MULTIPLE PLACEMENT OF FOSTER CHILDREN

A preliminary study of causes and effects, based on a sample of fifty foster children in Vancouver.

by

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

1949

The University of British Columbia
ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the problem of multiple placement of foster children, i.e., children who are placed in more than one foster home while they are in the care of a protective agency. Children become "wards" of such societies if there is no possibility of their leading normal, happy, and emotionally secure lives within their own homes. The agencies provide foster home care as a substitute home to give them the care they were not able to obtain in their own homes. But frequent replacement prevents many foster children from gaining security and healthy development due to lack of attachment to a family. The study shows that thirty-nine out of the fifty children in the sample were placed in more than one foster home during their period of care by a children's aid society. The average number of foster homes for the total group was 3.52 homes per child, which means that a child remained in each foster home for a period of 2.08 years, on the average.

The study was based on the records of foster children from both of Vancouver's children's aid societies, the sample being selected on a one-in-four basis from all children falling within certain definitions: (1) children who had been in the care of one of the agencies at least two years; (2) children of the white race; (3) children now in the "latency" stage of development; i.e. between the ages of seven and twelve years. The material utilized includes the files kept
by the agencies, regarding each individual child, his family and the foster homes.

The sample was grouped into four divisions according to the number of placements the children have had. Group A with a single foster home placement only, representing the ideal in child placement; Group B with two foster home placements; Group C a clear multiple placement problem, with three or four foster home placements; and Group D the usually serious situation where a child has lived in five or more foster homes. The cases were then studied in terms of the foster homes in which the children were placed; the intelligence levels of the children; and their adjustment to the foster home program. The adjustment of the child is believed to be the crucial factor in deciding whether foster home placement has succeeded or failed. The third part of the study examines what can be done to improve the methods of placing children in foster homes in order to lessen the problem of multiple placement.

There is evidence that the problem of multiple placement of foster children could be reduced by more careful preliminary observation of the child and his needs, closer assessment of foster home potentialities, better matching of the child and the foster home, professional casework service while the child is in the home, and treatment for disturbed children in homes which are especially equipped for this service. The study suggests that many children without family ties could be placed for adoption, thus attaching them to one family instead of facing the possibility of repeated replacements.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express appreciation to Dr. Leonard Marsh for aiding with research material, composition of the study, and most of all for his kindly encouragement throughout the writing of this thesis.

Special thanks are due to Miss Marie Parr for reading the study for social work content, for her stimulating suggestions, and helpful interest.

Gratitude is also expressed to Miss Marjorie Smith and other members of the Social Work Faculty for planting the seeds of interest in the problems of foster children, without which this study would not have been made.

Appreciation and acknowledgment are due to Miss Dorothy Coombe and Miss Elizabeth Flynn for their helpful co-operation, in giving of their time for interviews and for permitting files to be read.
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MULTIPLE PLACEMENT OF FOSTER CHILDREN
PART I.

THE PROBLEM OF MULTIPLE PLACEMENTS

John Dewey has said, "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all its children." It is recognized that the parental home is the natural environment for the upbringing of children. It provides a protective and stimulating medium for physical, mental and spiritual growth, which no other type of care can effectively replace. "Every child needs to feel secure in his home, school, and neighbourhood relationships. He needs to feel that he is wanted, loved and understood. He needs opportunities for growth and development, for self-expression, achievement, and new experience." This is a statement of basic needs that will be accepted by every social worker. Normally, it is the responsibility of parents to see that their children are thus endowed. Not every child, however, is so fortunate as to have the advantage of such security in his own home. Some children come from homes which are so inadequate for their needs, that they must be removed in order to give them the chance to live happy and healthy lives. Other children are born out of wedlock, and have no natural home. In the nineteenth century, neglected, dependent and illegitimate children were mostly placed in orphanages.

and institutions which were not equipped to meet more than physical needs. It is now a well-established fact that children need intimacy, love and security in order that they may develop into emotionally mature and mentally happy individuals. In the old-fashioned orphanage there was not this possibility for development. In the past fifty years, the trend has been to abolish "shelters" entirely, and to place dependent or neglected children in foster homes. Such homes give a child a chance to develop normally, by forming attachments with the foster parents and growing up in an ordinary home environment.

The general principle accepted by all child welfare agencies is that no child should be removed from his own home if there is any possibility for normal development with his own parents. Many parents have greater strengths than is often shown in casual relationships; with a reasonable amount of aid in the form of moral and financial support, together with the interest and understanding of the caseworker, much may be achieved. The child's own home, poor though it may be, is frequently better than a physically finer home if this is lacking in warmth of feeling and understanding for the child. The foster child, no matter how good his placement, must start again in finding security and affection and ways of "fitting in."

Child Placement

To be quite realistic, it has to be recognized that
foster care of any kind is abnormal, and that any child living
away from home is a handicapped child. Good physical care is
not sufficient. Children cannot become socially adjusted "by
bread alone." All children require love and security in their
home relationships; but foster children have extra needs in
this regard, since they have had to leave their own homes and
parents. They need special reassurance that they are loved
and wanted if they are to obtain any measure of happiness.
Foster parents who do not understand these special needs find
difficulty in accepting the behaviour of foster children, and
frequently good homes are lost because foster parents did not
know what to expect of foster children.

Child placing agencies have taken on the responsi-
bility for placing foster children in foster homes, and it may
well be realized that the job is no sinecure. It calls for a
keen interest in children, together with skill and flexibility
on the part of the child welfare worker. Her task is not
merely finding a home and placing a child there. She must be
aware of the damaging results that can follow poor placement
procedure if a child is to be uprooted from an environment he
has known and transplanted into a new one. She must make the
transition as easy as possible in order to avoid such trauma.
This constitutes a challenge to all child placement workers.
The child must be helped to develop into a healthy, mature and
self-reliant man or woman, able to meet the obligations and
responsibilities which social living brings.
In order to know whether a home is suitable for a particular child, the worker must not only understand the child; she must also know every member of the family within the foster home. She must try to determine what the child will receive in terms of love, interest, stimulation, security and understanding. The home must be such that the foster family will be able to give him that intangible emotional satisfaction which every young personality requires. The worker must determine, too, whether a particular child will meet the needs of the foster family. One clue to the needs of the foster family is expressed in their motive for taking the child, and why they desire to have a foster child in their home. She must also understand what the members of the family mean to each other, and what each individual member will mean to the foster child. They must be made aware that this child came from a home in which the situation was different from their own and that it will take some time before he is integrated into the family. Because he is an individual, he will behave in his own way, and they must accept this with as much understanding as possible.

Replacement of Foster Children

It is little wonder that foster placements often fail, when one considers the difficulty in matching the needs of the foster parents with the needs of the child. And what is the lot of the child who cannot fit into his new foster family? He becomes unhappy since his needs are not met. He may behave in a manner very upsetting to his foster mother.
She may try to cope with his problem for a time, then decide that for the good of all concerned, he should be moved elsewhere. If this happens, the child is still more greatly handicapped. He has been in two homes and both have failed. He senses, too, that he has failed. His chances for success grow less and less with each successive move. It is only when he finds a home in which his difficulties can be more completely understood that he is able to start growing emotionally and psychologically again. "Continuity has value, and one 'not so good' home is better than a series of extra fine ones," says Ethel Verry, Executive Secretary of the Chicago Orphan Asylum, in Replacements in Foster Family Care. This invaluable pamphlet has been stimulating and helpful at many points in this study. Dr. Florence Clothier puts the same point quite strongly: "Each time a social worker undertakes to move an infant or young child she is jeopardizing his chances for forming, holding and incorporating love objects which are for him essential to normal growth."

Of course, no worker is proud of replacements. Ethel Verry states bluntly: "A few replacements may be good planning, a few necessary readjustments, but most of them we admit are evidence of our failures."

She goes on to show what happens to a child who must move from one foster home to another. Being a child, he is in a continuous process of growth and learning. A few of his tasks of development have been accomplished in his own home or his first foster home; but, at whatever age he is moved, many of his growing-up tasks are still in process and, whatever they are, they will be interrupted, confused and set back. If the young child is learning to feed himself or to control his toilet habits, or to use familiar words for familiar objects, he will, in moving to a strange situation, probably have to go back and be a baby once more, confused and afraid amidst a more or less different set of words, routines and demands. After a while he will start once more on the hard road to growing up. Having begun to learn table manners, how to be helpful, and what to expect in the way of praise, blame, love or even rejection from those adults and children with whom he has been associated, he will have to start again and try to accept, understand, and relate to a new group of human beings, with different ways of talking and responding to his overtures. If he has started school and begun to make a place for himself amongst his playmates, he will lose that place which he was learning to use, and must make another place in a new world. Budding friendships are cut off before they have fully flowered; enmities severed before they have been worked out to a reasonable solution. He closes the door on many unfinished trivialities that make up a child's life, experiences from which he should have grown and developed.
In the change he loses many things, unimportant, and important, all tied together—part of his clothing, the dog he liked, the bed in which he had begun to feel safe, and the special smell of his favourite dish cooking for supper. Perhaps he loses his last chance to pass into the fourth grade along with the rest of his group, and of those things making up the feeling of having roots in the world; too often he may lose part of his inner confidence of ever being able to relate himself comfortably to that world. If the child has moved too often, or lived too long in a place where he has had no meaningful connection with his world of people, he will harden more firmly into his unsocial or antisocial isolation. Change in itself is bad enough for children, but it may be worst of all if the replacement of foster children involves a painful waiting period, during which the impatient foster mother has urged the harassed social worker to "please hurry," and the child has outstayed his welcome, perhaps waiting with his box packed.

