

CHILDREN IN GROUP HOMES

A Survey of Wards of the Children's  
Aid Society living in these units, Vancouver 1954.

by

AUDREY MARY COPPOCK

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK  
in the School of Social Work

Accepted as conforming to the standard  
required for the degree of  
Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

1955

The University of British Columbia

## ABSTRACT

This study is part of a survey of all wards of the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, B.C. who were not in foster homes in 1954. Those in Agency group homes or subsidized boarding homes comprised a group of thirty-nine children, eighteen girls and twenty-one boys, ranging in age from one month to fifteen years. The purpose of the study was to determine some of the reasons for this type of care for children, since the Children's Protection Act requires children be placed in foster homes and puts limitations upon any other type of care. The case records of these children were examined to determine whether or not this type of care was meeting their needs. Further, it examined the existing resources in Vancouver for child care to see if they were adequate to meet the needs of all children in care.

From the records for each child certain material has been summarized (appendix) and developed for descriptive use in the text. A detailed summary of case records of four of the children is also used to point out areas that need special attention in any child welfare programme.

Many factors in the lives of these children appear to have contributed to a special placement other than foster homes. Each child has come from a home that does not constitute a stable family unit. Many had several foster home placements. The majority came into care before the age of seven years. Group homes are meeting the needs of some, but not all such children. In particular, the needs of disturbed children are not being met as adequately in group homes. The needs of babies do not seem to be best served in subsidized boarding homes which in effect are institutions.

In general, there is evidence that community services are not adequate to meet the needs of all children in care in Vancouver. The recommendations include the provision of additional services to meet the needs of children as well as further co-ordination and co-operation between existing resources so that together they may offer better service to children. Additional trained staff are needed. And, finally, the study reinforces the need for further research into child dependency.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Chapter 1. Historical Development in Child Care and the use of Institutions.

Page

Insitutional provisions of the Elizabethian Poor Law. American trends in child care. The development of orphanages. The use of foster homes. Canadian developments. Legal aspects of wardship. Historical development of the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver and its use of institutions. Focus of the study. . . . . 1

### Chapter 2. Thirty-nine Wards: A Survey.

Information directly pertaining to the child since coming into care. The families of these children. Discussion of reasons for placement in group homes. Problems exhibited by the children. . . 24

### Chapter 3. Four Children: Case Histories.

A child for whom the mother had made no plan. An "unadoptable" child. A child who has had many foster homes. A child who is in need of special treatment. . . . . 45

### Chapter 4. Child Welfare: A Constant Challenge.

Findings of the study. Types of children receiving institutional care. Goal for the future --the prevention of dependency. . . . . 106

### Appendices:

- A. Summary of data of thirty-nine cases.
- B. Reasons for placement and problems of the children. (Chart used to check distribution.)
- C. Legal provisions for apprehension and wardship with specific reference to the thirty-nine cases.
- D. Schedule used for the survey.
- E. Bibliography.

### Tables in the Text

- Table 1. Present ages of children in study. . . 25
- Table 2. Age at which children came into Children's Aid Society care. . . . 25

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my thanks and gratitude to Mr. Stanley Pinkerton, Acting Executive Director of the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver and the members of his staff for their assistance and co-operation in this study.

Special thanks to Miss Marjorie Smith, Dr. Leonard Marsh and Mrs. Joan Grant of the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, for their suggestions, guidance and encouragement in the formulation of this thesis.

CHILDREN IN GROUP HOMES

A Survey of Wards of the Children's  
Aid Society living in these units, Vancouver 1954.

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHILD CARE AND THE USE OF INSTITUTIONS

The Child Welfare Movement has made great progress in the last fifty years. However, the roots of the present movement for better child care go back even further. The care of children has been of concern to many in all forms of organized society. Children have not always been held worthy of special attention, particularly children of parents who did not prove themselves adequate in the existing social order. The child of the poor, the neglected child, the abandoned or illegitimate child has not or does not always receive the same attention or consideration as one in more fortunate circumstances.

The early writings of the Eastern civilizations make reference to the care of needy children.<sup>1</sup> St. Vincent de Paul became concerned about the children abandoned by unmarried mothers in Paris during the sixteenth century. With the assistance of orders of nuns he provided homes for these children in an attempt to remove them from a life of

---

1 Smith, Marjorie J., "Children Are Special," British Columbia Welfare, Vol. 10, No. 9, March, 1953, p. 3.

neglect and poverty.

### British Developments

Since developments in child care in England are the ones that most strongly influenced the early beginning of organized Child Welfare on the North American Continent, these will be considered in more detail.

Before the break from the Roman Catholic Church during the reign of Henry VIII in the sixteenth century the needs of the poor and their children were largely met through the kindness of relatives, neighbours and the Church with its monastic orders. Following the split in the Church with the resultant confiscation of Church property by the State, the Church was no longer able to provide all of its former services.

Previous to this there was little on the statutes to provide legally for the poor and destitute and certainly nothing applying specifically to children. The purpose of early statutes (e.g. The Statute of Laborers of 1349) was to make begging unlawful and to provide landowners with a sufficient supply of labourers following the Black Death of 1384 - 1349. The fifteenth century was one of comparative well being but the gradual break up of feudalism, and the turning to sheep raising, with the resulting enclosures was well established by the end of this century. Great numbers of serfs were no longer required on the manors. The turning of land to pastures resulted in large numbers of formerly

self-supporting individuals and families being entirely<sup>1</sup> without livelihood.

The culmination of all previous legislation and practice in England was the Act of 1601, the 43 Elizabeth, commonly referred to as the Elizabethian Poor Law. Thomas Mackay, in his History of the English Poor Law, follows his discussion of the early beginnings of the Poor Laws with the statement "Subject to these remarks on the more remote origins of Poor Law legislation, the Act of 1601, . . . is the statutory foundation of our English Poor Law."<sup>2</sup>

Four statutory provisions of the Elizabethian Poor Law applied directly to destitute children or to the children of needy parents. These were:

- (1) Apprentice them to a craftsman (indenture).
- (2) Put them to work.
- (3) Out door relief (relief in own home).
- (4) Put them in an almshouse.

The Act provided for the building of almshouses, and, within the next two centuries, nearly every parish in England had its own almshouse or workhouse. It became the practice to place whole families, from the youngest to the

---

1 deSchweinitz, Karl, England's Road to Social Security, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1943, p. 9.

2 Mackay, Thomas, A History of The English Poor Law, Vol. 3, From 1834 to The Present Time, P.S. King and Son, London; G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1899, p. 17.



oldest member, therein. There was no segregation of the children, the insane, the mentally defective, the aged or the criminal.

The greatest importance of the "43 Elizabeth" to Child Welfare in Great Britain was that it established a precedent for institutional care for children which continued to be the type of care most frequently used until this day.

An Act of 1802 was the "first effort to control the evils of apprenticing pauper children to cotton-mill owners, (and) . . . is a chapter in the history of the care of dependent children. . . (and) this law was the fore-runner<sup>1</sup> of child labor legislation." This and other child labour legislation was rendered less effectual by the greatest exponents of these enactments. They refused to allow, as part of the Act, the central government machinery necessary to see that the laws were enforced.<sup>2</sup>

#### Institutional Care for Children

During the nineteenth century workhouse schools or separate buildings were established on the grounds of the workhouse. It was a means of separating children from the adult group in the workhouse. This was the beginning of

---

1 Abbott, Grace, The Child and The State, Vol. 1, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1938, p. 83.

2 Loc. cit.

orphanages or farm schools in England. Farm schools were established before 1834 and as separate institutions, were a superior type of care to that of the workhouse.<sup>1</sup> This development of institutional care for dependent children continued in England to the present day and not until the Curtis Report on Child Care of 1946 was there governmental urging of foster home care for these children. Following the "Report of The Care of Children Committee," appointed in March 1945 "to enquire into existing methods of providing for children who . . . are deprived of a normal home life with their own parents or relatives; and to consider what further measures should be taken. . . to compensate them for lack of paternal care,"<sup>2</sup> this situation was altered by legislation in 1948, "The Children's Act." Much has been done in England with institutions for children, but the institution has not always proved to be a better means of child care than the child's own home or a foster home. The English solution for the care of the dependent child was not one of individual consideration for the individual child but rather group care for all children.

#### American Trends in Child Care

The American colonists brought the British

---

1 Thurston, Henry, The Dependent Child, Columbia University Press, New York, 1930, p. 245.

2 Report of The Care of Children, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, September, 1946, p. 5.

practices and customs with them to their new country. However, a different trend developed--that of individual care for the individual child.

Indenture was a common practice in the newly formed United States of America. It was, as in England, a legal transaction between two private individuals providing for the placement of a child in the home of another and a written guarantee that the person taking the child would provide care for the child until he was of legal age. The child in turn would give services to cover the cost of his care. Almshouses were also established in North America and in some parts of the continent, notably some Eastern American States and Eastern Canadian Provinces, are still in existence and use. Up to and during the eighteenth century the only means of child care for neglected or dependent children were indenture and the almshouse.

Indentured children were living with families and the child's fortune or misfortune lay entirely with the family taking the child. In some instances he became a part of that family and lived there as their own child would. In others he was merely used as a servant and received few of the basic necessities of life. Education of children was not universal at that time and it is not surprising that families having indentured children in their care were loathe to expend any money for the education of the child. Again it depended upon the type of people

with whom the child lived as there was no authority to enforce any such "privileges" for the indentured child.

A development similar to the farm school of England discussed previously was taking place on the American Continent in the nineteenth century. The orphan asylum was developing as an institution for the care of dependent children. Unlike the English counterparts which were usually situated with and were an integral part of the almshouse, these were separate institutions, established under private auspices. By 1800 there were seven such institutions in the United States, the first one having been established in 1729 by "ten Ursuline Sisters. . . brought to New Orleans from France. . . to found a convent."<sup>1</sup> They originally cared for ten girls orphaned by Indian massacres.

Another development at this time was that of special and separate institutions for the physically handicapped child. In 1817 the first school for the "deaf and dumb" was established and fourteen years later, in 1831, a school for blind children was established.

One of the most significant developments in modern child welfare took place in New York City in 1853 with the founding of the New York Children's Aid Society by Mr. Charles Loring Brace. Under the direction of Mr. Brace,

---

<sup>1</sup> Lundberg, Emma Octavia, Unto the Least of These, D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., New York and London, p. 52.

crude methods of foster home placements were established. He, and his workers, took the destitute children from the streets of New York and sent them to free foster homes outside the City. Large numbers of children were taken west to homes where they were to become "one of the family" and each child was in turn expected to work for his keep. As Mr. Thurston points out it was an extension of the old indenture system in a less rigid form.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brace felt very strongly that life on a farm or in a village had more to offer a child than the slums of New York City. His two expressed principles, on which his work was based, were:<sup>2</sup>

1. The superiority of the Christian family to any and all other institutions for the education and improvement of a poor child, and,
2. The necessity, in treating the evils of the poor on a large scale, of following the natural laws and demand for labor.

Ten years later, in 1863, a second such society was formed, the Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Children in the City of New York. This society put more effort towards holding the family together and if a child was removed from the home, the society would, when possible, return him after a "training period."<sup>3</sup>

---

1 Thurston, op. cit., p. 113.

2. Ibid., p. 102.

3 Ibid., p. 125.

### Individualised Care for Children

Another important development, dating from 1883, took place in Illinois under the sponsorship and leadership of Martin Van Buren Van Arsdale--whose first concern was to remove children from the almshouses. He originally planned to place them in separate institutions but abandoned this plan for one that is consistent with modern child welfare standards, that of individual attention and the selection of the best possible home for each child. The organization of the Society was state wide, and Mr. Van Arsdale and his assistants travelled throughout Illinois. When he could not find a home for any dependent child he took that child to his home to be cared for by his wife until another home could be found.

In 1885 a small receiving home was established in Aurora, Illinois and the Society later established several more. Children were placed in the receiving homes until a foster home was found.

Similar developments followed in other States; in Iowa in 1888 and in Minnesota the following year. By 1892 ten States had such organizations, each having a similar pattern:<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the State Board of Directors, the superintendent and staff, it was planned to have a local advisory board in each community where children were placed in foster

---

<sup>1</sup> Thurston, The Dependent Child, p. 149.

homes, and also in each state a receiving home for the temporary care of children.

The passing of the first Juvenile Court law, 1899, in Illinois represented further recognition of special consideration for the child. Following the passing of this law any child accepted for permanent placement in a free foster home had to be committed to the guardianship of the Society by the Juvenile Court of the county legally responsible for his care.

Thus Illinois set an example in child care--that of individual consideration of each child in placing him in a foster home and secondly the passing of a Juvenile Court law which provided separate courts and laws for the juvenile delinquent who formerly had been tried and sentenced under the criminal laws of the State.

Previous to these developments in Illinois the Boston Children's Aid Society (organized in 1863 with the object of providing some care for children in jails) was making tremendous strides in the work for protection and rehabilitation of the child. The most prominent figure in this Society was C.W. Birtwell who began his efforts as an "outdoor worker" in 1866. Mr. Birtwell expressed the following views in the twenty-fourth annual report of the Society in 1888:<sup>1</sup>

The aim will be in each instance to suit

---

1 Thurston, The Dependent Child, p. 185-86.

action to the real need--heeding the teaching of experience, still to study the conditions with a freedom from assumptions, and a directness and freshness of view, as complete as though the case in hand stood absolutely alone.

The origins of many modern practices in child welfare are to be found in the work of Mr. Birtwell and the Boston Children's Aid Society. Some examples are: Mr. Birtwell's<sup>1</sup> emphasis on case records for each child; and his stress upon individual attention for each child; and the utilization of all experience of each worker to understand and meet the needs of the child. Mr. Birtwell also pointed out that children were not capable of earning their keep in a foster home, nor should this be expected of them. Consequently the State of Massachusetts paid board for children in foster homes after 1869. From this date the Society made a regular practice of supervising children in foster homes.

His greatest contribution was the recognition and practice that there was not just one answer for the care of the dependent child--be it foster homes or institutions --each child had special needs and Mr. Birtwell and the members of the Society sought to know, understand and meet the needs of each child. As Mr. Thurston points out in his book, The Dependent Child, the Boston Society made mistakes but "Mr. Birtwell and the Boston Children's Aid Society

---

1 The workers of the New York Children's Aid Society had kept some notes on their children but they were generally very scanty.



gained such a clear vision of the process many others were more or less consciously groping for, and became so articulate in describing this process, that they helped enormously to create an attitude of mind, a conception--in short, an all-inclusive basic approach to the process of caring for dependent and neglected children, which all the world must eventually accept and use if we would not publicly acknowledge our inefficiency."<sup>1</sup>

#### Canadian Developments in Child Care

The first Canadian legislation for the dependent and neglected child was "An Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to and Better Protection of Children"<sup>2</sup> passed in Ontario in 1893. Mr. J.J. Kelso, an Ontario newspaperman "led the fight for the first Protection of Children Act in Canada."<sup>3</sup>

This piece of legislation has been copied by other provinces thus giving Canadian Child legislation some uniformity. Under this legislation the "ultimate responsibility for the prevention of neglect of children and for finding homes for those who need them rested upon and still remains with the provincial official generally called now

---

1 Thurston, op. cit., p. 201.

2 Statutes of Ontario, 1893, C. 45.

3 Smith, Marjorie J., "Children Are Special," British Columbia Welfare, Vol. 10, No. 9, March, 1953, p. 4.

the superintendent of child welfare."<sup>1</sup> The state assumes guardianship of neglected children and provides for care of these children by delegating authority for such care to the superintendent of child welfare or private children's aid societies. The municipality is responsible for support of the child and where possible the municipality may collect<sup>2</sup> from the parents of the child.

The trend in the Western provinces has been away from the traditional role of private children's aid societies carrying all the care of neglected and dependent children with that power being gradually absorbed at the governmental level. The private agencies are moving towards areas of specialized and experimental work in the treatment of disturbed children as well as continuing the more formal work of children's aid societies. They are generally no longer supported entirely by private or charitable funds but rather obtain the greater percentage of their financial support from provincial governments--in effect operating<sup>3</sup> as agents of the government.

British Columbia has, in common with most other Canadian Provinces, a Superintendent of Child Welfare. The guardianship of children apprehended under provisions of

---

1 Smith, Marjorie J., "An Interpretation of the Historical Development of Child Protection in Canada," Child Protection in Canada, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, 1954, p. 5.

2 Ibid., p. 3.

3 Ibid., p. 6.

the Act is vested with the Superintendent and also with private children's aid societies. The Act specifies the various reasons for which a child may be apprehended. When a child is known to be in need of protection he is apprehended by the Superintendent or a person who has been delegated the authority to apprehend (workers in private societies) or any policeman. Following an apprehension of a child notice of this apprehension and identification of the child must be made in a Court within seven days. If home conditions of the child are such that he is thought to be in need of protection and wardship is to be applied for by the Superintendent or a private society, written notice must be given five days before the proceedings to the parents, the municipality responsible for support and the Superintendent of Child Welfare if a private society is apprehending. The decision for guardianship of the child lies with the Court. Should evidence indicate that the child is in need of protection his guardianship is transferred from his parents to the Superintendent of Child Welfare or a private agency. That is, the child becomes a ward of the Superintendent or the private society. The parents have the right to appeal this decision at any time and the Court again hears evidence and decides if the guardianship of the child is to remain as it is or be returned to his parents.

Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, British Columbia

The following information on the development of child welfare in British Columbia has been largely obtained from the history of the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, British Columbia, 1901 - 1951, written by Anne Margaret Angus for the occasion of the Society's fiftieth anniversary.

