in his home and at school. If he does not conform to the behaviour of the group he may be ostracized; sometimes the behaviour of the group is at variance with that expected by his family and school; as a result the child experiences conflict regarding his loyalties to the group and to those outside it. The child must make decisions when such conflicts arise. Such decisions can create much anxiety, depending upon the child's earlier and existing feelings of security in his relationship with his parents or parent-surrogates.
If a child comes into the latency period with unresolved anxieties from earlier periods, or has been placed with foster parents just before this period, and has been unable to adjust to the foster home move, the latency period for him will be a difficult one. He will be anxious and tense; he may indicate his emotional disturbance by recurring enuresis, reticence, fears of the unknown, reluctance to move out from the foster home, aggressive, hostile, uncooperative and demanding behaviour beyond the normal period in the beginning of placement of regression and trying out the foster parents. His feelings of insecurity will handicap him in moving towards and adjusting to adolescence.

Although anxieties in the oral, anal, oedipal, and latency periods of personality development affect adjustment in adolescence, there are a number of problems peculiar to the adolescent period of personality development, which begins around the age of twelve and extends into the late teens. This period precedes adulthood. As the adolescent struggles for independence, he faces the problem of forming new attachments outside his family. He must also integrate new authorities with those he already has known. He often appears rebellious, "cheeky," and defiant in early adolescence. If he is with his own family, and a stable one, this is usually accepted as a normal though difficult stage of growth. If he is with a foster family, there is a tendency for the worker and the family to remove him because he is "not adjusting."
The aforementioned problems of the adolescent are further complicated by his maturation, which develops in him an increased capacity to love and a greater ability for physical and intellectual accomplishment. Also, in early adolescence, generally between the ages of twelve and fifteen, as the body is adjusting to glandular changes, there is often a period of apparent lethargy, often regarded by adults as laziness, when bodily energy is being drained into physical growth and change.

The adolescent has to learn to channel and direct his new drives so that he can arrive at his goal of maturity. He becomes anxious lest he is unable to handle these drives in an adequate manner. Periodically, he may regress to the security of childhood temporarily rather than suffer a deflation of his ego. His ability to form new attachments depends particularly upon his identification with his parents or parent-surrogates. Helen Ross says that this identification "carries with it the implication that he (the adolescent) has had a good pattern with which to identify. A normal identification with the parent makes the formation of new attachments easy." Adolescents who have been separated from their parents and who have had to relate to one or more sets of foster parents may have difficulty in forming new attachments in adolescence, depending on their attainment of satisfactory identification with parents and foster parents.

1 Ross, Helen, The Caseworker and the Adolescent, Family Service Association of America, 1941, p. 233.
The presence of a strong superego is fundamental to the problem of integrating new authorities with the old, to the channelling of new drives, and to the evaluation of new experiences and situations. Inner security and standards to meet these problems depend upon the adolescent's love for and attachment to his parents. When an adolescent, because of continual shifting from parents to foster parents, and from foster parents to foster parents, has been unable to make enduring attachments, and from them develop security of standards, these problems assume major proportions.

When a boy reaches adolescence, he is subjected to still another force which acts upon the psychological changes of this period and upon the problem of making new attachments and integrating new authorities with those of the past. This force is the cultural demand which society makes on the adolescent. He is encouraged to be masculine, aggressive, competitive, to select and prepare himself for a vocation, and to establish contact with the female sex. These various demands occur almost all at the same time. When an adolescent moves out into these areas of experience, he is faced with the possibility of failure which is difficult for his weakened ego to accept. Most adolescent boys have a stable family tie to fall back on when the going is difficult. However, for those who are alienated from their families, or who have experienced rejection and abuse as they passed through the developmental periods, or who have no family ties because of a continual shift from family to family, the going is far
more difficult. Such adolescents have considerable difficulty in relating to and trusting in someone who can fulfill the parental role and are the frequent concern of social agencies.

As the adolescent is attempting to emancipate himself from parental control and achieve independence, this fact must be borne in mind when separation from his parents becomes necessary. If he is placed with foster parents who do not help him to achieve independence, his problems will increase. He may resist being involved in too personal relationships with foster parents, but he will need someone to whom he can look for guidance, understanding, limits and direction. He will need someone to relieve the pressures upon him, strengthen his weakened ego, and to help him know himself. Whether he can be helped to achieve a socially-acceptable adolescent adjustment through placement with foster parents or in an institution will depend upon the resources available in foster homes and institutions and upon the ability of the social worker. The latter must enable the child or adolescent to understand why he is being separated from his parents, give foster parents assistance in meeting the problems of adolescent foster children, and develop a strong supportive relationship with the adolescent.

Standards of Foster Home Finding, Placement, and Supervision

Today, as a prerequisite to foster care, progressive social agencies strive to adhere to standards of foster home finding, intake service, placement, and supervision, laid down
by the Child Welfare League of America and the Canadian Welfare Council. In practice, agencies cannot always implement these standards because of the pressure of heavy caseloads, shortage of qualified social work personnel, turnover of workers, and the shortage of foster homes.

When a child has to be moved from his own home, it must be remembered, as already mentioned, that he has put down some roots, regardless of how bad his family situation might be. The decision to move him is, therefore, an important one. The next decision, with concern to the kind of family he will be placed with, is just as important. There are different kinds of foster homes for the child. In the boarding home the foster parents receive payments for their services. This payment may be made either by parents, relatives, guardians, the agency, or the court. In the free home, which is little used today, the same quality of care may be given but without money compensation to the foster parents. A wage home might offer the child the same service as the foregoing types except that the child receives payment for definite work performed. A wage-free home might also offer foster home service similar to the types already mentioned. However, in such a home, the child, usually an older one, has an outside job. Such a child might pay for his upkeep from his earnings. Under whatever plan a child is placed, however, the agency is his guardian and protector, and retains the obligation of supervision and removal.
Before placement occurs in a foster home, there is much that must be known about the child and the prospective foster family. Regardless of who brings the child to the attention of the social agency—parents, relatives, guardians, a private citizen, another social agency, or the court—he should be given a complete physical examination, to determine whether his present physical condition will permit placement or require treatment, and to guide the placement worker as to the kind of care he will require if placed. The prospective foster parents are entitled to such medical information also.

The placement worker must know more about the child besides his physical condition to make a suitable placement. It is important to have knowledge of his mental capacity, whether high, low, or average, to enable placement which does not make demands beyond his ability. There is even more vital knowledge required of the child to be placed, such as his emotional nature, his cultural background, his previous experience in family life, his relationships with his siblings, his attitude, habits, and behaviour. The purpose of acquiring the foregoing general knowledge about the child is to enable as much understanding of him as possible, so that the agency can plan a foster home able and willing to meet his individual needs so that he will be able to develop his capacities for happiness and growth to the fullest extent.

Many child-placing agencies use a temporary foster home prior to a more permanent placement. The reason for
this is, in part, to alleviate the emotional shock of removal, and not to expose the child to deeper demands too soon, as well as to get to know him. When a child leaves his own home, for almost any reason, it is emotionally upsetting. Since birth he has been sending down little emotional roots. These roots have helped him to feel that he belonged somewhere and to somebody. He has had some feeling of stability and security. Even when a child runs away, or is recalcitrant or delinquent, he may be showing by such signs that he has a need to belong to somebody, somewhere, and to be accepted and helped. When a child is placed, he has lost his own home, temporarily or permanently. He needs care, affection, and understanding. Often the placement experience is so upsetting that he is no way able to take on another home right away, particularly a long-term foster home. He needs an interim period and experience during which he can get over some of his fear, rebellion, and resistance to help. Most of all he needs help in dealing with his own feelings of being rejected by his parents. While this internal struggle is going on, he needs to be in a situation where he can work out many of his feelings and at the same time be accepted for what he is and where he is in his difficulties. The temporary foster home does not necessarily demand the return or response from him which a more permanent home would demand. He has more freedom to test out for himself his ability for the kind of relationship he can take on. He can even show his inability to find
a satisfying kind of relationship. At the same time he must meet the ordinary requirements of any home and is often able to feel a stability that lets him move toward a new pattern of living. In a temporary home, which the child must know is temporary, the child needs to feel that he has time to find himself, to try to say what it is he really needs and wants. A temporary foster home with foster parents who understand him will usually help the child and the placement agency to find out the kind of home best suited to him. When he is ready to leave his temporary home there will be a more permanent home waiting for him, if available.

After a study of the child has taken place, which requires much skill on the part of the child placement worker, further skill is required to choose the best home for the particular child, from those already studied and accepted. The social agency must know certain facts about the prospective foster parents, such as their financial status, housing and housekeeping standards, make-up of the family group, and the background, intelligence, education, and interest of the prospective foster parents. It is also equally important to know how willing the prospective foster family is to share in the responsibility and care of the child. Foster parents, like others, look for satisfactions in their way of life. They expect that a foster home placement will be mutually satisfying. They should know that it will have its disappointments, difficulties, struggles,
recriminations and possible heartbreaks. Any family expects this. Foster parents have to face these facts to realize their responsibilities and the demands which the care of any child will make upon them, and that the foster child has extra problems. They also have a right to hope for the satisfaction of having a child or children in their home and helping in their growth to maturity and happiness.

An important consideration in foster home-finding is to find out what a foster home has that can contribute to the normal, healthy development of the child to be placed. It is important to find out if there is that intangible "something" in the adjustment of the prospective foster family members to each other, and to others outside the family, as well as attitudes to a prospective foster child, that will make a particular placement a mutually satisfying experience. These two most important factors in foster home placement—the prospective foster child and the prospective foster home—must be fitted together. Regardless of how emotionally adjusted a prospective foster family may seem to be, or what material advantages it may offer, it still might not meet the needs of a particular child. Conversely, no matter what a child needs, or what he has in his make-up, he still may not fit into any home. It follows that foster home placement, as an art, consists in the "skillful fitting together of child and family, making possible the fullest
fruition of both."

Social agencies use different methods of securing and making use of foster homes, but they have similar objectives. Many large agencies, like the CAS, have separate homefinding departments that devote all their energies to finding and investigating foster homes and foster families.

In addition to studying the child to be placed, and selecting a foster home for him, the child-placing agency also supervises him in the foster home. While the agency may be legally responsible for the placed child, it releases some direction of the child's life to the foster parents. It is with the foster family that the child is living and growing, not the agency, and there is ultimately a shared responsibility for him. The agency may supply some form of direct service to the child, such as visits for health and dental treatment, or the supplying of clothing, although in many agencies these services are arranged through foster parents, but usually the worker's first concern is helping the foster parents and child toward helpful family inter-relationships. This does not mean that the worker tells the foster parents how to rear the child but means that the agency stands behind, or alongside of, the foster parents to help them in understanding the child and the agency at all times. This helping process implies a partnership arrangement and occasions periodic visiting by

the worker to the foster home where problems are discussed with the foster parents and the child, individually and together, and similar visiting by the child and/or the foster parents to the agency.

The objective of the child-placing agency in foster home placement is to provide, for the child, as natural a home environment as a foster home will permit, with as little interference as possible with the mode of life of this new family grouping. It often happens that the child will bring all his fears, sullenness, resistance, and other forms of insecurity, and that the foster parents need help in dealing with the child, who will often experience a normal period of regression and trying-out after a short period of good behaviour (as mentioned earlier, in Chapter I). The child will often find in his new home, love, security, and opportunity for fulfillment of his aspirations, and that many of his emotional difficulties give way in the face of the normal life he will find in a well-selected foster home.

In supervising the foster home, the child-placing agency makes every effort to maintain the child's contacts with his own family and vice versa, unless they are destructive, since most foster children need to feel that they are still part of their own family, and also because most of them will eventually return to their own homes. An agency should arrange visits of own parents to their children and vice versa under such circumstances that such visiting will
not disturb relationships within the foster home. With some parents there should be free visiting; with others, arranged visits—depending on the parents. "Arranged" visiting, where foster and natural parents never meet, may be far more disturbing, however, because such visiting encourages suspicion, rivalry, and so forth. The agency must be sensitive to the feelings and attitudes within the own parent-foster parent-child triangle and always remember that the welfare of the child is of paramount importance for a successful foster home placement. The agency must also remember that, if necessary, own parents must be given help to maintain their strengths while their child is in placement (as mentioned in Chapter I), and to prepare them for his return if such is possible.

Finally, the child-placing agency must perform a termination-of-service function when the child is ready to leave the foster home. He might leave when he is beyond the legal age which the committing court holds jurisdiction over him. He may leave when his own parents are ready to take him back. He may be ready to leave of his own volition, when he is fully grown, with the foster parents' approval. In any case, the agency performs an underlying service by being able to offer, by working them out with those concerned, constructive plans for the future, centered on the child himself. Such plans may require adjustments within his own home, and educational and vocational adjustments. The child will need to be prepared to develop independence. The whole process is
a gradual one, which must be well-planned in advance, and requires a continuance of supervision for at least a year, sometimes more.

The Vancouver Children's Aid Society

The CAS is a private social agency incorporated under the Protection of Children Act, passed in British Columbia in 1901. The Society was delegated by the provincial government to care for and protect neglected and dependent children in the City of Vancouver. Such children received orphanage care until 1927 when the British Columbia Child Welfare Survey (already mentioned) recommended the use of foster homes, investigated and supervised by the CAS under written agreement with the provincial government.

Legally, Agency children are classified as wards and non-wards. The former group is composed of children committed by a Family or Juvenile Court Order to the care and custody of the CAS, which thereby becomes their legal guardian until they reach the age of twenty-one years, or until the order of wardship is rescinded by the Court. Non-wards are children for whom the parent or parent-surrogate is intending to make a responsible plan. These children may be temporarily in foster care at the request of a parent, relative, and so forth.

Within British Columbia, a court may direct delivery of an apprehended child to the Superintendent of Child Welfare
a provincial government officer, who may, in turn, delegate custody and/or guardianship to the CAS for foster home placement.

For many years, and since the Child Welfare Survey of 1926-27, the CAS divided its work into three categories; family work, child placement work, and protection. In family work, casework has been used with parents to help them mobilize family strengths to keep families intact, and with unmarried mothers, to help them in their immediate crisis and to try to ensure that an adequate plan is worked out for themselves and their children. If, after study and help, parents do not seem likely to be ever able to provide a healthy environment for their children, or if they wish to relinquish them, the CAS has an obligation to assume guardianship to protect the child. In child placement work, the agency concerns itself with finding foster homes for children when their own home will not permit normal growth, which might involve legal commitment, and for children for whom foster home placement is requested by parents or others. The CAS places such children in foster homes and supervises them in such homes, to guarantee, if possible, that the child's needs are adequately met. Child placement work includes the use of temporary and permanent placement in receiving homes and in foster boarding homes, placement in adoption homes, and investigation of and referral to private boarding homes.

In February, 1954, a reorganization within the
agency united family work and child placement, dividing the agency in regard to these functions on a geographical instead of functional basis. The Adoptions Department has remained a separate one, as has Home-Finding. Placement and supervision of non-adoptable children in permanent foster homes with a view to adoption is the responsibility of a worker, who works in close liaison with the Home-Finding and Adoption departments.

The above mentioned reorganization, according to Charlotte Cornwall, is a recent example of the CAS' ability to adapt itself to changing concepts with regard to the most effective methods of serving clients. As the agency grew larger through the years, it became apparent that, at times, the two-department structure hampered wise, coordinated planning for the child and his family. It became increasingly apparent that integrated planning could best be handled by one worker who knew both sides of the situation.

The reorganization of 1954 is indicative of flexibility, which is a necessary attribute of an agency which is trying to perpetuate a dynamic relationship with community needs.

Method

This thesis has as its purpose the study of an individual CAS foster home of long standing which has been regarded by CAS workers as a successful one, particularly

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with adolescent boys, who are placement problems for the CAS and any other children's agency. It is hoped to discover why this foster home was successful with boys, particularly adolescents.

The plan is to examine the foster home in such a manner that some formulation of the dynamics of a good foster home might be made. An attempt will be made, therefore, to discover the dynamic factors in the personalities of the foster parents and their ego strengths, as well as the dynamic factors of life in the foster home and community, through changing times, as related to the children placed in the foster home and their backgrounds.

While this thesis does not conform to experimental scientific design, it should serve as something of a floor or source for scientific study in the future in relation to research into CAS foster home placement practice for boys, particularly adolescents.

The study has been divided into five chapters. Chapter III is devoted to a survey of the 117 children who were placed in the foster home during its 21-year existence. Material, some of which is of a quantitative nature, will be presented to support the view of CAS workers that the foster home was a successful one in a specific sense; i.e., with boys, most of whom were adolescents. Chapter IV is devoted to a study of the dynamics of life in the foster home. Material, largely qualitative in nature, will be presented
which will indicate that the foster home was successful because of the quality of life in the home. Chapter V deals with findings, observations and conclusions resulting from the study.

The material for this study has been obtained from CAS files, including those of the foster children and their own families, and the foster family file, as well as from interviews. The foster mother, her own two children, and four of her former foster children were interviewed.

All names used in this study are fictitious.
CHAPTER III

A SURVEY OF THE CHILDREN PLACED IN THE FOSTER HOME

1. Classification of Placements

There were 120 placements in the foster home between September, 1931, when the first child was placed, and September, 1952, when the last one was placed. This 21-year period represents the approximate length of time the foster parents were on "active service" for the CAS. Through most of this period the Scott's own two children, Jessie, born in 1927, and Angus, born in 1930, lived with their parents. From 1931 to 1949 there were six foster children living with the Scotts most of the time. From 1949 to 1952, there were usually two.

The 120 placements involve 115 boys and 2 girls (some of the boys had two placements with the Scotts). For the purposes of this thesis, there were four placement categories in terms of time spent in the foster home by the children placed therein. Those who remained for two weeks or less are classified as Very Short placements. Those who remained up to eight weeks are classified as Short placements. Those who remained more than a year are classified as Long-term placements.

In terms of the four categories of placement, the
21-year period being studied has been broken down into three periods—Periods 1, 2, and 3. The reason for this breakdown is that in Period 1, which will be from September, 1931, to February, 1939, the Scotts lived in Vancouver. They had a fairly-large house on a city lot. The neighbourhood was working-class and heavily-populated. The Scotts kept a few chickens and rabbits and had a small garden, all of which provided a few chores for the foster and own children and food for the table. In February, 1939, for financial reasons, the Scotts moved to a semi-rural area in Burnaby, into a little larger home on an acre of land. A large garden was planted, and a goodly number of chickens, ducks, geese, rabbits, and goats were kept. The foster and own children were called upon to perform farm chores over and above those performed earlier. As was the case in Vancouver, the children also had to perform household chores, work at part-time jobs for spending money, and take an interest in their schoolwork and community activities as part of their daily training in the fundamentals of good living. The Scotts moved again, in July, 1950, to a smaller home in more-urbanized Burnaby, because their second foster home was to be torn down due to industrial expansion and because they were going into "retirement" as foster parents. Life in the third foster home lost its farm-like aspects, as the poultry and animals of the second foster home were disposed of prior to July, 1950. Only a small garden was maintained at the third foster home.
As the way of life in the second Scott foster home was somewhat different from that in the first, and because the latter was an agency resource during an economic depression while the former served the CAS during a comparatively prosperous economic period, and a World War, Period 2 has been created. It extends from February, 1939 (the end of Period 1), to February, 1949. It has been limited to ten years because after February, 1949, the foster home entered a period of decline as an agency resource on account of the advancing age of the foster parents, the illness of Mr. Scott, and the cumulative effect on the Scotts of handling 116 placements in 17\(\frac{1}{2}\) years. Only four children were placed with them between February, 1949, and September, 1952, which has been designated as Period 3.

To clarify what was said at the beginning of this section, there were six CAS foster children living with the Scotts during the greater part of Periods 1 and 2; there were usually two in Period 3.

The following table is being presented to provide an overall idea of how 115 boys, one of whom was of pre-school age and the remainder of whom were pre-adolescents and adolescents, and two girls, one of whom was a pre-adolescent and the other an adolescent, were placed in the Scott foster home, in terms of category of placement, period of placement, and results of placement, from September, 1931, to September, 1952.
Table 1. Classification of Placements According to Category, Period, and Results of Placement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Short According to Plan</th>
<th>Very Short Terminated by Premature Removal</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short According to Plan</th>
<th>Short Terminated by Premature Removal</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium According to Plan</th>
<th>Medium Terminated by Premature Removal</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long-term According to Plan</th>
<th>Long-term Terminated by Premature Removal</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                       | Total                                    | 100 | 20    |
|                             |                                          | 120 |       |
With reference to Table 1, children whose placement was terminated by premature removal were removed because they did not adjust to the foster home. With some of these children, particularly in the Very Short and Short categories, placements were only intended to be temporary, in any case. Children were removed prematurely because of emotional and behaviour problems, emotional problems and delinquency tendencies, for running away, epilepsy, and incontinence. Placements terminated by premature removal will be considered unsuccessful. Placements according to plan will be considered successful. Therefore, according to Table 1, 5 out of 6 placements were successful.