Other Losses Occasioned by Multiple Placements

It is not only from the child's point of view that a replacement represents a loss. The new school to which he goes will have to spend extra time in getting the child to fit in with the class. The case worker might have been able to give her time to constructive assistance with another problem, instead of going through the process of arranging another placement. Perhaps a good foster home has been closed because of the experience the foster parents had with a child they did not understand, or who could not fit into their home. During the war
period foster homes were very scarce, and children were placed, in many cases, in homes not too suited to their needs just because no other home was available for them. The shortage has continued and the scarcity of foster homes being what it is today, every effort should be made to use them constructively.

Problems of Placement

The reasons children have to be replaced are usually complex: thus they reflect a series of difficulties with which workers are confronted in the realm of child placing procedure. In the past, professional case workers have been few, and therefore, the caseloads for which they were responsible have been too heavy. Dorothy Hutchinson, in her helpful book, points out that there is a tendency to place children with insufficient consideration where a worker is overburdened with cases. Most authorities agree that thirty children in a caseload is all one can expect a worker to handle with any degree of skill. Few agencies manage this ideal, the present caseload of child placement workers in the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver is 65 and that of the Catholic Children's Aid Society averages between 80 and 90.

At all times, board rates have been low, and there is ground for believing that many people interested in caring for children are prevented from doing so due to this fact. The agencies do attempt to pay for the actual expenses of the children,

but there is little left to reimburse the foster parents for their time and energy expended in caring for the children.

Another problem in the child placing field is the constant change of workers. Especially if the child does not find continuity in his foster home placement, it would be all the more valuable as a source of security to him if he found that he could depend upon one worker throughout. However, this does not seem to be possible in any agency. Examination of the staff changes for the present sample of children showed that on the average each child had 5.22 workers during his wardship, which is an average of a new worker every year and a quarter. This problem is caused not only by workers leaving an agency; the factor of replacement causes the children to move from one district to another, getting a different worker whenever they find themselves in a new district. It is all the more essential, then, to preserve any family tie which would be in any way beneficial, since "all else is change."

A Universal Problem

The problem of multiple placements is not one which is peculiar to any particular agency or territory. Very few detailed studies have been made concerning this special problem, but most studies made on any phase of caring for dependent children give indications that the problem of replacements does exist. The report of the recent Care of Children Committee in Great Britain (commonly known as the "Curtis Report") refers to this problem. The study was made "to inquire into existing methods of providing
for children who from loss of parents or from any cause what­
ever are deprived of a normal home life with their own parents
or relatives; and to consider what further measures should be
taken to ensure that these children are brought up under con­
ditions best calculated to compensate them for the lack of par­
ental care." The committee surveyed workhouses, separate
schools, certified schools, voluntary homes, boarding homes and
institutions for the care of delinquents, mental defectives and
handicapped children. The section on foster homes contains the
following paragraph regarding stability of foster homes:

The length of stay in the foster homes of these
children we saw varied from four months to ten
years. Some of these children had had a particu­
larly disturbed infancy, but the liability to
change had been quite as marked in the institu­
tion as in the foster home. One child we saw
had been in five institutions and three foster
homes before she was eleven. Another child had
been in four institutions and two foster homes
before the age of eight. 6

In 1942 a study was made of 176 children who had been
under the care of the Michigan Children's Institute and who came
of age or became self-supporting between January 1, 1937 and
December 1, 1941. The purpose of the study was "to ascertain if
possible some causative factors of frequent replacement of child­
ren in foster homes and to indicate wherever possible how im­
provement can be made." The following figures are given regard­
ing multiple placement:

5. Great Britain, Report on the Care of Children Committee, H. M.

Of the total group of 176, 93 had from one to five replacements during their period of foster care; 53 between five and nine; 19 from nine to thirteen; nine from fourteen to seventeen; one between seventeen and twenty-one; and one had twenty-three replacements. The picture is even worse if we eliminate those children who were finally placed in adoption. Of the remaining 102 children who grew up in foster care from the time of their admission, usually at early school age—although some were younger—until their discharge as of age or self-supporting, only twenty-seven had five or less replacements; forty-five had between five and nine homes; nineteen had nine to thirteen; nine had thirteen to seventeen; one had from seventeen to twenty-one and one had twenty-three. 7

The above examples may represent some extremes in replacements; however, they do indicate that the problem is a common one. The figures quoted in the Michigan study seem very large in comparison with the indication of the present Vancouver study. However, the Michigan group includes children up to the age of twenty-one, whereas the present study takes into account only children between the ages of seven to twelve.

The Vancouver Study

In order to get a picture of the replacement problem in Vancouver, it was decided that a sample of fifty children would be a workable group to study. On checking, it was found that there were 183 families with children under the care of the Vancouver Children's Aid Societies who came within the limitations established for the study. The factors which determined selection of the group were those which were readily found

from the card index of the agency, namely that the child has been a ward of a children's aid society at least two years, that he was now in the age group known as the "latency period," and that he was of the white race. It was believed that by taking only children who had been in care at least two years a fairly accurate picture might be gained of the possibilities of the children's aid societies in this city. The other limitations were imposed in an attempt to omit some of the more difficult groups in child placement, in order that the study could focus on the problem of multiple placements in its most straightforward form.

The difficulty of placing children of the coloured races in a country predominantly of the white race is well known to child welfare workers, and hence the study has been confined to white children. The latency period, which is the time from approximately seven years of age to twelve years of age, is regarded by authorities as being the period least productive of problems in a child's life. Gordon Hamilton refers to the latency years as 'the golden age for parents;' "when the restless, unpredictable strivings seem to be harnessed." This period comes between the difficult pre-school years when a child

8. The term "ward" of a society implies that for some reason guardianship has been removed from parents who are guardians by right, or other legal guardians, and the court has vested this guardianship in a society for the protection of children. Some of the more common reasons for removal of guardianships are: parental neglect, incurable illness, death of parents or such other factors as would make it seem in the child's interest to have the protection of such a society.
is learning how to conform to social living, and the adolescent period, so noted for its "storm and stress." During the latency years children normally play freely together, receiving stimulation from the school experience, and being fairly free from parental dependence needs. Since the latency period is a more or less quiescent time in a child's life, there are obviously grounds for believing that if a child shows evidences of tension in this period, he is a markedly disturbed child. In order to include children who were in the latency period, only those born between the years 1936 and 1941 were selected.

It will be seen that the interesting and significant factors such as multiple placement itself, age at which the child comes into care, or the intelligence quotient of the child, while later forming an important portion of the study, were not used in the actual selection of the group. By selecting these children regardless of the number of times placed, it was believed that a fairly accurate picture of the frequency of multiple placement in Vancouver could be arrived at. To secure a manageable number of cases a one-in-four sample was taken, of all children coming into children's aid care, within the special limitations which were set. This gave a total of 46 families. Three of these had more than one child in the latency period, bringing the total number of the group up to 9.

9. The group of 183 families described above consisted of 140 from the Children's Aid Society and 43 from the Catholic Children's Aid Society. The selection produced 35 C. A. S. families and 11 C. C. A. S. families. This made a total of 38 children from C. A. S., and 12 from C. C. A. S.
The study was made exclusively from material recorded on the agencies' files, and three different sets of files were used in order to get as complete a picture as possible. First of all the child's own file was read, which gave a description of the work done with each individual child during his period in agency care. Next were records of the child's family, giving a picture of the child's background and his experience previous to coming into care. Lastly one hundred foster home files were read in order to get a picture of the type of foster homes drawn on in Vancouver. In order to select the 100 foster home files for this sample, the names of all the foster homes used by this particular group of children were placed in alphabetical order and the first hundred of these were selected for the study.

The fifty children comprising the study group turned out to have been in a total of 176 foster homes. This does not include temporary foster homes in which a child remained less than two months; but it does include, on the other hand, every placement where a child remained for two months, whether or not this placement was intended to be temporary and including the receiving home, if the stay turned out to be longer than two months. The average for this group of children was therefore

10. The C. A. S. foster homes were listed separately from those of C. C. A. S., and after these had been arranged in alphabetical order, the first seventy-five C. A. S. and twenty-five C. C. A. S. foster families were selected, making a total of 100. Out of a total of 176 homes used by the 50 children in the group, the number was reduced to 127, after duplications were considered and "own homes" and Receiving Homes omitted.
3.52 foster homes during the time they were in care. In other words each child has remained, on the average, in a foster home for a period of 2.08 years.

The replacement picture for the whole sample is indicated in the following table, in which the children are grouped according to their placement experience.

Table 1
Placement Experience of a 7-12 year old Sample
(Vancouver, 1948)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Placement Experience</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total Children</th>
<th>Total Foster Homes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group A - retained in one foster home</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B - 2 foster homes</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C - 3 foster homes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group D - 5 foster homes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be noted that the average placements for the 33 children in the group who were wards of the Children's Aid Society was 3.74 homes per child; while the average for the twelve children who were wards of the Catholic Children's Aid Society was 2.84 homes per child. Because of the small group of children from Catholic Children's Aid, the children in the study will be considered throughout as a composite group.
It will be seen that slightly more than one-fifth of the children had a single placement, while another fifth had two placements. On the other hand, nearly three-fifths of the children have had more than two placements—which might be regarded as coming into the undesirable placement category.

In order to try to find the causes of multiple placement, it is necessary to take into account any factors which may influence placement. The relationship between multiple placement and the sex of the children can be readily seen from the next table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Placement Experience</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group A - retained in one foster home</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B - 2 foster homes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C - 3-4 foster homes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group D - 5 or more foster homes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eight of the twenty-seven boys, that is less than one-third, have had one or two placements; while more than two-thirds of the boys fell into the more serious multiple placement category. On the other hand, thirteen of the twenty-three girls
have had single or double placement experience, while ten girls, that is less than half, have been multiply placed. If this sample is representative of the children in care, then it would appear that there is considerably more difficulty in placing boys than girls. The study shows that the average placement experience for boys is 4.07 homes, while the girls have an average of only 2.91 homes. Six of the twenty-three girls have had a single placement, whereas five of the twenty-seven boys have had a single placement. This brings up a question of whether boys find it more difficult to settle down in foster homes than girls, or whether the matriarchial type of family, which seems to predominate in foster home programmes, finds the problems of girls more easily understood and accepted than those of boys.