"The Children's Protection Act"<sup>1</sup> for British Columbia was passed in 1901 and immediately following this the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver was incorporated. The Act was passed at the instigation of the Vancouver Local Council of Women. The motivation for the Act was the case of a little girl who was being severely neglected and harshly treated by her alcoholic mother. The citizen group wished to take action to protect this child.

The Children's Aid Society is a combination of the services of the type of society founded by Charles Brace in New York--The Children's Aid Society, and the protection society established some twenty years later in New York. The Society offers care to abandoned or neglected children and also intervenes to protect children whose parents are treating them harshly.

The Society operated over the whole of British Columbia and children were constantly being received from outside Vancouver. In 1905 a branch of the Vancouver

---

1 Statutes of British Columbia, 1901, C. 9.

Society was established at Nelson and committees were appointed in Kamloops, Cranbrook, Fernie, Rossland and other centres whose duties were to visit wards of the Society living in foster homes in that area and advise the Vancouver Society of their well-being. In 1905 the Catholic Children's Aid Society was established in Vancouver to provide similar care for Catholic children.

"The Protection Act," as did all other Canadian Acts, stated that foster home placements were to be the form of child care provided and institutions and shelters were to be used only as temporary measures. As is often the case, it took twenty-six years to put this into operation. It was not until 1927 that a serious effort was made to provide foster home care to all charges of the Society.

The first twenty-five years were a constant struggle to provide shelter or care for children and to obtain the necessary funds for operation. Children were originally placed in the Alexandra Orphanage or the Salvation Army Refuge Home. In 1903 it was necessary for the Society to provide its own institution. The number of wards continued to increase and when, in 1907, the building of an institution on Wall Street was completed, it was found to be too small and another wing had to be added. Funds received from the City of Vancouver and the provincial government were inadequate to meet costs of operation and the Society was largely dependent upon private contributions.

At the end of this period the Society directors and members of the community decided that an evaluation and reorganization of child welfare service in British Columbia was essential. They were unable to bridge the gap between lack of financial resources and lack of space in the Agency institutions for children coming into care. In 1926 a committee for this Child Welfare Survey was appointed under the direction of Miss Charlotte Whitton, then secretary of the Canadian Council for Child Welfare. As a result of this survey the entire field of child welfare in British Columbia was changed and put on its present day footing.

The Committee reported that the Children's Aid Society had done some fine work but made the following suggestions for the modification of their practices:<sup>1</sup>

1. The appointment of a qualified social worker to the position of superintendent to do the job of reorganization.
2. Creation of child protection field services.
3. Social investigation and supervision in connection with free home placement.
4. Establishment of a boarding home system.
5. Development of baby care.

The following administrative changes were suggested:

1. Install a case record system.
2. Rearrangement and rehabilitation of buildings.
3. Adequate medical and psychiatric services.
4. Night supervision.

Trained social workers had not been previously employed by the Society. British Columbia had no facilities

---

1 Angus, Anne Margaret, Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, B.C., 1901 - 1951. Vancouver, 1951, p. 30.

for this training and partly as a result of this survey such training was instituted at the University of British Columbia.

When Miss Laura Holland, the new superintendent, and her two assistants arrived from Toronto in 1927 they were faced with the tremendous task of reorganizing the Society and placement of the 177 children then in institutions into carefully selected foster homes. By the end of 1928 only 33 children remained in the Wall Street Home. The practice of placing children in foster homes in preference to the institution was thus established for the Children's Aid Society.

The Second World War brought about some of the dilemma faced twenty-five years earlier when the Agency had not been able to find enough foster homes during war time. To meet this need the Agency established three Receiving Homes: one for infants; one for toddlers to the age of eleven or twelve; and one for girls over twelve. This met an immediate need and also a further one. The Children's Aid Society, as have other children's agencies, have found that not every child could adjust to a foster home, particularly children in the adolescent group. The Society staff was aware that a group of adolescent boys were not adjusting in foster homes although every effort had been made to place them in good homes. It was therefore decided, in line with Children's Aid Society findings

and a growing movement on the North American Continent, to use the infant home for a group living home for adolescent boys. The babies were then transferred to carefully selected subsidized boarding homes. The home for toddlers to the age of twelve and the one for girls over twelve were already being used as group living homes and were continued as such.

The Receiving Home was intended as a means of temporary placement where the child could be studied and observed to determine the type of placement most suitable. However, the development in Vancouver and many other centres has been to use them for the dual purpose of temporary or inbetween placements for a child and also as a more permanent placement for children. They are also being used as semi-treatment centres for disturbed children.

#### The Use of Institutions and Subsidized Boarding Homes

The institution is again being recognized as a means of care for some children with the realization that there are children who need group care where they will not be closely bound in family ties. The institution coming into modern use is not the former type that housed hundreds or even thousands of children, but rather smaller type homes. The Children's Aid Society homes are not an exception to this as each home accomodates about twelve children.

Subsidized boarding home care for babies is also in line with modern child welfare practice. The infant



needs more individualized attention than can be offered in institutional care.

Leon H. Richman warns that the new type of institution must not be used as a means of disposing of a child because of a lack of adequate resources. Such institutions must be wisely used and run or their purpose is defeated. The use of subsidized foster homes for babies, he states, is preferable to institutional care. Mr. Richman also suggests that two babies is all one home can handle but adds that the number tends to run higher.<sup>1</sup> At present, Children's Aid Society has seven subsidized boarding homes, six for babies and one for boys aged nine to eleven.

The Children's Aid Society in Vancouver recently recognized that the "Receiving Homes" were not being used primarily for that purpose when they officially changed the name of the committee in charge of them from "Receiving Homes Committee" to "Group Homes Committee." There is no similarity between the group living homes of today and the institutions of twenty-five or fifty years ago. The child is usually placed in the group home for the specific purpose of helping him to a better adjustment with adults and children but not forcing him into it by placement in a foster home.

---

1 Richman, Leon H., "Responsibility for and Use of Interim and Emergency Placement," Child Welfare League of America Bulletin, January, 1947.

### Precipitating Causes

This thesis is part of a larger survey of Child Welfare in British Columbia. The larger study is to ascertain the whereabouts of wards of the Superintendent of Child Welfare and of the private children's aid societies. The study was precipitated by recent newspaper publicity following the imprisonment of a young girl, the ward of a private society.

The "Protection of Children Act," (1948) for British Columbia states:

If the Judge commits a child to a children's aid society pursuant to the provisions of this section, the society shall receive the child into its custody and shall make arrangements as soon as may be for the placement of the child in a foster home.<sup>1</sup>

And further, as a limitation on institutional care of children, the Act reads:

No child shall be maintained by a society elsewhere than in a foster home for a period exceeding six months, except with the written consent of the Superintendent who may at any time withdraw his consent.<sup>2</sup>

The British Columbia "Protection of Children Act" thereby states that foster home care is the type of care most acceptable and further places limits upon any other type of care for a child.

Where then, are the wards of the Superintendent

---

1 R.S.B.C. c. 47, s. 8 (12) 1948.

2 R.S.B.C. c. 47, s. 8 (13) 1948.

and the private societies if not in foster homes? The girl who was found in a Vancouver hotel and subsequently imprisoned on a drug charge was obviously not in a foster home, nor was she, at that time, receiving proper supervision. It is not the purpose of this thesis to answer the above question but to examine one small area in the total number of wards in the Province of British Columbia.

### Setting of Thesis

With the co-operation of the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, British Columbia a survey has been made of all placements of wards of that Society not in foster homes.

The survey was made as of October 31st, 1954 and all information contained herein relates to that date. On that date the Vancouver Children's Aid had a total of 1,120 wards. Of this total, 211 children were not in foster homes. This number constitutes 18.8 per cent of the total number of wards of the Children's Aid Society.

### Scope of Thesis

The scope of this thesis is to examine only 39 of 211 children. These 39 children were, on October 31st, 1954, living in subsidized boarding homes and group living homes of the Agency. Sixteen of these children, twelve infants under the age of one year, were living in the seven subsidized boarding homes and the remaining twenty-three children were living in the Agency's three group living

homes. The files of these thirty-nine children and also their parents' files have been examined.

The purpose of the study is to attempt to determine the reasons for this type of care and further to see if this care is meeting the needs of these children. It also proposes to examine existing resources for child care to see if they are adequate to meet the needs of the total group of "children in care."

#### Research Methods

The research methods used are: survey; case; description. Common characteristics in each case have been listed and will be found in the table in Appendix A. This tabulation was made from the accumulated schedules used for each case.

## CHAPTER 2

### THIRTY-NINE WARDS: A SURVEY

This chapter is a discussion of material contained in tabulated form in Appendix A, taken from the thirty-nine<sup>1</sup> case records of the children and their parents that were examined for this study. It is proposed to examine the material under the headings of: age, racial origin, birth-place, number of placements, number of social workers, length of time spent in the group or subsidized boarding home, school grade, marital status of parents, source of referral, siblings, number of siblings in care, stated religion, reasons for placement in the special setting and problems exhibited by the child.

#### Age

Eighteen of the children are females and twenty-one are males. The ages in this group range from two months to fifteen years.

Twenty eight children in the group came into care at the age of six or under and only eleven of the group

---

<sup>1</sup> A specific child is indicated by the use of the code number.

Table 1. Present Ages of Children, Showing Both Sexes and Total Number in Each Age Group

Present Age of child	<u>No. of children</u>			Present Age of child	<u>No. of children</u>		
	M.	F.	Total		M.	F.	Total
Under 1 year	7	5	12	11 years	3	0	3
1 - 6 years*	0	0	0	12 years	0	1	1
7 years	0	1	1	13 years	3	4	7
8 years	2	1	3	14 years	2	3	5
9 years	1	1	2	15 years	1	2	3
10 years	2	0	2	Totals	21	18	39

\*There are no children in the age grouping 1 to 6 years.

Table 2. Age of Children Coming into Care, Showing Both Sexes and Total Number in Each Age Group

Age of child at coming into care	<u>No. of children</u>			Age of child at coming into care	<u>No. of children</u>		
	M.	F.	Total		M.	F.	Total
Under 1 year	8	6	14	6 years	2	0	2
1 year	0	1	1	7-9 years*	0	0	0
2 years	1	0	1	10 years	1	2	3
3 years	4	0	4	11 years	1	0	1
4 years	0	1	1	12 years	1	3	4
5 years	3	2	5	13 years	0	3	3

\*There are no children in the age grouping 7 to 9 years.

came into care after the age of six. No child came into care at the ages of seven, eight or nine years. Excluding the twelve babies currently in subsidized boarding homes sixteen of the twenty nine children presently over the age of six years came into care before their seventh birthday.

<sup>1</sup>  
Wardship

In the majority of cases wardship followed shortly after the child came into care. In twelve cases there is a different age shown on the tabulation for the age of admission or "into care" and the age at wardship. In three cases there was a period of more than one year before the Agency was given legal guardianship--that is, before the child was made a ward of the Agency. In two cases--Numbers 29 and 26, there was a period of slightly over a year before the child was made a ward. In case 21 the child was admitted to non-ward care at the age of five years and later returned to his father. He was then re-admitted at the age of ten years and made a ward at that time.

Racial Origin of Child

Division as to racial origin is made on the basis of information given in the files, information which may or may not be complete or accurate. For purposes of this thesis the terms Caucasian (white), Oriental (yellow) and

---

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C contains the Legal Provision for Apprehension and Wardship of the children in this study.

Mixed (Caucasian and Oriental or North American Indian or Mexican) are used.

Twenty-eight children are of Caucasian origin. Racial origin is unlisted for one child but he exhibits the so-called Caucasian characteristics and is therefore considered as Caucasian. There is only one child of Oriental extraction. Nine of the children are of mixed racial origin, (and five of these are babies in the subsidized boarding homes).

Twenty-eight of the total of thirty-nine children (of all racial groups) are partly or wholly of British extraction.

#### Birthplace

One of the thirty-nine children was born in the United States. Twenty-seven children were born in Vancouver and six children were born elsewhere in British Columbia. Five of the children were born in other provinces of Canada--one in Alberta, one in Saskatchewan, one in Manitoba and two in Ontario.

#### Number of Placements

The number of placements includes each foster home (temporary or permanent) that the child has had, each receiving or group living home, each subsidized boarding home, hospital placements and camp placements where the child has been sent to a new home upon his return from



camp. In several instances a child has been sent to summer camp because foster parents wanted him moved and no other home was immediately available.

The group of infants under one year have (as might be expected) a lower number of placements than the older children. Seven of the twelve infants have had three placements. Case 4 was moved from his original placement because he was not getting the attention needed since there were several other babies in the home. Number 9 had a hospital placement because of a physical defect. Number 11 had two placements because another agency "needed" the home where he was first placed (this is discussed further in Chapter 3). The babies with three placements, Numbers 5 and 14, have also had hospital placements due to illness. Four of these babies were in one subsidized boarding home, the other boarding homes for babies having either one or two wards. This does not include non-ward babies who are also placed in these homes. On October 31st, each of three subsidized boarding homes had 6 babies, each of two had 4 and one had 5.

The four boys living in the Subsidized Boarding Home for boys aged 9 to 11 (Cases 1, 3, 5 and 6) have had four, six, one and nine placements respectively.

Cases 17 to 39 inclusive are children living in the Agency's group homes. Three of these children (Cases 31, 34 and 38) were placed in a group home when they came

into care recently. Taking the number of placements in consecutive order from the tabulation for Cases 17 to 39 inclusive, they read as follows:

5; 13; 2; 7; 8; 12; 10; 3; 9; 12; 8; 8; 13; 6; 1; 6; 16; 1; 2; 4; 2; 1; 9. (The child that has had 16 placements, Case 33, is fully discussed in Chapter 3.)

The two children in this group with nine placements (Cases 25 and 39) came into care at the ages of two years and four years. At the present time they are both nine years old. The first is a boy who has had nine placements in seven years and the second is a girl who has had nine placements in five years. The two children with thirteen placements came into care at the ages of 6 years (Case 18) and 1 month (Case 29). Their present ages are 13 and 8 respectively. The 13 year old boy has had 13 placements in seven years and the 8 year old girl has had thirteen placements in eight years.

There appears to be a tendency to place children that have had a succession of foster home failures in the group living homes in the hope that the home will be a stabilizing influence upon the child. The continual change of foster homes would be damaging to any child. The child not only loses a set of foster parents and is faced with the problem of forming an attachment to a new set of foster parents, but he must also adopt new sets of standards in new homes, new ways of doing things; he must become used

to new types of food, a different bed. He loses previous playmates in the neighbourhood and has to form a new group of friends. The moves usually entail a change of schools thus he finds new teachers, new buildings and new classmates. In effect, very little remains constant in the child's life except the factor of change.

#### Number of Social Workers

A list follows which shows the number of children who have had each of various numbers of social workers:

13	have had	1 worker
6	have had	2 workers
3	have had	3 workers
4	have had	4 workers
5	have had	5 workers
1	has had	7 workers
2	have had	9 workers
1	has had	10 workers
2	have had	11 workers
2	have had	12 workers

Eleven of the 13 children in this study that have had one social worker each are babies and the other two are children that have been in care for one and two years respectively (Cases 31 and 37).

Eighteen of the total group have had from two to five workers. Case 1 has already had three workers in the eight month period he has been in care. Case 17 has had five workers during his five year period of care. The boy had each worker for a period of one year.

Eight children have had seven to twelve workers. The two children who have had twelve workers are Cases 33

(discussed in Chapter 3) and 37. These two children have been in care for a ten year period.

The number of social workers for the child is generally much higher for the children that have been in care for a period of over one year.

#### Length of Time in Group Homes or Subsidized Boarding Homes

An examination of the length of time spent in group homes indicates that the majority of children have been in such homes for a period of more than one month. Six children have been in the group homes (including subsidized homes) for one month or less. The length of placements for the remaining thirty-three children ranges from one month to slightly over two and one-half years

Some of these children have been placed in the group homes previous to this placement but these periods have not been counted. The following is a list of time these children have spent in these homes during this placement:

- 25 children up to 6 months
- 7 children 6 months to 1 year
- 4 children 1 year to 1½ years
- 2 children 1½ years to 2 years
- 0 children 2 years to 2½ years
- 1 child 2½ years to 3 years

#### School Grade

Most of these children appear to be doing adequate work at school. For one boy, who has been rated as

a moron by the Child Guidance Clinic, the school reports are poor. Four of the children are in special or opportunity classes designed for children who are not advancing satisfactorily at school. Intelligence ratings have been obtained from the Child Guidance Clinic on the majority of the school age children and the ratings that have been given are generally consistent with the child's progress at school. However, it should be noted that in several of these ratings the psychologist has indicated that the child has a higher potential mental capacity.

#### Family Background

Information regarding the ages and nationalities of the parents has been obtained from the files and is included in the material in Appendix A.

Of the thirty-nine cases examined, there are actually only thirty-six families involved. There are three groups of two siblings--7 and 39 are brother and sister, 25 and 26 are brothers, 30 and 32 are sisters. However, for the purpose of this study, they are considered as thirty-nine separate cases.

#### Marital Status of Parents

The marital status of the parents (in each case specifically the mother of the child) is listed as follows:

Married. . . . .	3
"Common law" . . . . .	8
Widowed. . . . .	3
Dead . . . . .	1

Separated. . . . .	7
Unmarried mothers. . . . .	10
Divorced . . . . .	3
Remarried. . . . .	4

A confusing term used in the above list is that of "common law."<sup>1</sup> There is no legal recognition of the "common law" relationship and the children born of this union are considered illegitimate, the mother being legally classified as unmarried. The term has been used to describe the situation where there is no legal marriage but the couple are living together and providing a home for their children. It is a more stable family arrangement than that of the unmarried mother who, in most cases, has not or does not live with the putative father. Several couples living in "common law" relationship were separated from their legal mates but were not divorced.