Table 1 indicates that the largest number of successful placements were the Very Short, followed by the Short, Medium, and Long-term, in that order. The largest number of unsuccessful placements were in the Very Short and Short categories, followed by the Long-term and Medium in that order.

An average of 5.7 children were placed each year with the Scotts (120 ÷ 21). The largest and smallest number of children placed in any one year were, according to agency records, 17 (in 1939) and 1 (in 1952) respectively. The Median, therefore, is 9.

The following ratios and percentages can be obtained in terms of successful and unsuccessful placements in the various aforementioned categories, and in total placements,
by a study of Table 1.

Table 2. Successful and Unsuccessful Placements According to Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Successful</th>
<th>Unsuccessful</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very short</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6:1</td>
<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3.8:1</td>
<td>79.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.3:1</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long-Term</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.8:1</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Placements</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>5:1</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 points out that Medium placements were most successful, followed by the Very Short, Short, and Long-term, in that order.

Statistically-speaking, the Scott foster home seems to have been a successful one in terms of its large number of successful placements in all categories and in total placements, according to Table 2.

A study of Table 1 provides the following ratios and percentages (as shown in Table 3, page 68) in terms of successful and unsuccessful placements in the various categories according to Periods (1, 2, and 3).

Table 3 indicates that the Scott foster home had a high degree of success during all three Periods in terms of
Table 3. **Successful and Unsuccessful Placements According to Category and Period**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Successful</th>
<th>Unsuccessful</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Very Short</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6:1</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5.8:1</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Short</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3:1</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medium</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5:1</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Long-Term</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8:1</td>
<td>88.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.5:1</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>5:1a</td>
<td>83.3b%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a - Average Ratio of success.

*b - Average percentage of success.

The high rate of success throughout the three periods is noteworthy, particularly in Period 2. In this period 72 out of 90 placements were successful.
children had successful placements in the foster home over a period of 10 years, as compared with 24 out of 26 during the seven and one-half years of Period 1 and four out of four during the three and one-half year Period 3. The Scotts were successful with 4 out of 5 children placed with them in Period 2, which is deserving of mention because there were 9 placements each year in this Period, while there were only 3.5 placements per year in Period 1 and 1.14 placements annually in Period 3.

The increased number of children placed in Period 2 could indicate that a different foster home environment, increased foster-parent experience, changing times, and more favorable board rates made a larger service possible. It should be mentioned that, physically speaking, the foster home in Period 2 was not very much larger than that in Period 1.

According to Table 3, Long-term placements were least successful in Period 2, when 1.4 boys annually were placed with the Scotts and remained with them for more than a year. However, the percentage of success (71.4) is noteworthy when one considers that only 1.2 boys had long-term placements in Period 1, and only 1 boy remained with the Scotts for more than a year in Period 3. It is true that Long-term placements were more successful in Periods 1 and 3 but the totals of all categories of placements in these periods was much less, and not in proportion in terms of the time span of each period, when compared with Period 2.
According to the children's records, the Long-term placements averaged 37.8 months in Period 1, 30.1 months in Period 2, and the one Long-term placement in Period 3 was of 26 months' duration.

The shortest and longest Long-term placements in Period 1 were 13½ and 73 months respectively. The Median is 43.25 months. The corresponding figures for Period 2 are 16 and 54 months respectively, with a Median figure of 35 months.

The shortest placement in the Scott foster home, according to agency records, was one day; the longest was over six years.

According to agency records, the 120 placements involved one pre-school youngster, 23 pre-adolescents, and 96 adolescents (at time of placement in the Scott foster home). The 20 unsuccessful placements included 4 pre-adolescent and 16 adolescent boys (at time of placement in the Scott foster home).

The next section of this chapter will be devoted to a study of the 120 placements, which have now been classified according to length of stay, time of placement, and whether successful or unsuccessful.

2. A Study of the Placements

The four categories of placements will be described and/or sub-classified, in order of periods of placement, in this section. The Very Short placements will be studied first, through Periods 1, 2, and 3, followed by the Short,
Medium and Long-term, in that order. Successful and unsuccessful placements will be appropriately segregated. The Medium and Long-term placements will be briefly described because the children involved remained in the Scott foster home sufficiently long to feel the effects of its conditioning process.

The purpose of this method of study is to elaborate the fact that 117 children were placed in the Scott foster home for a variety of reasons over a 21-year period. It is also intended that this study should shed some light on the placement experience of a number of these children—while in care as well as in the Scott foster home—with reference to Medium and Long-term placements. This study might be of interest, because all 117 children were unique individuals with varied and unmet basic human needs.

The material in this section will bring to mind much of what has already been said in Chapters I and II concerning child placement techniques, the basic needs of children, the problems of latency and adolescence, and the necessity of foster home care for some children.

As Chapter III will study the "intangibles" of the Scott foster home, with its physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual elements, there will be only a minimum of reference to these factors in this section.

As an operational definition, for the purposes of this study, a pre-adolescent child, or one in the latency
stage of personality development, is between the ages of 6 and 11; an adolescent in between the ages of 12 and 18 (although it is recognized by many authorities that there is some variation, in terms of age, as to when children enter and leave the latency and adolescent stages of personality development); an unsatisfactory placement, unless defined, is one where the foster parents involved were unable to meet the basic needs of the child because of their inability to accept him as he is, a human being with potentials, needs, and problems; a temporary placement is one that extends up to two months; a broken home, unless defined, is one where the parents are no longer living together because of desertion, separation, divorce, or imprisonment; an unhappy home, unless defined, is one where marital friction of a severe nature exists.

**Very Short Placements**

**Period 1:**

With reference to Table 1, seven children were placed for a very short time in the Scott foster home during Period 1, six successfully. All were boys. Six were adolescents; the seventh was in early latency. The boys ranged in age from six to eighteen. The placements were intended to be temporary, with one exception—in the case of the unsuccessful placement, an adolescent. The following table classifies the Very Short Placements in Period 1.
Table 4. Classification of Very Short Placements in Period 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Placement</th>
<th>No. of Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Successful</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From a country foster home and waiting for a job</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending discharge from care; former foster parents on holiday</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From country foster home; visiting sister in city</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removed from former foster home because of emotional and behaviour problems;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awaiting move to new foster home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to permanent foster home or admission to care</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to country foster home; ran away from former foster home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unsuccessful</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed on tryout basis; had been chronic runaway at Alexandria Orphanage, ran away from foster home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Period 2:**

Table 1 indicates that 34 children were placed for a very short time in the Scott foster home in Period 2, 29 successfully. All 34 children were boys, including 28 adolescents, 5 pre-adolescents, and 1 pre-school aged. The boys ranged in age from 3 to 16. All placements were intended to be temporary except in the case of a boy who was removed for epilepsy. The unsuccessful placements...
included 2 pre-adolescent and 3 adolescent boys. The following table classifies the Very Short placements in Period 2.

Table 5. **Classification of Very Short Placements in Period 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Placement</th>
<th>No. of Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Successful</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a wage home; removed from former foster home because of emotional and behaviour problems</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a new foster home; removed from former foster home because of:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Emotional and Behaviour problems</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Emotional problems and delinquent tendencies</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending return to own foster home after running away</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a new foster home; removed from an unsatisfactory foster home</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending a job on removal from an unsatisfactory foster home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending discharge to parents after removal from unsatisfactory foster home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to another foster home to be near job; former foster home unsatisfactory</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending return to country foster home after discharge from hospital</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a permanent foster home on committal to CAS</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unsuccessful</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed in foster home on try-out basis on admission to care; removed because of epilepsy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a country foster home, after removal from former foster home because of emotional and behaviour problems; ran away</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to new foster home on discharge from hospital; unable to return to former foster home because of emotional and behaviour problems; ran away</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to country foster home on discharge from The Boys' Industrial School. Ran away</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Period 3:

A 12-year-old boy was placed in the Scott foster home for two days in November, 1949. He had just been discharged from hospital. He returned to his permanent foster home in the country.

Summary

The Scott foster home served as a foster home for a variety of reasons for 42 boys, ranging in age from three to eighteen, for a Very Short time during Periods 1, 2, and 3. It successfully carried out this function with 36 boys. Where it failed in the case of six boys, (one in Period 1 and five in Period 2) it was unable to cope with children who were placement risks in any foster home, according to the files of the children involved.

Short Placements

Period 1:

With reference to Table 1, five children were placed for a Short time in the Scott foster home in Period 1, including four adolescent boys and 1 pre-adolescent girl. All were successful. The children ranged in age from ten to seventeen. All placements were intended to be temporary. The following table on page 76 classifies the Short placements in Period 1.
Table 6. Classification of Short Placements in Period 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Placement</th>
<th>No. of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Placed in foster home on admission to care pending further study of case:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turned over to Vancouver Catholic Children's Aid Society</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed in foster home on admission to care and pending move to a country foster home</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a new foster home; removed from former foster home because of illness of foster mother</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These three children are siblings, including a ten-year-old girl and her two brothers, aged 12 and 14. The girl was the second of two placed with the Scotts.

**Period 2:**

Table 1 indicates that 24 children were placed for a Short time in the Scott foster home in Period 2, 18 successfully. All were boys. 17 were adolescents and 7 pre-adolescent. The boys ranged in age from six to seventeen. All placements were intended to be temporary, except in the cases of the six unsuccessful placements, which included 2 pre-adolescents and 4 adolescents who were on a tryout basis. The following table classifies the Very Short placements in Period 2,
Table 7. Classification of Short Placements in Period 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Placement</th>
<th>No. of Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Successful</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending a job; former foster home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unsatisfactory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to another foster home to be near job; former foster home unsatisfactory</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a new foster home; former foster home unsatisfactory</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a new foster home; removed from former foster home because of</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emotional problems and delinquent tendencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending return to own foster home after running away</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending return to country foster home after discharge from hospital</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending enlistment in the Army; from a country foster home</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending discharge to parents after removal from unsatisfactory foster home</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending discharge to parents after being in foster home since coming into care</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending move to a permanent foster home on committal to care</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unsuccessful</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed after being a chronic runaway in care.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ran away</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed after being unsuccessful in care because of emotional and behaviour problems and running away. Ran away</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed after discharge from the Boys' Industrial School. Removed for rebelliousness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed on admission to care. Ran away</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed after being incontinent in first foster home. Removed for incontinence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Period 3:

In Period 3 there were no children placed for a Short Time in the Scott foster home, according to Table 1.

Summary

The Scott foster home served 29 children for a Short Time during its existence as a CAS resource. Six of the children were unsuccessfully placed with the Scotts—all in Period 2. According to the files of these children, they were unsuitable for placement with the Scotts at the time they were taken to the foster home.

Medium Placements

Period 1:

With reference to Table 1, five children had Medium placements in Period 1. None were prematurely removed. The five children included an adolescent girl, a pre-adolescent boy and three adolescent boys. Each placement will be described briefly in order of time of placement in the Scott foster home.

Ann was 16 when placed with the Scotts in September, 1931. She was their first foster child and the first of two girls placed with them. The second has already been mentioned as a Short placement in Period 1. Ann was placed with the Scotts after discharge from the Girls' Industrial School. She was a highly intelligent girl and an excellent seamstress. She had a seemingly rejecting mother who had left her with others in earlier years while she (her mother) lived promiscuously. Ann's father had deserted his family when she was quite young. In the Scott foster home she was a real helpmate to Mrs. Scott with the household chores and in caring for the Scott children (Jessie was four and Angus one at the time). After 11 months she left the Scotts to take a job. She later married happily and had several children. Today she is a widow. The Scotts have heard from her through the years.
Adam was 6 when placed with the Scotts in March, 1932, on admission to care. He was the Scott's second foster child. He was illegitimate and his mother and stepfather had placed him for adoption. He had lived most of his life with a doting maternal grandmother. She spoiled him and could not handle him. In the Scott foster home, at first, he continually tried to pick fights with Angus. He gradually settled down, however. After five months he was discharged to his mother because his maternal grandmother planned to adopt him. This plan did not work out and he was later adopted privately by a country couple.

Ben was 18 when placed with the Scotts in April, 1937. He came from a broken home. Six previous foster home placements had failed in his four years of care because of emotional and behaviour problems. He was unable to resolve his tie with his apparently guilty mother. His father was inadequate. However, when he came to the Scotts he was beginning to realize his mother's true character. He stayed in the Scott foster home for eight months, during which he worked at odd jobs and paid part of his maintenance. His behaviour was generally good. He was a great help to the Scotts by helping them control the younger CAS boys in the foster home. He obtained a job out-of-town in December, 1937. Today he is a laundry supervisor and happily-married with a family. The Scotts have heard from him through the years. He attended Mr. Scott's funeral.

Bob was 14 when placed with the Scotts in July, 1938. He was committed to care as a juvenile delinquent from a neglectful home in April, 1938. His family was well-known to social agencies and several of his relatives were known criminals. He was in his first foster home for three months when he was removed for emotional and behaviour problems and delinquent tendencies. Upon removal he wanted to return to his parents with whom he had a strong tie. He was upset at moving to the Scotts. He remained with them for eight months, however. He constantly asked to return to his parents while with the Scotts and was always impertinent after visiting them. Mrs. Scott found him to be somewhat of a disciplinary problem, but said that he was "allright as long as he was sat on." He moved to Burnaby with the Scotts in February, 1939. He was moved to another foster home in March, 1939, in order to attend his old school, to which he had a strong tie. He kept in touch with the Scotts afterwards. Today he is working as a mechanic and is married with a family.

Clem was 12 when placed with the Scotts temporarily in February, 1939, on admission to care. His five sisters were also admitted to care at the same time and placed separately. Clem stayed with the Scotts for two and one-half months—in Kitsilano and Burnaby. He and siblings came into care
because their mother was in prison and their father, who was working out-of-town was unable to care for them. Clem's worker, on placing him with the Scotts, described the foster home (in Clem's record) as a "CAS foster home of long standing (7½ years) where many children (22) had received excellent care. Although the physical standards are not high, the foster parents have a real understanding of children, particularly boys, and the foster parents take a kindly interest in them." "Little concentrated work" was done with Clem, according to his worker, because his placement was known to be temporary. However, in the Scott foster home "his health and personality improved and he was reconditioned to regular attendance." He was discharged to his father in April, 1939.

**Period 2:**

According to Table 1, 18 boys had Medium placements in Period 2, 15 of which were successful. The following table gives the age distribution of the 18 boys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The foregoing table lists five pre-adolescent and thirteen adolescent boys. Three of the latter were removed prematurely.
The 15 successful placements will be classified according to reasons for and results of placement in the following table, which will be followed by a brief description of the more interesting placements. Following this there will be a brief description of the three unsuccessful placements in order of time of placement.

Table 9. **Classification of Medium Placements According to Plan in Period 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category No.</th>
<th>Reasons for and Results of Placement in the Scott Foster Home</th>
<th>No. of Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Placed on admission to care; on free-wage basis; took job out-of-town.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Placed on admission to care; on free-wage basis; joined Army.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pending move to a country foster home after a planned trial period; removed from previous foster home because of emotional and behaviour problems and delinquent tendencies. Moved as planned.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Indefinite placement; removed from former foster home because of emotional and behaviour problems and delinquent tendencies; ill while working.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Indefinite placement; removed from former foster home because of emotional and behaviour problems; discharged to parents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Indefinite placement; removed from former foster home because of health of foster parents; discharged to relatives.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Indefinite placement; removed from former foster home because of distance to school; discharged to relatives.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Indefinite placement on admission to care; moved to another foster home to be near a school with special classes for the mentally retarded.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Planned temporary placement on admission to care; discharged to parents.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Planned temporary placement on admission to care; moved to a permanent foster home.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 15
Calvin, Daniel, and Edward are the three boys referred to in category 3 of Table 9. They were aged 11, 12, and 14, respectively, when placed with the Scotts between October, 1942, and May, 1943. They averaged four months in the foster home and were together for a short time in January, 1943. It was planned that each of these boys would spend a trial period with the Scotts before transfer to permanent country foster homes. The boys had been in care for some years and had several unsuccessful foster home placements each, where the discipline had not been considered strict enough. Calvin and Edward were from broken homes and had strong ties with parent-figures, Calvin with his mother and Edward with his father. Daniel had been deserted soon after birth by his mother. Calvin's mother, who had married a man other than his father, had interfered continually with his various placements since his coming into care as a neglected waif in 1940. She made false accusations about Mrs. Scott's integrity and ability as a foster mother. The Scotts had a rather difficult time with these three boys because of their rebelliousness and resentment towards the CAS. They were placed in country foster homes because these were considered to be best suited to meet their basic needs and also, in Calvin's case, to put him out of reach of his mother, who had been having clandestine visits with him. All three boys were in favour of such a move. Edward was discharged to his father in 1943 from his country foster home. Daniel after several subsequent placements, joined the Navy in 1949. Today he is married and has a favourable attitude towards the CAS. Calvin was discharged from care in 1953. He was living with his mother and legal father at the time of last agency contact. He also had several subsequent placements and spent a term in the Boys' Industrial School before discharge from care.

Dalton is the boy referred to in category 4. He was 14 when placed with the Scotts in August, 1941. His brother was an unsuccessful Short placement in Period 2 (in 1946). Dalton, like his brother, was of East Indian and English blood and illegitimate birth. The two brothers were committed to care with their siblings in 1935 as a result of neglect by their mother and common-law father. The natural father of the two brothers had died earlier. Dalton had very weak family ties. Also, he lost eight foster home placements because of emotional and behaviour problems and delinquent tendencies, before being placed with the Scotts as an emergency measure. He ran away from his eighth foster home after attacking the foster father with an axe. Soon after being placed with the Scotts he stole Mrs. Scott's watch, which he took to his own mother. About the same time, he tried to incite the other CAS boys in the foster home to set the house on fire. He was as a result, kept in every night for a week during
which the stolen watch was recovered. He gradually settled
down in the foster home, however, because of the foster
parents understanding, acceptance, and firmness, and also
because he found out that he could not bully the other boys
who were older and bigger than he was. Between August, 1941,
and June, 1942, he saw his mother and siblings on a number of
occasions with no ill after-effects. He played truant from
school (he was in Grade 7) twice, and ran away once for a
half-day. He had some problems with discipline, particularly
in the Spring of 1942, when he objected to coming in at
regular hours in the evenings. With the help of Mr. and Mrs.
Scott and the CAS he obtained summer employment in a sawmill.
He was killed in an accident there in July, 1942. The Scotts
were heartbroken. Mrs. Scott had kissed him before he went
to work on the day of his death, as she had been doing daily
for some time.

Everett is the boy referred to in category 7. He was 16 when
placed with the Scotts in September, 1948, to be near a
technical high school. He remained with them a year. He
completed Grade 12 in June, 1949. He got along very well in
the foster home and was discharged to his aunt in the United
States in September, 1949.

Frank is the boy referred to in category 8 of Table 9. He
was 13 when admitted to care in November, 1944, and placed
with the Scotts. His parents were divorced. His father had
custody of him but was at sea most of the time and unable to
look after him. Frank was very unhappy at parting from his
father and was enuretic during his first months in the Scott
foster home, although the reason for his coming into care was
discussed with him by his worker and the Scotts. He was
examined at the Child Guidance Clinic in the Spring of 1945
because of his poor school work. According to the Clinic,
he was a "high-grade moron, poorly-adjusted socially, and
withdrawn." He was also handicapped by defective vision and
a marked facial dissymmetry. He was in Grade 3 while with
the Scotts and required special teaching for the mentally-
retarded. The Scotts and the CAS were unable to find a
school with special classes in Burnaby, however. In any case,
Frank gradually began to fit into the foster home living
pattern. However, during his first few months with the
Scotts, he would often "play dumb" to get out of his chores.
He soon learned that this scheme would not work—he could not
go out to play until his chores were finished. He was
promoted to Grade 4 in June, 1945, on trial. His class
standing was "D" and he was working to capacity. Between June
and September, 1945, he began to "get on Mrs. Scotts nerves."
He was gradually developing a "deceitful lazy streak," accord­
ing to Mrs. Scott. His worker, in August, 1945, said that the
Scotts were only keeping him out of respect for his father as well as their sympathy for Frank. He was moved in October, 1945, to his second foster home, where he could go to a school with special classes for the mentally-retarded with a CAS boy living in the second foster home. While with the Scotts he saw his father twice. He enjoyed both visits but was upset afterwards (this fact could be related to his "getting on Mrs. Scott's nerves"). He lost his second foster home placement after eight months—he could not adjust to the foster home. He was then placed in a boarding school for retarded children. He remained there for two years and adjusted well. He was then discharged to his father.