It is an accepted fact that the greater the age at which children are placed, the more difficult it is for them to adjust to living with a foster family. Since older children have known living in a home with a father and mother, there are strong emotional ties with them, which are most difficult to sever. It is a comparatively simple task to present a neglected or dependent child before the court and have guardianship of the child transferred from the parents to a protective agency, if it seems in the interest of the child to do so. But this is not the same as saying that he will forget about the parents who have raised him, even if they have rejected, neglected or abused him. Always in the child's heart there is a longing and hope
that things might change—that his "own" mother and father will come to love him.

The problem is different for the children who have been under the care of an agency all their life, or who entered into care in early infancy. Here agencies can claim success or failure as being entirely their own, for these children have known no other influence. It is these children, one might expect, who would indicate how successfully the agency is functioning in carrying out its foster home program. The age of placement is, therefore, particularly important.

### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Placement Experience</th>
<th>Age at time of placement</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 6 months</td>
<td>1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group A - retained in one foster home</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B - 2 foster homes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C - 3-4 foster homes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group D - 5 or more foster homes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be noted that 26 children, that is, approximately half of the sample, came into care under the age of two years, yet 14 of them were multiply placed. Eight of the 18 children placed in early infancy remained in their first foster home, while five have been in more than five foster homes. It would seem, then, that the possibilities of a child placed in infancy in the foster home program were only slightly better for remaining in one home than for serious multiple placement. For children placed after the age of six months, their chances of remaining in the foster home are small. The children who were placed after the age of six months and under two years of age in this sample seem to have had the most unfortunate experience, as a group. Perhaps some explanation for this poor showing is that many of these replacements were made almost a decade ago when casework services were much more limited than at the present time. The children coming into care after the age of seven years seems to bear out the theory that the services at the present time are superior to those of ten years ago. In spite of the fact that this age group of children is considered the most difficult of all to place, two have remained in their second foster home, while three have been multiply placed. However, there is another factor to be noted for this older group. These children have been in care only a relatively short time. The problem of multiple placement could not possibly appear as serious as for those children who have been in care all their lives.
Those coming into care under the age of six months have been under agency protection from 7 to 12 years; whereas those coming into care after 7 years of age could only have been under agency protection from 2 to 5 years.

In summary, certain facts are clear about the particular sample chosen for study. (1) More than half of the group have been multiply placed, that is, have had more than two foster homes. (2) The multiple placement picture is more serious for the boys than the girls. (3) A child's chances of multiple placement increase if he is not placed before he is six months old. In this particular sample the group having the most difficulty with multiple placement are the children between the ages of six months and two years; but there is a range of examples throughout the entire age group of the sample.
PART II. Chapter II

THE FAMILY BACKGROUNDS OF THE CHILDREN

A study of replacements in foster care must start with a thorough understanding of the child himself, his personality and his needs. Therefore, the first step in getting to know the child is to observe what has been his background prior to his coming into care. It is essential that an accurate study be made of the family constellation from which he has sprung; the relationships within the home, and particularly toward the child himself; and the habits he developed in his home situation. The first will help the worker to determine what ties there will be binding the child; the second will be largely responsible for determining his personality, and the third will be helpful in working with foster parents so that they will know what to expect when the child enters their home.

The children in care are mainly of two different family backgrounds. These are the children born to unmarried mothers; and the children born to natural family unions. The present study includes twenty-six children who were born out of wedlock. Twenty-one came from legitimate families and three were born to long-term common-law unions. Two of these

12 The writer is using this term in preference to "illegitimate union" in order that there will be no confusion as to children born to unmarried mothers, and those to unmarried parents who live together as a family. Actually children of both categories could be referred to as illegitimate, but this term is being avoided for reasons of clarity.
unions had been maintained over a period of approximately ten years each, while the third had lasted seventeen years.

Regarding the age of placement in the first foster home the following facts seem significant. Seventeen out of the eighteen children placed under the age of six months and seven of the eight placed between six months and one year were born to unmarried mothers. On the other hand, eleven out of thirteen children placed between two and four years of age came from family groups; all of the children placed between five and six years of age were born to families. In the group placed over the age of seven years, three came from legitimate families and two from "common-law unions." Children of family groups may come into care at any age, depending whether they are the eldest or youngest in the family. In the total group no child born to unmarried mothers was placed after the age of three years. There are some examples known to the agencies where children are placed after this age, but as this study confirms, it is rather a rare situation.

The Child of the Unmarried Mother

In some respects the lot of the child born out of wedlock is more tolerable for the child than that of the family child. As has been described, usually his mother gives him up earlier, so that there are few ties to be broken later; and he comes into a family group at an early age when it is not difficult to accept and be accepted into a family group.

Fourteen of the twenty-six children born out of wedlock
in the study, were considered non-adoptable for such reasons as limited mental capacity of the child, limited mental capacity of the mother, paternity not having been established. In one case a child was considered non-adoptable due to a slight heart murmur and a hernia, though the latter was rectified at an early age. In another case there was a history of Jacksonian epilepsy in the family. The hereditary factor in epilepsy is a controversial topic but authorities show figures for handicaps such as deafness, blindness, mental deficiency, and other forms of epilepsy indicating that such defects can only be attributed to inheritance in eleven per cent of the cases where they appear. This would seem to imply that there is an 89 per cent chance that the defect will not appear. One child in the study suffered from a cleft palate and rated mid-grade moron in intelligence, while another child who suffered from pre-natal syphilis, had an oversized head, and rated borderline in intelligence.

Seventeen of the twenty-six unmarried mothers whose children were taken into care placed their children permanently with the society, in four cases requesting adoption. In these four cases it appeared that adoption was not believed to be advisable due to the questionable background of the children. However, it is not known why adoption was not kept in mind and carried through at a later date when the child had proved himself. Records do not indicate in most instances that adoption was considered during the early formative years. There are some
instances where the present foster home is requesting adoption of the child. The following summary of a case record is given as an example of a situation where such is the case, and where the worker is having difficulty in determining the advisability of adoption.

Jane was born to an unmarried mother who requested that the child be placed for adoption at birth. Upon examination of Jane's mother at the Child Guidance Clinic she was found to be borderline in intelligence, and it was not deemed advisable to place the child for adoption at that time.

Jane's mother was planning to be married and felt that since the child could not be placed for adoption she would make an attempt to care for her herself, following her marriage. She visited the child several times in the office.

The marriage did not appear to be too successful. The step-father had been imprisoned at one time for breaking and entering. The family moved to a northern town and it was found that the natural children of the marriage begged for food there.

Jane meanwhile was placed with a family who gave her love and security. She developed normally and appeared to be a bright little girl. The record states, "she is given every advantage and much affection." The family have expressed a desire to keep her permanently, and they are at the present time requesting adoption. She is now seven years of age.

The record gives the following picture of the foster mother:

"She plays an active role in the children's lives. She is interested in music and hopes that the children will eventually play instruments. She attends parent-teacher meetings and visits the school often. She was a kindergarten teacher before her marriage." The family have adopted two children. The record continues: "In many ways this is not the best foster home for the child as the foster parents are in their late forties, and their home is crowded. However, Jane is happy and secure, this being the only home she has ever known." Another factor about which the case worker is concerned is that the foster mother is inclined to be emotional and is a member of the Evangelical Tabernacle, a church to which might be attributed emotional practices.
It will be recalled that at the time of Jane's birth her mother asked that she be placed for adoption. Apparently, as the child settled so well into the home described in the record it did not appear advisable to remove her and place her in a home more easily recommended for adoption. Thus the child has remained in the home, yet she cannot feel that she belongs to any family. It would seem that more future security could be gained for the child by a firm decision as to whether or not the home is suitable, and by action taken accordingly. This is not an isolated case. There are a number from each agency where the workers seem to have difficulty in deciding whether or not the place is suitable.

The following summary is an example of a child coming under the protection of a society after being cared for by his unmarried mother. This case is an interesting study from several points of view. He is of limited intelligence, has had several placements and in spite of both of these factors seems to be making an excellent adjustment to his limitations.

Bobby was taken home by his unmarried mother after his birth. Care did not seem to be too adequate as his mother was promiscuous. When Bobby was two years of age his mother died. The putative father took an active interest in the child but was unable to care for him permanently as his mother, with whom he lived, was elderly and could not have given the child the care he required. The child tested mid-grade moron in intelligence and was handicapped by a cleft palate.

The first foster home in which Bobby was placed after coming into care seemed to be a fine one for the child. However, when the family moved away the child had to be removed. In the next foster home he was found to be tired and nervous and the foster mother requested his removal. Bobby presented severe problems in the third
foster home. He masturbated severely, was a poor eater, displayed temper tantrums, exposed himself and urinated on other children. In the fourth home the foster mother became quite attached to him and did not find him a badly behaved child. However, she did find him considerable trouble since he was dull, and so she requested that he be removed.

Bobby is now in his fifth foster home. His limited intelligence is accepted and he is found to be quite good in construction work and using tools. He visits his putative father and paternal grandmother during the holidays, but remains with his foster mother during the year. He is secure and well loved in the home, and seems to have made an excellent adjustment to the home where he is loved and understood.

The present foster home plan seems to be working out nicely for Bobby. His foster mother is a widow, and therefore, it is most valuable in this case that the putative father has maintained an interest, giving the child a male pattern to follow. Unlike many children being cared for by agencies he is not handicapped by concern as to who he is. He realizes that his mother is dead and that his father is unable to care for him. The present arrangement seems to be the best that could be worked out under the circumstances.