Only three of these children have come from homes where their natural parents are married and continuing to live together. In two of these homes physical and moral conditions were so deplorable it was necessary to apprehend the children. It is also noteworthy that in both of these cases (17 and 33) the mother is physically or mentally disabled and further, there is a wide difference between the ages of the parents--19 and 21 years respectively. The

---

1 A classical description for the "common law" relationship was recorded on one file. When the woman was asked why she did not marry the man she lived with she replied she would rather not be tied to him as someone better might come along.

third marriage (Case 5) is an unhappy one, both parents being immature and mentally retarded. They requested adoption placement of this child, their third, as they did not think they could accept the responsibility for the child's care.

Eight mothers are living in a "common law" relationship. The man the mother is living with is not in every case the father of the child. An example of this is Case 13 where the mother deserted her husband, the father of the child, and subsequently lived with another man. As neither the mother nor her "common law" husband wished to keep the child she was surrendered for adoption.

Three of the parents of these children are widowed. In Case 21 the mother and father had been separated before the father's death.

In only one case are both parents dead but they were legally married. Case 38 is therefore the only orphan in the group.

Seven parents are separated. Case 23 is an example of a mother deserting her husband and infant children. The father subsequently placed the youngest son, a boy in this study, in a private boarding home but, as he did not continue payment for the child's care, the private boarding home "mother" refused to keep the child who was then referred to the Children's Aid Society.

The unmarried mother constitutes the largest group. Nine of this group are the mothers of babies in this study.

This means that in only one case in the remaining twenty-seven children is the mother unmarried and not living with a man in a "common law" relationship.

There are three cases where the parents are legally divorced. These are Cases 6, 18 and 35.

In four cases the parents are remarried. This, of course, entailed a legal divorce so actually seven sets of parents are divorced. However, the remarriage in two cases --27 and 31--refers only to the mother. In Case 27 the mother and father were divorced, the father died, and then the mother remarried. The child was living with her mother and step-father who brought the child to the Agency and requested that she be taken into care.

Separation, divorce, death, the relative instability of the "common law" relationship and the unmarried parents are common factors in the picture of a disrupted home for each of these children. The unstable marital adjustments or arrangements have in almost every case resulted in the parents either giving up their child or in the Agency having to take the necessary legal steps to remove the child from its home because of parental neglect.

#### Source of Referrals

In twenty-nine cases the referral was from other agencies, welfare services, the police or from concerned citizens. In the other ten cases the parents (or step-parents) requested direct service from the Agency.



### Siblings and Siblings in Care

It has been necessary to relate siblings to the offspring of the mother. In cases where both parents have remarried the children then born to the mother are the only ones considered. In all cases these figures may not be accurate but they do represent the number of children of the mother of which the Agency has a record.

On this basis there is a total of 137 siblings. The total number of these siblings in the care of the Agency is 77. That is five per cent of the children of these mothers are in the care of the Agency. Five of the siblings not in the care of the Children's Aid Society are known to be in the care of other agencies in the Province. A further number of this group of children have been placed for adoption--privately by the parents, through other agencies and by the Children's Aid Society. Six are known to have had adoption placements through the Children's Aid Society.

### Stated Religion

A specific religious denomination of the parents is given for sixteen of the thirty-nine cases. The remainder give "Protestant" as the religious denomination. Two of the specific denominations are listed as non-practicing Roman Catholics who did not wish to request service from a Catholic Children's Aid Society.

### Number of Contacts with Family

It has been found impossible to determine the number of contacts with a family. In some cases there are indications of contacts that have not been recorded or else have been recorded in a summary fashion that does not give any indication of the actual number of times an Agency worker contacted or was contacted by the family.

### Reasons for Placement in Special Setting

The reasons for placement in a subsidized boarding home or a group home as well as special problems exhibited<sup>1</sup> by these children should be considered. In the cases of the twelve babies the reason for subsidized boarding home placement rather than adoption placement is indicated.

Five of the twelve babies are of mixed racial origin. Three of these babies are in excellent health but are in need of adoptive parents. The mother's consent for the adoption of these children has been obtained but the Agency has been unable to locate suitable adoptive parents. In the two other cases the mother has refused adoption consent. One of the mothers has since married and applied to the Court for the return of the child but her application was turned down at that time. She plans to continue to apply for the return of the child. The second mother has refused

---

<sup>1</sup> Appendix B contains a listing of the reasons for placement and specific problems of each child.

adoption and also applied to the Court for the return of the child but since she had made no adequate plans for the child the plea was turned down.

Another group of six babies had poor physical health thus complicating permanent plans for each child. Two of the six babies have serious heart conditions, and one of them has a club foot as well. The prognosis for this latter child is poor. Another child had gastrointestinal upsets that involved hospital placements and delayed adoption consideration. Two others in the group were delivered by Caesarian birth and as these children are generally kept by the Agency for an observation period there were no other immediate plans. One of these children was expected to be returned to his mother when she made suitable plans for him. The sixth child was a premature birth and was also being held for a period of observation before adoption placement was considered.

Permanent plans were not made for the remaining child as the Agency did not have the mother's decision as to her plan for the child. This case (Number 11) is discussed in the third Chapter.

In four of the cases there was doubt as to the mother's plan for the child and in a fifth the father's consent was lacking but not the mother's. Three of these five children have been placed for adoption since October 31st, 1954.

With the remaining twenty-seven children the reasons for placement and problems of the child generally have a very direct relationship. The problems listed may not all be manifest at the present, but at some time the child has had them. The reasons for these problems no doubt are in part related to some of the points previously discussed, e.g. instability in child's own home; high number of placements; changes of social workers for the child. Each additional time the child is placed in a foster home the initial feelings of being removed from his own home may be re-experienced. The change of social workers is a further loss of stability in the child's life.

The foster home placement itself may have a great deal to do with the child's problems. If the child is placed in a home that does not meet his needs it is not likely that he will then develop in a normal way. Children have many ways of showing that they have problems. The "problems" listed for these children are common to all children; there is, however, a matter of degree. How many times has the child done this? Another serious consideration in discussing the problems of these children is that the reports of their "stealing," etc. have come from foster parents. How well accepted is the child himself by the foster parents? This cannot be assessed, but there is the question of how noticeable these problems would have been had they been exhibited by their natural

children. Can these foster parents understand that possibly their way of dealing with the child is contributing to his poor adjustment if this is the case? This, of course, is not true of all foster parents. The majority are doing a commendable job with foster children, but in the cases now being considered the foster parents which these children have had may not have been suitable for the particular child. One factor in this situation is the social worker who placed the child in the home. In so far as it is possible, the home and the child should not conflict.

<sup>1</sup>  
Problems Involved

Stealing is the most common problem in the group of twenty-seven children over six years of age. Fifteen of the children were reported by the foster parents or the police to have been stealing. In each case there was adequate proof that the child has taken the property of others and in some of the cases it was frequent enough to be beyond the normal range of "stealing" of children.

Workers noted poor school adjustments for ten of the children. There has been a Child Guidance Clinic evaluation of mental capacities for these ten. Three are rated in the average group of general intelligence, one is rated in the moron group and the other six are rated as low average or below average. In each case other problems

---

<sup>1</sup> Appendix B contains a spot chart of each child and the problems recorded of the child.

indicating emotional disturbance have been recorded for the child. Most of these children have severe emotional problems that would affect the school adjustment and might possibly affect the child to the extent that he was not able to utilize his mental capacity to a normal degree.

Six of the children continued to "run away" or wander off from the foster or group home. The setting of fires was a problem that occurred in seven cases. In eight cases the child was enuretic. Temper tantrums, lying, sex play, fantasy, day dreaming, swearing, destructiveness and disobedience are relatively common problems in this group of children.

Certainly it can be said that these children do have these problems to a greater degree than a "normal" child, and they may be seen as indications that these children have not made "normal" adjustments to life situations.

#### Use of Group Homes and Subsidized Boarding Homes

The group homes are commonly referred to as "neutral" settings, e.g. the child "needs a neutral environment such as the Receiving Home." "Neutral" presumably means that the child is not required to adjust to a family unit as would be the case in a foster home. However, the child does have to make an adjustment to the staff and the other children in the home. The homes are also frequently referred to as "stabilising environments" which would appear to be more descriptive. The rules and regulations applying

to the total group gives the child a more impersonal setting in which to adjust. The rules of the Home do not apply to the specific child, but rather to all of the children in the Home and thus are generally more acceptable to the individuals in the group.

In seven of the cases it appears that the group home has been used on a treatment basis for severe behaviour or emotional problems. These are cases 18, 19, 20, 21, 33, 28 and 37. In almost all the other cases they are used on a treatment basis for less severely disturbed children, but nevertheless children with problems exceeding the "normal" range. These children were placed in the group homes not only because of a lack of extremely good foster homes but usually because the child needed something extra that could be offered in such a setting. The child may need to have a group his own age with which to conform and may also have need to be removed from the close parental contact that he would experience in a foster home. In the case of the adolescents who have recently been removed from their own homes it is generally more difficult for them to accept foster parents than to accept such a group setting. This also applies to children who have experienced unfortunate foster home placements.

In three cases the child has either been committed to an Industrial School or committal is being considered for the near future. These are cases 22, 28, and 35. Case 28

has, since October 31, 1954, been committed to the Girls' Industrial School as "incorrigible."

In these instances it appears that the group home is used when the child needs special and close observation and intensive case-work treatment. It may also be used as a training period for the child before placement in a foster home. The child that has known no routine in eating, sleeping or personal hygiene may need to adjust to such routine in an impersonal setting and also to the controls of the house staff and the group. Bed-wetting, especially in teen age children, is also a common reason for keeping the child in the group home. Foster parents (or natural parents) are generally not too permissive about bed-wetting and the child may need a period in a more or less impersonal setting to overcome this.

It can then be said that the group homes are being used as a part of treatment for the child and not generally as stop-gaps or "Receiving Homes" in the older use of the word--that is, a child is not regularly placed into a group home when he comes into care. It would appear that the group homes and the Subsidized Boarding Home for boys from nine to eleven years are used with discrimination in an effort to meet special needs of some children.

The subsidized boarding homes for babies appear to be used when the mother has not reached a decision for the child; when an adoptive home cannot be found; when the



child is considered "unadoptable" for various health reasons. On October 31, the ages of the wards in the subsidized boarding homes for babies ranged from two months to nine months. Since these homes all had other babies as well,<sup>1</sup> it would appear that the service given these babies is more of an institutionalized type of care than individual care.

---

1 See p. 28.

## CHAPTER 3

### FOUR CASE HISTORIES

This chapter contains several summaries of the case records of four children included in the discussion of the preceding pages. The material contained herein is as recorded in the files of the children and their parents. Where quotations appear in the summary the section was taken directly from the case record. Further information was obtained through discussion of the cases with the present workers.

The first two are infants under one year of age living in subsidized boarding homes. These two were chosen because one represents the longest placement and the other represents the most placements (three) for children in the age group 0 to 1 year. The third case discussed is that of a 13 year old girl who has had 16 placements since coming into care. She is living in the Group Home for girls over twelve years of age. The fourth and last case is a boy, who, because of his delinquent behaviour, is in need of special services that the Agency is not equipped to give at this time. He is living in the Group Home for boys over the age of twelve. These cases have been chosen as they point out many areas of concern in any child welfare program. Some of these points are discussed at the conclusion

of each case.

Case 11 is that of an eight month old son of unmarried parents of Ukrainian origin. The mother, age 25, came to Vancouver from her home in another province to prevent her family from learning of her illegitimate pregnancy. The 28 year old father was aware of the situation.

The mother is described in the record as being an attractive, intelligent girl with a winning, friendly personality. The father was described by the mother as being a gay person who liked dancing and sports. The couple were at one time engaged but the mother broke the engagement.

The mother came to the Children's Aid Society about two months before the birth of the child to obtain assistance in placing the expected child for adoption. Following a normal delivery the mother still planned to place the child for adoption. A letter from the putative father upset her plan and she then was unable to come to any decision. Before leaving the hospital she became seriously ill and an operation was required. Rather than have her family come to Vancouver she decided to return to her home for the operation. The mother signed a form stating she realized the child would probably be apprehended and made a ward of the Agency. She wanted more time to come to a decision about the child and promised to write the Agency very shortly. The child was apprehended and placed in a foster

home of the Child Welfare Division of the Provincial Social Welfare Branch. The Child Welfare Division workers placed the child because they had a prospective adoptive home for him. Two months later it was necessary for the Children's Aid Society worker to remove the child from that home as the Social Welfare Branch concerned "needed" the home for another child. The boy was then placed in a subsidized boarding home of the Children's Aid Society.

When the Agency did not hear from the mother or receive a reply to the letter written to her in April, it was necessary to write an agency in the mother's city to have them contact her. The letter was written in August when the baby was five months old. A letter was also written to the mother at that time. The mother had asked that the agency not be contacted but in view of the five month period that had elapsed since the birth of the child the Children's Aid Society had no alternative. That agency contacted the mother and it was learned that the mother did not receive the letter from the Children's Aid Society worker or notification of the child's apprehension as the putative father, who was a postal clerk there, had intercepted her mail.

The mother was very confused as to a plan for her child. The putative father still wished to marry her but she was still unwilling to do this. She was also considering telling her family about the child in the hope that they

would take him.

The agency contacting the mother requested information on the adoptive home planned for the child and this was forwarded by the Children's Aid Society in September. With this information the agency was able to help the mother come to a decision to have her child adopted. Meanwhile, the adoptive parents were most anxious to have this child and the mother's indecision was upsetting to them.

The child has, since October 31, 1954, been placed for adoption.

In this case a child remained in the subsidized boarding home much longer than was beneficial to him. He did very well in the baby home but nevertheless a permanent plan was necessary for the child and keeping him in the baby home was not in his best interest.

This case points out several other areas where the paramount needs of the child were not the first consideration.

One example is that of lack of co-operation between agencies. This refers specifically to the removal of the child from the foster home of the Social Welfare Branch because that Agency "needed" the home for another baby. Could not that Agency have found another home for the other child as this one was doing well in the home. The needs of the child already in the home were not considered in such a move.

The lack of decisiveness in contacting the other agency when the mother did not respond to letters written to her caused further delay in planning for the child. This period was no doubt a difficult one for the mother and help from the agency might have relieved her worries and feelings. As it was, both she and the child were left with no definite plan. Undoubtedly the mother's decision was a difficult one, complicated by her illness, the putative father's refusal to have the child but at the same time wishing to marry her, and also the guilt the mother experienced about this out-of-wedlock child. Had the Agency followed through with the referral to the out-of-town agency sooner than it did, the mother would have had support and encouragement in making her difficult decision as to a plan for the future of her child.

The second infant is case Number 14, the child of a teen age unmarried mother. Her mental capacity falls into the low normal group (74-84) of general intelligence. The mother was sterilized after an evaluation of her mental capacities. The mother requested an adoption placement but "this plan is contra-indicated by family history of mental retardation and the child's physical condition. . . . There is also a possibility of incest. For these reasons long term temporary foster home is required to afford observation of the child's development."

The mother and her family have been known to the Agency for a number of years through neglect in her home. Two of her sisters have had illegitimate children, one of whom is presently a ward of the Children's Aid Society.

The baby's health is a contributing factor in the decision not to place the child for immediate adoption.

The child has a lung condition, a heart condition and a club foot. The lung condition and club foot are both responding to treatment but the prognosis for the heart condition is poor. The child was hospitalized twice during the first six months of her life. The baby is managing satisfactorily in the subsidized boarding home but another placement will soon have to be made as these homes are geared for younger babies. Adoption is not being considered at this time and it seems that there were difficulties in making a "long term temporary" arrangement.

The third case to be considered is Number 33, Evelyn, a 13 year old girl, the fourth of five children.

Evelyn was almost six years old when she came into care with two older sisters, 11 and 13 years old, and a 10 year old brother.

The children were committed to the care of the Agency for the following reasons: The "mother is unstable mentally and father takes no interest in children and allows and encourages them to beg. The children have been living

under appalling conditions and staying out late at night."

The family was originally referred to the Agency by the City Social Service who had received many complaints of parental neglect of the children. The family had frequently been in receipt of social assistance as a result of a series of accidents encountered by the father. During this period the children had been in and out of hospital. The hospital authorities thought the children's illnesses were largely due to the improper care the parents were providing. The children were very pale and undernourished.

The family was living over a store in one of the older sections of the City. The furniture was in very poor condition and the place was run-down and generally dirty. Toilet facilities did not pass as adequate by a sanitary inspector.

The mother was 38 when the family was first known to the Agency in 1944. She was excitable and had little or no control over the children. She attempted to discipline them by shouting. She is "exceedingly dull (mentally and quite unable) to care for the children without considerable supervision." She had "little understanding of her children." She did, however, give the children the best care she possible could in view of her limited capacities. This left "much to be desired."

The mother attended school until the age of 12 years at which time she had reached the third grade. She



recalled that she did not like school. After leaving school she did housework--laundry and scrubbing floors. She attempted "waitress work, but had to give it up because she could not remember more than one order at a time."

When seen by a psychiatrist in 1945 he was quite amazed at her "ignorance." She was quite "unaware of the most ordinary happenings." Psychological tests placed her in the moron group of general intelligence.

The father was 60 years of age in 1944. He had been married previously but his first wife died in childbirth. As a boy he refused to attend school, and thus had little education.

He took little part in disciplining the children. While receiving social assistance he was seldom in the home as "the noise of the children" got "on his nerves." He generally wandered the street, occasionally begging.