Fulton and George are the two boys referred to in category 9. George was 9 when placed with the Scotts in January, 1947, on admission to care. His mother was destitute and his father had deserted. He remained in the foster home for six months and was discharged to his mother. Fulton was 9 when he was placed with the Scotts in April, 1947, on admission to care. His mother had tuberculosis and his father was unable to plan for him. He remained for five months in the foster home and was discharged to his father. Both George and Fulton got along very well with the Scotts. The latter established a sound working relationship with George's mother and Fulton's parents, with the help of the CAS.

The three unsuccessful Medium placements in Period 2 will now be briefly described in order of the time of placement in the Scott foster home. As mentioned earlier, the three boys involved were adolescents. One was removed because of his behaviour; the other two were removed after running away.

Gilbert was 13 when placed with his older brother, Harold, 15, in the Scott foster home, at the same time, in June, 1939, on admission to care. Their five siblings were also admitted to care at the same time and placed separately. Gilbert's mother had deserted her family, and his father, a sheepherder, was unable to care for his children. Gilbert was removed from the Scott foster home in September, 1939, because he was encouraging his brother to get into all kinds of mischief around the foster home and in the neighbourhood, including fighting with the other CAS boys in the foster home, petty stealing, and so forth. Both Gilbert's worker and the Scotts felt that he should be moved for Harold's sake and for the morale of the foster home; also, he expressed a desire to be
sent to a country foster home. He was not disturbed at removal from the Scotts or separation from his brother—he kept in touch with Charlie afterwards and visited him at the Scotts. The Scotts felt sorry to see him go because they rather liked him. He spent ten months in his second foster home—in the country—when he was removed because of rebelliousness and sex difficulties (he tried to seduce a 12-year old girl). Gilbert's father died in December, 1939, which upset him in his second foster home. He remained in his third foster home (also in the country) for 2½ years. He got along well there. He left to take a job as a shepherder (like his father) under the supervision of the Provincial Social Welfare Branch. He was discharged from care in 1948. Today he is working on a ranch and is married. His brother, Harold, remained with the Scotts for 16 months, after which he also left for a shepherding job. He will be described later as a Long-term placement.

Hubert was 16 when placed with the Scotts in April, 1940, on committal to care as a juvenile delinquent. His mother began to interfere almost immediately with his placement, by agitating for his return to her, which upset him in the foster home. He ran away to his mother in May, 1940 and again in July, 1940. On apprehension in July, 1940, he was sent to the Boys' Industrial School for theft. When released he joined the Navy. The Scotts were very fond of Hubert. He called Mrs. Scott "Toots." He worked as a delivery boy while in the foster home and paid part of his maintenance. Today he is a mechanic and is married with six children. The Scotts have heard from him through the years.

Ian was 14 when placed with the Scotts in August, 1948, on admission to care. He had been released from the Boys' Industrial School and his parents, who were separated, were unable to plan for him. He was an emotionally-disturbed adolescent who had been rejected by his mother from birth. His father was dictatorial. His parents had used him and his siblings as weapons against each other. On being placed with the Scotts, his worker described Mrs. Scott as "rigid but flexible with regard to giving concessions if obeyed." Ian was resentful towards the CAS, his worker, and the Scotts at the beginning of his placement. He later became politely defiant of the foster home's "rules and regulations." In November, 1948, he ran away three times. He asked to be returned to the Scotts after his first two runaways. After his third, his worker and the Scotts decided that he should be moved. On enquiry, he told his worker that the Scotts were too strict with regard to chores and keeping regular hours. His worker noted at this time, in Ian's record, that "Mrs. Scott seems to be the dominant person in the foster home; however, the marital relationship seems to be stable."
Ian ran away from three subsequent foster homes between November, 1948, and February, 1949, when he was sent to the Boys' Industrial School for six months. He was discharged to his father afterwards but soon left him.

**Period 3:**

There were two Medium placements in Period 3, according to Table 1. Both were successful. They will be briefly described in order of time of placement in the Scott foster home.

**John:**

John was 14 when he was placed with the Scotts in October, 1949, on a part-boarding basis. He came into care in 1943 when his parents, who were receiving social assistance, were charged with neglecting him. He had two foster home placements before coming to the Scotts. His first ended in 1945 when the foster parents moved away from the city. His second ended when the foster mother's health broke down. He stayed with the Scotts for eight months, during which he completed grade 9. He then went to work in a logging camp. He got along well in the foster home and Mrs. Scott was pleased with his general progress. His only complaint while with the Scotts was that Mrs. Scott's sister, who had been living in the foster home for many years, nagged and criticized him unnecessarily on occasion. John maintained a fairly-regular contact with his parents throughout and after he was discharged from care.

**Joseph:**

Joseph was 16 when he was placed with the Scotts in September, 1942. He remained until November, 1952, beyond the 21-year-period of this thesis study. However, it should be mentioned that since 1952 he has been at sea but makes the Scott home his "home" while in the city. He came into care in 1939 with his four siblings. His mother was charged with neglect. She was living promiscuously. His father had been dead for two years. His first foster home placement ended in 1948. He was getting along fairly well but his mother was interfering with his placement and kept trying in vain to get him to return to her. He lived in his second foster home until September, 1952, when the foster parents decided to divorce. He moved to the Scotts because his older brother, Kelvin, who had spent 26 months in the Scott foster home, had recommended the move. Kelvin will be described as a Long-term placement in Period 3.
Summary

Twenty-five pre-adolescent and adolescent boys and one adolescent girl had Medium placements in the Scott foster home during Periods 1, 2, and 3. Only three placements, involving three adolescent boys in Period 2, were unsuccessful. With reference to these three boys it seems that the Scotts cannot be blamed for their removal, particularly in the cases of Hubert and Ian. Hubert had a tie with a mother who constantly interfered with his placement. Ian's rebellious attitude towards authority, characteristic of his age group and increased by his own parents use of him as a weapon against each other, which only undermined their authority over him, was carried into care and into the Scott foster home. In the case of Gilbert, the wisdom of removing him from the Scotts might be questioned, especially when he was separated from his brother. However, in the long run, the move seems sound.

Long-term Placements

Period 1:

With reference to Table 1, nine children had Long-term placements in Period 1, one of which is to be considered unsuccessful. The eight successful placements, which included three pre-adolescent and five adolescent boys (at the time they were placed in the Scott foster home), will be briefly described in order of the time they were placed with the Scotts, followed by a description of the one unsuccessful placement.
Kilby was 9 when placed in the Scott foster home in March, 1932. He was an orphan without family ties, of illegitimate birth, and had been in care since 1925. He had four unsatisfactory foster home placements before being placed with the Scotts. He got along fairly well in the Scott foster home until July, 1937, when his adolescent rebelliousness and cheekiness caused the Scotts and his worker to decide on his removal to a country foster home after being with the Scotts for 64 months. He remained in the country foster home for 3 months and asked to be returned to the Scotts because of brutal treatment—his country foster parents and older country foster brother were strapping and beating him unmercifully. Thus, Kilby returned to the Scotts. He remained with them for another 13 months. He had to be removed again because of rebelliousness and pugnacity towards Mr. Scott. He had six more foster home placements when, in 1942, he joined the Army. Kilby was somewhat emotionally-disturbed throughout care, dependent, and of low-normal intelligence. He left school when in Grade 7, at the age of 15, in 1938. When he left the Scott foster home the first time, his worker said that he had shown "a general, all-round, healthy improvement in fundamental attitudes towards people." He has maintained contact with the Scotts through the years. He wrote to them while Overseas in the Army in World War II. They attended his wedding in 1946. He attended Mr. Scott's funeral. Today he is happily married with four children and has his own business. He is considered a successful placement because he has made a good adjustment today which, in no small measure, is the result of his spending more than six years in the Scott foster home. Testimony of this fact is his continued contact with the Scotts with whom he spent more than one-third of his 17 years in care and whose home was only one of the eleven CAS foster homes in which he was placed.

Luke was 8 when placed with the Scotts in August, 1932. He remained until July, 1937. He had been admitted to care in November, 1930, with his 3 siblings. His mother was dead and his father was neglecting the family. He was placed separately from his siblings in his first foster home. He was removed because his first foster mother was prejudiced against him because of his forward manner in contrast to that of another CAS boy in the foster home who was shy—she liked shyness in a boy. He was then moved to the Scotts. He got along fairly well in the foster home and at school. He saw his father rarely but kept up contacts with his siblings in care. However, towards the latter part of 1936, he became increasingly unwilling to cooperate in the Scott foster home—with his chores, particularly. He was also cheeky and engaging in petty theft, which was causing Mrs. Scott to scold and discipline him much of the time. In addition, he was of high intelligence and his worker felt that he was too superior, intellectually, at the age of 13, to remain in a foster home with working-class living standards.
As a result, he was moved, after nearly five years with the Scotts, to his third foster home. He remained there from July, 1937, until September, 1941, when he joined the Army. Despite his high intelligence, he quit school in 1941. He had completed Grade 8 at the age of 17. He kept in contact with the Scotts until he joined the Army. Luke is considered a successful placement in the Scott foster home because of the length of his placement, his continued contact with the Scotts after July, 1937, and the fact that he had only had one foster home placement, which lasted more than 4 years, after leaving them. As in the case of Kilby just described, the Scotts played an important part in "re-moulding" Luke for the future and bore the brunt of his initial adolescent rebelliousness. It seems that some timely casework might have kept both Kilby and Luke in the Scott foster home for a longer time because they both developed strong ties with the Scotts.

Louis was 15 when placed with the Scotts in October, 1936. He was a highly-strung boy who came from a broken home and had been a ward since coming into care in 1925. Incontinence and a quick temper caused his removal from four previous foster homes prior to placement with the Scotts. He gradually developed control of his temper and stopped soiling after being placed in the Scott foster home. His behaviour soon became acceptable. He was removed in October, 1938, because the foster home was becoming overcrowded (there were 7 CAS boys with the Scotts at the time). His worker felt that, because Louis was the oldest boy (he was 17), he was a logical choice for removal. He was on a part-boarding basis at the time as he was working at odd jobs. He had two short successful foster home placements after leaving the Scotts and before joining the Army in 1939. He had little contact with his family since the early 1930's. He did not seem to be upset at removal from the Scotts and he saw them on a number of occasions before joining the Army. He seemed to understand the reason for his removal from the Scotts, which was discussed with him by his worker and the Scotts.

Michael was 17 when placed with the Scotts in November, 1936. He remained with them until August, 1938. He was committed to care in November, 1930 with his 3 siblings. His deserted and nearly-blind father was unable to care for his family. He lost 5 foster home placements between November, 1930, and November, 1936, because of interference by a seemingly guilty mother who had returned to the city in 1931 after deserting her family earlier. She agitated without reason for his return. He ran away to her several times before coming to the Scotts and was irresponsible in his first five foster homes. He was placed with his siblings in his first two foster homes and was continually bullying them. As a result, he was
separated from them on being moved to his third foster home. He was removed from the Scott foster home because the Scotts were making plans to move to a smaller home in Burnaby and could not anticipate space for him there (as in the case of another older boy, Louis, aforementioned). At the time of his removal from the Scott foster home, Michael was working at odd jobs and had expressed a desire to "strike out on his own." As a result, he was in favour of removal and went to live with his mother, who was less interfering while he was living with the Scotts. He got along well in the foster home during his 21-month placement. He obtained a full-time job after leaving the Scotts. He later married the daughter of a close friend of the Scotts, whom he met while living in the Scott foster home. He has kept in contact with the Scotts through the years.

Morris was 17 when placed with the Scotts in December, 1936. He remained with them until June, 1938. He had come into care in 1929, when his stepfather had deserted him and his mother was living immorally. He was unable to adjust to foster homes before being placed with the Scotts, largely because of interference from his parents, whom he was allowed to see separately, at periodic intervals, at the CAS. Morris worked at odd jobs while with the Scotts and got along fairly well. He tried unsuccessfully to reconcile his parents, who had been separated for several years. During the early months of his placement with the Scotts he began to have clandestine visits with his parents. He left the Scotts without notifying them, in June, 1938, and obtained a job out-of-town. He had tried in vain to obtain steady employment in the city. He later joined the Army. Today he is a successful businessman with a family. The Scotts have heard from him through the years. This placement is considered successful because Morris left the Scotts due to circumstances external to the foster home and remained with them for 18 months, during which he behaved fairly well. Also, he kept in contact with them afterwards, and is successful today.

Nicholas was 16 when placed with the Scotts in July, 1937. He remained with them until August, 1938. He was committed to care in July, 1933, because of parental neglect. He had two unsuccessful foster home placements plus a stay in the Alexandria orphanage before coming to the Scotts—because of emotional and behaviour problems. He got along well in the Scott foster home. He was particularly friendly with Michael (aforementioned). As in the cases of Louis and Michael, he was removed because the Scotts were planning to move to a smaller home in Burnaby. He did not seem to be upset at removal, the reason for which was discussed with him by his worker and the Scotts. He remained in his next foster home until November, 1939, when he was discharged to his mother.
Norbert was 14 when placed with the Scotts in December, 1937. He remained with them until February, 1939. He was admitted to care as an orphan in 1937 and was immediately placed in the Scott foster home. His relatives were no longer able to care for him. He was enuretic during his first few weeks with the Scotts. His enuresis gradually began to disappear as he began to feel more "at home" in the foster home. He quit school when 15, in September, 1939, when in Grade 8. With the Scott's help, he obtained a job as a delivery boy. He got along well in the foster home although he lacked initiative. He was discharged to his older, married sister in the interior of the province, as she wanted him to live with her.

Orville was 8 when placed with the Scotts on admission to care in June, 1938. He remained with them until July, 1944. He was a reserved boy. His mother had died in January, 1938, and his father and the housekeeper were unable to control Orville and his older brother, Oswald, who was also admitted to care in June, 1938, and placed in another foster home. The two brothers had been stealing from the housekeeper and had been destructive in their own home. Orville got along extremely well with the Scotts. He completed Grade 2 in June, 1938, and Grade 9 in June, 1944. He was more highly intelligent than the average CAS boy placed with the Scotts. He was strapped only once, in February, 1940, for lying. He lost privileges occasionally-sometimes for duping the Scott's own son into committing mischief, such as breaking neighborhood windows, and so forth. However, he and Angus were good friends and of the same age (Mrs. Scott referred to them as "the twins," and what she bought for one in the way of clothes she bought for the other. Also, she was "put to a test" when her own son was involved in destructiveness and did her best to mete out discipline without discrimination. Generally, however, Angus did not take part in destructive activities. Orville had regular contacts with Oswald who was discharged from care in 1942, and his older, married half-sisters and half-brothers (by his father's first marriage--his father had married twice). These members of Orville's family cooperated fully with the CAS and the Scotts during his placement. He saw his father, who rejected him from birth, once a year--on Labor Day--while in the Scott foster home. On this holiday, the father would gather the family together for an "annual picnic" at Stanley Park. Orville had no ties with his father. The other family members fully understood the psychological impact of personal and written contacts with Orville while he was in placement; and they were careful not to upset him. His worker deserves much credit for developing this understanding on their part. The Scotts, while fond of Orville, always kept in mind that one day he would be leaving--like all the other CAS foster children.
placed with them. In July, 1944, he was discharged to a married half-sister in Calgary. He completed Grade 12 three years later. He and his family (other than his father) kept in touch with the Scotts long after he was removed. Orville is now married and living in Edmonton.

The one unsuccessful Long-term placement in Period 1 will be briefly described:

Philip was 12 when placed with the Scotts in November, 1932. He remained with them until August, 1936. He came into care with his 3 siblings in 1928, when his deserted mother was unable to care for her children. After a short stay in the Alexandria Orphanage, he was placed in his first foster home with his older brother. He remained there 44 years. He was removed for behaviour problems and delinquent tendencies. Also, he had been exerting an unfavourable influence on his brother and another CAS boy; in addition, his mother had been constantly interfering with his placement. He moved from his first foster home to the Scotts. He required constant watching in the Scott foster home. The Scotts put up with much insubordination from him and interference from his mother, until finally, in August, 1936, Mrs. Scott asked for his removal. His behaviour was beginning to negatively influence the younger CAS boys in the foster home. He was placed in the Alexandria Children's Home. He ran away two months later to his mother and was discharged from care. He later became an electrician.

Period 2:

According to Table 1, 14 boys had Long-term placements in the Scott foster home in Period 2. The following table gives the outcome of these placements in order of time of placement: (Table 10, page 93).

Table 10, like Table 1, lists 10 successful and 4 unsuccessful placements. The 14 placements involved adolescent boys. They averaged over 30 months each in the Scott foster home. The 10 successful placements will now be briefly described in order of time of placement with the
### Table 10. Outcome of Long-term Placements in Period 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age when Placed in Foster Home</th>
<th>When Placed in Foster Home</th>
<th>Length of Placement (months)</th>
<th>Reason for Removal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>March, 1939</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Special interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harold</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>June, 1939</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinton</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dec., 1939</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Oct., 1940</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsay</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nov., 1941</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>To Country Foster Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>July, 1942</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Discharged from Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>October, 1942</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>October, 1942</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Behaviour*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thornton</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>August, 1943</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>To Country Foster Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>November, 1943</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Discharged from Care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>October, 1944</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Ran Away*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>June, 1945</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Behaviour*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>February, 1946</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Scotts Planning to Move</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>December, 1948</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Behaviour*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unsuccessful Placement.

Scotts, after which there will be a brief description of the 4 unsuccessful placements, in similar order.
Successful

Paul was 15 when placed with the Scotts, on admission to care, in March, 1939. He remained with them for 32 months. He was admitted to care because of emotional problems and delinquent tendencies and at the request of his parents in the country. He was unaccustomed to life in the city (like some of the other country boys placed in the Scott foster home) and caused a lot of amusement as he groped his way around the foster home, with its modern equipment. However, Paul, a big, friendly, Scandinavian boy, got along very well in the foster home, and at school, where he was brilliant, particularly in the sciences. He corresponded regularly with his family. He completed Grade 11 in June, 1941. In July, 1941, he showed signs of restlessness; he had not seen his family for two years. He paid them a short visit and settled down again in the foster home—for a short time. In the autumn of 1941 he expressed a desire to quit school and join the Air Force. He was quite interested in Air Force cadet activity at the time, also, which necessitated long trips into Vancouver from Burnaby. These trips were expensive and time-consuming for a Grade 12 student. It was mutually agreed that he be moved to a foster home in Vancouver, which would be more advantageous for him in the light of his special interests. The Scotts were sorry to see him leave, as was their daughter, who was attracted to him (she was 15 at the time). He moved to his second foster home in January, 1942, and remained there until June, 1942, when he was discharged to his parents. He completed Grade 12 in his second foster home. He later joined the Air Force. He kept in touch with the Scotts through the years. After World War II he attended university and is now working as a mechanic.

Harold was 16 when placed with the Scotts in June, 1939, on admission to care with his six siblings. His mother had deserted him, and his father, a sheep farmer, was unable to care for the children. Harold and his brother, Gilbert were placed together in the Scott foster home (Gilbert was a prematurely-removed Medium placement in Period 2). Harold got along satisfactorily with the Scotts until he was removed in October, 1940, to take a shepherding job in his home community. He was rather mischievous until Gilbert was removed from the Scott foster home in September, 1939. Neither brother was upset by the move and maintained contact afterwards. Harold was upset by his father's death in December, 1939, however, but soon "settled down" again. He had completed Grade 6 in June, 1940, after starting the sixth grade in September, 1939. He belonged to the Junior Forest Wardens while with the Scotts and maintained regular contact with his family while in care. There was mutual sorrow when he left the Scotts. They still hear from him. He is now half-owner of a ranch.
Quinton was 12 when placed with the Scotts in December, 1939. He had been committed to care in June, 1939, at the request of his paternal grandparents. He had been badly neglected by his divorced, ineffectual mother. His father, also ineffectual, was grossly dependent on the paternal grandparents. Quinton was placed in two unsatisfactory foster homes before coming to the Scotts. In the first, the foster mother was too demanding of him; in the second, the foster mother was too possessive of him. He got along fairly well with the Scotts until the autumn of 1941, when he began to be deceitful. His behaviour in this respect worsened in the following months. Shortly before Christmas, 1941, he ran away to his mother. He was returned to the Scotts in a few hours by his worker. He was upset. His mother had reluctantly "surrendered" him to the worker and had strongly criticized the Scott foster home. She had been in and out of jail since December, 1939, for theft, and had been interfering with his placement with the Scotts since March, 1941. She had arranged clandestine visits with him and sent letters to him secretly against CAS regulations. This fact had been learned by his worker in November, 1941, and she was reprimanded. Quinton's father, who showed no interest in him after he was committed to care, was committed to Essondale as a schizophrenic in March, 1941. When Quinton was returned to the Scotts after the runaway described above, his worker and the Scotts had a long talk with him and tried to point out that they understood why he ran away but how unwise it was to do so, because his mother was unable to care for him. He was reassured when he learned that he would not be punished for running away and that "everyone was behind him." His behaviour began to improve almost immediately. In the meantime, his worker strongly reprimanded his mother for violating CAS regulations (which she had continued to do after being reprimanded a month previously for a similar offence). The worker threatened legal action for a future violation. Her interference soon stopped. Quinton completed Grade 9 in June, 1942, and became an Air Force cadet in July, 1942. He was transferred to another foster home (his third) in August, 1942, to be nearer a technical high school (although one might question the wisdom of a move for this reason). He had two more foster home placements. He remained in his third foster home until January, 1943. He was removed because he was "lazy." He finished Grade 10, in June, 1943, while in his fourth foster home. He went to live with his relatives in the United States a few months later. While he was with the Scotts, and throughout care, his paternal grandparents cooperated fully with the CAS. They became friendly with the Scotts. They helped Quinton in every possible way by providing him with emotional support and making their home a place he could visit, with CAS permission, at any time. He went to the Antarctic with
the Byrd expedition in 1947. When last heard from, in 1948, he was attending university in the United States. He was taking an engineering course. He kept in touch with the Scotts for many years and has visited them from the United States.