It should be pointed out in passing that five of the twenty-six unmarried mothers whose children came within the scope of this study were themselves former wards, who, according to the finding regarding unmarried mothers, must not have received normal satisfaction during their own (foster) home experience. **Children From Families**

Unlike most of the children born to unmarried mothers, the children from families have known what it is to live within their own family and as a result suffer from being transplanted
into another home. Whether they have come from a family where
parents are married or not their experience is much the same.
They have known family life, with two parents functioning in
one home—two parents for whom they maintain a bond. It is
pointed out in the booklet "Standards" so well known to
child placing agencies, that "Every child who must leave his
own home and live away from his own family suffers a profound
emotional and social disturbance which can never be altogether
compensated." It has been found that children whose own par-
ents are unable to care for them usually feel that they are
unwanted and unloved, and often think that they are in some way
responsible for the fact that their parents have left them or
have given them up. These children are always conscious of be-
ing different from those children living in their own homes.
In addition they may have already been affected unfavourably by
those circumstances which have culminated in the need for place-
ment, and especially by the attitudes of parents who may feel
inadequate, ashamed, guilty, and disturbed because of inability
to care for their children. It is for these reasons that every
foster child for whom foster care is necessary shows varying
degrees of emotional disturbance, which may be expressed simply
as concern or even resentment regarding the inability of his
parents to care for him; or in the form of severe behaviour or
personality disorders.

13. Standards for Children's Organizations Providing Foster
Children from families come into the care of agencies for many reasons. Some of the parents are physically ill. Some are mentally ill. Some parents who are unable to face the problems of their lives abandon their children. Some parents die. Some parents, whose own lives as children, were empty of love have therefore, not reached the maturity which makes it possible for them to love their children.

Love is like a cup of water. Unless the cup is full it cannot run over. Unless the heart is full of love which has been given to it, it cannot run over with love for others. 14

Some children have been so rejected by parents who could not love them that it is difficult to help the child to understand what love is, and when they do comprehend to satisfy their hunger-starved hearts. Sometimes children come to agencies where a deprived parent has lavished so much "self-desired love" upon the child that he is not given a chance to grow emotionally and the agency receives him as a "spoiled," infantilized child. (Actually this type of child is not given over to agency care, but is a common problem of Child Guidance Clinics). Sometimes children come from homes in which their parents are cruel one minute, and loving the next. These children need to live in a home in which they see a different kind of family life and a different kind of people. They need to know that there are adults who are consistently fond of them, whose standards of right and wrong are based on ideals rather than whims, who can be counted on for love whether the child is "bad" or "good." They need to live with people who are secure in each

other's love. They need to understand that not all the world is inconsistent like their parents. But they need to learn this through seeing it themselves, not by hearing their parents criticized.

It is a common fault of foster parents to resent and criticize natural parents. Foster parents frequently see the parents as weak and inadequate, hindering the child from settling down in what could be a good foster home otherwise. Helping foster parents to see the needs of natural parents, and to see what even the worst of parents mean to foster children is one of the most important tasks of the case worker. The type of care which is provided for the child should be based on a consideration of the wishes of his parents, his individual needs, and his family situation. It is necessary to study each child and his family situation in order to determine what kind of care is best suited to his needs. The participation of the parents in planning is essential because of their primary rights and responsibilities as parents, unless legal custody has been permanently removed from them. It is important that removal of a child has not a punitive appearance. Parents should realize that agencies mean to be helpful. Wherever possible, therefore, the parents should be responsible for bringing the child to the agency, so that neither parents nor child have the attitude that workers are "child snatchers." In determining how helpful it would be to have a child maintain a contact with his parents, the worker must decide—not if ties
should be broken, but rather if ties could be broken. Workers may not realize that frequently parents who cannot give their children adequate physical care and protection may be able to meet the child's need for affection and belonging quite adequately.

Since the family is the basic unit of society and the most significant element in the life of a child, it is essential that everything possible be done to undergird family life. Society is apt to condemn those who are not good parents more than it condemns any other group of people. Actually, perhaps no one needs more sympathy and help than those people who have been so badly hurt, who are so confused by the problems of their lives, or who have placed problems so severe that they cannot care for their own children adequately. It should be remembered that many people who are "bad" parents to-day were the children of yesterday who needed help that no one gave. It is vitally important that their children receive the help that was denied to their parents.

Families In The Study

The twenty-four children coming from family situations involved only twenty families, since one group comprised a family of three children, while two other families included two children each. Ten of the twenty family groups were taken into the care of a children's aid society due to family break-up. Marital discord resulted in the parents separating, usually with one parent deserting and the other parent
being unable to provide for the children. The following summary is a typical example of such a separation situation:

Mr. and Mrs. Jones had married at an early age, Mr. Jones being twenty-two and Mrs. Jones being seventeen at the time. Their first child died following which three other children were born to the union. Mr. Jones seemed to be rather an inadequate person who drank a good deal and criticized his wife's homemaking efforts. Whenever there was any disagreement he would return to his mother's home, complaining about his wife and spying on her. As Mr. Jones did not support his family adequately Mrs. Jones felt that she must work and earn a living for the family. Her work as a waitress kept her out all night so that she did not return until ten o'clock. Consequently the baby went without food until noon, while the other children begged food from the neighbours. Arrangements were made for Mrs. Jones to get daytime employment and to place the children in a day nursery. Eventually the children had to be taken into the care of a children's aid society.

About this time Mr. Jones joined the airforce and Mrs. Jones began associating with other men. As Mr. Jones was stationed in Vancouver, he was able to continue spying on his wife. He requested discharge from the airforce in order to establish a home for his family. However, this seemed to be a rather superficial desire, perhaps more to get out of the service than to actually care for his family. Both parents visited the children for a time, each attempting to play the children against the other. Neither parent has visited the children in the past two years.

Four of the twenty families taken into care as the result of serious neglect situations, where parents remained together but could not provide shelter or nourishment adequate to the needs of their children, or even give them warmth and security. The following summary of a case record is given as an example of inadequate parents who had their children removed from their care due to gross neglect:

Neighbours complained of the neglect situation in the Underhill home. The family lived above an old store. There was very little in the way of furniture and the
windows were broken and stuffed with newspapers. A sanitary inspector had declared the abode "not fit for habitation."

The children were pale and sickly looking, and had been in hospital a number of times for malnutrition. All of the children begged in the street, stole and used foul language.

Mr. Underhill had a small business and was away from home a good deal of the time. Mrs. Underhill appeared very limited in intelligence. She told one of the workers at one time that she had been unable to retain a job as a waitress previous to her marriage as she could not remember the orders. While she seemed fond of her children she was unable to manage them, yelling at them at the top of her voice. Mr. Underhill is described as "coarse, demanding and bombastic." He created a terrific scene at the court when his children were committed and has since tried to regain their custody. It was believed that he was having incestuous relations relations with the eldest girl. In her first foster home the child being considered in this study kissed her mother's picture and told her foster mother how much she loved her mother. However, she said she did not wish to return home as the father "did bad things to them." Because of her tie to her mother the child has found placement most difficult.

Four of the children came from homes where one parent was in mental hospital and the other parent was unable to provide a home for the children. The father of one of these children was dead. Two other families had one parent deceased. One of these families makes an interesting study due to conflicting reports regarding the mother who was the surviving parent.

At the age of twenty-two, Mrs. Anderson was left a widow with three small children. At the time of referral to the agency she was in an exhausted state and had to be hospitalized. A psychiatrist examined Mrs. Anderson and described her as being run-down and not interested in her children. Mentally she was in the moron class, he contended, and stated further that the basis of her trouble was obscure and probably neurotic.

The home was described as filthy and poorly furnished, and the children debilitated. While Mrs. Anderson was in the hospital a male friend, whom she later married looked after the children. The record states that he was "hard on the children," and did not seem interested in them.
The Family Welfare Bureau provided a housekeeper for a time and Mother's Allowance was granted.

Mrs Anderson asked that her children be placed with a Children's Aid Society as she felt she could not care for them. She requested that the two older children be placed together "as they would be lost without each other."

As had been requested the children were placed together, but they moved from one foster home to another due to the serious enuretic problem of John, the boy who is the eldest child. Finally after five unsuccessful foster home placements arrangements were made to have the children return to their mother and step-father. The record now presents an entirely different picture.

Mrs. Thompson (formerly Mrs. Anderson) has now been married several years and gives excellent care to the two children of her present marriage. She and Mr. Thompson have a comfortable home, which is well furnished and kept spotlessly clean. Mr. Thompson is described as a jovial person, who takes an active interest in the children, particularly John. Mrs. Thompson is active in church work and, presents a picture of a happy, serene person. Previous to the children's return home she was given a mental test at the Child Guidance Clinic and found to be of average intelligence.

One gets the feeling of personal bias in reading the first part of the record. Certainly there is no recognition of the strengths within this mother and step-father. The first psychiatrist was not too helpful in working out the difficulties within the family.

There are instances of cases in which a strong family tie exists, and which is being preserved by the worker. This is a situation which always poses a difficulty for case workers as the children find their loyalty divided between their natural
parents and their foster parents. Also standards of parents and foster parents differ, which causes confusion on the part of the child.

Mary's parents seemed to be unstable people. Her mother deserted the family and the father, unable to care for the four children, placed them with the Children's Aid Society. He joined the army, but was often AWOL and at one point deserted. As the mother was most unstable, psychiatric help was sought and she was hospitalized for a time.

Both parents visited the children frequently, but this was discouraged as it was felt it was not helpful to the children when the parents had no plan for them.

It was desired that Mary and one of her sisters would be placed together in a foster home, however, this was not feasible. Mary was found to be disobedient in her foster home. She also suffered from severe enuresis, which made foster home placement difficult. It was felt she was grieving for her father as she appeared very fond of him, while she did not talk about her mother a great deal. At school the teacher reported that she tried to get attention by over anxiety to help the teacher and pupils.