He had injured his arm in a fall and because he refused a minor operation to "restore its usefulness" had "almost lost the use of it entirely." The father was described as being "somewhat of a braggart."

The eldest daughter was described as having "a withdrawing personality and an inferiority complex." She was a shy and nervous girl. Her school adjustment was very poor and she wished to quit school. She was in a special class and psychological tests revealed her to be of very low intelligence and unable to derive any further benefit

from attending school. She quit school immediately and remained at home. After coming into care she was committed to the Provincial Mental Hospital because of her low intelligence.

The second daughter is described as being the "brightest one in the family." She was a "smart alec type of girl and quite a chatterbox." The record adds that she was continually vying for attention and generally quite noisy. She had been questioned by the police when found "accepting money from strange men on the street." A referral to Family Court followed this.

The only information given on the son at the time he came into care was that he had been attending special classes where his progress was poor.

There is little information in regard to Evelyn other than the fact she was attending a Day Nursery. The record stated that she had recently been taken to the docks by a man who assaulted her. The parents did not notify the police but instead wandered the streets with Evelyn in an unsuccessful attempt to locate this man.

The worker handling the case thought there was little in this family to build upon and the only answer was to remove the children from the home. In so doing he considered the mother's fondness for the children but decided that it did not outweigh the damaging factors in the home. There is little recorded to indicate that there

was any great attempt to provide case work services to the family. It appears that the home conditions were deplorable but there is nothing too specific in the recording to substantiate this. The worker spent a good deal of time gathering information from neighbours in order that they might have sufficient evidence for committal of these children to the care of the Children's Aid Society.

The following appeared on the court order requesting committal of the children. "Case was referred to the Children's Aid Society on the 18th July, 1944 by the City Social Service Department in view of the many complaints of neglect. All resources were tried, in an endeavour to raise the standards of the family, with little success. The fact that mother is certifiable and the antagonism of father were mainly responsible for this. Neither parent has any idea of responsibility. The children are allowed to beg on the streets, with the knowledge of the parents. The diet of the children is not good and they stay up until twelve and one a.m. Hence they are in and out of hospital frequently. Apprehension and commitment to the Children's Aid Society appears to be the only solution. (Evelyn) has been assaulted and the eldest questioned by Morality Squad for suspicious behaviour."

The Court committed the children to the care of the Children's Aid Society at which time the parents were greatly upset. They left the Court with the children and a couple

of days elapsed before the Society was able to take the children out of the custody of the parents. When the parents were located the mother was asked to bring the children into the office at which time they were "removed" from her. Apparently she had not understood that the children would be taken from her and quite a scene followed. Shortly after the father came to the office and was most belligerent about the Society taking the children in spite of his knowledge that the Court had ordered this to be done.

The parents made every effort to have the children returned and for a period of three years had several Court hearings in an attempt to have them back. Since the actual reasons for removing the children were not improved, particularly the mother's mentality, (which could not improve), the orders were refused. The parents were, however, granted the privilege of having the second daughter visit in their home and were also allowed to see the children in the office. Visits were generally arranged twice yearly. During these visits the children were often upset because of the parents promise to take them home, a promise they were unable to fulfill.

Another child was born to these parents in 1948. In view of the effect of the loss of the other four children the Society decided not to take any action to remove the child unless conditions really became deplorable. One child was not the strain on the mother that four had been.

She was also able to give her children a foundation of love. Neglect complaints have been received about this child but the situation is being supervised by the City Social Service Department and thought to be temporarily under control.

When Evelyn came into care at 5 years and 9 months her general health condition was described as poor. It was also recommended that she have a chest X-ray.

She was described as a "blonde child, (with) straight hair, large eyes." She was a very "talkative, loud and affectionate" child. She was also "inclined to be disobedient." She appeared to forget about her mother very quickly and stated she did not care where she went.

1st Placement. 26-7-45 to 4-8-45 (Temporary)

The child was placed in a home with several other foster children. She wet the bed on the first night of her placement but no further mention was made of this. The foster mother did complain about her "terrible language" and reported that she had washed the child's mouth with soap several times for this. The foster mother found her likeable but wanted her moved as quickly as possible so the boys in the home would not "pick up her language." She chattered continually and sometimes told "tall tales usually ending up with the topic of men." She was quoted by the foster mother as having said that her mother would not leave her alone with her father because he "played dirty with her, like men do in the street."

Although she was still pale and thin her general appearance was improved by new clothes and attention to her hair.

2nd Placement. 4-28-45 to 5-9-45

There was no mention in the file of any preparation of the child or the foster parents for this placement. It was, however, intended as a relatively temporary one. She was placed by her second worker since coming into care, with her two sisters in the Country Receiving Home. Within the first week a telephone call was received from the foster mother asking that the children be replaced within ten days as she was planning to go on a holiday. The worker visited very shortly and recorded that the foster mother "has never had children of this type before and it is felt that because she cannot take them out with her and have a pride in them, she cannot work with them." The foster mother described the children as being just like "animals." On the date of the removal of the children from this home the worker recorded--"because . . . the parents knew the whereabouts of the children. . . it was necessary to move them." The children had been told previously that it was only a temporary placement. The eldest girl was at this time committed to the Provincial Mental Hospital because of her extremely low mental ability.

3rd Placement. 5-9-45 to 28-2-47

Before placement of the two younger sisters in

this home the worker discussed the children and family situation with the foster parents. Definite arrangements were made in regard to visits and correspondence of the natural parents.

Due to the moves the child had had she was not registered for Grade 1. When the child was taken to the school by the foster mother she was informed that it would not be possible to have her start that year. The worker recorded this seemed like a good plan in view of the upsets she had experienced.

The foster parents soon reported to the third worker that Evelyn had many embarrassing (to the foster parents) twitching habits. The foster mother was advised to ignore them but they did not disappear immediately which upset the foster mother somewhat. The child also perspired a great deal at night. The foster parents became very fond of this child and she seemed most contented in their home. She was not visibly upset by a visit with her parents at Christmas time.

In April of 1946, eight months after placement, the twitching habits had almost disappeared and her health was much improved. She seemed exceptionally happy in the foster home and reported to the worker that she did not wish to return to her own parents and home. The foster parents had taught her to print and she in turn liked to help the foster mother or "shadow" the foster father. She

was very attached to him and he to her. She was reported to be eating and sleeping well.

However, her sister resented her. The sister was not as well liked by the foster parents and they asked that she be moved. They wished to keep Evelyn, but not her sister because she was not so affectionate. This sister was 12 years old at the time. The fourth worker recorded that Evelyn was extremely fond of the foster mother and during one visit sat on the foster mother's knee throughout the entire visit. She was about six and-one half years at that time.

In June of 1946 she was seen at the Child Guidance Clinic and was found to test in the average group of general intelligence. They reported further that she "lacked self-reliance but has a good sense of feeling of belonging."

Towards the end of that month she visited her parents. The foster parents were quite upset by this visit claiming that the child was always greatly upset when she visited her parents. They added that natural parents had no right to see their children if they could not look after them. The worker recorded that the foster parents did not like to think she belonged to someone else.

Shortly after her sister was moved from this home. The file states that Evelyn did not miss her sister or even ask about her.

Following this there is the first mention of



Evelyn being a nervous child. If she is "anticipating something--such as a picnic--she gets so excited she cannot sleep." It appears that she got excited very easily.

In October the foster parents said she was erratic and excitable and thought that she needed another child in the home with whom she could play. Consequently a very "backward", "spastic boy" of six was placed in the home in November. In December of that year the worker recorded that there had been no particular improvement.

In January of 1947, two months after the boy was placed, the fifth worker received a letter from the foster mother asking that Evelyn be removed. The foster mother was becoming impatient with her because she would not get ready for school in the morning nor would she eat her lunch when she took it to school with her. They were finding her generally "hard on their nerves" and they no longer had the necessary patience with her. They were "continually comparing her with the dull and quiet six year old boy and finding nothing but fault with her."

A Child Guidance Clinic evaluation in February recommended that she be replaced in a home with no other children so she would not have to compete for attention and affection. They found her to be generally more "settled, exhibiting less grimaces" than previously. They suggested that this might be "due to the discipline she received at school."

4th Placement. 28-2-47 to 20-5-48

The child did not appear to be overly upset when she left the last foster home and moved to this one. She "quite gayly told worker she had not been a good girl and therefore could not stay there, but she planned to be one from now on."

These foster parents were given an account of this child's background and the necessity of a stable and continuing foster home. The worker recorded these comments on the foster parents: "Foster parents both had rather miserable lives being brought up by unkind people and one hopes they will not identify with (Evelyn) too much. They are very bitter about their past and are more than anxious to make it up to (Evelyn)."

Four months later the worker recorded that Evelyn had "improved in every way." She was "quieter, more obedient and has lost many of her stupid mannerisms." The foster parents handled the disciplining of the youngster jointly. The "Foster parents always emphasize to (Evelyn) that they want "their little girl to be a lady." At this point the worker stressed that she was, after all, a child. The foster parents were quick to state that they recognized this and did not wish her to lose her childish ways. The worker further recorded "They are very firm, but have given (Evelyn) a good feeling of security and love which she has not had before." However, the worker added, the foster parents were possessive of her in that they resented her

natural parents visiting as it "will upset their training."

The worker then recorded that the foster mother was "friendly, out going, vivacious" and "enthusiastic about. . . (the) progress." Evelyn had passed to Grade 2. The foster mother showed the worker two pictures of Evelyn, one taken the day she arrived and a recent photograph. The worker noted that there was quite a contrast.

In September of 1947 the sixth worker recorded that the child seemed well settled. She added that the foster mother seemed terribly anxious to please. Shortly after there was a change of workers. The seventh worker recorded that the foster mother was an "odd person" but "seems sincere." The foster mother reported she needed to give the child strict discipline but that with this the child's habits were improving and she was no longer as nervous as previously.

In April of 1948 a girl was placed in this home from the Girls' Industrial School. During the following month there were many upsets including the new girl running away. In May the foster mother asked the worker to move Evelyn. The foster mother stated she found, with the other girl there, that she had never had any real love from Evelyn and that she got more "love from the older girl in a month than she had from (Evelyn) in a year." Further "(Evelyn) did not fill the empty space in her heart." She wanted her moved immediately because of her

(foster mother) health.

5th Placement. 20-5-48 to 10-6-48

During the next placement the child revealed that the foster parents had told her that she was a "bad girl" and would eventually be sent to the "bad girls' school." The child was terrified and experienced nightmares during this placement. The former foster parents had also told her that her "mother was crazy" and "did not love her children."

As this home was overcrowded and Evelyn and the foster parents adopted daughter fought continually, Evelyn was again moved.

6th Placement. 10-6-48 to 7-7-48

This foster mother was an experienced foster parent. She is described as warm and motherly. She was given details about the child before placement. There were two other Children's Aid Society children in the home, one younger and one older.

At first the child seemed to do well in the home and appeared to become attached to the foster mother. Evelyn argued a great deal. The foster mother decided she could not keep her "because of the other children in the home." She described Evelyn as being "quarrelsome, disobedient, cheeky and extremely high strung." She thought it was not fair to the other children to keep Evelyn. However, the foster mother suggested that Evelyn be placed

with a friend of hers who knew the child and was interested in taking her. This was arranged.

7th Placement. 7-7-48 to 19-8-49

The foster parents were well prepared about the child and before placement the child had three visits with the foster parents. The worker emphasised to the foster parents this child's great need for permanence. The file gives a good picture of the home, the yard and the neighbourhood. The foster parents had three older sons and a two year old ward of the Children's Aid Society.

The worker expressed surprise at the fast adjustment the child made to this home. The child was getting over her nervousness and was no longer hysterical and incoherent as formerly. She also played well with the other children, particularly the foster parent's middle son. She was given more freedom than in the fourth foster home in that she was allowed to play with other children in the neighbourhood. In the fourth foster home she was not allowed to play out of the yard. The child "thrived" in her new home.

In November of 1948 Evelyn began wearing glasses to correct her astigmatism.

Evelyn, then nine years old, told her worker she intended to stay in this home until she grew up. She behaved better in school, was more able to concentrate and consequently received better grades. The change in foster homes had been accompanied by changes in schools.

very near the end of the term. Evelyn formed a good relationship with these foster parents and was upset when her own mother requested a visit with her on Mother's Day. Evelyn was not forced to make this visit which greatly relieved her.

About June, Evelyn began making plans for summer camp. At this time she was not getting along with the daughter of the foster parents. They simply did not speak to each other. Before Evelyn left for camp the situation in the foster home was becoming rather intolerable. Evelyn would not speak to the foster parent's daughter and she in turn was spending most of her time away from home. The foster parents were very tolerant of both girls but recognized that this situation could not continue. They did not take sides with their daughter against Evelyn but insisted that both girls had to be reasonable and come to a more satisfactory understanding of each other. Following the camping period in July it appears that the relationship between the two girls had not improved and it was again necessary for Evelyn to be moved from a foster home. The tension the girls created in the home was so great it was thought best for both girls to move Evelyn. Evelyn understood the reasons for this move and did not make much objection to it. As the worker said; "By now her attitude was understandably "I don't care what happens."" Her only request was that she remain in the same school area.

In December Evelyn looked forward to a visit with her parents. Following this visit she complained that her mother "looked funny" and added that she was glad she did not have to live with her. She told her foster parents that her mother did not like her calling them "mother" and "father" but the child continued to do so. These foster parents were not upset by the visits of the natural parents.

The child kept requesting a visit with her fourth foster parents, the ones that told her she was a "bad girl" and that her "mother did not love her children." The foster mother refused to see the child and explained that it would be too upsetting.

In February of 1949 a teen age girl was placed in this home by the Children's Aid Society. Evelyn and this girl shared a bedroom and did not get along at all well. A month later Evelyn was caught stealing comic books from a nearby grocery store. The foster mother was upset by this. The worker explained the effect of another move on this child and suggested that the older girl be moved instead as she had stated she was not happy in this home.

At this time the worker had psychiatric consultation on Evelyn. The content of the psychiatric evaluation follows:

. . . (Evelyn) presents a picture of over-anxiety and general social maladjustment.

Present picture-- . . . over active, continually talking, exuberant, noisy, aggressive, etc.--is

a picture of an over-anxious child who cannot bear her own tension and anxiety and reacts through over-activity. . . . (Thought) that she is still in the pre-oedipal phase as her aggressiveness is towards everyone. She has not yet obtained empathy with people. . . .

Stealing and lying-- . . . earlier satisfactions were connected with this. . . . (Stealing gives) immediate satisfaction and. . . (she) would not give it up until she no longer needed it. . . . (She) cannot trust promises or anyone. This was very evident when (Evelyn) stole the "yo-yo" only the day before her foster mother promised to buy her one.

. . . Patterns a great deal of her behaviour after that of her mother. For instance, her grimaces, suspiciousness, her evasiveness and untruthfulness, her lying and her over-interest in housework. . . . Although (she) has mixed feelings to her mother, she still clings to the only person who ever loved her for any period of time.

Interest in sex--. . . History of probable incest, also the one time when (she) was assaulted, could be quite stimulating and would very likely play a part in her general restlessness.

Reason for liking strict home. . . where it was discovered after she moved that she had been badly treated. . . . (She) knew she had been removed from her own home because this was not a good home. The children were allowed to do entirely as they wished and since (Evelyn) knew that this was not good, a home such as the fourth, where the standards were very rigid and very strict care was given, would be such a contrast to her own home that she would naturally feel that this was a good one. Also the very firm care represents a good deal of security to a child such as (Evelyn) who has had many moves.

Stealing-- . . . Likely the trouble between (the two girls) . . . . (The other girl is older and larger so Evelyn) could not fight directly with her and has to swallow her anger. She cannot take things from (the girl) so she takes things from others which is a simple displacement of her anger.



The following suggestions were given for a treatment plan:

1. Medical examination including neurological examination.
2. Therapy--an explanation and interpretation as to why she left her home.
3. Work with her school--arrange group activity.
4. Continued contact with her mother.
5. Office interviews for the child to express herself to her worker.

Prognosis-- . . . fairly good providing treatment is given at this time. . . . She is a primary behaviour problem showing some neurotic traits . . . not developed enough to say that she has a neurosis but it is felt she is on the way.

The above evaluation was explained to the foster mother who expressed great interest and a willingness to co-operate in working with the child. The foster mother also decided to keep Evelyn in the home.

The worker saw the child in the office regularly and she was allowed to express her feelings about the older girl. Evelyn did not need encouragement in this and very quickly "exploded" her anger towards the girl. The worker also told Evelyn why she had been removed from her own home --that her mother loved her but just was not good at looking after children, as some people are not good at other things. The child wanted this repeated to her weekly during the next four months before she finally began to understand it and was able to drop the subject herself. During this period the child had an enjoyable visit with her mother.

In August, at the end of these interview sessions, the foster mother discovered that Evelyn had been "tampered with" for the past six months by a man on a nearby farm

from whom the child had been buying eggs for the foster mother. The worker checked with the police and found that there had been several reports of this nature about the man.

At the end of August the foster mother requested that Evelyn be moved. She was alarmed about the close relationship Evelyn had with one of her sons and in view of Evelyn's recent experience, feared sex-play between the children. The son refused to play with anyone else.

The worker explained fully what a move would mean to the child at this time but the foster mother insisted that she be moved because of the friendship between Evelyn and her son. The foster mother suggested a friend whom she thought would be a good foster mother and interested in taking Evelyn.

8th Placement. 29-8-49 to 8-9-49

Evelyn spent 10 days at camp before going to her new foster home.