Robert was 13 when placed with the Scotts in October, 1940. He remained with them for 22 months. He was admitted to care in April, 1939. His mother had died when he was 2, after which his paternal grandparents cared for him—his father was unable to do so. He was admitted to care because of the illness of his paternal grandparents. His father was away and had had little contact with him. Robert had a club foot and tuberculosis of the hip. He had a noticeable limp. He had five foster home placements before coming to the Scotts. He was removed from the five foster homes seemingly because of his physical handicaps. The various foster parents discriminated against him because of this fact, although they rationalized otherwise—he was either not "companionable" or did not seem "normal enough." He was in Grade 7 when he came to the Scotts. He got along quite well with them, although, at times, it was felt that he was trying to capitalize a little on his lameness—with regard to chores. He obtained orthopaedic boots in April, 1941, largely as a result of the Scott's help. He finished Grade 8 in June, 1942. He was moved to another foster home in August, 1942, in order to be nearer to a technical high school (like Quinton aforementioned, who was moved during the same month and for the same reason). One might question Robert's being moved for this reason—like Quinton, he had been getting along well with the Scotts. In any case, Robert lived in three foster homes, after leaving the Scotts, before being discharged to his paternal grandmother in March, 1944. He was in Grade 10 at the time. His paternal grandfather had died earlier. Robert has worked as a radio mechanic and auto body worker since his discharge from care. The Scotts have heard from him since he left the foster home.

Ramsay was 13 when placed with the Scotts in November, 1941, on committal to care. He remained with them for 23 months. He was committed as an orphan who had been left with a maternal aunt who was no longer able to care for him. He had been an orphan for two years. He liked the Scott foster home immediately; he liked the seven CAS boys who were in the foster home at the time, although he was always on the fringe of activities. In January, 1942, his maternal aunt began to interfere with his placement; she became critical of the Scott foster home; however, she visited Ramsay rarely. He was not particularly upset by her behaviour. He was promoted to
Grade 5 in February, 1942. He was examined at the Child Guidance Clinic in February, 1942. He was diagnosed as a "high grade moron who is functioning to capacity in an excellent foster home." Ramsay saw various relatives on different occasions between February, 1942, and June, 1943. He was not upset after seeing them. He was still in Grade 5 in June, 1943, and had reached the limit of his capacity for academic work. During the summer of 1943 he expressed a desire to live on a farm, to which he was moved in October, 1943. His behaviour in the Scott foster home has been satisfactory at all times. He left the farm in May, 1944, and has worked at various unskilled jobs since. While somewhat resentful of the CAS while in care, he is not so anymore, according to one of his former workers, who met him some time ago.

Stephen, a reserved, shy boy, was 13 when placed with the Scotts in August, 1942, on committal to care. He remained with them for 3½ years. He had been apprehended in August, 1942, after a series of petty thefts. His home was declared to be unfit. His parents were separated. His mother, with whom he had been living, was promiscuous and living common-law. He got along well with the Scotts. He started Grade 5 in September, 1942, and half completed Grade 9 in January, 1946. He passed into Grade 9 with honours in June, 1945. He was discharged to his mother at this time. He was generally cooperative in the foster home and held the Scotts in high esteem. However, he had a strong tie with his mother and never gave up the idea of returning to her. She objected to his committal to care and began to strongly agitate for his return to her in 1945. His worker felt that he had received enough of the fundamentals of sound living in the Scott foster home to carry him through future crises after returning to his mother. She was still living common-law with the man she was with in 1942. Stephen left his mother several years ago and is a businessman today. The Scotts have heard from him through the years.

Sidney, an outgoing, athletic boy, was 12 when placed with the Scotts in October, 1942. He remained with them for 3½ years. He had been committed to care with eight siblings in April, 1940. His mother had been deserted and was living common-law. Sidney and his siblings had been physically and morally neglected. He and his older brother, Thomas (who will be described as a Long-term placement who was prematurely removed in Period 2), were placed together in their first foster home in April, 1940. They were unable to adjust to this home. They were rebellious and ran away several times. The brothers were then placed with the Scotts (in October, 1942). The placement was intended to be temporary, pending a move to a country foster home. However, Sidney got along so well with the Scotts that he stayed in the foster home until April,
1946, when he obtained a job out-of-town. While with the Scotts he became a cadet Sergeant in the St. John's Ambulance and was the leader of the "gang" in the foster home at the time he left. He was not seemingly upset when his brother, Thomas, was removed in March, 1944, for lying and stealing. Thomas also, was not apparently upset at being moved, and visited Sidney at the Scotts afterwards. Sidney was upset, however, in September, 1945, when he saw his mother for the first time since October, 1942. However, his worker explained to him that his mother was not in a position to care for him. His disturbance soon ceased. Sidney had little contact with his mother after leaving the Scotts, although he kept in touch with some of his older siblings, including Thomas. He was logging when last heard from in 1948.

Thornton was twelve when placed with the Scotts in August, 1943. He remained with them for three years. He was illegitimate. His putative father disappeared before he was born. His mother was committed to Essondale in November, 1942, and he went to live with his maternal aunt at this time. She rejected him and asked that he be committed to CAS care in August, 1943. He was placed with the Scotts on committal to care. He fitted in very well in the foster home, although some of the boys "picked on" him during the first month or so of his placement. The Scotts reprimanded the boys for their behaviour towards Thornton and they quickly became more accepting of him. He was "slower" than the other boys, who sensed this fact on first meeting him. He had difficulty at school because of his limited intelligence. According to the Child Guidance Clinic, in 1944, he had an I.Q. of 65. He reached the limit of his academic capacity in June, 1946, when in Grade 5. During the summer of 1946 he expressed a desire to be placed in a country foster home. He had lived in the country prior to committal to care and liked farm work. His worker and the Scotts felt that further schooling was useless. Thornton felt the same way. He was moved to a country foster home in August, 1946, where he remained until he was discharged from care at the age of eighteen. Today he is married and working in a restaurant in the city. He has kept in touch with the Scotts through the years. He and his wife visited Mrs. Scott last Christmas.

Urban was thirteen when placed with the Scotts in November, 1943. He remained with them until he was discharged from care in May, 1948. He continued to live with them until 1950, when he got married. His brother, two years older than he, is classified as a Medium placement who left the Scotts after a five-month placement, in April, 1944, to take a job out-of-town. (See category 1, Table 9.) Urban and his brother came from a sordid home background. Their parents were separated. Their older sister had just had a child by their common-law father
when they were committed to care as neglected children in November, 1943. They were immediately placed with the Scotts. The placement was intended to be temporary, pending removal to a country foster home. However, Urban and his brother got along quite well with the Scotts and were not moved as planned. Urban was not upset when his brother left the city and kept in touch with him. Urban had few contacts with his mother while in care and had a very weak tie with her. He completed Grade 9 in June, 1946. He then quit school and obtained a steady job in a city furniture factory. The Scott's own son, Angus, who was Urban's age, complete Grade 9 at the same time, and also quit school. He obtained a job alongside Urban. The two were together for several years and were close friends. While going to school Urban had a part-time job in a cafe, delivered newspapers, and so forth. He did his chores faithfully. He also belonged to the St. John's Ambulance cadets. He was quite active in community life after leaving school, was popular with girls, and generally well-liked. He was not interested in returning to his mother. As a result, when he was discharged from care in May, 1948, he decided to remain with the Scotts. After Urban got married in 1950 he went to Vancouver Island where he now makes his home. He is a mechanic. The Scotts have heard from him often since 1950.

Wallace was thirteen when placed with the Scotts in February, 1946. His placement was intended to be temporary. He remained with them for seventeen months. He was of illegitimate birth and his father disappeared before he was born. His mother was committed to Essondale in 1935 after giving birth to his half-brother, who was also illegitimately born. She showed little concern for either child. She died in 1936 in Essondale. The two boys were cared for by maternal relatives who badly neglected them. They were committed to care in February, 1936 and placed in separate foster homes. Wallace had five foster-home and two Receiving-Home placements before being placed with the Scotts. He was removed from his second, fourth, and fifth foster homes because the foster parents involved made little attempt to try to understand that his little acts of mischief and minor outbreaks of temper were symptomatic of an underlying feeling of emotional insecurity. His behaviour was that which any child would show. Also, in his second foster home he lived with his half-brother, whom the foster mother favoured. Both were removed because they were not making suitable progress according to their worker. Wallace was moved from his first foster home because of the foster mother's health. He was moved from his third foster home because the foster parents moved away. He adjusted fairly well in these two foster homes. He had an I.Q. of 80 according to the Child Guidance Clinic in 1944. He failed Grade 6 in June, 1947, while working close to capacity. He had been with the Scotts sixteen months at the
time. His behaviour had been reasonably satisfactory, although he had been inclined to be lazy. He had a heart murmur, which he often used as an excuse to avoid doing chores. The Scotts set reasonable limits on his laziness. In July, 1947, Wallace tired of school, asked to be moved to a country foster home. Also, the Scotts, because of Mr. Scott's ill health, were thinking of moving to a smaller home. For these reasons he was moved to a country foster home in July, 1947. The move seemed unwise in the light of his past placement experience and the outcome of his future placements in care. He was unable to adjust to four country foster homes between July, 1947, and September, 1948, when he was sent to the Boys' Industrial School for theft. He was rebellious and pugnacious in the country foster homes. He has been on the fringe of the underworld since 1948. His brother was more successful in care. He found this irksome as he grew older. He also has fruitlessly searched for his father.

Unsuccessful

The four unsuccessful Long-term placements in Period 2 will now be briefly described in order of time of placement. As Table 10 indicates, three boys were removed for emotional and behaviour problems; the fourth ran away.

Thomas was thirteen when placed with the Scotts in October, 1942. He is a brother of Sidney, who was placed with the Scotts at the same time and who remained with them for forty-two months as a successful Long-term placement in Period 2. Sidney's placement has already been briefly described. Thomas remained with the Scotts only 16 months. The two brothers were to have remained with the Scotts temporarily only, pending a move to a country foster home. However, this plan was discarded as the boys seemed to be adjusting well to the foster home. They were placed together in their first foster home after committal to care with other siblings from a broken, neglectful home in April, 1940. They were moved to the Scotts two years later because their first foster parents were moving to a smaller home. Their behaviour had been only fair; they had been insubordinate and had run away several times. In the Scott foster home Thomas completed Grade 8 in June, 1943, at the age of 14. He had shown reasonably good behaviour up to this time but was gradually assuming leadership of the "gang" in the foster home. By December, 1943, he was leading some of the boys, including Sidney, on stealing expeditions in the neighborhood. He was moved to a country foster home for this reason in March, 1944. The Scotts were
sorry to see him go but found him too upsetting for the other boys. He did not seem to be upset at removal or at separation from his brother. He visited him at the Scotts afterwards. He got along fairly well in the country foster home. He left this home in April, 1947, when he went to work elsewhere. He was discharged to his sister in January, 1948. He later was jailed for car theft. Thomas and Sidney had little contact with their parents after 1940.

Warren was twelve when placed with the Scotts in October, 1944. He remained with them forty-four months and then ran away. He was committed to care in April, 1942. His stepfather was overseas and his mother was unable to control his lying and stealing. She also neglected him. He had influenced his younger brother to lie and steal. Warren remained in his first foster home for twenty-six months, during which time he ran away to his mother several times and became increasingly rebellious towards the foster parents. He was then placed in the Scott foster home and only allowed to visit his mother every three months at the CAS as a precautionary measure. He saw both parents together at such intervals when his stepfather returned from overseas in 1946. Until the autumn of 1947 Warren got along well with the Scotts and at school (he was in Grade 7 at the time and working to capacity). He had not run away. He had distinguished himself with the St. John's Ambulance cadets. However, during the latter part of 1947 he became increasingly upset after seeing his parents and became rebellious and antagonistic in the foster home, particularly towards Mr. Scott's authority. Scott's health was failing at the time. Warren began to steal from customers on his newspaper route. His behaviour gradually worsened and he finally ran away to his parents in June, 1948. He was discharged to them. His worker felt that he had outgrown the Scott foster home, although the Scotts were willing to have him returned to them. He was diagnosed as a psychopathic personality in 1949 after he was sent to the Boys' Industrial School for theft. He has been in and out of jail since. He has worked as a clerk and as a tailor but has been unreliable and dishonest.

Vincent was thirteen when placed with the Scotts in June, 1945, on committal to care. He remained with them for seventeen months. His adoptive mother had him committed on an incorrigibility charge. She seemingly had rejected him. His adoptive father had been over-protective towards him. Vincent's placement with the Scotts began well. However, his mother, who seemed to be both rejecting and guilty, soon began to criticize the foster home. Vincent began to follow suit. Although he was accepted by everyone in the foster home and encouraged by the Scotts to engage in community activities and develop a sense of responsibility towards work (he joined the
St. John's Ambulance cadets and obtained a newspaper route on encouragement from the Scotts; he also had certain routine chores to perform like the other boys), his behaviour began to worsen and also his school work. As his mother's interference continued, he became more uncooperative, untruthful, and destructive around the foster home. The Scotts asked that he be removed in November, 1946. Mrs. Scott was ill at the time. Vincent was in his second foster home for six months. He ran away several times to his parents and was discharged to them. He is self-supporting today. He visited Mrs. Scott recently after a six-year absence.

Terry was 13 when placed with the Scotts in December, 1948, on committal to care. He remained with them for 27 months. He was removed because of his behaviour. He was committed to care in December, 1948, as an incorrigible. He had been guilty of petty thefts in his rural community. His father had deserted and his mother was living common-law. He received a customary cheerful welcome when he arrived at the Scott foster home, was introduced to everyone, and made to feel "at home." He was acquainted with the rules and regulations of the foster home and assigned his chores, which included certain household tasks and work with the poultry and animals—there was no garden work at that time of the year. Terry immediately liked the large family atmosphere. However, within a few weeks, he began to steal money in the foster home. Mrs. Scott made him pay every cent back—he soon stopped this habit. His behaviour was generally good until August, 1950, both in the foster home and at school (he was promoted to Grade 6 in June, 1949, and Grade 7 in June, 1950). He had been getting lots of attention from Mrs. Scott (which he craved); he was in the St. John's Ambulance cadets, a Boy Scout troop, and had a newspaper route; he was active in sports; he went to camp each summer; he liked his chores. However, in August, 1950, his mother visited him for the first time since his committal to care. He became very unruly in the Scott foster home afterwards. He gradually began to abandon his various outside activities; he began to steal in the foster home again. After he had stolen money from Mrs. Scott's sister twice within a month, he was removed at the Scott's request in March, 1951. He remained in his second foster home for one month and ran away to his mother. He was then discharged to her. He was a trucker in Alberta when last heard of in 1952.
In Period 3 there was only one Long-term placement according to Table 1. It was successful and will be briefly described.

Kelvin was 18 when placed with the Scotts in December, 1949. He remained with them while in care for 26 months. He is a brother of Joseph, whose successful Medium placement in Period 3 has been briefly described. Kelvin was committed to care, along with Joseph and three other siblings, in February, 1939. They had been neglected by their feeble-minded, prostitute mother who was living common-law. Kelvin's father had died two years earlier. Kelvin was placed with a brother other than Joseph in his first foster home, in February, 1939, where he remained until August, 1943. The two brothers got along well in the foster home, and although they saw their mother occasionally they received little emotional satisfaction from seeing her--at the CAS. They were not upset after seeing her. Kelvin and his brother were removed from their first foster home in August, 1943, because their foster parents decided to separate. Kelvin had been promoted to Grade 7, at the age of 12, in June, 1943. He and his brother were sorry to leave their first foster home. They particularly liked their first foster mother and visited her long after their removal. Their second foster home placements were separate. Kelvin remained in his second foster home from August, 1943, until May, 1947. He was removed because his second foster parents could not understand or cope with some of his adolescent strivings—he was "too popular at school with girls and too smart generally," and so forth. His behaviour had been satisfactory, He was in Grade eleven at the age of 16. He was in his third foster home from May, 1947, until June, 1949. His third set of foster parents tried to dominate him completely, particularly the foster father, who was jealous of his intellectual superiority. In any case, Kelvin almost completed his Grade 12, in June, 1949, before asking to be moved. He had lost a month at school in February, 1949, because of an operation on his bladder. He had seen his mother occasionally since 1943 but was not particularly keen to see her. In any event, he went to live with his mother in June, 1949, in a semi-skid-road setting. He had previously left his third foster home without permission to visit her. He went logging within a week of returning to his mother. He returned to the city and to his mother in September, 1949, and started a drafting course with CAS assistance. He decided to leave his mother in December, 1949, and was placed with the Scotts. He got along very well in the Scott foster home. The Scotts were proud of him when he successfully completed his drafting course in May, 1950, and began work as a draftsman.
He was discharged from care in February, 1952, and remained with the Scotts until September, 1953, when he got married and settled down in the vicinity of the Scott foster home. He kept in touch with his siblings while in care and afterwards. He recommended the Scott foster home to his brother, Joseph, as mentioned earlier in connection with Medium placements.

In summary, 24 pre-adolescent and adolescent boys had long-term placements during Periods 1, 2, and 3. Nineteen placements were successful. The five unsuccessful placements involved adolescent boys—Philip in Period 1, and Thomas, Warren, Vincent, and Terry in Period 2.

It seems that Philip had too strong a tie with his mother to make a good adjustment to CAS foster home care; his situation worsened when he reached adolescence while in the Scott foster home; the Scotts were understandably unable to control him at this time. His running away to his mother after removal from the Scotts seems to have had positive results at the time. This fact might indicate that he was kept in care for too long a time.

Thomas also had difficulty in adjusting to CAS foster home care, although he had weak parental ties. He and his brother did not adjust well to their first foster home. They were to have gone to a country foster home after removal to the Scotts and a temporary stay with the latter. As this plan was not carried out, for reasons already mentioned, it seems that it should have been in the case of Thomas, who got along well in a country foster home after removal from the Scotts because of his behaviour.
Warren's tie with his parents and his adolescent stage of personality development proved to be too formidable an obstacle for the Scott's, after he had remained with them for four years, although he made a satisfactory adjustment in the foster home for three years. His tie with his parents might have been a neurotic one, in view of his history subsequent to his running away and removal from the Scotts.

Vincent's tie with his parents, in addition to his mother's interference with his placement and his adolescence, made his adjustment to the Scott foster home and his subsequent one rather poor. His discharge to his parents seemed wise at the time in view of later information on Vincent.

Terry, like Warren, adjusted satisfactorily to the Scott foster home, until his tie with a parent-figure began to assert itself. This tie, combined with his adolescence, made his placement with the Scotts untenable eventually. For the foregoing reasons, he was unable to adjust to his next foster home, on removal from the Scotts. His discharge to his mother seemed timely in view of later information on him. It seems that both Vincent and Terry were kept in care too long, as in the case of Philip.

Finally, it seems that the five aforementioned unsuccessful Long-term placements in the Scott foster home were largely due to factors external to the foster home itself.
Conclusions

This chapter has classified, sub-classified and described the 120 placements in the Scott foster home, in terms of reasons for, time of, and length of placement, during the 21-year period the foster home was an active CAS resource—from September, 1931, to September, 1952.

There has been little direct reference to theory in this chapter. However, the soundness of theory, with particular reference to the section in Chapter IX dealing with the problems of latency and adolescence, is illuminated by this chapter's study of the Scott's foster children, particularly the unsuccessful Medium and Long-term placements.