While staying at the Receiving Home her paternal grandmother held a birthday party for her older sister, who has remained with the grandmother. Arrangements were made for Mary to attend. Her parents were also there. Mary was delighted to see them again and longed to return to them. She realized that their present home consisted of only one room, and seemed to understand that her parents would not be able to provide a home for their family for a very long time.

She has now moved to another foster home and visits to her parents are continuing. However, she seems to have settled down well, and it is hoped that with understanding foster parents and opportunity to visit her own family occasionally that she may develop into a happier and more secure person.

Both the Children's Aid Society and the Catholic Children's Aid Society have made valiant attempts to keep brothers and sisters together. In this present study thirty-three out of the fifty children have one or more siblings.
Sixteen of the thirty-three with siblings have been placed at one time with a sibling. In most cases this is an excellent thing for the children as it gives security to them and acts as a stabilizing factor. There are cases, however, where placement together does not seem to be in the interests of the children. In one place a brother and sister were placed throughout. The brother was a severe enuresis problem and was moved from foster home to foster home in order to attempt to find one which would give him the security he seemed to require. His sister, on the other hand, was well liked and could have settled down in any of the foster homes. Thus instead of remaining in her first foster home she moved about with her brother into six different foster homes. The study contains another example of this practice where the procedure of keeping siblings together is questionable.

Alice and Joan came into the care of a children's aid society as the result of marital disagreement between their parents culminating in separation, with placement of the children. Both girls showed tendencies of being nervous and high strung, and both were severe enuretic problems.

In the first foster home Joan, the younger sister, was very well liked and was accepted by the family in spite of her bed wetting habits. Alice, on the other hand was considered to be "cheeky" and disobedient, and the foster mother felt she could not keep her.

The next home was quite satisfactory and both children seemed to get along quite well, but the foster parents moved to another province and had to give up the children. The children were moved from their fourth and fifth homes due to their enuretic difficulties. Now in the seventh home enuresis still persists. The foster mother finds Alice a very sweet child who likes to help her about the house. But Joan's problems are increasing. She lies, steals food and is very high-strung.
In this case and the one described just previous to it, one might wonder whether it is in the interests of the children to remain together, since in both of these families little improvement has resulted from the fact that the children did remain together.

Family background is an important factor that must be understood and well considered before arranging a foster home placement. The needs of the child must be met and these needs can only be estimated by gaining a complete knowledge of the child's life in the past, the experiences he has gone through, the ties that bind him, how ready he is to live with the family which will give him the best chance for his ultimate in physical, emotional, intellectual and social development. Family ties must never be overlooked, for where a foster mother or a case worker sees a family as inadequate, it is very likely that the child idealized his parents in spite of all unfavourable conditions. To him they are the best parents in the world, and his lot is hard indeed, if he must be severed from them.
Chapter III

HOMEFINDING

The dictionary definition of "foster" is "to nourish, cherish, aid, encourage." When an agency looks for foster parents, it is looking for people who are physically and emotionally able to give loving care to a child. In making a homefinding study the worker is not trying to determine whether a family is "worthy" of having a foster child, but if being foster parents is something they will enjoy and do well.

In studying the problem of multiple placement of foster children, the first factor to be considered is the family background from which the children came. The next factor to consider, then, should be the homes to which they moved for the care they were not able to receive at home. In looking at the question of foster homes it is necessary to determine how the foster homes are found and how well they are known prior to placing a foster child therein.

As a prerequisite to foster care it is necessary that the physical standards of the home meet a certain requirement. Good food, cleanliness, quiet sleep, fresh air, safety from fire and health hazards are, of course, necessary for any child. Foster parents should have sufficient room in their house so that the child will feel comfortable, and not have reason to
believe that he is crowding the family. It is essential that foster parents should know how children should be cared for and should be willing to learn from social workers, nurses and doctors whom the agency provides to help them. It is a relatively simple matter for a worker to determine whether a home can accommodate a child, and the worker should settle this factor briefly, devoting the bulk of her time to learning about the intangibles in the home, so important to the child's emotional growth.

It should be remembered that many people coming from lowly homes are mature, happy and democratic individuals, while the wealthiest persons who have lacked love and not known the satisfaction of intimate family relationships can never be self-reliant, secure persons, who are interested in the welfare of their community and the world at large. Because of this fact, emphasis on relationships within the home should be given greatest consideration. It is believed that agencies always assure that physical standards are adequate since this is not a difficult matter, especially if the worker is a novice or a volunteer. Foster homefinding is not work for such unskilled persons. Assessing foster parents, in order that the right child be placed in a home, calls for the finest skill the profession has to offer.

Foster parents, then, must be persons who can love a child which is not their own. They must be persons who respect the individual and can accept behaviour different from their own.
They must realize that they cannot force standards upon the child. The only way he will come to identify with them, and do as they do will come as the result of love, and desiring to be a part of the family. A foster mother who says she will not tolerate a child, for example, who tells lies is showing her own limitations in understanding children. When the child feels loved enough and secure enough he will not need to tell lies. Foster parents do not need to be highly educated people who have had courses in child care. They need to be people who have a happy family life, who enjoy caring for children, who have patience and a sense of humour. It is not easy to be foster parents, but it can be very satisfying.

Consider the factors necessary in understanding foster parents. It does seem that the job of the homefinder is a full time task, and that she cannot help in the child placement field as well. It is an easy thing for homefinding to get lost among problems which seem more emergent at the time. The homefinder needs to see the family more than once if she is going to understand the kind of foster home care they can best give. All that can be learned in one interview is the more or less statistical material. Many workers who feel that they cannot devote a great deal of time to homefinding try to bring out all this information in the one interview, thus handicapping the flow of easy conversation which would be so revealing of the real attitudes about the home. The worker needs to steer the conversation to matters concerning the foster mother's attitude toward her home itself, and homemaking within the home. If the
foster mother does not enjoy her home or if she finds that housework is drudgery, such a home would not likely make a suitable foster home. Either the foster mother would find herself with more work than ever to do, or on the other hand, she might be requesting that a foster child be placed in her home in order to obtain a cheap domestic. If a foster mother does not get along well with members of her own family there is a danger that she will use the foster child for her own purposes or to meet her own emotional needs.

H. S. Lippman, M. D., gives his feelings regarding workers getting to know foster mothers well:

How can she possibly learn enough in one interview with the parents, in one home visit, or in two or three casual contacts. I am convinced that without a planned series of interviews one cannot obtain the answers to the perplexing questions that must be answered. Several visits are necessary if for no other reason than to test the home over varying periods of stress and strain. 15

He states that it is his opinion that "failing to know the foster home accounts for repeated placements, with resulting loss of anchorage for the child."

In 1925, the Canadian Council of Child and Family Welfare (now the Canadian Welfare Council) made a study of the types of foster homes that were available for children. The following are listed:

1. Homes of middle aged or old people whose children had grown up and gone away.
2. Homes where no children had been born.
3. Homes where there were only young children and an older child was sought.
4. People who had children of one sex, and who desired the other sex.
5. Homes where they wanted the help a child could give.
6. Homes where they were willing to pay for service rendered by child.

It is believed that a modern list of available foster homes would indicate very similar results. It is interesting to note that a statement in the document states that there is no hard or fast rule. Good and bad homes are to be found in all these categories. The minimum requirements, it contends, should stipulate that foster parents be respectable, have suitable incomes, be of suitable ages, and must live happily together. Twenty-five years ago, then, the favourable influence of happy relationships within the foster homes were not overlooked.

The appendix of this chapter contains three interesting and significant documents relating to homefinding. The first is a copy of the application form used by each of the two agencies being considered in this study. These forms are given to the prospective foster parent, to be filled in with statistical data. When the form has been completed it is placed in the file containing that particular home study.

The second document is a copy of a guide of instructions used by the homefinder of the Children's Aid Society in writing up the foster home report. It will be seen that this guide is very complete and if followed should show up not only matters pertaining to the physical or tangible features of the foster home, but also some indication of the relationships within the home. The guide of instructions allows for plenty of scope in describing the potentialities

of a foster home. Perhaps the difficulty is that workers too frequently feel that they must answer most of the questions following one visit, and thus the report sounds very general.

Following the two documents described, there will be found copies of two foster home studies, which will serve as examples of the type of foster home study made in Vancouver. The first of these was done in 1941 by a volunteer worker, during the war when homes were scarce. The second study was made by a skilled homefinder in 1948. As the same guide had been followed in both studies, it will be seen that the pattern is very similar for both, and that character analysis and a discussion of attitudes is little more apparent in one than the other. One feels that the workers noted a great deal more about the relationships within the home than is indicated in the report.

After reading these two records it is interesting to observe that the Clinton home was most unsuitable, and that the child who was placed in the home had to be removed later. There are several suspicious clews in the study that should have been followed before placing a child in the home. The following entry is made in the child's file regarding the placement:

"Mrs. Clinton was wearing an apron over her housecoat when the worker arrived. She said she had been anxiously awaiting the child's arrival. She did not appear to be at ease with the child, but kept her distance saying she hoped her husband would know what to do when he arrived home. She telephoned her husband and asked him to come home as soon as possible. She was anxious to learn when the child's birthday was, since she was interested in numerology."

The worker attempted to visit the home a number of times after this, but the foster mother and child were always
out when she arrived. It appeared that she took the child out every afternoon.

The foster parents gave the child many toys, but they did not care for him very well. He was not dressed warmly and was not kept clean. The foster mother did not seem the need for routine.

Eventually the foster parents asked to adopt the child. However, since this was impossible they decided to give him up. He was removed from the home seven months after being placed there. The child at this time was two years old.

The second foster home study was made on a home which appears to be a successful placement, as the child has fitted well into the family and is secure and well loved. It may be noted that the foster father was not seen during the study and apparently references were not investigated, since there is no further entry on the file. While such foster homes often do turn out well, it would seem that considerable risk is involved in knowing so little about a foster home.