9th Placement. 8-9-49 to 22-9-50

Previous to placement in this home Evelyn had three visits with her new foster parents. These parents were given a full picture of the girl and again the need for permanence was stressed.

When Evelyn moved to this home she insisted that she be called Margaret. She has kept the latter name since that time. No reason was given for the change of names by the new worker, the eighth.

She continued to do well at school. This move did not mean a change of schools for her. She also got along well with the several other children in this home. She began taking piano lessons and showed ability. She had a successful visit in the office with her mother the Christmas of 1949 and again in April of 1950.

In July of 1950, when Evelyn was almost 11, a 13 year old girl was placed in this home. She proved to be an upsetting factor and had quite a bit of influence upon Evelyn. Evelyn spent July 19th to July 27th at camp. The worker reported that Evelyn got along very well in this home. She was not as excitable as previously. "She did not speak in such a high-pitched voice." She began to take more interest in her own person and in her belongings.

In September of 1950 the foster mother had a serious operation and all of the children in the home had to be moved.

10th Placement. 29-9-50 to 11-5-51

Evelyn and her room-mate were moved to another home in the same district when the former foster mother went to a hospital for an operation. It was hoped at the time that they would be returning to this last foster home when the foster mother recovered. Her health did not improve sufficiently, consequently this temporary placement became rather lengthy. Since it was in the same district it did not necessitate a change in schools.

The home was, however, very overcrowded and the situation was generally quite unsatisfactory. The foster mother is described as a warm and kindly person. Evelyn became extremely quarrelsome and argumentative with the other children in the home. She had an enormous appetite and bolted her food. The foster mother reported that she was unable to show any affection or take any interest in other people. Evelyn felt that everyone "picked" on her and according to the foster mother wanted everyone to feel sorry for her. She was still a very anxious child and per-spired very easily.

In February of 1951 a Sunday School teacher became interested in her and wanted to take her into her own home. She had a thirteen year old girl living with her at the time and Evelyn decided, after a weekend visit, that this home was not for her. The worker recorded at this time that Evelyn "lacks confidence and seems insecure."

In April of 1951 the worker decided that a country foster home might be the best placement but in lieu of a good country foster home the Alma Receiving Home would be the best alternative. The foster home she was in was not working at all well. It was decided that "a period of observation at the Receiving Home" would be the best move. Consequently Evelyn visited the Receiving Home. She was quite enthusiastic about it and anxious to move there immediately.

11th Placement. 11-5-51 to 11-11-52

The move to the Receiving Home entailed a change of schools near the beginning of May. The home staff soon found her to be a nervous and anxious girl with deep feelings of inferiority. She talked constantly and quarreled continually with the other girls. She was a constant worrier. She lacked self-confidence and remarked that "everyone else was prettier or nicer."

However, she began taking more interest in her personal appearance. During July she visited her mother twice and also had outings with her older sister, (the one that she "did not miss or ask about" when she was removed from a home that Evelyn was also in).

Evelyn spent from August 6th to 16th at a Camp.

During November Evelyn had a new worker, her ninth, who spent a great deal of time with her in an effort to establish a close relationship and also to help the girl with her feelings of inferiority and lack of self-confidence. She confided to her worker that she did like to see her mother but she was frightened going there alone as it meant a walk through "Chinatown." She added that her "mother is funny" and tells her that she and the father will "run away with her" and not "let her go back to the Receiving Home." Evelyn realized that this would be an impossible situation. She said she did not like to be alone with her father at any time. She particularly enjoyed her visits home when her sister accompanied her.

Her sister was able to help her understand her parents. She added that her mother embarrassed her by discussing the whole family situation with strangers on buses. She said of her mother that she was "a wonderful mother if only she weren't so funny." The friendship with her sister was strengthened and the sister had a very good influence upon Evelyn. The sister, Agnes, had adjusted well in a foster home, completed her high school and was then taking a business course.

At first Evelyn showed a fear of new situations in many ways. She would not venture home by way of any route but a familiar one. Within a few months she began skating and was considering taking singing lessons as she had a very "sweet" voice. Her talk began to indicate less fear of adolescence and she spoke of completing her high schooling and becoming a secretary (as her sister had done). She began taking an active part in school activities as well as activities in the Receiving Home. About this time she received more acceptance from the other girls in the Home. She showed "considerable strength in overcoming (her poor) attitudes" and habits in that she controlled her swearing, cheekiness and began to develop more self confidence. The worker helped her with her fears in regard to sex and men. Evelyn was generally frightened of men and thought that all men were bad. She visited her parents occasionally but continued to express "almost

violent feelings of revulsion towards her father."

About April of 1952 her worker thought she was ready for a foster home and broached the subject to Evelyn. Evelyn "most emphatically said she did not want to move until school was out." However, she did discuss the type of home she wanted. She asked for one where the parents would be interested in her and accepting of her. She did not want one with a number of children already in the home.

In May of 1952 she had a change of workers, her tenth, and about the same time there was a change of staff in the Receiving Home. She was greatly excited about the change in staff and could hardly contain herself from wondering what type of people they would be.

The new staff matron was "concerned about (Evelyn wanting a foster home) because while she feels (Evelyn) can not really benefit from some of her contacts in the Receiving Home, a number of the girls are very rough, still (Evelyn), of all the girls is the least prepared to settle down. She (House matron) was very concerned over (Evelyn's) extreme excitability, and temper tantrums, and wondered whether (a foster home) would be prepared to put up with these things."

Throughout June Evelyn planned for summer camp. She also wanted a foster home on her return from camp. She spent July 9th to 18th at Camp and thoroughly enjoyed

it. The house staff were not so pleased with her camping experience. They stated that she returned with "most of their work undone." "She had been a very neat child. . . and she had come back so dirty from camp that girls could not stand to sit next to her and they (house staff) had to send her upstairs for a bath at once." They also complained that her manners were worse than ever. This they indicated was sufficient reason for not considering a foster home placement at this time. Evelyn was most disappointed that a foster home had not been found. At this time the worker recorded that she thought the house staff "are quite reluctant to think of (Evelyn) leaving the Receiving Home, and I am attempting to help them with this. I think part of it is that they find (Evelyn) quite a lovable and rewarding child and are reluctant to see her go" but "they give factual reasons for wanting her to stay, for instance her extreme excitability."

Evelyn had been promoted to Grade 7 and was doing average work at school. She was quite looking forward to junior high school but did not want a home that would require her to go to a school other than one in the Receiving Home district. A home in another district was found and after a visit there Evelyn decided she would very much like to live with these people in spite of the change of school involved.



12th Placement. 11-11-52 to 3-4-53

The new foster mother was a young woman with two step-children, a girl seven and a boy of five and a one year old child of the foster parents. Evelyn shared a room with the seven year old girl.

A change of workers occurred just after this move. The eleventh worker found her an "attractive, appealing child--nervous and high strung, always close to tears or giggles."

On this worker's first visit to this home she "realized that all was not well." The foster mother, who was pregnant, was expecting her to be a "mother's helper" and Evelyn just did not see the work to be done. The foster mother stated Evelyn "required more attention than her own youngsters." It was very difficult for Evelyn to realize and accept that the foster mother did not want her to remain in the home. When she finally admitted this to herself she became very angry and bitter towards the foster mother. The worker immediately arranged for a new foster home placement.

13th Placement. 3-4-53 to 1-9-53

Evelyn visited this home over the Easter weekend and was most anxious to move in immediately. The foster parents had a daughter Evelyn's age, thirteen. The foster parents appeared to have insight and understanding in regard to Evelyn. The move meant a change of schools

14th Placement. 1-9-53 to 14-9-53

There was little choice of foster homes in this district and she was placed temporarily with an older widow who had experience with foster children. The placement was a most unfortunate one. Evelyn was "most rude to (foster mother), insisted she could do as she liked, flew into violent tempers when crossed in any way and was completely out of hand." She was immediately removed from this home.

15th Placement. 14-0-53 to 25-11-53

Evelyn was placed in the same district and continued in Grade 8 at the same school. This foster mother is described as "Exceptional. . . warm, accepting, patient, with a great deal of insight into (Evelyn's) difficulties." The family consisted of the foster mother and foster father, their small grandson and a woman boarder. Evelyn had her own room in this home. The home itself was clean and comfortable. The foster mother, however, had a chronic heart condition and she found Evelyn's temper tantrums and constant demands very trying.

Evelyn did not settle down in this home during the first month. She clung to her "gang" at school and insisted that she be allowed to go out with them every night. The foster mother decided that a fourteen year old girl could not be allowed out every night in view of her age and also in consideration of her school work. When

she was required to spend an evening in the foster home she was most restless. Her choice in friends did not appear to be too wise but in her desperation for acceptance went with any group that would have her. She had begun taking singing lessons and was very interested in this. It was her hope that she could make a career of singing.

She continued to visit her mother occasionally and see her brothers and sisters. She worried about her older sister who had been transferred to Woodlands from the Provincial Mental Hospital where she was placed shortly after the children came into care in 1945. The older brother was extremely retarded, and was not able to read at the age of eighteen. "She is fiercely loyal to her family and claims they are the most wonderfully "united" family, never quarrel with each other, etc. and alternately she is ashamed of them."

At this time Evelyn was described by her worker as being a "slim attractive girl who can be very charming when she is happy and relaxed. She is always clean and neat about her person. She is not lazy and will often volunteer to help with the housework and dishes--sometimes she will surprise foster mother by doing something extra without being asked." However, the worker added: "When things are going exactly as she wants, (she) is gay and happy--if she doesn't get her way, she argues, her voice

gets shriller until it nearly reaches a scream. She may fly into a violent temper at which time she will then throw things or hit, and uses very filthy language."

The foster mother reported to the worker by writing letters on two occasions just after quarrels with Evelyn. She related that there had been some progress in that Evelyn no longer talked constantly but added that one "can't convince her (Evelyn) that she is not perfect both in looks and ways." She stated that Evelyn had no feelings of sympathy. She found her obedient but not always too willing to do as she was asked. During her time in this home her friends at school appeared to have dropped her and she was very lonely.

As she was most unhappy in this home and in view of the foster mother's health it was decided to move her to the Alma Receiving Home. Since she knew the Home Staff from her previous stay there it was not too frightening a step. She was quite agreeable to this move. It also was in the same district as the foster home so a change in schools was not involved.

16th Placement. 25-11-53

Evelyn was warmly welcomed to the Alma Home by the house staff and the girls living there. She began to settle down immediately and although not particularly relaxed, she did appear to be happier in that setting. The house staff was pleased that she had "not forgotten all she

learned when she was with them before." She continued to visit her family and during this period reported that she now felt "natural" with her father.

During a visit with her family in January of 1954 the police searched their house because they thought the father fitted the description of a person who had broken into a store. Evelyn was upset by this. Upon her return to the Receiving Home she began to wonder again about her position in relation to her family. She told the worker that she did not think children should be taken away from their parents even though she "realized it was for their own good." At this time she decided to quit taking singing lessons because the House matron told her she would "never have a voice."

She was quite upset for about the next month following her visit home. She again began to ask for a foster home. She said she did not like the home staff, particularly the House matron, and further she was misunderstood by them in regard to the work she did in the home, her friends and her temper tantrums. The House matron said that she had improved a bit since her upset during her visit home.

During March she took part in an "ice Show" and was generally very busy. She was given a kitten of her own and seemed to be in better spirits. She was concerned about some of her school marks as she was not passing two

of her courses. She was doing well in her other subjects and the worker offered to give her some extra coaching in the poorer subjects.

During the next while she had numerous complaints about the Alma Home and the staff. She was still asking for a foster home. She mentioned that she would like to live with her family but would not want to live in the slums. She discussed her family with her worker pointing out that they had some pride. Her worker discussed the possibility of a foster home and also the difficulty in finding a permanent one for her. She was quite distressed as she realized that a foster home would likely not work out but she still thought that the Alma home staff were too strict. This time she was particularly critical of the Home father as she found him harsh in his punishment, often over small matters.

#### Hospital Placement

It was necessary for her to have an operation on her leg and arrangements were made for her to have it during the Easter holidays. Evelyn spent from April 20th to 28th in hospital. Her worker visited her there and she tried to be very brave and matter of fact about her operation. On the day she was to go home she begged the nurses to let her stay as she did not wish to return to the Alma Home. However she did return there. Upon her arrival in the Home the House matron gave her a nice welcome and made

her most comfortable by fixing a bed for her in the living room. Her leg was kept in a cast for a month, during which time she got around very well on crutches, and did not miss any school.

During May she wanted money from her Family Allowance to buy a beanie--"like the rest of the gangs." The house father thought this was "a big waste of family allowance" and that she should buy it out of her pocket money. Since it would only leave her with twenty-five cents a week the worker did not agree. The worker also thought it was very important to get it for her because Evelyn "felt school was so important."

About the middle of May she decided that she would like to remain in the Alma Home throughout the summer. During the month of June Evelyn had a temporary worker, her twelfth, as her regular worker, who has continued since that time, was on holidays. It was not until July of 1954 that she again began to ask for a foster home. During August the Home matron contacted the worker to tell her that Evelyn had shown "a very big improvement" and that she thought "she now deserves a foster home." Evelyn now was "going steady" with a messenger boy and she was most anxious to remain in the same district. She said she did not mind staying on in the Alma Home as she wished to remain in the district more than she wanted a foster home. A couple of weeks later she had returned the boy's ring

and again requested a foster home.

She started Grade 9 in September of 1954. Evelyn was now almost 15 years old. The worker remarked that she looked very attractive in her new clothes purchased for the school term and added that she "always dresses in very good taste." During the next two months, September and October her relationship with the house staff had greatly improved. She appeared to be making an effort to stay out of trouble.

During October a possible foster home was found for her. At this point she was a bit confused. She now enjoyed living at the Alma Home but also wished to be in a foster home. As the home was not in the present school area she decided against it. At the end of October another foster home was found and she was quite interested in this one. She arranged to visit the home in November.

Since the time of the original survey, October 31st, Evelyn has been placed in a foster home and has been happy there to date. She is getting along well with the foster mother who is understanding of her. She has also returned to the Alma Home for the occasional supper and visit. She continues to visit in the thirteenth foster parent's home, who were and still are, most understanding and considerate towards her. The Alma Home matron agreed with the present worker, that Evelyn seemed happy and relaxed in her new home.



This is the case of a 13 year old girl who came into care, with three siblings, at the age of five. Her mother was of extremely low intelligence, in fact certifiable, and her father apparently was of low intelligence. These children suffered extreme neglect and deprivation in the home in spite of the mother giving her children all the love and affection of which she was capable. Since coming into care Evelyn has experienced numerous changes in foster homes and social workers and schools. The result has been that she has developed into an unstable child, unable to form lasting relationships with foster parents and with children of her own age. She has, however, been able to form relationships with some of her workers and also with some foster parents which would indicate that with continued treatment she may make a more adequate adjustment.

Evelyn's "removal" from her parents was a most traumatic one. She, along with her sisters and brother, was taken from the mother as the woman stood by unable to do anything but sob and scream. The mother had not realised that her children would be taken from her when she obliged the worker by bringing the children to the office. Evelyn still recalls the event.

The home was a very poor one in every sense of the word. The parents were unable to give their children a minimum of physical needs let alone emotional ones.

At the time Evelyn came into care there was no

study of her family, of her and the siblings, and the inter-relations of each. In fact, the file gives very little information about the children at this time. The eldest sister and the brother are both extremely dull and likely should not have been placed with Evelyn and the other sister who are of average intelligence. However, these children were later separated and the eldest sister was committed to the Provincial Mental Hospital and later Woodlands because of her extremely low mental capacity.

These children had experienced extreme deprivation. This indicates that the child should have had a foster home where she would receive very special attention. Possibly a home could have been found for Evelyn and her second sister but the value of having other children in the home is questionable. Placement of each as an only child might have been even better as each needed a great deal of attention to make up for past experiences. However, Evelyn was placed in a home with "several other foster children." This foster mother wanted her moved shortly after she was placed because of her "terrible language." The foster mother could not have been well prepared by the worker or a home where the child's swearing would be offensive would not have been chosen.

This pattern of placement and replacement continued. A diagnosis was not made when the child came into care. There seems to have been no initial planning to find

a foster home to meet the special needs of this child. Frequently there was no preparation of the child for the foster home and alternately there was no preparation of the foster parents regarding the child. The results of lack of study, diagnosis and planning on the basis of the study and diagnosis showed time and again.

The record states that foster parents frequently lacked understanding of Evelyn's parents as well as understanding of Evelyn. The mother particularly, gave her children all of which she was capable. She also has a right to continue seeing her children. However, the foster parents were generally upset by Evelyn's visits with her parents.

It would appear that various workers did not always see the need for diagnosis of Evelyn. In instances where a diagnosis was made it was never followed through for any length of time. Child Guidance Clinic reports and psychiatric consultation advised that Evelyn receive special and undivided attention. However, Evelyn did not have many placements where she was the only child and when she was finally the only child the foster parent's request for another child was complied with. For example, the placement of a placid and retarded child made her behaviour seem most extreme and the foster parents asked for her removal.

Warm and understanding foster parents, whose attention was not divided among several children, might

have helped Evelyn develop the self-confidence, trust, self-discipline that she now lacks.

At the time of Evelyn's last placement in the Alma Home her worker thought she was very close to a mental breakdown. The previous placement had been an extremely disturbing one to both Evelyn and the widow with whom she was placed. However, the group home acted as a stabilizing influence and Evelyn has, after eleven months, been able to move from here to another foster home. However, this foster home is more of a boarding home and the foster mother does not put many demands upon the girl. Since the home has no man it does not constitute a normal family group but Evelyn seems to be relating fairly well. She has a good relationship with her present worker and with a continuance of this relationship and her present foster home, Evelyn may be able to make a more adequate adjustment than sixteen placements and twelve workers within nine years would indicate.