Poor emotional growth in the developmental phases causes emotional maladjustment, delinquent tendencies, behaviour problems and relationship difficulties. Many of the children placed with the Scotts, with particular reference to the Medium and Long-term placements, both successful and unsuccessful (because these placements were described in some detail), presented the foregoing problems of children. These problems are magnified in care because of increased emotional insecurity as a result of a lack of healthy, natural, family ties. The dangers of continual replacement of children, already badly damaged psychologically, is illustrated in this chapter. Such children's feelings of personal worth and ability to relate, already low, sink to an even lower ebb as they experience rejection with each new placement.
The Scotts handled 5 out of 6 children placed with them successfully according to material presented in this chapter. According to Table 1, 49 of the 120 placements in the foster home were almost evenly-divided between Medium and Long-term (which were 25 and 24 respectively; there were 3 unsuccessful Medium and 5 unsuccessful Long-term placements). The foregoing facts indicate that almost 5 out of 12 children placed with the Scotts, most of whom were adolescent boys, remained with them long enough to derive some benefit from the conditioning process of life in a good foster home. Only 8 of the 49 placements for more than two months were unsuccessful; all were adolescent boys. The 41 successful placements included 32 adolescents and 9 pre-adolescents.
CHAPTER IV

A STUDY OF THE FOSTER HOME FROM 1931 TO 1952

Reasons for Studying the Foster Home

The Vancouver CAS was incorporated in 1901. Vancouver was incorporated as a city only a decade-and-a-half earlier. There have been many changes in the CAS through the years, just as there have been changes in Vancouver and its surrounding municipalities. The greatest and most evident change in both has been very rapid growth.

Greater Vancouver's population has increased from a figure of approximately 1,000 in 1886, to nearly 500,000 today. The CAS had 29 children in institutional care in 1901. It had no foster homes then. At the end of 1955 it had 1,184 children in foster homes.

As greater Vancouver has increased its population during the last 69 years, the number of children requiring the CAS' care has also increased. Many of these children have required foster homes which offered warmth, love, understanding, and acceptance of themselves by a happy family group. Fortunately, despite the pressures of community growth, the CAS, since its foster home program began after the Child Welfare Survey of 1927, has found many good foster homes. The Scott foster home appears to be one of these, from its number

1 The Vancouver CAS Annual Report for 1955.
of successful placements, and the children, now adults, who return to visit or who correspond with the family. The foster home has developed despite the extreme pressures of CAS and community growth, a severe economic depression, a World War, and a very serious lag in boarding care rates. These rates have been adjusted belatedly, from time to time, to the cost-of-living index but have never kept pace with the latter, even on a minimum subsistence basis.

In this chapter the Scott foster home will be studied largely in the qualitative sense, in an attempt to explore the physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual elements in the foster home from 1931 to 1952.

A Brief Description of the Background of the Foster Parents Prior to 1931

Mr. Scott was born in Scotland in 1885. He was the second eldest of 8 children. He was of the Presbyterian faith and completed Grade 4. He was raised in the country, where his father, the head of a closely-knit family, was a tenant farmer and sheep herder. Mr. Scott came to Canada and Saskatchewan in 1907. He stayed with an aunt and worked as a warehouseman and teamster until 1910, when he came to Vancouver. He worked as a longshoreman here and went overseas as a Canadian soldier, in World War I. The remaining members of his family, including his parents, came to Vancouver from Scotland before 1914. Two of his brothers were killed on the
One brother later settled in Alberta as a rancher. Mr. Scott's parents have been dead for many years.

Mr. Scott was shell-shocked in World War I. He met Mrs. Scott in England during the war and corresponded with her after his return to Canada. He worked as a longshoreman here after his military discharge and lived with an aunt. In 1924 Mrs. Scott came to Vancouver from England and the Scotts were married the same year. Mr. Scott continued to work as a longshoreman.

Mrs. Scott was born in 1890 near London, England. She was the youngest of three children. She has an older brother and sister. She is of the Anglican faith and completed Grade 9. Her father was a bookkeeper and the head of a middle-class English family, which she remembers as a happy group. Her parents are now deceased. They would not permit her to work until World War I—her father had sufficient means and did not wish to offend a custom of the day which frowned on the employment of middle-class women. She worked in a government office during the war. Afterward she worked in a "high class" English restaurant until 1924, when she came to Canada. She was a lively, sociable person before her marriage.

Mrs. Scott had little household responsibility before coming to Canada and knew less about children. She was inclined to be a tomboy and was particularly close to her
brother, who was 14 months older than she. They still correspond (he is in England). Mrs. Scott's sister, came to Canada in the 1930's. She moved in with the Scotts in 1938. She was crippled and was not able to help much around the home. She remained with the Scotts until 1952, when she entered a home for the aged.

After the Scotts were married they lived with Mr. Scott's elderly aunt in Kitsilano until 1930. He had lived with her prior to his marriage as already mentioned. The Scotts moved to Grandview in 1930, because the aunt was continually nagging the Scott's own children, Jessie, born in 1927, and Angus, born in 1930. (Another daughter, born in 1925, died of appendicitis in 1926.) The children were "getting on the aunt's nerves." The Scotts thought that, in the best interests of the children and the aunt, a move should be made.

The Scotts decided to become foster parents in February, 1931. Jessie, then four, frequently ran away from her isolated, unfenced home and the Scotts feared she was becoming "selfish and independent." They thought that another child's companionship would correct her tendency to run away. They thought they had been spoiling her because of her sister's early death. Also, Mrs. Scott wanted another child or two as company for herself. She still felt very keenly about her other daughter's death.

When the Scotts made their original application for
foster children to the CAS in February, 1931, they stated a preference for one or two children of either sex and of school age. They also indicated that they planned to move back to Kitsilano in the autumn of 1931. They expected to move into their former home, as Mr. Scott's aunt had died. As this home was larger than the Grandview one, the Scotts felt they could accommodate at least four CAS children in Kitsilano if necessary.

In Grandview the Scotts were not socially active, but "homebodies." Their young children could not be left alone. They were not active churchgoers but felt that all children should receive some religious training, and said they would send any foster children to church or Sunday school.

The general impressions of the worker who made the original foster home study, in the case of the Scotts in February, 1931, were as follows: The Scotts had an "average type" of home. They managed nicely on a $100 monthly income, $20 of which was spent on rent. It afforded no luxuries. The Scotts were described as a couple "who would give a child good training and be kind to it."

Character references included former neighbours in Kitsilano, the family doctor, a minister, and a storekeeper. All highly recommended the Scotts as prospective foster parents. They stated that the Scotts had good living habits, high morals, devotion for their children, community respect,
and an ability to manage on a limited income during a general economic depression.

The Scotts were approved as foster parents in April, 1931. They accepted their first foster child in September, 1931, after they had returned to Kitsilano. The child was Ann, 16, listed as a successful Medium placement in Period 1.

A Study of the Scotts as Foster Parents

Lorene Stubbins says that there are some qualities in foster parents which are essential if the placement of a child in a foster home is to be a mutually-satisfying experience. These qualities are: (a) emotional maturity; (b) fondness for children and the ability to accept a child and his background as it is; (c) flexibility; (d) an ability to work with the agency.

The following, more intimate facts about Mr. and Mrs. Scott should shed some light on their qualities as foster parents. These facts have been learned from a study of agency files and from interviews with Mrs. Scott.

Mr. Scott was an intelligent, robust man of above-average height. He was physically strong through most of his life and had a handsome, Celtic appearance. He worked steadily as a longshoreman from 1910 to 1946, except during World War I. He retired in 1946, at 61, because of his health. He had, at that time, high blood pressure, a weak

1 Stubbins, Lorene, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, 1951, p. 2.
heart, and varicose veins. He had also been bothered by deformed feet, which were caused by wearing out-sized shoes when he was a boy. He received the war veterans' allowance from 1946 until his death recently at the age of 70.

Mr. Scott was not socially gregarious and did not drink. He was an even-tempered man who never "carried a grudge." He had few interests outside his job, home, family and relatives, and he was not a strong churchgoer. He preferred to spend his leisure time working around the house, garden, animals and poultry, a boyhood interest. He was interested in and liked children, and liked to have them share his leisure-time pursuits. He would give any child every encouragement and help to learn about them. He was described by one CAS worker as a "clean-cut, kindly, friendly man who is very fond of children." Mrs. Scott described him as a man who "just loved kids and enjoyed being a foster father."

Mr. Scott's relatives in Vancouver took a friendly interest in the Scott and foster children. They often took the foster family on outings and maintained a strong personal relationship with the Scotts at all times.

Mrs. Scott is a woman of keen intelligence. She is rather wiry in build and of average height. She has a ruddy complexion and has always enjoyed good health. She has a cheerful and alert appearance. She has a somewhat blunt manner and is friendly in a direct way. She has a dry, merry
sense of humour.

Mrs. Scott is outgoing, unlike her husband. She is more gregarious than he was. She had numerous neighbour-
hood friends during Periods 1, 2, and 3. Like her husband, she has not been particularly a churchgoer. She also is a non-drinker. She does smoke at times. She can be "sharp-
tongued" but, like her husband, she never "carried a grudge."

In the main, Mrs. Scott's interests have been in her family—her husband, sister, own and foster children. She and her husband did not "go out" often after becoming foster parents—they sometimes went to an occasional show, or visited friends and relatives. However, they were always in attendance when their foster or own children were performing in some community activity—be it a sports contest, cadet display, school play, or the like. Also, Mrs. Scott enjoyed taking all the children to the beach in the summertime. She would "go along" with neighbours and their children—everyone would have "a lot of fun." Mr. Scott did not go to the beach very often. He preferred to stay at home and "putter about."

The Scotts never took a "real holiday" after 1931. Mrs. Scott left the lower mainland area for the first time in 17 years when, in 1948, she and Jessie spent a week-end in Seattle. There have been no holiday trips since, for either Mr. or Mrs. Scott.

According to Mrs. Scott, her home was one in which foster children had a feeling of belonging regardless of
background. The home was governed by a set of rules: Chores were compulsory and in return privileges were extended. The foster children, as individuals, were treated like the Scott children in terms of discipline and affection. The Scotts believed that all children needed discipline and affection in judicious quantities; that they needed a sense of security which could only come from "lots of love and a firm hand at the same time—and flexible according to the child involved."

The Scotts believed that the most important quality of foster parents is to be able to "mix with all the children and do things with them." They "did everything" with their foster children. On one occasion, Mrs. Scott even played football with "her children" when they needed an extra player. The Scotts felt that foster children appreciate the interest of foster parents in them, and that they will discuss their problems more openly as a result.

The Scotts were able to empathize with their foster children. They understood what it meant for a foster child to be in a home other than his own. They could "visualize what it would have been like" if Jessie and Angus had been in a foster home. The Scotts were aware of the existence of a foster child's parents or relatives and consequent ties. They were also aware of Jessie's and Angus' situation as "own" children in a foster home. This awareness, understanding, and ability to empathize, in connection with their role of
foster parents, "only developed over the years." The Scotts, particularly Mrs. Scott, seemed to possess considerable intuitive ability regarding the handling of children. With their intuition, and increasing experience as foster parents, plus support from CAS workers, the Scotts developed in their role. Thus, they were able to gradually improve as foster parents as the years went by. They learned to understand, accept, love, care for and, when the time came, relinquish their foster children one by one. For example, they quickly learned that when a child was placed with them that he was facing a new experience and was, perhaps, fearful of what "lay ahead." In order to allay his fears, Mrs. Scott would give him a "warm" hug and something to eat when he first entered the home—which might be at any hour. She and Mr. Scott would reassure him that he was to feel "at home." They would introduce him to others in the home as a "member of the family" with equal status. Sometimes a boy would only stay overnight or for a few days. However, he would always receive the same welcome. He would be introduced to the rules of the foster home, which applied to all the children, almost immediately, so that he would know "where he stood and what was expected of him." If a boy remained for more than a week or two, the Scotts always told him that they would be happy if he wished to call them "mother and dad"—he usually did. Mrs. Scott made it a practice to kiss the younger children when they retired at night. Sometimes she kissed the
older ones if she intuitively felt that it was wanted and needed. The Scotts, particularly Mrs. Scott, also made it a practice to "size up" a boy unobtrusively—to help them understand him and to help meet his basic needs. The Scotts, in addition to providing "all" their children with good physical care, felt that the younger should be segregated from the older because of differences in interests as well as in age. They found it "heartbreaking," usually, when a boy left them after a lengthy stay, whether he was prematurely removed or not. They had watched him grow and develop as an individual by giving him more and more independence mixed with guidance, discipline, and love—and it was difficult to see the product of some of their labour, with whom they had developed an understandable emotional attachment, leave the foster home, therefore. They told every boy on leaving—for whatever reason—that he was always welcome to "drop in," in the future. They always concealed their "feeling of loss" when a child left in order "not to upset him." Many former foster children remembered the Scott's parting invitation to return—the "good ones and the not-so-good ones" (the Scotts felt that "no boy was really bad"). They have "dropped in" and have kept in touch with the Scotts through the years. When Mr. Scott died last autumn, many former foster children attended his funeral.

The Scotts always had a good working relationship with the CAS, the foster children's own parents and parent-surrogates, when circumstances permitted, and the community.
The Scotts arranged, for instance, early in Period 1 for one worker to supervise all the foster children placed with them as more mutually satisfying and efficient. Mrs. Scott reports that once in a while a young worker would irk her by proffering unasked for advice concerning child care. Mrs. Scott would "clearly" point out to the worker involved that such advice was unnecessary—sometimes to the chagrin of the worker. This sort of thing happened after Mrs. Scott became established in her role as a foster mother. The Scotts never refused to take a CAS child if they could "squeeze him in somewhere," which is further evidence of their true feeling of identification with the agency. They also realized the importance of a foster child's background and emotional ties. On many occasions, the parents or relatives of the Scott foster children telephoned or visited the foster home, with CAS permission and the fullest cooperation of the Scotts. Also, which is very important from the standpoint of the foster children's feelings about themselves, the Scotts were always "part" of their Kitsilano and Burnaby communities because of their likeability and continued and active interest in the activities of their own and foster children. It is of interest to note that the Scott's interest in and concern for the welfare of their children was so great that, particularly in Period 1, because of low CAS board rates they "dug into their own pockets" to provide adequate physical care in the foster home. This was done without bitterness or unreasonable
complaint to the CAS or others.

The Scott's marriage seems to have been a stable one and ideal in many ways—a pre-requisite for foster parenthood. There is no evidence of marked disagreement ever occurring between them. They did not disagree openly before the foster children. They lived together as a "true husband and wife team," with a common interest in their own and foster children and a happy family life. Each had definite areas of responsibility in the upbringing of the children. Mr. Scott supervised compulsory and necessary chores done by his own and foster children in connection with the garden, poultry, animals, and household repairs. He taught the boys how to "manage" the garden, care for the poultry and animals, and handle tools. Also, he told the younger children bedtime stories if he happened to be at home and not away working. He seems to have been a good masculine example for the children to follow. Mrs. Scott handled "the finances." She was responsible for "running" the foster home and ensuring that her own and the foster children did compulsory and necessary household chores, according to the rule of the foster home, which also prescribed the chores to be performed under Mr. Scott's supervision. Mrs. Scott was also primarily responsible for the physical care, school work, outside employment, and social activities of all the children, as well as relationships with the CAS and the foster children's parents and relatives, or parent-surrogates.
Mr. and Mrs. Scott had equal responsibilities in regard to discipline and affection. Discipline was administered for a violation of the rules or other misbehaviour. It usually resulted in the withdrawal of privileges. Up to 1940, the strap was used for children, usually up to ten. The Scotts made it a policy from the very beginning of their career as foster parents not to interfere if one or the other disciplined a child—foster or own. Also, if a child was disciplined at school, he was not disciplined when he returned home. A child was never disciplined for running away. The Scotts felt badly when running away occurred. They sometimes felt that they might have been at fault, although they were always aware that background emotional ties could be largely responsible. They were extremely kind to returning runaways and patiently tried to elicit their reasons for "taking off."

In the matter of sex education, Mr. and Mrs. Scott always gave their own and foster children carefully-worded answers when sex questions were raised, hoping to advise and guide a child rather than to frighten him. Generally, the older children "educated" the younger in the foster home.

The Scotts applied many principles of family living handed down to them by their own parents. They tried to put these principles—based on a healthy mixture of affection and discipline—into practical use as foster parents. These principles provided the basis for the atmosphere of the foster home, the rules, the discipline administered, and to a
considerable extent the attitudes of the Scotts towards their own and foster children. The Scotts were able to manage financial difficulty, a large number of placements over many years, and many difficult foster children. Only their advancing age and, particularly, the health of Mr. Scott, caused them to retire after 21 years as foster parents.

The Scotts seemed to have had the basic underlying qualities for foster parents mentioned by Lorene Stubbins and referred to earlier in this section.

**Life in the Foster Home**

The information in this section has been obtained in a recent, friendly interview with Mrs. Scott and from a study of agency files. Mrs. Scott is now living alone in the small home to which the Scotts moved in July, 1950.

In Period 1, the Scotts lived in an old, two-storey wooden house, surrounded by a small, fenced lot, as mentioned earlier. The foster home was not pretentious in appearance but was always in a fair state of repair. It was typical of other homes in its working-class neighbourhood. There was a coal and wood shed at the rear of the house, as well as a small garden, chicken house, and rabbit pens. The rooms of the house were simply but adequately furnished. The living room was used as a bedroom by Mr. and Mrs. Scott. The dining room was used as a combination living and dining room. The kitchen was fairly large. There were two small bedrooms off the dining room, and three medium-sized bedrooms and a
bathroom upstairs. Each child had a single bed or bunk. There were usually one or two smaller children sleeping downstairs in each of the small bedrooms. There were one or two older children sleeping in each bedroom upstairs. Angus shared a room downstairs with a foster brother. Jessie had a room upstairs, which she shared with her aunt after 1938.

The house had an unfinished attic and no basement. It was adequately heated and had the usual household conveniences of the time. It was reasonably clean. It was close to all community facilities. The Scotts kept a dog, cat, and canaries, in addition to chickens and rabbits, as household pets. The chickens and rabbits, as well as the garden, "provided food for the table."

According to Mrs. Scott, the rules (already mentioned) "made the foster home tick." They were centered on the compulsory performance of chores and conformance to the household routine, certain leisure time hours, and movements. Any violation of the rules was a breach of discipline and could result in a child being strapped (until 1940) and/or suffering the loss of privileges—"with respect to "going out," and/or receiving spending money, and/or "bringing friends over." The rules and regulations applied to Angus (when older) and Jessie as well as the foster children, as mentioned earlier.

The Scott and foster children had certain chores to perform. They had to make their own beds and clean out
their rooms daily. They had to help with the dishes. They had to care for the chickens and rabbits. They had to tend the garden (each child had his own "patch"). They chopped and brought in wood. They did some repair work around the house, such as carpentry and painting. They ran errands and sold surplus eggs from the chicken flock. Each child did alternate chores weekly, where possible; i.e., a child (or perhaps two) would help with the dishes one week and work outside the next. The younger children usually worked together. Every Saturday morning the entire house was cleaned. Every child participated, if possible. A child could not have a leisure time until his chores were finished, and he had to inform the Scotts of his whereabouts at all times.

The Scotts encouraged the children to obtain casual or steady employment, depending on their school status. Employment was elusive in the 1930's. However, "the boys" often found work delivering for neighborhood stores, cutting lawns; delivering newspapers and handbills, selling magazines, and so forth. The Scotts and the CAS sometimes collaborated to obtain such employment for the foster children. Mr. Scott sometimes helped an older boy (usually one who had left school) to obtain work on the waterfront. The Scotts were most anxious that the foster children learn to appreciate the value of money by having to work for it. If a boy had no spending money, because work was not available, he received 10 cents weekly. He was encouraged to start a bank account,
if possible.

The younger children (usually those under 12) generally were in bed by 9 p.m., the older ones by 10 p.m. In accordance with the rules, breakfast was at no set hour, and usually extended from 6.30 to 9 a.m. The younger children usually ate late to allow them extra sleep. Dinner and supper were at regular hours and a snack, consisting of bread and cocoa was served to everyone before retiring. The food served in the home was plain but wholesome. There was always enough to eat—partly because the Scotts spent some of their own funds on food because of low CAS board rates.

The children usually had adequate clothing. Mrs. Scott would periodically go downtown with her CAS clothing vouchers. She would take the children with her and purchase needed clothing.

Everyone had a bath at least once weekly. The bathroom line-up was "quite long" on Saturday nights.

The Scotts were quite interested in the welfare of all the children with regard to schooling, working, and playing. Mrs. Scott kept in close touch with school teachers and helped her children with their homework. She encouraged them to join cub and scout groups or army cadets, and to participate in extra-curricular school and other community activities. The Scotts were quick to show their approval for accomplishment, and encouragement during difficulty. Mr. or Mrs. Scott, or both, would attend any performance in which one of their own or foster children was taking part—such as a school play,
for instance. All the children were free to go to church or Sunday school. If they did not do so, they would be given a chore to do.