**The Vancouver Study**

As has been stated previously, the fifty children in the study have lived in a total of 176 homes. In order that some understanding of what has constituted favourable and unfavourable foster homes in Vancouver, it was decided that a portion of these should be read. After omitting duplications, where a foster home was used for more than one child in the study, and also omitting such placements as the receiving homes and the child's own home, where he was returned after being in care, the number was reduced to 126 different foster homes.
These were placed in alphabetical order and the first 100 selected for special study.

One of the foster home files was lacking the complicated application form, while another contained the form, but no foster home study. The other 98 files contained both the form and the study. On the whole the files showed mainly the work done by the home finder, and seldom was any further account given of placement. However, the names of various children placed in that foster home were entered as having lived there. If the home was later closed this fact was entered in the file with a brief description of the reason for the home being closed.

Desirable and Undesirable Homes Compared

In order to arrive at some method of comparison, an attempt was made to categorize foster homes as to whether or not they had met the needs of the foster child placed in them. Only fifty-six families could be considered as "good or poor", that is definitely meeting or not meeting the needs of the foster children. The other forty-four foster homes seemed to be fairly adequate, and it was the personal feeling of the writer that many of these foster homes could have met the needs of the children had a greater attempt been made to work with the families before an emergency arose; or else that this type of foster child was not acceptable to them. Thirty-one foster homes had to be closed due to such factors as death of foster parents, selling or having to give up their home, illness of foster parents, or a child being born to foster parents. These closed homes were
were considered as to their ability to meet the particular needs of the child before the time came when the child had to be removed. The twenty-six families who rated "good," meeting the needs of the child adequately, were compared with the thirty families who rated "poor," not having met the needs of the children. Actually variations between the two groups were very slight, and it is felt that the material used was not the most significant in determining whether or not a home will meet the needs of a foster child, since only tangibles were studied.

**Age of foster parents**

The average age of foster mothers in the total group at the time the original applications were made was 39.37. It appears from this study that foster mothers from the "good" homes are a slightly older group than for the "poor" foster homes, as the average age for "good" foster mothers was 41 years, while that of "poor" foster mothers was 34 years. The same trend is shown in comparing ages of foster fathers. The average for the total group is 42.29 years. The "good" foster fathers averaged 43 years, while the "poor" foster fathers averaged 40.

**Occupation**

Occupation of foster fathers studied consisted almost entirely of wage earners, whose occupations were so varied as to permit of no practical comparison. One of the fathers was in the professional group. Of the 100 foster mothers under study, only 37 stated any previous occupation, six of them having been
former school teachers, six former factory workers, five nurses (three of these being children's nurses), four clerks, three telephone operators, three stenographers, three maids, one cook, one waitress, one usherette, one physiotherapist, one hairdresser, one bookkeeper and one laundress. In comparing the "good" and "poor" foster homes, previous occupations seem to have little significance. Eleven of the twenty-six "good" foster mothers had worked previously to their marriage. In each group there are school teachers, nurses, stenographers and domestic workers.

Natural Children

In the total group there were twenty-four families with no children of their own, and fifteen families had children grown up and away from home. Two families had adopted children. Thirty of the families had one child; twelve had two children; twelve had three children; two families had four children; one had five; one had six children and one family had ten children, most of whom were grown up and out of the home. Comparing good and poor foster homes it was found that the "good" foster home group included five families with grown children, whereas not a family in the poor group had grown children. Three of the "good" foster homes had no children of their own, while eight of the "poor" families had no children of their own. Eight "good" foster homes had one child, and ten "poor" homes had one child. Five "poor" homes had two children and four "good" foster homes had two children. Five good foster homes had three children, while only two "poor" foster homes had three children.
One "good" foster home had four children whereas no "poor" foster home had more than three children.

**Nationality**

The nationality of "good" and "poor" foster parents does not seem to be too significant. Sixteen of the twenty-six "good" foster mothers were Canadian born; seven were born in Great Britain; one was born in the United States; one in Germany; and one in Poland. In the "poor" foster mother group thirteen out of the thirty were Canadian born; thirteen born in the British Isles; one was born in the United States; two were German born and one was born in Hungary.

**Date of Application**

Two of the families in the total group made their original application prior to 1930; eight applied between 1930 and 1935; eighteen applied between 1935 and 1940; seventeen applied between 1940 and 1942; nineteen applied between 1942 and 1944; nineteen applied between 1944 and 1946; and thirteen applied after 1946. Four applications were not dated. The comparison between the "good" and "poor" groups shows a slight difference in time of application. Eleven out of the twenty-six "good" foster homes applied before 1942, while twenty out of the thirty "poor" foster homes applied before 1942. That is approximately one half of the "good" foster homes were approved before 1942, whereas two-thirds of the "poor" homes were approved before that date. This may be due to better selectivity in later years or perhaps it may be due to a better choice in the years following the war. Many of the "poor" category of
foster homes made their original applications during the depression years.

**Accommodation**

Size of foster home does not seem to be significant. The average for the total group was 5.3 rooms. The difference in size of "good" and "poor" foster homes was only a decimal point apart.

**Motives**

The motive given by foster parents for taking children is always an interesting factor and one which reveals something of the attitudes of foster parents. Eighteen of the applicants did not fill in the space allotted for motive for taking a child, and one might wonder whether the term "motive" itself caused some confusion in their minds or whether they did not understand the term in some instances. Thirty of the eighty-two foster parents who did answer the question, stated that they desired the child for "companionship" for themselves. Dorothy Hutchison in her book, *In Quest of Foster Parents* indicated that "companionship" is a poor motive and one which must be carefully watched, as no child can actually act as a companion to an adult. In families where relationships are normal, it is not necessary for the adults to have children as companions.

child as a companion to their own child. This too, is a doubt-ful motive, as it might mean that the child would be ex-pected to play a role which for him would be impossible. A child as an individual can only be himself, and this is often difficult for foster parents to accept. Foster parents often have in mind that the child will act as a pattern for their own child to follow, particularly if their own child has been a disappointment to them. But in this way they are not only ru-ining their own child's chances for happy development, but those of the foster child as well. It has been pointed out that an indication of what a foster child may turn out to be may be gained from observing the natural child in the family. The foster child will be "similar; only more so." That is, if the natural child is polite, then the foster child will be expected to be exceedingly polite. If the natural child goes without discipline the foster child may be allowed to "run wild." There are, of course, instances where foster children are not treated the same as natural children in the family. This is a very bitter experience for the foster child.

Eight foster parents in the study stated that they wished to take a child for financial reasons and the desire for companionship, together. Purely financial motives are al-ways considered with suspicion since the child may not receive adequate care if the foster parents wish to make a profit.

However, where there is frankness in response as well as a genuine interest in children this motive may not be such a bad one. Perhaps the inclusion of the word "companionship" should give more cause for alertness regarding relationships within the home than the fact that foster parents were open enough to admit that theirs was a financial need. Motive at any time, should be regarded as only a clue; and because a motive has a selfish ring to it, this does not mean that the home is necessarily a "poor" one. There were some unselfish motives given by the foster parents; however they were in the minority. Nine people stated that they wished to give a child a home, and nine others wrote simply that they were fond of children. While these motives cannot be relied on as actual guides as to the attitudes of foster parents, it would seem that the foster parents are thinking about the child and his needs rather than their own selfish desires. There were some motives given in individual cases where the motive had an unhealthy ring to it. One foster mother said she wished a child in order to keep herself occupied, another said she needed something to care for, another foster couple who were both ex-wards of a society gave as their reason for requesting a child: "to give a child what we missed." Identification such as this is somewhat dangerous, and could be a clue to neurotic needs. It is essential that the homefinder learn whether such people really want a child. Another foster mother stated she was interested in dressing little girls. In such cases workers must be aware of the fact that this might be the desire of the "lady
bountiful" who helps the "poor orphan" in order to impress her friends, or for other narcissistic reasons. Such persons do not allow a child to develop its individual personality, but desire the child to conform to a pattern set by the foster mother. The foster child grows up with a feeling of worthlessness, in an environment where she is expected to be grateful. One older foster father applied for an older boy stating he wished him as farm help. Many children were placed on this farm and it appears from the file that this was a frank foster father who needed help, but who could and did care for many foster children, proving to be a most valuable foster home for many years. The motives "child's companion," for "companionship" and "finance" seem to be fairly evenly divided between the "good" and "poor" foster homes. For every motive given by "poor" foster parents, there seems to be a matching one on the side of the "good" parents. For example, as would be expected, the motive "to give a child what we missed" came from one of the "poor" foster parent groups. However, one finds among the "good" group the motive "to give a child a home—lost own parents."

Motives, then, it appears, can only be regarded as clues to attitudes, and foster parents can only be selected when they are well known and understood by case worker.

**Age and Sex of Child Desired**

Another most interesting part of the study was the response to the query as to type of child desired. Forty-three of the one hundred families in the study asked for a girl to be placed in their home, while nineteen asked for a boy. Twenty-
nine foster families stated they would take either a boy or a girl, and nine did not reply, which would apparently indicate that they would take either girls or boys. There is no significant difference in this respect between the "good" and "poor" foster homes. The results are as follows: Thirteen of the "good" foster homes requested a girl; two requested a boy; five indicated that they would take either a girl or boy and six did not fill in the allotted space. Fourteen of the "poor" foster homes requested a girl; six requested boys; eight indicated they would take either girls or boys, and two did not reply.

**Relationships Within the Home**

The most significant difference is shown in the scant paragraphs in the study by the homefinder describing the home-making efforts of foster parents, relationships within the home and interests outside the home. One gets the impression that since the small amount of material presented in this section is so significant, a fuller description of the family within the home, with a better understanding of all the members of the family and with more adequate recording, a great deal more about the needs of the family could be understood.