Case Number 19 is that of Bobby who was born on the 11th of January, 1940. Bobby's family have been known and seen by the Children's Aid Society since 1938, however Bobby himself did not come into care until October 9th, 1952 when he was twelve years old. He became a ward of the Agency about six months later.

Bobby was "placed in (the) Juvenile Detention Home (in) September of 1952 on a charge of incorrigibility

by his father. As father and step-mother (are) unable to control him and unwilling to have him in their home, the alternative to Children's Aid Society placement would be (Boys' Industrial School). The latter is felt to be unsatisfactory and he is remaining in the Detention Home until a suitable foster home is found or a vacancy in the Boys' Receiving Home occurs."

The above paragraph indicates many things. A twelve year old boy has been charged as "incorrigible" or unmanageable by his father. It also tells us that his father is remarried and that he and his present wife do not want the boy in their home. Since Boys' Industrial School is considered as an alternative to foster home placement his "incorrigibility" must be of a serious nature. It also indicates that difficulties are being encountered in finding a "suitable" foster home and that the Children's Aid Society Receiving Home for older boys may be the answer for his placement. It may indicate that Bobby has had a disruptive and unsettled life to be considered "incorrigible" at the age of twelve.

Bobby's mother was born in 1918. She became known to the Children's Aid Society in 1938 following a complaint that she and her husband were neglecting their child. Little information is given about the mother but it was known that

her mother was dead and that she had little or nothing to do with her father. Her sister was married to her mother-in-law's younger brother who was then serving a term in the penitentiary for a holdup in which the sister was believed to have assisted. This sister had several abortions and was at that time illegitimately pregnant. The mother and this sister saw each other frequently.

The mother is described as being a "sociable" person but "inclined to be stubborn and headstrong." She is also reported to have been promiscuous before and after her marriage to the boy's father. She was described by her mother-in-law as being extremely lazy and neglectful of her child.

The father is described as being a "pleasant looking immature little man and seems young to have taken on the responsibility of a family." His mother impressed the worker as being "an extremely objectionable, prosperous type of woman."

The mother and father were married in 1937 just four days before the birth of their first child, a daughter. The marriage was from the outset a stormy one. The mother had not wished to marry the father but he and his mother had insisted upon it and she finally complied. There were many quarrels and separations, charges and counter-charges that one or the other was unfaithful and also that whoever was caring for the child was not taking sufficient interest

or responsibility. The father's mother, with whom they lived most of the time seems to have interfered continually in their marriage. The father was unemployed quite frequently and the family received intermittent financial assistance. The father was in the army for two months in 1939 but was discharged on medical grounds. During that year the mother and father moved into a house of their own and the family situation seemed to improve. Bobby was born in January of 1940 and when the worker visited a month later all seemed well and Children's Aid Society visits were discontinued.

In August of that year the mother came to the Children's Aid Society asking for advice as she had left the father two months previous to this and he was now refusing to allow her to see the children. She had taken the daughter with her when she left but as she was unable to obtain work and support the child, she had returned her to the father. At this time the father placed Bobby and his sister Betty in a good boarding home. The mother and father discussed the situation of the children and the father promised to give the mother the daughter as soon as she was financially able to support her.

At the end of 1940 the mother inherited some money from her father and the father sent both children to her. This did not please the mother as she wanted only to have her daughter and not the infant son Bobby. She sent

Betty to live with relatives (whom the father described as "drunkards") in a distant city and kept Bobby. Two months later, in February of 1941 the mother took court action to have the father contribute financial support for the children. The father offered to take the son as an alternative to financial support and the mother was agreeable to this. However, the father immediately disappeared and the mother kept Bobby. Two weeks later the father returned, having been deported from the United States for illegal entry. He stated he wanted Bobby and also began divorce proceedings. July of 1941 was the last contact with the Agency and the case was closed in 1945 as there had been no visits to the family since 1941 and there had been no further neglect complaints. There had been an attempt to locate the paternal grandmother in November 1944 but it was unsuccessful.

The case was reopened in June 1948 following a referral from a Metropolitan Health Nurse about a boy who was living with an elderly woman and her son. The boy was confused about his family relationships and the psychiatrist who had seen him suggested that case work services would be of value to this boy to help him with his confusion as to who his parents were and what his relationship was with the elderly woman and her son. Investigation of the files revealed that this was Bobby, the baby who had not been wanted by his mother.

Taking the threads back over the years it was



learned that Bobby's mother and father had obtained a divorce in 1941 at which time the custody of the children was not decided. The mother took the daughter and father took Bobby. He immediately placed Bobby, then about 15 months old, with a woman of 65 and her son who was in his twenties. The father visited Bobby regularly in this home until he remarried late in 1942. Following this, his visits became very irregular and he finally visited just once a year at Christmas time. It appeared that his wife, Bobby's step-mother, did not wish to have anything to do with this boy and "openly states she does not like children." The mother made no effort to visit her son after the father took him in 1941.

This "foster mother," Mrs. Edwards, stated that Bobby was in very neglected condition when he was brought to her in 1941. His arms had been badly scaled and he had not had any solid food. He was walking at this time but did not talk until he was two years old. She found Bobby no problem until he began attending school. Bobby called Mrs. Edwards "Mum" and her son "Dad." He was also aware that he had a father, mother and step mother. No doubt the impact of the confusing and unnatural situation would strike him when he first moved out into the community in attending school. It would become obvious to him that his "Mum" and "Dad" were not like the other children's parents, particularly in age differences and their relation--that of mother

and son--to each other. Mrs. Edwards told the worker that visited her that Bobby has a "very bad temper but. . . obeys easily."

Shortly after Mrs. Edwards was visited in regard to Bobby, his father was in the office to report a neglect complaint about his first wife who had the custody of their daughter Betty. He stated that Betty was underfed, left alone day and night and that she was generally a disobedient child. His first wife had remarried twice and he stated she was presently associating with "objectionable company." He was advised to take the matter of custody of the daughter to a lawyer who could then prepare for the necessary Supreme Court action to determine the custody of this child. The father mentioned that his son was with friends for the time being. The worker who saw him was unaware of the other contacts the Agency had with this family. The father followed through on this and obtained custody of the daughter who came to live with her father and step-mother.

Meanwhile Bobby remained with Mrs. Edwards and the worker recorded "It is obvious that he feels secure and wanted in this home." The worker reported that although Mrs. Edwards "is in her 70s, she is exceptionally active and has not lost her understanding of young boys and their needs." There was no continued contact with Bobby and his "foster" mother after January of 1949.

The worker decided to close the case in May of

1950 "As there seems no further service indicated." However, upon review of this case in September following a neglect complaint about Betty it was decided to keep it open. In view of the father taking the daughter into his home with his second wife and also considering the age of Mrs. Edwards and the possibility of later plans for Bobby the case remained open. Little was done at this time except to visit Mrs. Edwards once in November of 1950 when she reported, and worker accepted, that all was well. A telephone call to the school Bobby was attending revealed that he was in a "special class" and that he was continually into "mischief" that kept the whole class in "hysterics." The school also reported that Bobby had a slight hearing disability.

There was no further contact for a period of eleven months. At that time a worker from another agency telephoned to report that Bobby and another boy had broken into several cottages, that worker being the owner of one of them. This worker learned from the police that the boy had been returned to his father. She thought that the Children's Aid Society might look into the circumstances since the boy had been living in a "foster" home and had not used his legal name but that of the "foster" parents. A worker called at the father's home a few weeks later but no one was home. The contact was not followed through.

In April of 1952 the father and paternal

grandmother came to the Children's Aid Society to ask for help in dealing with Bobby. He said that his first wife --Bobby's mother--was living in a "common-law" relationship out of Vancouver and had no interest in the child. The father stated that Mrs. Edwards had "loved" Bobby and because of that she had hidden from the father his many delinquencies over the past years. However, Mrs. Edwards recently decided to return him to his father after Bobby inflicted a severe beating upon her. The neighbours had also signed a petition asking that he be removed from the district because of his continued vandalism. Bobby had also attempted to burn the Edward's home by encircling the house with gasoline and lighting the gas. One side of the house had been damaged at that time. At this time Bobby had been with his father and step-mother for six months. During this period he had continually run away from the home, often walking about ten miles to the Edwards home. He was also breaking into stores, breaking windows, playing truant from school and was generally defiant and destructive. He had no male playmates and generally preferred girls, whom he would kiss and pet. He spent a great deal of time alone or walking with his dog. He was "slyly affable when faced by a person, but strikes out vindictively behind one's back." His father had placed Bobby in a Private School but he ran away after three days and returned to Mrs. Edward's home. She was to have an

operation shortly and could not keep him. The paternal grandmother offered to take him for a short time.

The father was at a loss in handling the child and the step-mother refused to have him back in their home. The father was prepared to lay a charge of incorrigibility against Bobby but he hoped that the Children's Aid Society could find him a foster home so that the boy would not have to go to the Industrial School.

Two weeks later, in April, 1952, the father laid a charge of "incorrigible" as no immediate plan could be worked out. The child remained with Mrs. Edwards until the Family Court hearing early in May.

During April the nurse at Bobby's school telephoned to report that she, the principal and Bobby's teacher were very concerned about his behaviour. He "had been masturbating in school and his language and behaviour was detrimental to the rest of his classmates." The nurse added that he was "defiant, rejected and extremely unhappy little boy." On one occasion the boy had doubted his teacher when she told him she was fond of him. He stated no one cared about him, his father did not want him, his grandmother did not have room for him and Mrs. Edwards did not want him any longer either.

There is no further recording for a four month period but later recording indicates that Bobby spent a period of two weeks in the Detention Home while a Child

Guidance assessment was being made. The boy went to the Industrial School at the suggestion of the Child Guidance Clinic psychiatrist as there was no foster home to meet his need. The psychiatrist pointed out that actually neither a foster home or the Industrial School was what was needed but rather an institutional treatment center for a disturbed and delinquent child such as he. He remained in the Industrial School for two months and was then released to his father and step-mother as they asked to have Bobby home. It appeared that both felt guilty about not being able to care for Bobby, but were particularly guilty about his being in the Industrial School.

The stay at the Industrial School was of no particular value to him. Bobby is a very small boy and in 1952 was four and one-half feet tall which was much smaller than the majority of boys in the School. The School was not equipped to give him the segregation and attention he required.

The father and step-mother "made an earnest, though superficial attempt" to make Bobby happy at home. About one month after Bobby returned home he broke into a neighbours house and his father again laid a charge of "incorrigibility."

Bobby then went into the Detention Home where he stayed while the Children's Aid Society was trying to find a suitable foster home or made some other arrangement.

During the time in the Detention Home Bobby was a full time job for the staff. He was continually getting into mischief and becoming very explosive when ordered to behave. However, if he was given stern and consistent discipline, such as being taken to his room or given a specific task he would usually settle down immediately and later would soon be able to rejoin the rest of the group. Bobby was in the Detention Home for almost three months, during which time there was no real improvement in his behaviour. At first he seemed to settle but he later became discontented as his was the longest stay there. The other children were in and out and the Detention Home policy was being broken in allowing Bobby to remain there for the extended period of time. Bobby became upset by the coming and going of other children and the lack of plans for himself.

Several conferences were held during this period. Some of the conferences were within the Agency, others called in other interested agencies such as the Child Guidance Clinic and the Juvenile Court. These meetings did not accomplish much more than to point out time and again that the foster home wanted for Bobby was not to be had, the institution needed for his care was not yet planned or built and that actually the only alternative other than BISCO was to place Bobby in the Boys' Receiving Home. Bobby was finally moved from the Detention Home to the Boys' Receiving Home in December, 1952, having been there since September, 1952.

As Bobby had expressed concern about Mrs. Edwards and a fear that she might die and he in some way would be responsible, his worker visited Mrs. Edwards and her son to arrange for Bobby to visit them. They were quite agreeable to this. Neither had any understanding of Bobby's behaviour, in fact were at quite a loss as to why he had become such a problem. They indicated that they had given Bobby a great deal materially and that both had loved him. They did not see that Bobby thinking of a mother and son as a mother and father could be so upsetting to him. When Bobby's worker took him out to visit the Edwards a few days later, he had a pleasant time with them and arrangements were made for him to visit them regularly.

Bobby continued with play therapy at the Child Guidance Clinic that had begun in October while he was still in the Detention Home. He had a close association with his worker and was seen by him at least once a week. Bobby particularly enjoyed his worker taking him swimming. He had weekly visits with his father, step-mother and sister Betty until February of 1953. At this time his sister went to live with her natural mother and Bobby then made only infrequent visits to his father's home. He began visiting his natural mother and sister. It was the first time Bobby had met his mother as he was a baby when she left him. Although Bobby saw his mother and sister frequently he never spoke of them to his worker or his



therapist at the Child Guidance Clinic.

In April of 1953 Bobby became a ward of the Agency. Previous to this Bobby had joined the Army Cadet in January. This was quite a step for him as his pattern had been to avoid boys in his own age group. He did very well in cadets and qualified for Cadet Camp that summer, an experience he thoroughly enjoyed. He purchased a bicycle with the sixty dollars earned at camp.

His adjustment in the Receiving Home "was satisfactory although he acts on an immature level." His school progress was very poor. He did not show any consistent improvement in his school work. He would appear to be managing and then slide back. However, he was promoted to the next grade in June of 1953.

In August of 1953, following his return from Cadet Camp, Bobby spent three days with the Edwards. Mrs. Edwards and her son were planning to move in September and would be living much closer to Bobby thus making more frequent visits possible. At this time Bobby had a change of workers. During the early part of 1954 his natural mother and her husband moved away from Vancouver, The record does not indicate whether or not Bobby's sister Betty went with them. They returned once in 1954 to visit Bobby. The return visit was precipitated by their receipt of a bill of \$500.00 for Bobby's care from the City of Vancouver. They came to the Agency to complain that Bobby was not doing well in care

and they might just as well take him home. However, they did not make any effort to take the necessary court action to have Bobby returned to their care.

During the spring of 1954 Bobby obtained a paper route. With the assistance of the house father he did very well. His play therapy interviews interfered with the paper route and following a conference it was decided that the route was of more value than continued play therapy at this time.

In April of 1954 Bobby and four boys in the Home ran away and were involved in the theft of a car. Bobby was given a suspended sentence and returned to the Receiving Home. A month later he disappeared from the Receiving Home and two days later "turned up. . . at the Detention Home and requested admission. After investigating the situation, it appeared that one or two older boys in the Home had pressured (Bobby) into stealing articles for them. However, (Bobby) had been strong enough to resist this, but in view of the threat of physical abuse, he had run away. This situation was cleared fairly adequately in the Home situation and (Bobby) had continued to adjust satisfactorily."

Bobby did not qualify for Cadet Camp so arrangements were made for him to spend a month at another camp. Following his return from camp he spent a week in a temporary foster home as the Boys' Home staff were away on holidays.

The worker recorded that Bobby "made a slow but positive adjustment in the Boys' Home from 4:12:52 (when he was placed there) to 3:8:54. He began to relate both to Home staff and to peers." In September Bobby attended Grade 8 special class in a nearby junior high school. His work was unsatisfactory and his class standing was low. Bobby's intelligence has been assessed as dull normal with higher potential. His teachers have consistently reported that they do not think that Bobby is working to capacity in school.

Between August and October of 1954 there were many changes in the Home. Eight of the boys living there were placed elsewhere and a new group of boys moved in. This left Bobby in the position of senior boy in the Home. At this time he formed a closer relationship with the staff and took "over some extra responsibilities in the Home, i.e. distributing cod liver oil capsules to the boys daily." All seemed well until the end of October when a very disturbed 16 year old boy was placed in the Home over a week-end. This boy was extremely demanding of attention from the house mother. This boy was described as being confused over his "own sex drives as a 16 year old" and as having "a tremendous infantile need for affection and attention from a mother figure." "He followed the house mother around, snuggled up to her and stroked her body." The worker suggested the following reasons for Bobby's upset following

this boys stay in the Home. "At this time (Bobby) was forming a much closer relationship with the house parents. The new boy quickly moved into a relationship with the house mother which (Bobby) probably wanted to do but was not able. This experience seemed to reactivate some of his feelings regarding the discovery that "his mother and father" (Mrs. Edwards and her son). . . were really a mother and son, and perhaps a good deal of guilt was generated regarding the accepted sex role of parent to parent as against the sex role between mother and son. The effect of (Bobby's) knowledge that his natural mother and stepfather had. . . (moved away) apparently increased the trauma. These incidents apparently completely upset and uprooted (Bobby), so that he could only run from the situation."

Since October 31st, 1954, the worker has recorded that Bobby "began to be uncooperative, restless; show some hostility towards discipline, and generally indicated regression." He has run away from the Boys' Home several times and has been involved in thefts. Because of this he has been placed in the Juvenile Detention Home, one time at his own request. He has been put on probation to the Juvenile Court. The last time Bobby was in the Detention Home he was found to be most difficult to manage. However, he stated he preferred the Detention Home, that he found it much easier to do his work and was happier there. His worker thinks that the Agency will have little alternative but to charge Bobby

as "incorrigible," at which time he will likely be placed in the Boys' Industrial School.

Bobby was first known to the Agency when he was one month old. His parents had been known to the Agency for two years at that time. It is possible that more intensive case-work service to the family at that time would have prevented Bobby from becoming the unhappy, unadjusted youngster he is now. However, the Agency lost contact with the family in July of 1941. As there had been no further contact with the family following that time the case was closed in 1945.