Every child had a birthday cake on his birthday. At Christmas every child received a gift from the Scotts. "No stone was left unturned" to make this day a memorable one "for the boys." Turkey, "with all the trimmings" was served, and so forth.

All the children were allowed to bring their friends to the foster home, unless they were being disciplined. Sometimes the friends stayed for a meal. Many parties and dances were held on the week-ends. Mrs. Scott taught the older boys how to dance and encouraged them to "bring their girl friends over." The younger children would be allowed "to watch" the festivities until 9 p.m. The parties usually ended about 10 p.m. Mr. Scott would be more of an onlooker than a participant at these parties—he could not dance. However, he usually enjoyed "the fun." During the summer, Mrs. Scott would take the "gang" down to Kitsilano beach at every opportunity. Sometimes the entire day would be spent there. She would often be accompanied by neighbourhood friends with their children. Sometimes, Mr. Scott's relatives would take "everyone" for a car ride on Sunday afternoon. Mr. Scott would not always take part in these outings. He seemed to be happier "puttering around the house." Nevertheless he never begrudged these recreational activities of Mrs. Scott and the
children. The children also went to CAS camp during the summer or went on week-end camping trips by themselves—if they were older.

When a CAS worker visited the home, it was usually a pleasant visit. The Scotts had no objections to a boy talking to his worker alone. The Worker would usually talk to Mrs. Scott, or both Mr. and Mrs. Scott, first, and with the child, in his room or outside later. Sometimes the child, the Scotts, and the worker talked together.

As already mentioned, the Scotts had no objection to a foster child phoning or visiting his parents or relatives or having them visit him in the foster home, as long as the CAS approved. On many occasions relatives visited foster children in the Scott home. For example, the relatives of Orville, a successful Long-term placement in Period 1, visited the Scotts several times. The Scotts enjoyed talking over his problems with them.

According to the rules, the younger children (usually under 10) were "confined to the block" when not at school, doing casual work, participating in some community activity, or on an outing with the Scotts or their own parents or relatives. Older children were allowed more freedom of movement. All children had to be "in" by a certain hour. The younger ones had to be in by 8 p.m., the older ones later. No one stayed out after 10 p.m. without special permission from Mr. or Mrs. Scott.
In the matter of discipline, during Period 1, a boy could be strapped for lying, stealing, wilful disobedience and destruction, fighting, and extreme "cheekiness." He could lose privileges for "coming in late" or failure to perform chores. Usually, if a boy was not strapped, he was "kept in" and/or his weekly allowance, which he usually spent at a movie, was withheld until later. Sometimes he was both strapped and kept in; sometimes he also had his allowance withheld. If a boy was kept in, he was usually confined to the house or yard. He was "canned in," according to Mrs. Scott. He might be "canned in" every evening for a week. When he was not allowed to attend a movie, he found "it went hard." Mrs. Scott stated that such times a boy learned "the hard way, by watching the others troop off to the show—the poor little peccadillo." There were times when Mrs. Scott kept all the boys in until an offender admitted his guilt—for some misdeed. She thought it was "hard on everyone" but usually effective.

In extreme circumstances, the Scotts loaned money to foster children and were always repaid—both in money and gratitude.

The Scotts were quite popular in Kitsilano—the foster children were widely accepted there, which must have increased their feelings of personal worth. The Scotts neighbours were sorry to see them move, but they did move to Burnaby in February, 1939, largely for financial reasons. The Scotts and the foster and own children were also sorry to
leave Kitsilano. However, the Scotts maintained contact with their old friends in Kitsilano afterwards.

In Period 2 the foster home in Burnaby was a little larger physically, than that in Kitsilano. It was surrounded by an acre of land, two-thirds of which was covered by a large garden, and an enclosure for chickens, ducks, geese, rabbits, and goats. The acreage was partly fenced. Although, somewhat isolated, the foster home was within easy walking distance of community facilities.

The house was a two-storey wooden structure. There were four large bedrooms upstairs and two smaller ones downstairs. Living arrangements were similar to those in Kitsilano. The Scotts and the younger children slept downstairs, the older children upstairs. Each boy had a bed. Sometimes bunks were used. There were never more than three persons in one room. Angus shared a room with a foster brother or two upstairs through most of Period 2. Jessie and her aunt shared a room upstairs. The house had the usual conveniences and was physically comfortable and reasonably clean. It had an unfinished attic and a basement containing a small workshop. At times there were 13 people living in the house during Period 2, including 7 CAS foster children. The household pets, including a dog, cat, and canaries, were brought to Burnaby, and, as in Kitsilano, were a source of enjoyment and companionship for everyone.

The high standard of physical care and rules of
Period 1 continued in Period 2. Chores were similar but more varied. Discipline was altered in 1940 when the strap was discarded. Mrs. Scott had considered discarding the strap earlier as she had found it a rather futile device for handling boys, especially emotionally-disturbed ones. She was convinced of this when, in 1940, her strapping of Angus for misbehaviour brought no positive results. Mr. Scott agreed to this move as did the CAS worker at the time.

The Scotts increased their stock of poultry and animals early in Period 2. This measure increased their supply of food, which was important because of general food rationing in World War II. Their goat herd was started rather accidentally and not according to plan. In 1940 one of the "boys" brought a "lost" goat home; Mrs. Scott "nearly had a fit." However, when the owner could not be found, Mr. Scott decided to keep the animal. The foster child in question, was very pleased. Mr. Scott bought a mate for the goat and the herd was started. Mrs. Scott, while chiefly active with household activities, did spend some time with the poultry, garden, and animals, particularly in Period 2 as Mr. Scott's health began to fail. One of her chief tasks was milking the goats—few of the foster children cared for the task, nor did Jessie and Angus.

During Period 2, spending money was comparatively easy to learn, World War II was in progress; times were prosperous. Newspaper routes and other part-time jobs were
easy to obtain, as were steady summertime and year-round jobs, for the older boys, in nearby mills, and the like. If an older foster child stayed with the Scotts during Period 2, for more than a few months, he usually earned sufficient money through his own efforts to buy a bicycle. On the other hand, if a child was without funds he was given a weekly allowance of 25 cents (an increase of 15 cents over Period 1). This was withheld for a disciplining breach as in Period 1. Sometimes the Scotts loaned money to a boy in extreme circumstances, as in Period 1.

Relationships between the Scotts, CAS, and the foster children's own parents, or parent-surrogates, were similar to those in Period 1.

There was a strong community feeling in Burnaby during Period 2. The community was a new one, active, and provided many activities for the Scott and foster children. Angus joined the St. John's Ambulance cadets in the early 1940's and encouraged a large number of his foster brothers to follow suit. Many of the boys belonged to the Junior Forest Wardens and military cadet groups at school and elsewhere.

Life within the foster home was similar but more hectic than it was in Period 1. The children had similar privileges, leisure-time and recreational opportunities. They went to the beach or camp in the summer. Mrs. Scott recalls taking the children back to Kitsilano on "Sunday excursions." The Scotts continued to show an active interest in all the
activities of their children and became known and well-liked in the neighborhood which was of immense importance to the foster children's feeling of personal worth and status. Mr. Scott's relatives showed a continuing interest in the foster family. Week-end parties continued to take place. By 1943, Jessie was teaching some of the foster children how to dance. She taught Angus in 1945. During the war years a number of the Scott foster children joined the forces. They often visited the foster home while on leave. Mr. Scott obtained work for some of them, on the docks, occasionally, after they had exhausted their funds and wanted temporary work. In the main, however, there was a heavy turnover of children in Period 2 as Chapter III indicates. Many emergency placements were made. The pressures of wartime had "broken" many families in the Vancouver area and increased the need for more CAS foster homes. There were never enough. The Scotts, as in Period 1, had an average of six CAS foster children living with them. Some of them were quite disturbed and all required considerable patience and care. Also, Jessie and Angus reached adolescence in Period 2 and experienced the usual "struggles" of this developmental period. As stated in Chapter III, an average of nine children per year were placed with the Scotts in Period 2. Toward the last, the pressures occasioned by handling so many children in this Period, as well as the advancing ages of the foster parents, Mr. Scott's failing health, and the effect of the presence of so many "newcomers"
on the emotional equilibrium of the foster family, took a "toll" of Mr. and Mrs. Scott. As a partial result of the foregoing factors, the Scotts, after 1948, went into "semi-retirement" as foster parents.

In Period 3 life in the Scott foster home was comparatively quiet. Few placements were made after February, 1949, as Chapter III indicates. Mr. Scott, who had been retired for three years and who was in poor health, just "puttered about the house." Jessie was married in 1950 and moved away from her parents. The Scotts moved to a smaller home, in Burnaby, after her marriage, after selling their poultry and animals. The rules and system of discipline of earlier years prevailed in Period 3 but the range of "outside" chores was greatly reduced after the foster parents moved in 1950. Angus joined the Army in 1951, and the Scott foster home was closed in September, 1952. The Scotts felt that they could no longer serve the CAS because of Mr. Scott's health.

Mrs. Scott, in looking back over her years as a foster mother said, in the aforementioned interview, that being a foster mother "was wonderful and that she enjoyed every minute of it." She went on to say that "it was a lot of hard work, tears and heartbreak, but it was mostly fun--I'd do it all over again."
Interviews with Former Foster Children

This section will describe interviews with four former Scott foster children relative to life in the foster home as seen by them. Two lived with the Scotts in Period 1, one in Period 2, and one in Period 3. The interviews will be described in the order of the Period in which these foster children were placed with the Scotts. All interviews were pleasant.

Period 1:

Kilby was a successful Long-term placement in Period 1 and one of the first foster children placed with the Scotts. He was eight when placed with them in 1932. Kilby, through the greater part of his stay with the Scotts, shared the foster home with several older boys from the CAS.

According to Kilby, Mr. Scott was a firm but kindly man. He generally administered discipline fairly and "knew how to use the strap." Kilby felt that Mr. Scott usually "abided by the judgment of Mrs. Scott concerning disciplinary and household matters and that Mr. Scott was "the boss outside." Kilby said that Mr. Scott brought a pair of rabbits to the foster home in 1932. Soon after he taught Kilby how to breed, raise, and kill rabbits and chickens to "provide food for the table and to enable him to make a little money." Mr. Scott also taught Kilby "something" about gardening and how to do repair work "around the house." Kilby liked Mr. Scott.

Kilby thought that Mrs. Scott was "too strict." If he was a few minutes late, he was "kept in," sometimes for a week. Sometimes his weekly allowance was withheld. Strapping made him resentful. He was sometimes strapped for "cheekiness" when honestly denying an offence. However, he admitted that he was usually strapped for a good reason—he was always rebellious and wanting to argue and fight. He stated that he was "either spoiled or abused" in earlier foster homes and found the "strict though usually fair"
Scott discipline "hard to take at times." He thought that Mrs. Scott could have given him more love and affection because he always responded positively when she was kind to him. Also, according to Kilby, if the Scotts could not "connect" a particular offence with a particular boy "everyone" was "kept in until the guy was found out." Kilby thought this unfair. He was not punished for running away—he did so twice, for a day or so each time, to the outskirts of the city. He was encouraged to run away each time by Philip, an older CAS boy with the Scotts at the time (Philip was the unsuccessful Long-term placement in Period 1).

Kilby said that he was removed from the Scotts in July, 1937, "for being ornery." He mentioned being brutally strapped in his next foster home and asking to be returned to the Scotts in October, 1937 (as stated in Chapter III). He also mentioned his removal from the Scotts a second time, in May, 1938. He said that he struck Mrs. Scott "in a fit of temper because she annoyed him." Mr. Scott was present and tried to intercede. Mr. Scott and Kilby had a fight. Kilby was removed shortly afterwards. Kilby was upset after each move but felt that they were necessary.

Kilby stated that, despite Mrs. Scott's being "too strict" at times, it was only through her efforts that he successfully completed Grade 4 in 1935. She consulted his teacher when he was "bogged down" and arranged that he do extra homework. She helped him with his studies in the evenings. He ranked second in his Grade 4 graduating class. He generally did fairly well at school while with the Scotts, because Mrs. Scott always "kept after him." He thought she was the "main cog" in the foster home, and that the Scott marriage relationship was stable.

Kilby liked and got along well with Angus and Jessie. (Angus was two and Jessie five in 1932.) He said they were not favoured over the CAS boys in the foster home, with whom he usually got along satisfactorily. He was younger than they were, usually, and did not have "too much to do with them." He added that Angus and Jessie did not resent the foster children in their home.

Kilby had no complaints about his physical care in the Scott foster home. He always had enough to eat and wear. The house was comfortable. He had a bed and sometimes a room to himself. Mrs. Scott kissed him at bedtime, which he "didn't mind." He got sufficient sleep and enjoyed good health with the Scotts. He thought the daily routine of life in the foster home was satisfactory.

Kilby made no complaints about CAS workers who visited the Scott foster home during his placement there. He
said they "didn't come around very often." When they did, they usually talked to Mrs. Scott, or to both Mr. and Mrs. Scott first, and to him later—alone in his room or "outside the house." Sometimes a worker would talk to Kilby and one or both foster parents together. Whatever the visiting arrangements were, they were satisfactory as far as Kilby and the Scotts were concerned—according to Kilby.

Kilby went to Sunday school while with the Scotts— for the "value he got out of it" and, particularly, until he was ten, because going to Sunday school gave him an opportunity to "get off the block or out of the backyard." Kilby said he was "restricted" to these areas until he was ten.

Kilby said that he sold eggs for the Scotts. He sold them throughout the neighborhood. They were surplus eggs "from the chickens." While he did not receive remuneration for this work, he enjoyed it. He said that this task was "one of his chores." Kilby sold rabbits he himself had bred "in the backyard" with Mr. Scott's help. He was allowed to keep the proceeds for spending money. He obtained certain part-time jobs with Mrs. Scott's help, such as cutting lawns, delivering groceries, and so forth. He kept his earnings and had a small bank account "some of the time." When he was "broke," he received 10 cents weekly from Mrs. Scott unless he was being disciplined for something "pretty serious." He would get it later in any case. He usually went to a weekly movie when he was "behaving" himself. Otherwise he was "kept in." He said "it wasn't easy" sometimes, watching the other kids go off to the show—"I just had to learn things the tough way, I guess."

Kilby's chores, in addition to selling eggs, included keeping his room tidy, helping with the dishes, carrying in wood, assisting in the weekly housecleaning, and caring for the chickens and rabbits—on a rotation basis with the other children.

Kilby found his summers with the Scotts very enjoyable, particularly on week-ends, when Mrs. Scott and "the whole gang" in the foster home went with neighbours and their children to Kitsilano beach for an entire day. He also joined a Cub troop in the neighbourhood. Later, he belonged to a Scout troop for a short while. He still remembers playing a pleasant game of checkers or cards with Mr. and Mrs. Scott and "the others." He does not remember seeing Mr. and Mrs. Scott quarrelling. He said that sometimes they would have a disagreement and would "go off to their room to settle it."
Kilby felt that the Scott foster home and the last one he lived in prior to joining the Army, in 1942, were the best of the 13 foster homes in which he was placed during 17 years of care. He said that he usually knew where he stood in these two foster homes. He has kept in touch with the Scotts (as mentioned in Chapter III) and attended Mr. Scott's funeral.

Kilby became friendly with Norbert, (another successful Long-term placement in Period 1). Norbert and Kilby lived with the Scotts at the same time and formed a friendship that remains strong today. They joined the Army together, met overseas by arrangement, and have been in touch with one another since discharge from the Army. They corresponded with the Scotts while overseas.

Kilby introduced his wife and children during the interview, which took place in his modest home. The family group seemed to be a very happy one. Kilby's wife was an interested and friendly listener throughout the interview and spoke well of the Scotts, whom she has met.

Ben was a successful placement in 1938 at the age of 18. He remained eight months. He shared the Scott foster home with Michael, Nicholas, Norbert, Morris, Louis, and Kilby. All were Long-term placements. All the foster children except Louis and Kilby were "older boys"—that is, 15 years or older. The older boys had left school and were working, full or part-time, or were looking for work. Jessie was 11 and Angus 8 in 1938.

Ben said that Mr. Scott treated the foster children kindly. He would yell at the older children occasionally—when they made too much noise while engaged in tomfoolery. He said that Mr. Scott, a "quiet man," who would talk with the "boys," particularly the younger ones. However, he was "interested" in the older boys as well, and helped some of them find work on the waterfront. He helped Ben get a job as a longshoreman for a short time.

According to Ben, Mr. Scott had little social life—one of the reasons being that he was always tired at night after a hard day of work. Sometimes, also, Mr. Scott had to work at night, on short notice, after being idle all day. Because times were "difficult," Mr. Scott "jumped" at any opportunity to "get in his week's work" at staggered and irregular working hours. Ben added that Mr. Scott did not
get "too much sleep some weeks." According to Ben, Mr. Scott had "trouble" with his legs and feet in 1938, and would soak them in hot water for a "long time" after returning from work. Mr. Scott was not concerned that all the children have proper footwear because of his unfortunate experience with poorly-fitting shoes as a boy.

Ben said that he liked and had considerable respect for Mr. Scott. Mrs. Scott, according to Ben, was a "perfect complement" to Mr. Scott. He said that "although their personalities were different" they seemed to have the same goals in life—a happy marriage and a happy home life.

Ben thought that Mrs. Scott had the "ruling hand" in the foster home, although he always felt that Mr. Scott had the "final say" in an emergency or crisis. He added, however, that Mrs. Scott could often "swing" Mr. Scott to her way of thinking. Ben has fond memories of Mrs. Scott. He said that although she could not take the "real" place of a mother, she "came darned close to it;" and while she did not "pull punches with her tongue," she was not "sulky after things went wrong." He said she disciplined summarily after an offence. She did not maintain ill-feeling against the offender afterwards. Ben thought that generally she was the "main force" in the foster home and that both Mr. and Mrs. Scott "played fair and square with everyone."

Ben recalled how Mrs. Scott took a deep interest in his leisure-time activities. He remembers how she would go to much trouble to iron a shirt for him before a date (as she did for the other older boys who had dates). She would encourage Ben and "the others" to bring their girl friends to the foster home on week-ends for an evening of dancing. She taught him and the other boys to dance. She danced with them often. She "helped along" Michael in his friendship with a daughter of a friend of the Scotts. Michael later married this girl. Ben thought that Mrs. Scott was a "bit of a gay blade" in her youth because of her vigour and enthusiasm during the week-end dances. Sometimes she would get "a bit rambunctious" and neglect her housework to dance with "the boys." At such times Mr. Scott would "let her know about this" and she would "ease up." Ben observed that the Scotts "got along swell." He said that they always argued their differences quietly and "away from us."

In the matter of discipline, the Scotts would "meet a boy half-way; and so long as he played ball he got along allright," according to Ben. Angus and Jessie were disciplined "before the others," if necessary. He thought that Kilby (whose interview precedes this one) was "fairly treated." He likes Kilby and hears from him occasionally. Ben said that
the older boys were "pretty well self-sustaining," as far as discipline and obeying the rules were concerned. They usually settled their problems amongst themselves, and the Scotts gave them "lots of leeway" in this respect. Ben "didn't mind" doing his chores—when he was not working. He rotated weekly according to the Scott system. He said that he saw no favouritism with regard to the foster and Scott children in connection with discipline and affection. He thought that this was "amazing," when he considered other CAS foster homes he had lived in. He also indicated that he knew "where he stood" with the Scotts.

Ben stated that he did not have "much to do" with Angus and Jessie, who were much younger than he. He liked them and regarded them as "the boss's kids and as a younger brother and sister." However, as he looks back, he does not know why he had a "boss's kids feeling," because there was no distinction made between the Scott and the foster children. He thought that, perhaps, he felt this way because of his experience in other foster homes. He thought that Jessie was a "bit spoiled" by so much masculine attention, but likeable "just the same." According to Ben, Angus and Jessie did not seem to be resentful of foster children in their home.

Ben said that he received good physical care while with the Scotts. He usually went to bed at 10 p.m., except on week-ends, when he could stay out until 11 or 12 o'clock. He always had enough sleep and enough to eat and found the foster home comfortable. He had a weekly bath like the other boys. He remembered, with a smile, the "terrific bathroom line-ups"—sometimes—despite the fact that baths "were staggered." Ben had a separate bed upstairs and shared a room with Michael. He said that he sometimes brought a friend over to the Scotts for supper—as did the other boys—despite the depression and the fact that the Scotts were "hard put to feed everyone."