Six out of the thirty,"poor" foster parents kept spotlessly clean homes, the fastidious homemaker being more interested in appearance than in the happiness and comfort of the occupant. In the "good" foster home category, there are some references to care of homes, but they sound less extreme than
the "poor" foster home group. One of these refers to the fact that the mother in the home is a good housekeeper, one states that the house is homey and looks lived in, another states that the mother enjoys her home and family. Several other foster parents in the "poor" group show rigidity in other factors. One foster mother insisted on instant obedience from her own and other children in the home, other foster parents are described in the record as demanding, rigid, firm, cold, impatient, tense. Several of the "poor" category of foster parents showed evidence of illness. One foster father suffered from stomach ulcers, two files showed both parents in poor health. One foster father in the "poor" group was blind, and one foster mother was sensitive about her hearing aid. Three of the "poor" foster parents were upset by the fact that the foster children did not seem to respond to their overtures, and they described the children as "cold." Persons such as these, and also two other families who were annoyed at the natural parents' visiting, may not be suitable as foster parents, as they appear to be unable to share the children with their natural parents.

If these foster parents appear to be adequate persons in other ways, but need to receive love as well as to give it, perhaps they could be considered as adoptive parents, as they would then be in a position to claim the child's affection entirely for themselves.

**Interests**

One noteworthy factor found among foster parents is illustrated by the fact that in the "poor" category five out
thirty professed a special interest in music whereas in the "good" foster parent group only one expressed interest in music. Perhaps a suggested reason for this might be lack of attributes in the "poor" foster home group made the worker emphasize the musical factor.

Five of the "poor" group have "no interests outside of the home," and only in two cases is it mentioned that the parents are interested in church work. On the other hand, seven of the "good" foster parents are actively interested in their church or community, although there was one home with a foster mother with no outside interests.

**Maternal and Paternal Qualities**

Mention is made of foster mothers being affectionate or motherly in eleven of the twenty-six "good" foster homes. Only in three of the "poor" foster homes are foster parents described in this manner. Instead they are referred to as "pleasant, sensible, sympathetic." One foster home in each of the "good" and "poor" categories was described as untidy. In one of the "good" foster homes the record showed that the foster mother domineered her husband. One would guess that in the others the worker did not know the homes well enough to judge whether this was so in the others. Since there is ground for believing that most foster homes are of the matriarchial type since it is the foster mother who requests and largely cares for the children, perhaps this is a common failing. One of the "poor" foster homes showed the foster father as being "poor." There are several references to apparently inadequate foster
fathers in both "good" and "poor" categories. One foster father in the "good" category is described as "nervous," another "a nice quiet man," in another the foster mother feared the foster father would not like the children, but placement worked out well, since this home came in the "good" group. In the "poor" group there are the following apparently inadequate foster fathers: one foster father away; two foster fathers not interested in children; one foster father blind; one foster father is described as quick tempered, another impatient with the children, and as has been stated, one foster had stomach ulcers. On the other hand, one foster father in the "poor" category is described as "intelligent;" another as being "attractive; one as being "easy going;" another "happy-go-lucky;" another as "hard-working" and two as "loving children." It would appear that there are variations of foster fathers in both "good" and "poor" homes. On the whole it would seem that the foster fathers are not too well known and that little is done to aid them in understanding the child who is being cared for in their homes. Foster fathers, it would seem, are an untapped resource. It is only fairly recently that the necessity for a good father-person in a home is essential to the normal development of both boys and girls.

Source

Whether or not the word "source" on the application form causes confusion as to what is meant by this term is not known, however, fifty-five out of one hundred applicants answered the question. The greatest number of referrals came from
foster mothers. Nineteen applicants were referred to the agencies by other foster mothers. Fifteen were referred by relatives or friends, thirteen applied following advertising in the newspapers or on the radio. Three foster mothers were referred by their priest or minister, and three by professional persons—a V. O. N. worker, a Y. W. C. A. worker and one by a social worker. Comparing the "good" and "poor" foster homes it was found that only thirteen of the twenty-six replied to the question in the "good" foster home group, whereas twenty out of thirty of the "poor" foster home group replied. Among thirteen "good" foster parents five answered advertisements; four were referred by friends or relatives; three were referred by foster mothers and one was referred by the minister of her church. The division for the "poor" foster home group is as follows: eleven referrals by foster mothers; five by advertising; three by friends and one by a social worker. It is doubtful if these figures are too significant, particularly since so many of the applicants did not fill in the space in the questionnaire.

Location of Foster Homes

Both the Catholic Children's Aid the Children's Society of Vancouver use mainly city foster homes. However, the Catholic Children's Aid does extend throughout the Fraser Valley as far as Agassiz. The Children's Aid Society includes territory as far as Langley. There is no hard and fast rule for rural placements. Wherever it is felt to be in the child's interest to be placed in the country, this is done. Rural and urban placements cannot well be compared, therefore. Out of
the one hundred foster homes studied, twenty-seven were considered to be rural placements, while seventy-three are urban. Foster homes in Vancouver and New Westminster were considered to be city placements, while those outside these areas were considered to be rural. There might be some criticism of such differentiation, since many of the so-called city placements actually are situated some distance from neighbours or on large lots of land. On the other hand, many of the rural placements might actually be situated in one of the smaller cities or towns in the Fraser Valley. As it was difficult in so many cases to determine when this was so, the present system was devised for separating city and rural placements. The "good" foster home placements consisted of sixteen city placements and ten rural placements. While the "poor" foster home group consisted of twenty-two city placements and eight rural placements.

Reasons for Closing Homes

Of the thirty-one homes which were closed by the time this study was made, the reason given for the closing of three of them was that the foster parents had died; ten were closed because a member of the foster family became ill; four families had moved away, three of the foster families had had a child of their own, so gave up the foster child. Some homes were closed by the social workers because in five cases the mothers were not suited to their task; while of one the file states she was high strung and emotional; of another neurotic; one was "cold with the children;" and another whipped the children; whereas another
became "too attached to the children," another decided to take private placements; two were considered too old to cope with the children while another foster mother felt unequal to the task as her husband was away; and one family had relatives come to stay with them.

The foster home study serves to aid the homefinder in determining whether the home should be used at all; whether the people in that home really want a child, or have the idea that having a child in their home will solve some of their problems. Thus she must know the family intimately. It is only through such knowledge that some understanding may come as to what type of child will be suitable for their home, and where they, as foster parents, may make the greatest contribution.
Chapter IV

PROFESSIONAL USE OF FOSTER HOMES

After surveying whether or not a foster home is suitable, the next step is to attempt to fit the right child into the right foster home. In order to do this the worker must know the child and foster family so well that she thoroughly knows the needs of each. There must be some system whereby the workers know what homes are available, and what can be expected from each in the way of affection; what are the standards within the foster home; and whether or not the foster family are able to accept a child who has family ties or who may be removed from their home at a later date. It is not necessarily an indication of a poor type of foster parent when a worker finds that they could not possibly accept a child's family. It may be that these foster parents would realize more happiness for themselves and for the child if they took an adoptable child, and became adopting parents, since they could not share the child. In this way they would be able to give some child permanent security, and an opportunity to find roots in the world. It may readily be seen that there would be no point in attempting to place a child with natural family ties with such a family. He would be expected to love his new family, but he would be unable to do so, since it was still possible to cling to his own family for affection. There are foster parents who can give love, yet demand neither love nor gratitude in return. There are
people who are mature enough that they have no need to make
demands upon others. Thus these parents are able to give a
child good physical care and attention, yet leave him free
for his own affectional ties.

The problem of family ties is given only as an
example, and because it represents one of the more common
difficulties of foster home placement. Another very frequent
difficulty is that of enuresis. Many foster children being away
from home, feel insecure, unloved, and therefore hostile to­
ward society. If foster parents can accept the basis of such
behaviour, they will be able to show understanding of the
child, so that his problem may be overcome. However, if the
foster parents cannot tolerate this condition, the problem
will increase, since the child will feel even less secure in
the foster home, and unconsciously indicate in this manner
even greater hostility toward a world where he is not under­
stood.

The worker, knowing what foster parents have to
give and what they want themselves from a child, must match
this knowledge with a child who is in need of a foster home.
She must understand his needs in order to determine if the
home can meet them. Perhaps she may realize that a particu­
lar child may fit into a home at a later date, but could not
do so immediately. The use of the temporary foster home for
children who have severe problems, or who have gone through
very traumatic experiences may be helped with these difficul­
ties is discussed in a later chapter. The purpose of this is that after what might be called a convalescent period, the children may be "well" enough to go into the ordinary or normal foster home and become a member of the group. Fortunately, there are foster parents who are able to help disturbed children in a "lay-professional" manner, and who find the work challenging and satisfying. They are able to put up with the children through very disturbed periods knowing that sometime the child will go from them a happy individual, with a normal opportunity for emotional growth.

The Role of the Foster Father

Because most foster homes are of the matriarchial kind, the foster mother taking on the responsibility of caring for the child, social workers have tended to overlook the potentialities of foster fathers. It is well known that in order to develop normally, a child must grow in harmony with both parents. As an infant he is tended almost exclusively by the mother person, in most instances. The "anal" or toilet training period is mainly the responsibility of the mother, as well. However, following this it is essential that a child conquer the "oedipus" stage when he falls in love with his parent of the opposite sex, using him for his pattern for growing and maturing. It must be recognized where there is no foster father, or where he is an inadequate person or feels that he has no part to play in bringing up the foster child, the child, whether a girl or a boy, suffers as a result. If she is a girl, she has not the opportunity
of resolving her oedipus conflict, and if he is a boy he has no male pattern with which to identify later.