Bobby again came to the attention of the Society in 1948 when he was seven years old. At that time he was living in a home where his "foster mother" was in her 70s and her son, whom Bobby called "Dad" was in his 30s. In May 1949 the case was again closed after the worker made two visits, one in June of 1948 and the other in January 1949. The case was reviewed in September of 1949 and it was decided that it should remain open in view of a possible necessity for future plans for Bobby. One visit to the home followed in November, 1950. In October of 1951 the Agency received a report from a worker in another agency that Bobby had been involved in thefts. A worker called at Bobby's home but no one was at home.

In 1952 Bobby's father came to the Agency to request service as he was unable to control the boy. At

that time the workers recognized Bobby's disturbance and saw that they were not equipped to give the special service Bobby then required. He was placed (after almost three months in the Juvenile Detention Home) in the group home for older boys. This was the only facility the Agency had that might meet his needs.

Bobby's case precipitated a large conference wherein it was further recognized that Vancouver needs a treatment centre for disturbed children and his was a case worth citing to bring attention to that need. It is unlikely that such a centre will be built in time to be of any service to Bobby. In any case, there has been enough deterioration in his behaviour to justify commitment to the Industrial School.

The fact remains that Bobby's family was known to the Agency in 1938. Bobby again came to the attention of the Agency staff in 1948. It was not until 1952, when Bobby's behaviour was a community problem, that intensive and continued service was given. Original preventive work might have removed the need for special (and unobtainable) treatment at this time.

## CHAPTER 4

### CHILD WELFARE: A CONSTANT CHALLENGE

This survey and study of thirty-nine wards of the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, who were living in group or subsidized boarding homes of the Agency as of October 31, 1954, has revealed some of the reasons for the use of this type of institutional care. It has also pointed out that this care is not entirely adequate for some of these children. Further, it has shown that there is a need for additional co-ordination and co-operation of existing resources as well as the necessity for other resources for the care of children in Vancouver.

#### Case Records

The examination of the case records of the thirty-nine children and their parents has in some cases revealed a lack of material from which conclusions can be drawn. Two particular areas are outstanding.

1. A clear and concise social study of the parents, the child and the foster home is generally lacking. Certain relevant information is essential in making a study and diagnosis of each child. Without this there can be no plan consistent with the needs of the child. The high number of placements in many of these cases bears this out.

2. Specific information, such as the school grade of the child, the date of the parents birth, addresses of the parents and foster parents, is frequently missing on the child's file. Dates of birth recorded in the child's record do not always agree with those recorded in the parent's record or the Agency's master card for each child. The date the child became a ward of the Agency is frequently not listed in the child's record and it is necessary to check the case record of the parents to obtain it.

### Social Backgrounds

The study reveals some of the factors in the backgrounds of these thirty-nine children which have no doubt contributed to the necessity of special care.

1. Each child has been removed from his own parents. Any type of care offered is a substitute which can never fully compensate to the child for the loss of his own family.

2. Each child has parents who do not constitute a legal and/or stable family unit. The parents of these children do not always meet the moral or legal concepts of "family" that Canadian society attributes to this unit.

3. Most of these children have experienced changes in foster homes that frequently entailed changes in schools attended. In other words, these children have not only known the initial loss of their parents but have also known the loss of substitute parents.



4. Most of these children have experienced frequent change of social workers. The social worker represents the Society, the child's legal guardian, but changes of workers remove the continuity factor.

5. For most of these children there is no continuing contact with their own families--parents and/or siblings. There is a need for continued work with the family after the child has been removed in order that the family may be rehabilitated and the child returned to his own home. If this cannot be accomplished a contact of the child with his family may have to suffice. The need for more consistent work with parents after the child is removed from his home has been recognized and dealt with by the Society. The radical change in structure that occurred one year ago was in order to provide better service to the child and his parents. The success of this structure change cannot be assessed in this study, or even at this time, but there are many indications that the move was a positive one.

Many of these children have been emotionally damaged in their own families. Continual changes after being removed from their families would be particularly difficult for children so ill-equipped to meet further instability in their lives.

It is impossible to assess the amount of retardation due to emotional components but there is little doubt that this is in part responsible for some of the inadequate

social and school adjustments of these children.

### Training of Staff

As is common to all agencies, there is a need for more trained workers to serve these children and their families. Their situations deviate from the "normal" and the "typical" and require knowledge and skill on the part of those who serve them in social agencies.

### Classification of the Children

The children receiving care in the group and subsidized boarding homes have been divided into the following categories:

1. Emotionally disturbed children who have not become delinquent but who do show signs of maladjustment which may lead to future neuroses or psychoses.
2. Children whose activities verge upon or are delinquent.
3. Children who have known a series of unsuccessful foster home placements.
4. Children whose natural parents are still interested in them and cannot see them forming attachments with foster parents.
5. Teen-aged children who have recently been removed from their own parents and are themselves unable to accept foster parents.
6. Babies for whom no long term plan has been made.
7. Babies for whom adoptive homes have not been found.
8. Babies considered to be "unadoptable" for various reasons.

9. Children and babies who could well be placed in foster homes.

The group homes are generally doing a commendable job in meeting the needs of such a varied group of children as is to be found in each home.

However, these homes are not equipped to deal with children who fit into the first and second categories. There is no specially trained staff in these homes to deal constructively with the continual problems these children create. In answer to the question--What do disturbed children need?<sup>1</sup>--Helen Hagan has stated:

These children need an environment that is therapeutic in its every aspect. They need a new and gratifying experience of living, and they need relationships with adults and children who, while giving acceptance and tolerance of deviation, will also provide controls against anxiety-producing impulses. They need a special program of remedial education which is geared to give them a corrective school experience not only academically, but also with regard to their feelings about school. They need creative occupational and recreational opportunities as necessary outlets for dammed-up energies. In other words, what these children need is a therapeutic "milieu" where individual psychotherapy is but one of the many corrective experiences in the redirecting of the child's emotional development.

This special "milieu" cannot be arranged in the present group homes of the Agency. The necessary staff for such a

---

1 Hagan, Helen R., "Residential Treatment," Journal of the Child Welfare League of America, Vol. 31, No. 1, January, 1952, Child Welfare League of America, Inc., p. 3, Underlining by writer.

programme is lacking. Also the necessary funds are lacking. The group homes could not begin to include a school programme within the homes. At present, these children attend regular community schools. The children are free to come and go within certain limits. They are in no sense physically removed from the community of Vancouver. Some emotionally disturbed children need to be removed from the community --for their own sakes as well as for those in the community.

The needs of children in categories three, four and five can and are being met in the group homes. Frequently these children may need a stable environment where too many demands will not be put upon them. They particularly need an environment where there are no close parental ties such as in a foster home. Children may be placed following a series of unhappy foster home placements or following removal from their own homes in order that they may be studied and observed to determine the best possible type of care for each child.

The value of group care for the remaining four categories is not so clear. Babies need individual care. When a long term plan is lacking for a baby because of the unmarried mother's indecision in regard to the future of the child, every effort must be made to help that mother see the necessity for an immediate decision. A baby considered "unadoptable" for various health reasons is likely a child that needs more individual time and attention than a child

in good health. If adoption placement is not being considered, there is no reason why foster home placement cannot be the alternative. The reasons for the decision that these children are "unadoptable" are further questions of concern. Children with physical handicaps born to parents who cannot or will not keep them might be placed with foster or adoptive parents who wish to have children. In any case, group care would not seem to be the best answer for the needs of these children.

Babies for whom no adoptive home can be found present a difficult problem to any agency. The babies in the study for whom adoptive homes are lacking are those of mixed racial origin. This in itself raises the whole area of feelings and prejudices about various races and particularly mixed races. If agency programmes of interpretation to the community have not provided a sufficient supply of such homes in Vancouver and the rest of British Columbia there may be a need for co-ordination of such placements on a nation-wide basis. It may be that homes could be found for these children in other provinces.

#### Foster Home Shortages

There are many reasons for shortages of foster homes. People in Vancouver--prospective foster parents--may not be aware of this need and could possibly be reached through more intensive and extensive community interpretation. The present remuneration for foster home care has long been

recognized as inadequate. With increased payment to foster parents for their service to children it is very probable that many more homes would become available.

#### Prevention of Dependency

There is another dimension on the question of the care of children. It includes the whole area of the prevention of dependency of children. It is the preservation of family life. This includes a whole myriad of services to families, a few of which are cited:--better community housing programmes; full employment or means for providing adequate social insurance to the unemployed; premarital counselling; adequate service to families in difficulty--economically and/or emotionally. Where there has been a death of a parent in a family, the surviving parent might be helped to keep the children in the home. A programme of house-keeper service to widowers may be part of the answer. Financial assistance to mothers when they are left with the total responsibility of their children would prevent other children from becoming wards of agencies. Both these services are lacking in Vancouver and the need for them seems to be apparent. There is also a need for further services to Vancouver families with problems. Community facilities for this service are not at the present time meeting this need. Part of the answer may be extended service. Another facet may be greater co-ordination and co-operation between existing services.

### Recommendations

It appears that the existing resources for child care in Vancouver are not adequate to meet the needs of all the children in care. Areas discussed previously that are found to be lacking are summarized in the following list.

1. There is need for a treatment centre for disturbed children. There are many disturbed children in Vancouver and British Columbia who are in need of immediate service that such an institution could provide.
2. There is need for more trained staff in all agencies. The worker with a knowledge of human behaviour and special skills in working with people is better equipped to recognize and treat problems of people--both in early and later phases of those problems.
3. There is need for greater co-ordination and co-operation of existing services. The common goal of service to children demands the co-operation and co-ordination of all interested in the welfare of children, e.g. social workers, teachers, doctors, psychiatrists, nurses, etc.
4. There is a need for more foster homes. In line with this there is also a need for more adequate remuneration for the service offered by foster parents. With further remuneration for this service, there is a necessity for greater vigilance in the selection of foster parents in order that their paramount interest is to serve children--not to obtain money.
5. There is a need to use group homes and subsidized boarding homes only when they serve the child better than any other placement the Agency can offer. This is related to the lack of foster homes as only with a sufficient supply of good foster homes can such practice be followed.
6. There is a need for further research in the prevention of dependency. Little has been done to determine the causes of dependency,

consequently the need for services to children continues to grow.

Social workers do not control the whole field of child welfare--they share it with those of other services. Only through further co-operation with these services and the community, of which the social workers and the children are a part, can social workers play their part in the provision of the best possible service to children, whatever their area of need.



## Appendix A

The table is an accumulation of the material obtained in the study of thirty-nine children's and parents' case records. Where blanks occur in the table the information was not obtainable in the case records or in other Agency records.

An explanation of the headings follows:

Code No. (C.N.) -- Code number used to identify the case or child.

Sex (S.) -- Sex of the child.

Age (A.) -- Age of the child in years at birthday previous to October 31, 1954. For children under one year the age is indicated in months.

Age-Into Care (A.I.C.) -- The child's age in years (or months where indicated) when he was admitted to the care of the Society.

Age at Wardship (A.A.W.) -- The child's age in years (or months where indicated) when the Agency became his legal guardian by Court order.

Race (R.) -- Refers to racial origin of child or specific nationalities where given. The following abbreviations are used to designate various nationalities. Where more than one national derivitave is known to exist they are grouped together.

Ch.--Chinese  
Dan.--Danish  
Du.--Dutch  
E.--English  
Finn.--Finnish  
Fr.--French  
Ger.--German  
Ir.--Irish  
It.--Italian  
Jap.--Japanese

Mex.--Mexican  
N.A.I.--North American  
                    Indian  
Or.--Oriental  
Scav.--Scandinavian  
Sc.--Scottish  
Sw.--Swedish  
Ukr.--Ukrainian  
Wel.--Welch

Birthplace (B.) -- Province in which the child was born.  
The following abbreviations are used.

Alta.--Alberta  
B.C.--British Columbia  
Man.--Manitoba  
Sask.--Saskatchewan  
U.S.A.--United States of America

No. of Placements (#P.) -- Number of placements this child has had since being apprehended or coming into care of the Society. This includes all foster home placements, hospital placements, group home placements and camp placements where the child was placed in a new foster home upon his return from camp.

No. of Sc. Wks. (#S.W.) -- Number of social workers the child has had since coming into care.

Length of time in G.H. or S.B.H. (L.T. in G.H. or S.B.H.)  
Length of time that the child has spent in a group home or subsidized boarding home as of October, 31st, 1954. This does not include any time the child may have spent in this setting previous to this placement.

School Grade (S.G.) -- School grade of child as of October 31st, 1954.

Information Concerning Parents of Child

Age & Race Moth. (A. & R. moth.) -- Age and race or nationality of mother. The age of mother is as of October 31st, 1954. Where mother is dead age at death is given and death is thus indicated--(dd). The same abbreviations are used for race or nationality as were used for race or nationality of the child.

Age & Race Fath. (A. & R. fath.) -- Age of father as of October 31st, 1954. Where father is dead age at death is given and death of father is thus indicated--(dd). The race or nationality of father is indicated by use of the same abbreviations as were used for race and nationality of child.

Marital Status (M.S.) -- Marital status is given in relation to the mother as of October 31st, 1954. The following abbreviations are used.

C.L.--Common Law (explained fully in test)--mother living with man, no legal marriage and not necessarily the father of the child.

Div.--Mother and father divorced. (See remarried.)  
Mar.--Mother married to and living with father of child.  
Rem.--Mother and father divorced or father dead and mother remarried.  
Sep.--Mother separated from or not living with father.  
U.M.--Unmarried mother--mother and father of child not married or living together.  
Wid.--Widowed--used in reference to both the mother and father as in two cases the mother is dead and the father is widowed.

Referral (R.)-- Source of original referral of family to the Agency. The following abbreviations are used:

C.S.S.--City Social Service of Vancouver.  
C.H.--Court House  
F.C.S.--Family and Children's Service of Victoria.  
F.W.B.--Family Welfare Bureau of Vancouver.  
N.C.--Neglect complaint from citizen of Vancouver, unless otherwise qualified.  
D.H.--Juvenile Detention Home.  
Par.--Parent or Step parent of child.  
Pol.--Police.  
P.B.H.--Private Boarding Home for children.  
P.M.H.--Provincial Mental Hospital.  
St. V.H.--St. Vincent's Hospital, Vancouver.  
S.A.H.--Salvation Army Home for Unmarried Mothers.  
S.W.B.--Social Welfare Branch of the Province.  
U.C.H.--United Church Home  
V.G.H.--Vancouver General Hospital.

Siblings (S.) -- Number of children of mother as recorded in the record.

No. of Sib. In-care (#S. in C.) -- Number of siblings (of mother) in the care of the Agency.

Stated Religion (S.R.) -- Religion of parents as stated in record. Specific religious denomination given in some instances otherwise Protestant. The following abbreviations have been used:

Ang.--Anglican  
Bap.--Baptist  
Bud.--Buddist  
Gk. Or.--Greek Orthodox  
Luth.--Lutheran  
N.P.R.C.--Non-practicing Roman Catholic  
Pres.--Presbyterian  
Prot.--Protestant