Ben, as an older and working boy, had fewer chores around the foster home than those who were younger and attending school. He and the other older boys did much of their own "housekeeping" other than cooking and washing. They made their own beds and cleaned their rooms daily. They helped in the Saturday house-cleaning if at home. Sometimes Ben did a little repair work around the house or the odd chore outside, such as feeding the chickens and rabbits, or working in the garden. While Ben was with the Scotts, Norbert and Kilby were attending school, as well as Jessie and Angus. Louis, who had left school, had a newspaper route and worked at odd jobs in the neighbourhood. Ben and the other older boys were
working part-time or full time, or looking for work. Ben received ten cents weekly for spending money when he was without funds. Occasionally he borrowed small sums from the Scotts, for which he was very grateful.

Ben saw few CAS workers in the Scott foster home. He stated that one worker "handled" all the foster children while he was there. The worker, a man, seemed to get along very well with the Scotts. When he came, he would greet everyone. Then he would usually talk to the Scotts and later to the CAS boys. Ben said that occasionally a relative or parent of a foster child would visit the foster home. The visits were pleasant "as far as he knew." The visitor would talk to the Scotts first and then talk to the boy alone in his room or "go for a walk." Sometimes the foster children would visit parents or relatives for a week-end while Ben was with the Scotts.

Ben stated that life in the foster home was a "daily, joyful, and continuous bedlam" from 6:30 a.m. when the older boys and the Scotts arose, until 10 p.m. He said that the Kitsilano neighbourhood was a very sociable one and more so than that in Burnaby (he visited the Scotts in Burnaby after he was discharged from care). He went on to say that he had been "practically an orphan without a natural home life" for ten years prior to coming to the Scotts. He had come into care in 1933 and had had several "bad" foster homes, plus short placements in the Alexandria orphanage, before coming to the Scotts in 1937. He said that his parents interfered with his placements prior to 1937, which upset him.

Ben felt that the Scott foster home "was more like a home should be." The foster home was the only one in which he could be "almost close enough to another boy to call him brother." He liked and got along well with everyone there and still keeps in touch with Mrs. Scott, Jessie, Angus, Nicholas, Michael, and Kilby. He attended Mr. Scott's funeral.

Ben had "no regrets" after leaving the Scotts to take a job elsewhere, although he was "glad to get out of the clutches of the Aid." He said that it was "all fun with the Scotts." He repeated that he felt "close" to everyone in the foster home and had a real feeling of being wanted and belonging. He repeated that the Scott and foster children were treated alike. He added that "if the Scotts had a preference for a particular Aid boy they sure didn't show it." He concluded that in other foster homes he had lived in the "Aid kids were pushed around and did all the work; this didn't happen at the Scotts."
The interview with Ben took place in his home. One of his children was introduced, a friendly boy of about ten. Ben's wife and other children were out.

**Period 2:**

Thornton was a successful Long-term placement in Period 2. He was 12 when placed with the Scotts in August, 1943. He remained with them for three years.

Thornton's impressions of Mr. Scott were similar to those given by the two former Scott foster children whose interviews have just been described. He described Mr. Scott as "strict but kind." He added that Mr. Scott was "really a farmer at heart and made certain that everyone knew something about gardening, and caring for the poultry and animals before they left." He said that he only saw Mr. Scott physically discipline a foster child on one occasion; he said that the boy, "a big Indian," was "sassing" Mr. Scott "something awful," because Mr. Scott was remonstrating with him for "coming in late." Mr. Scott "shoved the guy a little," according to Thornton.

Thornton observed that he "could see" Mr. Scott's health gradually worsen from 1943 to 1946 but that Mr. Scott was not too irritable as a result.

Thornton thought that Mrs. Scott was "fair but pretty strict." He thought that she could have been "a little more understanding" as far as he was concerned. She only "smacked" him once—for helping himself to rationed butter in 1944. He felt that he deserved the blow. He said that she rarely struck anyone while he was in the foster home. The strap was never used. He was kept in now and then for coming in late. He said that Mrs. Scott irked him and the other foster children in the latter part of 1944; the Scotts had laid new linoleum on the main floor of the foster home and for about six months afterwards, until the linoleum was "broken in," everyone had to remove his shoes on entering the house. Thornton and the others thought the "whole thing" was silly.

Thornton stated that he was not "up to the others" in the foster home—"they were smarter than me," he said (he was of high-grade moron intelligence). He was never "too close" to others in the foster home. He said that the Scotts tried to make him feel more "at home," but they could not
understand him. In any case he found life in the foster home tolerable because he knew "where he stood," and had some feeling of belonging. He said that the Scott's own son, Angus was quite a prankster and leader of the "gang" (Angus was 13 in 1943). He added that Orville (a successful Long-term placement from 1938 to 1944 as mentioned in Chapter III) was a clever thief who caused some trouble in the foster home. All the foster children and Angus, who was "close" to Orville, were kept in until Orville admitted his guilt for some offence, usually petty theft or window-breaking in the neighbourhood. Thornton thought this form of collective punishment was unfair.

Thornton had a newspaper route like the other CAS boys, as did Angus. He also did odd jobs in the neighbourhood. He received 25 cents weekly when not working. He also belonged to the St. John's Ambulance Cadets with Angus and others in the foster home. They put on a skit at a St. John's Ambulance gathering on one occasion. Mr. and Mrs. Scott were in attendance. The skit was a "howling success." Thornton said that the Scotts "took a real interest in everything we did."

Thornton went to Sunday school "for a while" and quit. He said that every CAS boy, had a choice in the matter, as did Angus and Jessie, who usually attended Sunday school. Thornton added that when he did not attend Sunday school he worked "in the backyard."

Thornton verified the picture of daily life in the foster home during Period 2 as given by Mrs. Scott. He did not mind his chores but thought some of the CAS boys were a bit squeamish about killing poultry and rabbits, which he did not mind doing. However, he admitted that a boy was not asked to repeat this particular task if he did not wish to. He added that Mr. Scott "meant well" in acquainting the boys with this aspect of farm life.

Thornton said that he had difficulty at school and that he was "glad to leave" after completing Grade 5. He said that Mrs. Scott and Jessie (who was 16 in 1943) helped him with his homework. Thornton said he "got along" with Angus and Jessie and their aunt. Angus and Jessie did not resent living with foster children, according to Thornton. He said that Mrs. Scott's sister had been in the home about five years when he arrived. She did not bother anyone, according to Thornton, because Mrs. Scott kept her "in her place." Thornton thought that Mr. and Mrs. Scott were a "happy couple."

Thornton said that he got along fine with his CAS worker and that the relationship between the Scotts and the CAS "seemed to be good." The Scotts never objected to Thornton visiting his aunt (his mother was in Essondale), nor his talking alone with a worker, when one came to the Scotts.
Thornton complained about the amount of food he received at the Scotts—he never had enough and "pinched" the odd cake from a neighbourhood store. He said that the other boys were satisfied with their meals and evening snacks. He also said that his aunt would have kept him, instead of leaving him in CAS care, but for his "appetite." He complained about having to drink goat's milk at breakfast in the Scott foster home on some occasions—the cow's milk had been "used up" by the older boys who had arisen earlier. Thornton did not like the "smell" of goat's milk.

Thornton remarked that Christmas and birthdays were "bang-up affairs" in the foster home. He also remembered when, at different times, there were 13 people sitting around the table, including eight CAS boys, the Scotts, the aunt, Angus and Jessie. Sometimes a former foster child, then in the armed forces, would visit the Scotts on leave and would be treated like he "belonged there." He remembers that Mrs. Scott often wrote to her former foster children serving in the armed forces and that she received many letters from them. At Christmas time, the mantle-piece was "covered" with cards from former foster children. Many former foster children visited the Scotts between 1943 and 1946, during Thornton's placement with the Scotts. They often stayed for a meal and sometimes overnight, or for a few days.

Thornton said that the Scott foster home was "allright for small offenders," such as "delinquents who were gland to get out of their own homes" and who had weak family ties. Thornton felt that he was not in this "category" because he and his mother had been "good friends" before her committal to Essondale. He visited her a few times from the Scotts. He stopped doing so because she "stopped recognizing him." He was also upset by her "appearance and odd behaviour."

While Thornton would never want to live in any foster home again, he thought that the Scotts were "much better" than his second foster parents, who used to "beat him up all the time" and use him as "cheap labor from the Aid" (Thornton was discharged from his second foster home, in the country, and CAS care, as of age, a few years after he left the Scotts).

Thornton stated that he can still remember the day he was placed with the Scotts after being taken into care. His mother was in Essondale and he was very lonely for her. He was crying when he reached the foster home. Mrs. Scott greeted him warmly and gave him a "big hug." His worker and Mrs. Scott tried to reassure him that "everything would be allright." Mrs. Scott placed a cup of cocoa and some comic books in front of him. He pushed his cup of cocoa off the
table and scattered the comic books "all over the kitchen floor." Mrs. Scott was "very patient and understanding" and did not get angry. Thornton was surprised. He cried "every night" during his first two weeks with the Scotts but gradually "settled down." Mrs. Scott started to kiss him "before she turned the lights out at night," the night he arrived in the foster home—as she did with the "other boys." She continued the practice during his placement and he "liked it."

Thornton attended Mr. Scott's funeral and has kept in touch with the Scotts through the years (as mentioned in Chapter III).

Thornton was interviewed at his place of employment after hours. His wife was present. She was interested in the interview. The young couple seemed to be a happy one. Thornton spoke quite spontaneously and freely. He seemed to enjoy the interview experience.

**Period 3:**

Kelvin was a successful long-term placement in Period 3. He lived with the Scotts from December, 1949, to February, 1952, as described in Chapter III. He is now 26.

Kelvin and another CAS boy, Terry, moved with the Scotts to a smaller home in Burnaby in July, 1950. They were the only foster children with the Scotts at the time. Jessie had just married and was living elsewhere. Kelvin attended her wedding. Angus was still living at home.

Kelvin had considerable respect for Mr. Scott, whom he described as a man who "came up the hard way and expected the same of the boys." Kelvin said that Mr. Scott's health was poor while he lived with the Scotts.
Kelvin described Mrs. Scott as a woman who "liked boys and had no inhibitions; she could take a joke and give one; she had great intuition, was always interested in a fellow and always knew when things went wrong." He said that she often came up to his room at night after he had been brooding in a "concealed way" and try to "help" him.

Kelvin thought that the Scotts were a happy couple, with Mrs. Scott "dominant on the surface." They were well liked in the community, he said, and still maintained contact with old friends from Kitsilano and Mr. Scott's relatives. He said that Mrs. Scott's sister "minded her own business" in the foster home because she "seemed to know her place." Kelvin stated that Mr. and Mrs. Scott were very fond of Angus and Jessie. He also said that life in the foster home was usually quiet, particularly after 1950. He added that the Scotts would spend many an evening playing a quiet game of cribbage together or with him and Angus.

Kelvin, as an older boy, had considerable liberty in the foster home. He could stay out reasonably late at night. He always told the Scotts of his whereabouts, to conform with the rules and regulations of the foster home—he did not mind this. He had no regular chores because he was studying and working. However, he always kept his room tidy and made his bed daily; he helped with the dishes, the weekly house-cleaning and house repairs when he had spare time. Before the Scotts moved in July, 1950, he occasionally did farm chores. As the Scotts sold their poultry and animals, except for the household dog, cat, and canaries, when they moved in 1950, there was very little "outside" work to do, except in a small garden. Mr. Scott, though in failing health, maintained the garden with the help of Kelvin, Angus, Mrs. Scott, and other foster children.

Kelvin saw no physical punishment in the foster home—only withdrawal of privileges. He, himself, was never disciplined and always knew "where he stood."

The Scotts took a friendly interest in Kelvin's friends. He could bring them to the foster home at any time. Sometimes they stayed for supper and an evening of visiting. Kelvin's friends liked Mr. and Mrs. Scott equally well and still ask about them, as well as about Angus and Jessie.

Kelvin brought a friend (a non-CAS boy) to the Scotts in 1951—to live with him. The friend stayed a year. He was working. He left to get married. The Scotts were as interested in him as anyone else. He is now a university student.
As mentioned in Chapter III, Kelvin arranged for his brother, Joseph, to live with the Scotts in September, 1952.

Kelvin got along well with Jessie and Angus, and attended their weddings in 1950 and 1955 respectively. Jessie was 22 when Kelvin was placed with the Scotts; Angus was 19. The two Scott children were not favored in relation to the foster children, according to Kelvin, and did not resent CAS boys in their home.

Kelvin thought that the Scotts were very happy together.

Kelvin's most striking memories of life in the foster home are based on the Scott's good physical care, their interest in his studies, job, personal problems, friends, the girl whom he later married, and their continued interest in him. He continued contact with them. He attended Mr. Scott's funeral.

Kelvin said that he will always remember Mrs. Scott's coming all the way from Burnaby to the Vancouver General Hospital to visit him when he was ill for a short time. He will "never forget" the Scotts lending him money when he was "short" as they did for other CAS boys. He easily recalled the "impressive scenes" when some of the "old" foster children visited the Scotts. According to Kelvin, it was "just like old Home Week."

Kelvin said that the Scott foster home was the best one he had lived in and that he had "learned more about how to live in an orderly, friendly way with the Scotts than anywhere else."

Kelvin has friendly feelings towards the CAS. He observed that the Scotts had similar feelings.

The interview took place in a cafe near Kelvin's place of employment. Kelvin was most cooperative in giving information and was very friendly. He is now working as a draftsman and is happily married.
Own Children's Feelings About Life in the Foster Home

A foster family's own children can be an important part of the family from the foster child's point of view. According to many authorities, their response to the presence of a foster child may make a placement a "pleasant experience or a sorrowful one." Therefore, it should be of interest to learn how Angus and Jessie felt as "own children" in a foster home which was a successful one.

Jessie and Angus were recently interviewed. They were most pleasant and cooperative. The interview with Angus will be described first.

Angus described his father in terms similar to those used by his mother and the four former foster children interviewed. He also described his father as a man "who never sat still and who was a real masculine example for everyone." He added that "there wasn't much about small-scale farming and handling tools that his father didn't teach everyone." Angus said that his father "set down the law" in the foster home, although his mother "seemed to be boss." Angus had the warmest feelings and respect for his father, and thought that he enjoyed being a foster father because of his "love for kids."

Angus thought that his mother was "fair to all." He felt that she and his parents treated him, Jessie, and the foster children "alike"—although he and Jessie always "knew" that they were the Scott's own children.

Angus said that in Period 1 he was the youngest child in the home. He had "lots of fun" but often "got the dirty end of the stick"—because he was younger "than the others." In Periods 2 and 3 he was closer in age to the foster children and "everyone grew up together."

Angus reiterated what has already been said in this chapter about life in the foster home during Periods 1, 2, and 3.

Angus said that he and Jessie got along fine together as brother and sister.
Angus said that he was not strapped after 1940, when he was ten—his mother saw the "futility of it." She never strapped anyone after that time, according to Angus. The matter was discussed with the CAS worker at the time. Angus said that, as far as the rules and regulations and discipline were concerned, his parents "sometimes kept us guessing but never ganged up on us—we usually knew where we stood."

Angus, when asked about his feelings as an "own" child in the foster home, said that it was "a great experience and a lot of fun." He stated that he made many lasting friendships with a number of foster children. He said however, that his situation in the foster home had its drawbacks. He said that he was not resentful because he had to share his home with foster children, nor because he and Jessie were "treated like the others," particularly after he realized, in 1940, what it "meant" for a child to be living in a home not "really" his own. He recalled that, in 1940, he became "peeved" and "almost ran away" because his parents were spending their own money on the foster children—to supply them with clothing, food, and spending money—because of low CAS board rates. He felt that his parents would have been spending this money on him but for the foster children. He said his parents were living frugally at the time. He complained to them about the foregoing matter. Mrs. Scott then explained to him "what it was" to be a foster child. She singled out Orville, his foster brother and close friend, as an example of a boy without a real home of his own. Angus said that he then began to realize Orville's "real situation," and that of the other foster children. He quickly "got over" his resentment.

Angus said that his situation had its drawbacks in Period 1. He said that his experience as the youngest child, in a home filled with older children, made him feel that children placed in a foster home should be near the age of the own children.

Angus is a big strapping man of fair appearance. He is sincere and rather reserved. He enjoyed the interview. He was married last autumn and lives near his mother. He was interviewed in the suite he and his wife occupy. Mrs. Scott lives nearby. Angus' wife was an interested listener during the interview.

Angus quit school in 1945 after completing Grade 9.
He worked in a furniture factory with his close friend, Urban, a CAS foster child, placed with the Scotts for a few years after he left school. He later worked as a truck driver for a department store. He was in the Army from 1951 to 1953. He is now back at his old truck-driving job. He keeps in touch with his widowed mother, Jessie, his aunt, and is in contact with many of the former foster children who lived in the Scott home.

Jessie described her father in terms similar to Angus, Mrs. Scott, and the former foster children interviewed. She added that, perhaps, he had "less patience with the boys" than her mother. She said that he was a "great one" for telling bedtime stories—to her and "the others"—about his early life in Scotland. She said, with a smile, that he sometimes contradicted himself in his story-telling—which amused "everyone." She had warm feelings for him. She thought he enjoyed being a foster father because he had come from a large family and liked children.

Jessie had warm feelings for her mother. She thought that her mother was "basically boss" in the foster home. She reiterated much of what has already been said about life in the foster home. She remembers her mother "kissing the children at night" and how upset she was when a child ran away. She thought her mother "learned child psychology the hard way" because of her background. She remembers how "lost" her mother felt when a child who had been in the home for some time had to leave for some reason or other. She added that her mother "sort of got used to it" as the years went by. Jessie thought that her mother enjoyed being a foster mother as she "grew to know" about her role, and because she liked children and "lots of company" and activity. She felt that if her father's health had not failed her parents would be foster parents today.

Jessie said that she and Angus got along well as brother and sister.

In describing her feelings about life in the foster home, Jessie said that her position in the home was a preferred one. She was "spoiled" because she was the only girl. One of the reasons why only two girls were placed was because she was "jealous of her position" as the centre of
attention of her parents, brother, and many foster brothers. Mrs. Scott "knew this and was influenced by it."

Jessie felt mildly resentful only once—as an own child in a foster home. When she was 15 (in 1942) she began to resent sharing her home with "so many foster children." She had little privacy when she brought friends home. She was also resentful at this time because she felt "different" to her friends, who did not have foster children in their homes. She said she was not "directly" resentful at the foster children as individuals because she usually got along very well with them. In any case, after talking to her parents about her feelings of resentment, she began to realize that she had a "selfish attitude" towards her situation. In addition, she observed to herself, at the time, that none of her friends complained about the foster children, which only made her more aware of her selfish feelings. She soon got over her resentment.

According to Jessie, the foster children, were completely accepted in Kitsilano and in Burnaby. She attended school with some of them in both communities, and said that they were not discriminated against in the classroom or elsewhere.

Jessie received the strap until she was nine. She thought the rules of the foster home were sensible and fair. She thought her parents were a little strict at times as regards discipline, and always felt sympathetic towards the foster children and Angus when they were punished.

Jessie said that her first date was with Dalton (the East Indian boy who was killed in 1942). Dalton irked her occasionally through teasing, but she was fond of him. She was less fond of his brother, an unsuccessful short placement in 1946. She was also fond of Paul and Urban.

Jessie stated that she learned racial tolerance in her home. She said that foster children of every nationality and colour shared her home with her and Angus. Through group living with them, she learned that nationality and colour were only superficial aspects of a person. She also learned about the problems of foster children because of her situation.

Jessie took quite an interest in religion as a child. She was upset when her parents moved to Burnaby from Kitsilano, because she was near the top of her Sunday school class in Kitsilano and "missed out" on certain awards after she left. However, she continued at Sunday school in Burnaby.
Jessie recalled many parties held in the foster home. She remembers her mother teaching foster children how to dance and also dancing with them. Jessie herself, taught many of the foster children, and Angus, how to dance, after 1942.

Many former foster children attended Jessie's wedding in 1950.

In retrospect, Jessie said that she would never have wanted to miss the experience of being an own child in a foster home. "There were times when the house was crowded, but it was never lonely and unhappy," was her conclusion.

Jessie, who completed Grade 12 and was a dental technician before her marriage, was interviewed in her home. She was very friendly and cooperative. Her husband, a clerk, was at work and her two small children were asleep. Her husband and she have had a happy marriage. They keep in close touch with Mrs. Scott, Angus, Jessie's maternal aunt, and are in contact with a number of former Scott foster children.