## Family Detail

C.N.	S.	A.	A.I.C.	A.A.W.	R.	B.	# P.	# SW	L.T.in GH or SBH	S.G.	A. & R. Moth.	A. & R. Fath.	M.S.	R.	S.	# S. In.C.	S R
1	M	11 yrs	11 yrs	11 yrs	E	BC	4	3	1 Mo	7	36 E	41 E	Rem	SWB	2	1	Prot
2	M	2 mo	2 wks	2 mo	E	BC	1	1	2 mo	Sp.Class	38 E	50s E	U.M.	Van	1	1	Ang
3	M	13 yrs	2 mo	2 1/2 mo	Mex.Fr.	BC	6	11	1-1/3 Y		27 Mex.Fr.	Unknown	C-L	SWB	1	1	Prot
4	M	4 mo	2 wks	1 mo	Ch.Ir.	BC	2	1	3 1/2 mo		23 Ch	23 Ir	U.M.	FCS	1	1	Prot
5	M	9 mo	1 mo	2 mo	E.&Sw.	BC	3	2	6 1/2 mo	6	22 E	25 Sw	Mar	FWB	3	1	Ang
6	M	10 yrs	10 yrs	10 yrs	Ir.	BC	1	2	4 1/2 mo		35 Ir	Unknown	Div	PAR	2	1	Prot
7	M	8 yrs	3 1/2 yrs	3 1/2 yrs	E.&Scan	BC	9	5	3 mo		28 E	35 Scan	Sep	PBH	3	3	Prot
8	M	4 mo	1 1/2 mo	3 mo	Ir.	BC	1	1	3 mo	3	18 Ir	24 *	U.M.	VGH	1	1	Prot
9	M	4 mo	1 mo	2 mo	E.Sc.Ir.	BC	2	1	3 mo		17 Sc	20 Ir	U.M.	UCH	1	1	Prot
10	M	5 mo	5 wks	6 wks	Ch.E.	BC	1	1	4 mo		25 E	* Ch	C-L	PAR	4	1	NPRC
11	M	8 mo	1 1/2 mo	2 1/2 mo	Ukr	Bc	2	1	6 1/2 mo	4	25 Ukr	28 Ukr	U.M.	PAR	1	1	GrOr
12	F	2 mo	2 wks	2 mo	E.Sc.	BC	1	1	2 mo		25 E.Sc.	* or Or	U.M.	PAR	3	1	Ang
13	F	4 mo	2 wks	2 mo	NAI or Or		1	1	2 mo		18 NAI	22 It	C-L	PAR	1	1	NPRC
14	F	6 mo	2 wks	5 wks	or It	BC	1	1	3 1/2 mo	4	18 Fr.	* *	U.M.	FWB	1	1	Prot
15	F	4 mo	2 wks	2 mo	E	BC	3	1	5 mo		18 E	* *	U.M.	FWB	1	1	Prot
16	F	5 mo	1 1/2 mo	3 mo	E. Ch.	BC	1	1	3 1/2 mo		26 E	21 Ch	U.M.	SAH	1	1	UC
17	M	11	6	6	Ge	BC	1	1	3 mo	4	20 Ge	* *	U.M.	VGH	1	1	Luth
18	M	13	6 2/3	7	Sw	BC	5	5	2 wks		37 Sw	56 Sw	Mar	VGH	2	2	Luth
19	M	14	12	13	E.Sc.	BC	13	4	1 mo	4	34 E	36 N.A.I.	Div.	N.C.	1	1	Luth
20	M	13	5	6	N.A.I.	BC	2	2	1 1/2 yr		36 E	38 Wel	Rem	JDH	2	1	Ang
21	M	14	5	10	Fr.	BC	7	9	1 1/2 yr		33 Fr	40 E	Sep	PAR	3	3	Prot
22	M	11	5	5	E. Ir.	BC	8	5	2 1/2 yr	5	45 E.Ir.	dd 43 E	Wid	PAR	4	1	Pres
23	M	15	3	4	E. Dan.	ALTA	12	3	2 mo		30 E	42 Dan	C-L	POL	5	1	Prot
24	M	8	3	3 3/4	Finn	BC	10	9	1 yr		36 *	52 Finn	Sep	PBH	3	1	Luth
25	M	9	2	2	*	ONT	3	4	2 mo	2	26 *	30 *	Sep	CH	2	2	Prot
26	M	10	3	3	E. & Du.	BC	9	11	3 1/2 mo		45 E	48 Du	C.L.	FWB	14	6	Prot
27	F	14	13	13	E. & Du.	BC	12	7	1 1/4 yr		45 E	48 Du	C.L.	FWB	14	6	Prot
28	F	14	10	10	Sc.	BC	8	3	1 mo	9	44 Sc	dd 50 Sc	Rem	PAR	7	2	Prot
29	F	8	1 mo	1 1/2 yr	E., N.A.I.	MAN	8	4	1 mo		44 E	41 Ir	Sep	NC	7	1	Prot
30	F	15	12	13	Ir., N.A.I., E	BC	13	10	10 mo		29 Fr., E	* E	U.M.	StVH	3	2	Ang
31	F	13	12	12	E	BC	6	5	3 mo	9	dd N.A.I.	44 E	Wid.	PMH	5	5	Prot
32	F	13	10	11	E	SASK	1	1	5 mo		38 *	44 E	Rem	PAR	4	2	Prot
33	F	15	5	5	E		6	5	3 mo		42 E	56 E	Wid	PMH	5	5	Prot
34	F	14	13	14	Sc	BC	1	2	11 mo	Oppor. Class	48 E	69 E	Mar	CSS	5	4	Bap
35	F	13	13	13	Sc	USA	2	2	2 mo		35 Sc	45 *	C-L	NC	1	1	Prot
36	F	12	1 5/6	3	E		4	12	1 mo		* *	36 Sc	Div	NC	4	1	Prot
37	F	7	5	6	Fr.Ir.E.	BC	2	1	11 mo	Sp.Class	39 E	40 E	Sep	PAR	4	3	Prot
38	F	13	12	13	Jap	BC	1	2	7 mo		38 E.Ir	50 Fr	C-L	PBH	9	8	Prot
39	F	9	4	4 11/12	E.Scan.	BC	9	4	1 1/3 yr		dd 57 Jap	dd 59 Jap	Dead	POL	3	1	Bud
										3	38 E	35 Scan	Sep	PBH	3	3	Prot

\* No information on Agency Records.

Appendix B

Reasons for Placement and Problems of the Children

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Reason for subsidized</u> <u>boarding home placement</u> <sup>1</sup>	
No. 2.	Mother left Vancouver but planned to take the child eventually. She hoped to marry putative father who was attempting to divorce his wife. <u>Did not have Mother's adoption consent.</u>	Caesarian birth. Child in good health.
No. 4.	Placed in S.B.H. while Agency workers were looking for adoptive home. <u>Had mother's adoption consent.</u>	Chinese-Irish racial origin. Child in good health.
No. 5.	"Doctor felt child not ready for adoption in view of poor health." <u>Had parent's adoption consent.</u>	Baby has spent almost two months in hospital with diarrhoea. Otherwise developing normally.
No. 8.	"Premature so cannot place for adoption until he has been under more observation for his development." <u>Had Mother's adoption consent.</u>	Premature. Birth weight 3 pounds 1 ounce.
No. 9.	"Doctor advised he be kept for an observation period because of a heart condition. <u>Had mother's adoption consent.</u>	Adoption placement "contraindicated by the child's physical condition.
No. 10.	Baby placed while mother deciding on plan. Short time later <u>had mother's adoption consent.</u>	Chinese-English racial origin. Unable to find adoption home.
No. 11.	Placed as mother had left Vancouver, and Agency <u>did not have her adoption consent.</u>	Child in excellent health.

---

<sup>1</sup> The 12 babies or children under the age of one year have been grouped separately.

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Reason for subsidized boarding home placement.</u>	
No. 12.	Mother planning to marry --not putative father-- and wanted baby placed temporarily while she established herself. <u>Mother would not give adoption consent.</u>	Mixed racial origin. Mother's applications for return of child not as yet granted.
No. 13.	Mother and father separated and mother living with another man. <u>Mother wanted adoption placement, however father refusing.</u>	Mixed racial origin-- French, Indian and Italian.
No. 14.	Adoption plan "contraindicated by family history of mental retardation and the child's physical condition." <u>Had mother's adoption consent.</u>	"Poor "heredity". Club foot, lung and heart condition. Prognosis on heart condition poor."
No. 15.	Mother has most unrealistic plans for baby. Application for child not granted. <u>Did not have mother's consent for adoption.</u>	English and Chinese racial origin.
No. 16.	"Child kept for observation period. Mother now missing. <u>Had mother's request for adoption.</u>	Caesarian birth. Although full term baby, weighed 3 pounds 11 ounces at birth.

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Reason for placement of Child over six years of age in subsidized boarding home or group home.</u>	<u>Problems exhibited by child.</u>
No. 1.	"Needs neutral environment such as the group home as he has been rejected by both his mother and father."	Stealing; poor school adjustment--truant; lying; running away; cruel to younger children.
No. 3.	Had proved very difficult to manage in previous foster home. As "mother" in S.B.H. "had previous experience with difficult boys" it was decided to place him here.	Destructive; determined; stubborn; poor school adjustment.
No. 6.	Very withdrawn child; lacking in feeling of worth; needed masculine identification. Had many private placements by mother so Agency did not want to risk poor placement.	Lying; stealing; withdrawn; lack of trust in adults.
No. 7.	Needed observation after so many moves (9). Did not want to risk another poor placement.	Enuresis; difficult to discipline; disobedient.
No. 17.	Had to be moved immediately from foster home. Needed a stable environment. Rejected in foster homes where sister was preferred.	Stealing; occasional bed wetting and day time wetting; poor school adjustment; setting of fires.
No. 18.	Placed here after return from a treatment centre in United States.	Severe behaviour problems; setting fires; stealing, running away; poor school adjustment.
No. 19.	"Decided he should be placed in (group home) on trial basis." Had been kept in Juvenile Detention Home longer than their rules allowed.	Stealing; setting fires; running away; unaccepting of discipline of parents.

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Reason for placement</u>	<u>Problems exhibited by child.</u>
No. 20.	Needed psychiatric treatment. Received play therapy under direction of psychiatrist. Given up by foster parents who had previously considered adoption.	Stealing; sex play; masturbation to the extent of physical hurt; screaming fits; jealous of other children; wandered away from home; day dreaming; poor school adjustment.
No. 21.	Very emotionally disturbed. Placed on treatment basis. Life had been dominated mostly by women except for cruel treatment he had received from father. Numerous placements by own family and Agency.	Effeminate traits; stealing; sex play; day dreaming; poor school adjustment.
No. 22.	Unable to find a good foster home for this child.	Disobedient; cheeky; bossy; temper tantrums; lying; fantasy about own mother.
No. 23.	Mentally retarded. Foster parents could no longer cope with him. Attempts to place him in Woodlands failed.	Child sick great deal with numerous stomach upsets; soiling and wetting; mentally retarded; setting fires; poor school adjustment.
No. 24.	Needed intensive treatment. Was not doing well in foster home.	Fantasy, destructive; enuresis; setting fires; stealing; temper tantrums; talks constantly of killing and death; concerned about recollections of rejection in own home.
No. 25.	So many foster home failures thought that group home best for him. Also continued interest of mother plus association with brother then in home made this advisable.	Poor school adjustment; setting fires; stealing; slow mentally; insecure; tense; feels discriminated against by all --almost paranoid.



<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Reason for placement</u>	<u>Problems exhibited by child</u>
No. 26.	"It was felt that he was not ready for another foster home placement in view of the past two situations he had been in and that it would be advisable to try and have him admitted to the Children's Home."	Stubborn; setting fires; enuresis; destructive; disobedient; untruthful; wilfully destructive.
No. 27.	Lack of good foster homes for teen-age girl. Used as "maid" in several successive foster home placements.	Sulky; moody; violent temper; will resort to fists when annoyed.
No. 28.	Could not adjust to foster homes (8 placements). Too many problems and generally not able to form lasting relationships with foster parents.	Unuresis; temper tantrums; stealing; unable to sleep; defiant; swears excessively; "seduced" foster parent's 15 year old son; also "seduced" boys in neighbourhood of foster home.
No. 29.	Needed stable environment after 13 placements.	Child conscious and ashamed of being part Indian. Lacks feelings of worth; sex play with animals; needs to command and control; aggressive behaviour; stealing; loud.
No. 30.	Placed in group home after extremely poor foster home placement. Own father visits.	Enuresis; high strung; sex play.
No. 31.	Placed while looking for suitable foster home.	Sullen if she does not get own way; running away.
No. 32.	Placed in group home after extremely poor foster home placement. Own father visits.	Poor school adjustment; sex play.

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Reason for placement</u>	<u>Problems exhibited by child</u>
No. 33.	Temporary placement for period of observation while looking for foster home.	Talkative and noisy; tense; nervous; disobedient; stealing; swearing excessively; temper tantrums; moody.
No. 34.	Placed in many private homes by own mother so put in group home for stability.	Stealing; Since she had never known routine found it difficult to accept.
No. 35.	Did not do well in foster homes. In view of this and past rejections placed her in group home.	Poor personal hygiene; stealing; unable to accept limits; difficulty in relating to adults; Fantasy re own family.
No. 36.	Following removal from poor foster home placement that had lasted ten years thought she would need period of adjustment and observation.	Enuresis; bossy; poor school adjustment.
No. 37.	Foster parents could not cope with severe behaviour problems. "Child needed special treatment."	Masturbation; wandering away from foster home; aggressive.
No. 38.	Placed "temporarily" while father was in hospital --he died. Has refused all foster home plans to date.	Stealing; epileptic.
No. 39.	Needed stable environment after nine placements.	Enuresis; nightmares; disobedient; uncontrollable; confused regarding religion after placement with strict family that had "saved" her.

Appendix B

This chart has been used to check the distribution of problems for the children over six years of age. The Code numbers specify the child being considered.

Code Numbers	Stealing	Poor School Adjustment	Swearing	Lying	Running Away	Cruel to Children	Destructive	Defiant	Temper Tantrums	Disobedient	Enuresis	Masturbating	Sex Play	Setting Fires	Nightmares	Fantasy (excessive)	Moody
1	X	X		X	X	X											
3		X					X			X							
6	X			X	X												
7										X	X						
17	X	X									X			X			
18	X	X			X		X							X			
19	X				X					X				X			
20	X	X			X				X			X	X			X	
21	X	X											X			X	
22				X					X	X						X	
23		X									X			X			
24	X						X		X		X			X		X	
25	X	X												X			
26				X			X		X					X			
27								X	X								X
28	X		X					X	X		X		X				
29	X												X				
30											X		X				
31				X													X
32		X											X				
33	X		X						X	X							X
34	X																
35	X							X								X	
36		X									X						
37					X							X					
38	X																
39										X	X				X		

## Appendix C

### LEGAL PROVISION FOR APPREHENSION AND WARDSHIP

#### Specific reference to the thirty-nine cases.

#### Section 7:

The Superintendent and every person who is authorized in writing by the Superintendent, every constable or officer of the Provincial Police or of any municipal police, and every Probation Officer, may apprehend, without warrant, and bring before a Judge, as needing protection, any child apparently under the age of eighteen years who is within any of the following classes or descriptions:-

- (a) Who is found begging in any street, house, or place of public resort, whether actually begging or under pretext of selling or offering anything for sale:
- (b) Who is found sleeping at night in other than proper housing accommodation and without proper adult supervision:
- (c) Who is found associating or dwelling with a thief, drunkard, or vagrant, or who, by reason of neglect or drunkenness or other vices of the parents or guardians, is suffered to grow up without salutary parental control and education, or in circumstances exposing such child to an idle or dissolute life:
- (d) Who is found in any disorderly house, or in company of people reputed to be criminal, immoral, or disorderly:
- (e) Who is an orphan without adequate protection for his upbringing:
- (f) Who has been deserted by his parents:
- (g) Who is found guilty of petty crimes, and who is likely to develop criminal tendencies if not removed from his surroundings:

- (h) Who is found wandering about at late hours and not having any home or settled place of abode or proper guardianship:
- (i) Who is, whether residing with his parents or not, incorrigible or who cannot be controlled by his parents:
- (j) Whose only parent or whose parents are undergoing imprisonment:
- (k) Whose home by reason of neglect, cruelty, or depravity is an unfit place for the child, or who has no proper guardianship, or who has no parent capable of exercising proper parental control:
- (l) Who is subject to such blindness, deafness, feeble-mindedness, or physical disability as is likely to make him a charge upon the public, or who is exposed to infection from tuberculosis or from venereal disease where proper precautions to prevent infection are not taken, or who is suffering from such a lack of medical or surgical care as is likely to interfere with his normal development:
- (m) Who, by reason of the action of his parents or otherwise, is habitually truant from school and is liable to grow up without proper education:
- (n) Who is neglected so as to be in a state of habitual vagrancy or mendicancy:
- (o) Who is ill-treated so as to be in peril in respect of life, health, or morality by continued personal injury, or by grave misconduct or habitual intemperance of the parents. 1943, c.5, s.7; 1945, c.9, s.2.

The apprehension of children is generally carried out under Section 7, subsection "k" of the "Protection of Children Act." In practice, the part reading "who has no parent capable of exercising proper parental control" is most frequently used. The reason for this is that this is the easiest to prove in Court and further it is less condemning of the parents than some of the other classes described. This latter consideration is especially

important where the Agency will continue to work with the family in the hope of eventually returning the child to his own home.

All of the children in this study have been apprehended under Subsection "k" and generally the phrase "who has no parent capable of exercising proper parental control" is the only part used.

Appendix D

Sample of Schedule Used for the Survey

Appendix E

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Abbott, Grace, The Child and the State, Vols. 1 and 2, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1938.
- Angus, Anne Margaret, Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, B.C., 1901-1951, Vancouver, 1951.
- deSchweinitz, Karl, England's Road to Social Security, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia; Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, London, 1943.
- Great Britain, Care of Children Committee, Report, His Majesty's Stationery Office, (1946) Cmd. 6922. (Myra Curtis, chairman).
- Lundberg, Emma Octavia, Unto the Least of These, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1947.
- Mackay, Thomas, A History of the English Poor Law, From 1834 to the Present Time, Vol. 3, P.S. King and Son, London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1899.
- Thurston, Henry, The Dependent Child, Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

Articles

- Blackburn, Clark W., "Long Time Temporary Placement: A Discussion," Journal of the Child Welfare League of America, Vol. 31, No. 1, January, 1952, Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
- Burns, Phyllis K., "Group Care of Children--A Challenge to the Community," Canadian Welfare, Vol. 29, No. 1, May 1, 1953, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa.
- Hagan, Helen R., "Residential Treatment," Journal of the Child Welfare League of America, Vol. 31, No. 1, January, 1952, Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
- Johnson, Lillian J., "Institutions In Relationship to the Community," Bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America, Vol. 26, No. 6, June, 1947, Child Welfare League of America, Inc.



- Lenroot, Katharine F., "Community Planning and Citizen Participation in Behalf of Children and Youth," The Child, Vol. 18, No. 12, December, 1950, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare.
- Markley, Oscar B., "Assets and Liabilities in Group Living for Children," Bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America, Vol. 19, No. 3, March, 1940, Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
- Radinsky, Elizabeth K., "Dilemmas Faced in Planning for the Child Needing Special Foster Care," Child Welfare, Vol. 30, No. 6, June, 1951, Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
- Richman, Leon H., "Responsibility For and Use of Interim and Emergency Placement," Bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America, Vol. 26, No. 1, January, 1947, Child Welfare League of America, Inc.
- Smith, Marjorie J., "An Interpretation of the Historical Development of Child Protection In Canada," Child Protection in Canada, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, 1954.
- Smith, Marjorie J., "Children Are Special," British Columbia Welfare, Vol. 10, No. 9, March, 1953, Dept. of Health and Welfare, Social Welfare Branch, Vancouver.
- Wolkomir, Belle, "The Unadoptable Baby Achieves Adoption," Bulletin of the Child Welfare League of America, Vol. 26, No. 2, February, 1947, Child Welfare League of America, Inc.

#### Statutes

British Columbia, Revised Statutes 1948, Chapter 47.