Conclusions

It seems that the material in this chapter indicates that the attitudes of Mr. and Mrs. Scott toward foster parenthood, more than any other factor, are the prime reason why they have been successful foster parents. They had an attitude of intelligent understanding toward the foster child in his situation and in relation to their own children; they had a consistency of viewpoint and discipline—the foster and Scott children always knew "where they stood" (with reference to the foster home's rules and administration of discipline); they had an attitude of interested affection—focused in part
on helping the foster child feel emotionally secure; they experienced satisfaction as a child developed abilities, rewarded him for achievement, and permitted him increasing freedom to grow up and become independent. The foregoing qualities or attitudes, in the opinion of many authorities, are essential to the make-up of successful foster parents.

The Scotts, as well as having the essential attitudes of good foster parents, provided their foster and own children with the benefits of a stable marriage, good physical care, an orderly household routine, interesting chores and leisure-time activities, equality with each other in terms of affection and discipline, a feeling of belonging and having personal worth, and community respect. The Scotts had a good working relationship with the CAS and also with parents, parent-surrogates, and relatives of foster children placed with them, whenever possible. They were also able to grow as foster parents and change—with reference to the abandonment of the strap in 1940, lessening of strictness and the like.

The Scotts had some imperfections, as Mrs. Scott readily admits. Their sureness that adults must make major decisions but can be wrong is one of their strengths. Three points stand out: The affection from each of the Scotts to each child, the scrupulous fairness from the Scotts to each child, and the expectations of working together, with each child contributing according to his ability, but with the foster parents taking overall adult responsibility.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The Growth and Development of the Foster Parents

When the Scotts applied for their first foster child in 1931, they were motivated primarily by the need for companionship for their own daughter. This in itself is not an unusual beginning motivation for foster parent applicants, who are naturally interested in and concerned with their own children's needs. However, it seems that the Scotts were able to move from this kind of concern and motivation to a consideration of the needs of many foster children, 117 in number, over a 21-year-period, regardless of whether or not they served as companions for the two Scott children. Realistically, it does not seem that companionship was provided for Jessie, who was four in 1931, when Ann, who was 16, was placed in the foster home in 1931. Companionship for the Scott children was provided later, as this study indicates. According to Frances Coffino, initially expressed motivation might seem to contraindicate the use of a particular home for foster care. Further study resulting in a fuller picture of the family often reveals qualities well related to the needs of foster children. The

capacity of the applicant to refocus towards acceptance of the partial nature of foster parenthood needs to be examined and the caseworker must be flexible enough to allow for differences. Also, of prime importance to the caseworker who must find foster homes for children, is the acceptance on her part that foster parents, like everybody else, are people with problems, with limitations, with needs of their own. Accepting this, the caseworker, in evaluating the capacity of the prospective foster parents, must also estimate the foster parents' willingness and ability to use casework help, their ability to recognize areas of problem in themselves as it relates to them as foster parents, and whether they are willing and capable of working on these problems in order to give a foster child the opportunity to use his placement experience for his maximum growth and development.

It seems that when the Scotts began to accept foster children in 1931, and continued to do so in the years following, they accepted children who were not necessarily companions for their own children. Thus, by taking children for stays of all lengths, they gave indications that they were able to accept something less than total parenthood, a prime requisite for foster parents.

The original foster home study of the Scotts (referred to in Chapter IV) in 1931, seems to indicate that the worker involved felt that the Scotts had a great deal to offer a foster child. Mrs. Scott gave evidence of her deep
mothering quality, her relationship to people, and that she was able to elicit a warm response from others. The worker also felt that Mr. Scott was a fatherly, masculine type of person with whom foster children could identify.

The Scotts seemed to have made real movement towards facing the problems of the foster parent—foster child relationship, judging by their success. This movement indicated that they had some capacity to use casework help, when necessary, which helped them to grow, develop, and change as foster parents and as agency partners.

The Scotts also quickly became comfortable in an understanding of their roles as foster parents with two children of their own; and any insecurity they might have felt in their relationship with foster children with respect to own parents or parent-surrogates, rapidly disappeared. As a result, they soon became able to function in a positive way with their foster children until each one, in turn, left the foster home. The Scotts, in such instances, were left with a sense of loss but a sense of gain, too. They received a tremendous satisfaction in having contributed to the growth and development of these children, and in having served them during a critical time in their lives when they needed the Scotts.

It seems that the Scotts positively identified with the CAS. They seemed to have found in the agency a source of growth, and to have acquired as foster parents a sense of
greater capacities and dimensions as human beings.

It seems timely to mention that in February, 1956, Mrs. Scott was honoured as "Foster Mother of the Year" by the CAS. She was presented with a gold bracelet and a scroll which recognized her many years of service to the CAS. Plans to include Mr. Scott were interrupted by his death in the autumn of 1955.

Some Characteristics of the Foster Family

The Scotts had certain special qualities that are noteworthy. They possessed an ability to grow and accept other people. They had family strength, but their family unity was not one that was satisfied in itself. They always seemed to have room for one more. In this study, the "one more" was almost always a CAS foster child, and while he was in the foster home he was an important part of the family group.

The Scotts had strong family loyalties, and any CAS child placed with them became part of the family and was included in these loyalties. The children were an important part of the family unit to Mr. and Mrs. Scott, and in their family atmosphere foster children, in an amazing number of cases, and their own children, grew and developed as human beings. The foster family grew from a concern for and loyalty to their first foster child in 1931 to a concern for and loyalty to 116 subsequent foster children in the ensuing
21 years. They always seemed to have room for one more foster child, no matter how crowded they were. They always responded when the agency needed help. Testimony to this fact is contained in Appendices A and B to this study, which are copies of letters written to the Scotts in 1948 and to Mrs. Scott this year by CAS workers.

According to Gladys Day, "a foster family needs to be able to spread to take in others and yet have the firmness and stability to hold close to its own--and the 'other' must become one of its own." Mrs. Day has described the specific over-all characteristic of the Scott foster family that made them a useful and successful CAS resource, and this characteristic was the crux of the Scott's ability and capacity to be a good foster family.

The Scotts also had other qualifications needed by good foster families. Life in the foster home was conducive to wholesome, orderly, and therapeutic living because of its feeling tone. This feeling tone was attributable to the attitudes of the Scotts as foster parents as well as to other attributes they possessed. The Scotts had considerable patience as foster parents, as well as understanding which they could convey, and they had the capacity to give without expecting immediate return. They had a liking for all people

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those who were different from themselves, racially, culturally,
and otherwise, as well as those who were like themselves.
They had reasonably happy family backgrounds. They have led
happy, interesting lives as foster parents. Finally, they
got on well together as husband and wife, and with their own
children, relatives, foster children, own parents and parent-
surrogates, the CAS, and the community.

Some Observations

There were 20 unsuccessful placements in the Scott
foster home, including 4 pre-adolescent and 16 adolescent
boys. The unsuccessful Very Short and Short placements
involved 4 pre-adolescent and 8 adolescent boys. According
to agency files, these 12 boys were very disturbed emotionally
and the Scotts could not cope with them or fully meet their
basic needs. In addition, these boys also upset the morale
of the family group in a crowded home. The unsuccessful
Medium and Long-term placements involved 8 adolescent boys,
in 3 Medium and 5 Long-term placements. With reference to
these 8 boys, it seems, first, that the Scotts were unable
to cope with 6 adolescents who had strong parental ties. In
2 of the 6 cases, there was also parental interference. In
3 of the 6 cases, (one of which included parental interference
as mentioned above) the boys involved appear to have been
kept in care too long. Secondly, with reference to the two
other unsuccessful adolescent placements not yet discussed,
(one Medium and the other Long-term), it seems that the Scotts were blocked largely by unwise planning—the placing of two sets of brothers in their home at different times, where there were at least four other foster children. The two boys involved subsequently adjusted to country foster homes after removal from the Scotts.

The failure of the 20 unsuccessful placements was largely due to factors external to the foster home itself. This might suggest that the foster home was used indiscriminately, and that children were placed without sufficient knowledge of the true situation in the foster family and the problems that some of these children might present on placement with the Scotts. It seems, with particular reference to the unsuccessful Very Short and Short placements and the two "unwise" longer placements, that such placements were proceeded with without due concern for the result on the foster family. It is true that in the latter two placements an attempt was made to keep "brother-combinations" together in the Scott foster home. However, this plan proved to be unworkable. In regard to the other 6 unsuccessful placements, insufficient investigation was made into the meaning and strength of the family ties of the boys involved, particularly the three who were apparently kept in care too long. There is a point of professional ethics involved in connection with all 20 unsuccessful placements, in that the interests of the foster family, particularly those of their own and the foster
children, should not have been jeopardized as a result of these placements.

With reference to the foregoing discussion of unsuccessful placements, it seems that all 20 boys were either unskillfully placed or remained with the Scotts and in care too long. With reference to the two boys who adjusted to country foster homes after leaving the Scotts, it seems necessary to point out how very important it is to thoroughly consult and discuss placement with a boy, regardless of his being placed with a brother in the same foster home. With reference to the boys who had significant family ties, and particularly those who seemingly remained in care too long, it must be pointed out that it is extremely important that workers be always aware of the fact that a foster child, particularly an adolescent boy, can become very disturbed if his return to his home is indicated and no action is taken.

Because of its rapid growth in an urban center, the CAS has always been short of good foster homes, and this could be associated with the large number of placements in the Scott foster home, including the 20 unsuccessful ones. It must be remembered however, that when children are unwisely placed by an agency it must accept some responsibility for resulting psychological damage to the children involved.

The Scott foster home successfully handled 100 out of 120 placements. In addition to what has already been said in Chapters III and IV about the "specifics" of life in the
foster home, it seems that its system of activities provided a form of occupational and group therapy which enabled the foster and own children to acquire cultural and social skills, so important for the adolescent boys placed with the Scotts. It also seems possible, that the foster children, particularly the adolescent boys, saw the foster home group as a parent-surrogate, which built up an emotional bridge between the foster family and Society. Further, the way-of-life in the foster home was well-organized and provided a structure within which a foster child could list definite expectations in return for his contributions to life and activity in the foster home, in relation to the foster parents and the other children. This fact served to enhance his feelings of self-worth and was a primary aid in his growth and development as an individual human being.

In addition to the aforementioned reasons why the Scotts were successful with 5 out of 6 children placed with them, and to what has been said earlier in this chapter, it seems significant to mention that the Scott foster home began in 1931, when Mrs. Scott was 40 and Mr. Scott 45. As the years passed by, and as they grew older, it seems quite possible that they became, in the eyes of many of the foster children who were still tied to their own parents or parent-surrogates, "grandparent-substitutes" rather than "parent-substitutes." Because they did not seem like parent-substitutes, they might have been less threatening to some of the foster children.
With reference to Chapter IV, and the interview with the Scott's own son, Angus, it seems timely to mention the importance of adequate board rates. Angus mentioned that the inadequacy of CAS board rates in 1940 obliged his parents to spend their own money on foster children to what he felt was his disadvantage. He almost ran away from home and was quite bitter about the matter until his mother "explained" to him. Angus' reaction to this matter, one that might have completely disrupted the foster home as a CAS resource, is one that should provide a cause for deep reflection. It is a well known fact that if an agency pays inadequate board rates most foster parents will be dissatisfied. The approach to paying board has been traditionally an unrealistic one.

Historically and out of necessity, according to Gladys Day; agencies began to pay board for the children in their care. However, social workers "shared—perhaps helped to create—the community's fear of people's taking children for the money." The feelings of social workers and the community about the amount of board paid has, according to Mrs. Day, "long been a confused mixture of a desire to economize, a belief in the salutary nature of foster parents' digging into their own pockets to make ends meet, an unclarified confusion of board

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1 Day, Home Finding, p. 5.
2 Loc. cit.
payments with relief, and the pleasure of getting a good bargain."

Mrs. Day also mentioned that during the last few years much thought has been given to the problem of board rates; that payments for service have been discussed and board rates have been increased. However, she added that the rising cost of living has diminished the effects of raises in board rates and they are still far from adequate. In this connection, it was encouraging to learn that the Executive-Director of the CAS told the Society's 45th Annual Meeting in February of this year that during 1955 a committee of Board members, staff, volunteers, and foster parents, completed an exhaustive study of current board rates. As a result of their recommendations, the CAS hopes to be in a position to increase board rates in the near future. As mentioned before, CAS board rates have never kept pace with the standard-of-living here. However, the impending increase should undoubtedly ease the financial burdens of the agency's foster parents, and make available as foster parents couples who have not previously felt they could shoulder the expense.

Angus' interview also produced another point of discussion, when he described his feelings as an own son in a foster home. He mentioned that he "got the dirty end of the

1 Loc. cit.
stick" when he was the youngest child in the home. He stated that when foster children are placed in a foster home where there are own children, the former should be approximately the age of the own children. He attributed his feelings in this regard to his own experience. An understanding of the own children's feelings, then, regarding a decision to place a child in a foster home is most important. While it is true that Angus was too young during the early years of Period 1 to voice his feelings to any extent, the feelings were still there. During the later years of the Period, when he was still the youngest, only his parents' love and skillful handling prevented undue emotional disturbance on his part.

The interview with Jessie, the Scott's own daughter, produced an interesting point for discussion. She mentioned that she felt "uncomfortable" when she was 15 and an adolescent girl. She felt "different" from her friends because they did not have foster children in their homes. Happily, her mother "explained" to her and Jessie became less uncomfortable and more understanding and accepting of her situation. Jessie's reaction to her situation as an own daughter in a foster home at the age of 15 should be of interest because it points out once again, how important it is for workers to know at all times how own children feel in a foster home, and the particular need to know at adolescence. Jessie might have become quite upset and disrupting in the foster home, which would have obviously ill-affected the morale and stability of the
entire foster family, but for her mother's skillful handling of Jessie's feelings.

The interviews with the four former foster children were interesting and informative. All four boys acknowledged the Scotts as good foster parents; two of the boys, Kilby and Thornton, mentioned limitations in the foster home. Kilby said that Mrs. Scott might have been more affectionate; Thornton said that the Scotts could not understand him. Their verbalizations of their feelings about the Scotts are of this character, but notwithstanding this, both boys have maintained friendly relations with the Scotts for many years and still do. Strong emotional ties have developed regardless of imperfections of understanding felt by these two boys. The foster home is like an own home, where affection remains strong or more strong, because minor weaknesses can be openly admitted.

Finally, the interview with Mrs. Scott was extremely significant. During the interview she voiced her feelings as a foster mother. To repeat, she stated that her experience as a foster mother was a "wonderful one and that she loved every minute of it." She went on to say that "it was a lot of hard work, tears, and heartbreak, but it was mostly fun, and that she would become a foster mother all over again." From all the evidence of the Scott's partnership, and Mr. Scott's interest in and work with the children, it is likely that this would have been his feeling too.
Conclusions

A campaign for more foster homes is currently being planned by the CAS, which is well aware of the fact that too few foster homes are available for physically handicapped children, those of mixed racial origin, those with emotional difficulties, and teen-agers.

According to many authorities, there is no completely good foster home. No family is perfect; this is as true of a foster home as it is of any other home. A good foster home study should show both the strengths and weakness in a family's capacity to become foster parents. Some homes will be good homes for many children; some will be good for some; some will be inadequate for any child. Emotional disturbance, poor moral standards, inability to treat equally or to like children not one's own, physical illness, poor housing, or poor living standards, are the usual reasons why foster parent applicants are rejected.

With reference to the current and future CAS campaigns for foster homes, it must be remembered that a discriminatory selection of foster homes must be made on applicants as to their having the general essentials of foster parents, and also on their appropriateness for different kinds of foster children. This will require refinement of

diagnostic efficiency in the Home-Finding Department. There is a paramount need to consider the background of the foster child, his relationships with his parents or parent-surrogates, and their continuing influence, before and after he has been placed in a foster home and as long as he remains there. There is also a paramount need to continually consider the feelings of own children in foster homes where future placements will be made, and also the feelings of the foster children being placed.

This study generally points out that in the future when agency workers evaluate and supervise foster homes they must:

1. Use material about the family background and interests intelligently and skillfully, to appropriately assess strengths and weaknesses in terms of intra-family, inter-family and family-community relationships;

2. Determine what kind of children, if any, can best benefit from the foster home;

3. Determine if the foster-parent applicants can share a foster child with his own parents or parent-surrogates, and if so what kind of parents or parent-surrogates;

4. Determine if the foster-parent applicants can accept the agency and work with it on a cooperative basis;

5. Continually evaluate the foster homes after children are placed to determine if the foster home is functioning as a useful agency resource and if not close it as inadequate;

6. When children must be moved from one foster home to another, evaluate what caused failure so as to prevent identical failures in the future. Too often placement failures are not analyzed. Potentially good foster homes fail, inadequate families continue to give poor care to children and children suffer.
Finally, it must be said at this point that it is unusual to find a foster home with the degree of strength, warmth, fairness and concern for children of the Scott home. It is often easier to overload such a home, even to the breaking point, than to seek and use a new home; and few homes have the ability shown by the Scott home to withstand such pressures. The Scott home suggests a number of important factors to be sought in any foster home for adolescent boys. Among these are steady warmth and personal concern from the adults, varied interests and activities available to all, reasonable but iron-clad rules with fixed penalties, a feeling from the adults of interest and adventure—a "joie de vivre"—and absolute fairness, assumption of adult leadership and responsibility and true humility from the adults. In addition, the family roots must be strongly set in the community, and the family maintain its identity and worth, including and sponsoring as its own those foster children who become, even temporarily, its members.
Mr. and Mrs. Scott,
Burnaby, B.C.

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Scott:

I am just writing this little note before I leave the Agency to thank you most heartily for your kindness in so many ways to me while I served as your supervisor. I know many times you did not relish seeing me come down the path for fear I had another boy in the car or another problem tucked away somewhere. However, I must say that never did I visit your home that you did not always give me the support and help that I wanted. You have had some of our worst boys as well as some of our really fine lads and I have never felt that you have ever once not given everything you had to our boys.

It was most heartening when I visited the camps this Summer to find out in practically every case it was a Children's Aid boy who had been elected either Chief Camper or best boy. At Cultus Lake the honours went to young Joe who lives on Lulu Island while up at San West United Church Camp, Alvin was selected as the honour camper.

I often feel that sometimes you foster parents feel the work is pretty useless but when you see boys turn out on top I am sure your satisfaction must be as great as any we have in the Agency.

I greatly appreciated knowing you and working with you for the past five years and wish to say "thank you."

Yours sincerely,
APPENDIX B

Vancouver, B.C.,
January 26, 1956.

Mrs. Scott,
South Burnaby, B.C.

Dear Mrs. Scott:

The Board of Directors, staff, and the many children that passed through your hands since 1931, wish to thank you for your years of real service to our Agency.

We are sorry that we were not aware until recently that your husband had passed away. Too often in the rush and turmoil of our world today and of the world of child welfare we are apt to let things that seem small, but really are great, pass by. We mean by this, saying thank you to you and your dear husband. We feel sure that the fact that your first boy returned to your home for your husband’s funeral spoke volumes, and perhaps in some way expressed the feeling of all the boys that you have nurtured, guided and sent out to face the world better for knowing the both of you.

Over the years many workers, too, have passed through your door—some young and inexperienced, some knowing quite a bit, some wanting to tell you everything, and some willing to learn from you. These people also, we are sure, left the better of the visit.

It is hard to measure, in any way, the value of such work. "Johnny," or "pop," or "dad," as Mr. Scott was known, did a yeoman service for the boys. One does not readily forget the scene of Mr. Scott returning with a young tyke from the school concert while you yourself got busy to attend another concert the same day with another boy. One does not forget seeing your own son equal in every respect with four of our lads giving an excellent display at the St. John's Ambulance inspection with Mom and Dad looking proudly on. Nor does one forget a kitchen scene at 3 o'clock in the morning—a cold, wet, miserable little boy being warmly but firmly welcomed by yourself; a cup of cocoa on the table and
slices of homemade bread generously piled by. Nor does one forget the festive Christmas scene when eighteen old boys returned to your generous table.

We of the Agency appreciate this, Mrs. Scott, more than mere words can say. We are sorry, as we said before, that this thank you should not have gone much sooner so that you both could have in some way had a "thank you" for your noble work.

We could not close this letter without thanking your family too--Jessie, Angus, and your sister. We feel the fact, Mrs. Scott, that you were able to draw your whole family together into the work of foster parenthood by having them all play a share in giving each lad his dignity and his personal worth. We realize that some did not turn out as we had hoped. Some perhaps did not appreciate at the time what you were trying to do, but we are sure that in their hearts they knew what you were doing, and will never fail to look back with gratitude. We realize at the present moment you are no longer an active foster mother, but your spirit and the spirit of your late husband and your family is carried, we are sure, in the heart of every lad.

In closing, one remark of a lad, we think, exemplifies everything we have tried to say in this letter. He was asked, "why don't you ever run away from the Scotts? You did from other foster homes." Johnny looked at the worker with astonishment, and said "what, run away from Mom and dad! We can do lots of things, but we could never do that!"

Yours sincerely,
APPENDIX C

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