In the 100 files which were read in making the foster home section of the study, it was difficult in most instances to tell whether or not the foster father was seen by either homefinder, or if the description of him in the record was what the foster mother told the worker about him. His attitudes to the child are too important to be overlooked. Perhaps the child may represent a threat to the foster father, or perhaps the foster mother is requesting a child because she believes her husband would like to have a child, when this is not actually the case. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, it is essential that both parents be contacted separately and together in order to determine relationships and their mutual desire to have a child in their home. The significance of the foster father is clearly demonstrated in the following summary of a case record:

Harry's parents separated after several years of marital difficulty and suspicion against one another. The three children were placed with the A. family. This was a home in which there were no natural children and where the foster father was a very kindly man, interested in his home and very fond of children. He and his wife seemed to be very happy together and were interested in community life. However, when Mr. A's. mother became ill, Mrs. A. requested that the children be removed as it was necessary for her to care for her mother-in-law. At the time the worker felt that Mrs. A. was jealous of the attention her husband gave the children.

It will be seen that while Mr. A. is quite adequate as a foster father, children in the home represent a threat to the family. This is an instance where there would be some doubt
as to whether the family actually ever wanted children in their home. It is quite possible that a woman such as Mrs. A requested a child believing her husband desired one.

Due to difficulty in finding homes where the three children could be placed together, it was decided that Harry should be placed apart from his sisters. The B. family with whom he was placed were fine foster parents. They were an easy going type of family and very fond of children. No reason is given for the child's removal and Harry remained five months. His next foster home was close to where his sisters were staying. Apparently the placement worked out well, however, the foster mother's mother was not well and Mrs. C. gave up the child. Up to this point he had been a most affectionate child; however, when he was placed in the Receiving Home he was very destructive.

His next placement was a happy one for Harry. The foster mother had a pleasant disposition, was good with little children, and belonged to clubs. The foster father was a quiet, hard-working man, who was very fond of Harry. Mrs. D. told the worker that her husband had quite "fallen for the child." Mrs. D. was kind but firm with the child and they had no difficulty with him. Everyone in the home loved him and they wished to keep him permanently. Suddenly the foster father died. This was a sad blow for Harry and when the worker came to move the children he did not wish to leave. He said he would run away and find his daddy (the foster father).

The next foster home was a fortunate move, for again there was a superior foster father, Mr. E. Harry called him "Uncle Bob" and "trailed after him," to Mr. E's delight. The foster mother was very much interested in children and the worker felt she gave them a feeling of security. This pleasant home situation was not to last long for Harry, however, for the foster mother developed a chest condition and it was feared there might be a possibility of tuberculosis. Therefore it was necessary to remove Harry from the home. The foster parents were very sorry to have him leave, and asked that they might have him back again when Mrs. E. was better.

The F. foster home was one which had been used for several foster children in the past. Mrs. F. was a kindly person, interested in her home and family, Following so much moving about Harry began wetting the bed. As he was
six years old the foster father was very annoyed. He seemed very fond of his home and family, but showed no acceptance of Harry, and took no interest in him. This was a hard blow for the child. He developed an indifferent attitude and when the case worker called he asked to be taken away.

Harry was moved to the G. foster home. He is loved by both foster parents and states that he wishes to marry Mrs. G. The worker feels that he is permanently settled in the home. Enuresis still persists, but seems to be lessening as he develops security in the home.

This case shows several significant facts. Throughout the foster fathers played a prominent role in the child's development. However, following the unsuccessful placement in the F. home it was necessary for the child to regress to the previous stage where he had received satisfaction, and so is "in love with" his foster mother. Undoubtedly, when he feels secure enough in his foster mother's love, he can progress again to the phase of development in which he will identify with a male figure.

This record is valuable in showing that "bad luck" can cause the best placements to fail as Harry had to leave the D. and E. foster homes. However, it must also be pointed out, that there appear to be some apparently careless placements when the true family picture was not recognized by the worker.

Harry's placement in the F. home indicates what appears to be a common problem in child placement. How often workers say, "Mrs. So-and-so is a wonderful foster mother; she can take any child." It should be pointed out that there is no guarantee that because six or ten foster children have fitted into a particular foster home, that every child will. Even if the foster mother can
"take every child," there is still the matter to be reckoned with that the child has special needs and that this particular foster home may not meet them. It is necessary that "known" foster homes be assessed as carefully as new homes, for both must meet the needs of the child. The matter of acceptance can never be taken for granted.

Another interesting observation elsewhere in the files regarding this family is that Harry's two sisters who were placed together throughout also had seven placements. These two girls were such severe enuretics that foster mothers found it difficult to cope with their problem. One might speculate as to whether there is a family weakness since all three children were enuretic problems at one time or another, or whether the instability they had known in their own home plus the instability caused from moving so frequently made them insecure to the extent that the habit persisted. There is also a question of whether or not seven placements were required before three children could become adjusted to normal home living. Strange as it may seem, this is the reasoning of certain workers in explaining the problem of multiple placement.

A home which adequately met the needs of the children, given some working out of relationships regarding their natural family, should have made further placement unnecessary. Perhaps the two girls in the family should not have been kept together. This is a matter requiring consideration in individual cases, and action taken in the best interests of the children individually. As has been pointed out, certain families can accept one child, yet cannot accept another.
HOMES of Widows

The study shows that frequently widows desire to be foster mothers and that usually the results are quite good, since so often widows have time to devote to the foster child. However, there is always the possibility that a widow, being lonely, may use the child to meet her emotional needs, almost smothering the child with affection so that it is not able to grow emotionally. On the other hand, some widows take children for financial reasons and give only physical care, and the children are deprived of affection. This appear to have been the case with one foster mother who looked after children, two of whom came within the scope of the study.

Mrs. Brent is a widow with a grown-up daughter. She applied for children in 1930 and cared for many babies for the Children's Aid Society for many years. She kept her house spotlessly clean and gave the babies in her charge the best of care.

Mrs. B. was 42 years of age at the time that the two girls Sadie and Betty came into her care. These were unrelated children. However the placement was an unhappy one for both children. Sadie was one year old at the time of placement in the home. Mrs. B. being very busy, gave her little attention. The child followed her about the house, whining as she went. Mrs. B. confessed that she did not like the child, and eventually the child was removed.

While Mrs. B. was able to give good physical care to babies, it appeared that she had little time for loving them and meeting their emotional needs. It is interesting to observe that she could not accept the one year old child, a time when many foster mothers find children to have particular charm. Again, it may be stressed that workers can never take for granted that a child will fit into a home known previously to the agency. Betty went to Mrs. B's. home as an infant, and
remained until she was four years of age. The following information is taken directly from the record:

At the age of eighteen months "she sucks her thumb in spite of her arms being put in cardboard rolls." The foster mother will try mitts to break the habit. Betty is a child who is difficult to know and does not make friends easily. She has lately developed the habit of banging her forehead on the playpen. She does not sleep during the day.

Betty's behaviour would seem to indicate that she was not receiving sufficient satisfaction and at eighteen months she was reacting in a manner frequently used by children not receiving attention and affection adequate for their needs. The curbing of the thumb sucking habit was in accordance with the philosophy of the past decade. One year later there is little evidence of improvement:

"Betty is a very tidy little soul. She helps her foster mother, but is bossy with other children. She fights with a child a year older than herself. She still sucks her thumb. She does not sleep well, and lies awake nearly three hours after she is put to bed."

The following year there is further evidence of maladjustment:

"Betty will be four years old next February. She has been in her present foster home ever since her first month and is regarded by the foster mother as a child of the home. The worker regrets to say that Betty's behaviour is not a credit to the foster mother. She is unsocial, disobedient, highly excitable and uncooperative. Her only companions have been a talkative middle-aged foster mother, the teen-age daughter of the house and various babies placed temporarily on a boarding basis. Betty is fond of the babies.

She sucks all four fingers of either hand. When spoken to she hangs her head and hides around her foster mother's skirts. The foster mother lunges at her and threatens 'a good spanking' in the worker's presence. This does not have much effect. Betty runs like a hare
as soon as she catches sight of a C. A. S. car or the worker. The home is a model of cleanliness and routine."

The following year Betty was sent away a month for the summer holidays and Mrs. B. resented this very much. Upon the child's return she was moved to another home. The foster mother was so upset that the home was closed.

Seven widows, a single woman and a foster mother who had had a judicial separation were included in the study. The majority of these women have done very nicely with the children placed in their care. Perhaps these homes could be better used as temporary foster homes. However, in some cases the child has a tie to the natural father, as in the case of Bobby cited in Chapter II. The case of Edith is interesting because of a tie to a previous foster father.

Edith was privately placed by her mother at birth with a view to adoption. However, when the adopting parents later disagreed and separated it came to the attention of the authorities that Edith's mother who was Roman Catholic had placed her child for adoption in a Protestant home. Edith was then committed as a ward of the C. C. A. S. and was placed in the home of Mrs. C., a widow, with four grown daughters. Edith was two years of age at the time of placement and has remained in this foster home ever since. She is now ten years of age.

Her former adopting parents found it difficult to give up the child and her adopting father has maintained a contact with her, visiting frequently and bringing her gifts. There is a strong tie between him and the child.

Edith is very well cared for and greatly loved by the foster mother and her family. She is sweet-tempered and affectionate and the foster mother finds no real problem in handling her. The child does very well in school. All her marks are in the 90's. She says she wants to be properly trained for her work in life. She is learning piano and also taking tap dancing lessons. She regards her foster mother, who is now over sixty years of age, as a grandmother.
Homes such as the one described above have a great deal to offer foster children. The fact that the former adopting father has remained in the picture has given further security to the child.

**Professional Assistance**

The matching of the needs of the child with the needs of foster parents calls for the keenest skill and judgment on the part of the child welfare worker. But perhaps the greatest skill of the profession is called for in helping the child and the foster parents to adjust to each other's pattern of living, so that placement is a pleasant and wholesome experience. Skilled casework at this time makes the difference between a child remaining in the foster home in which he was placed, and moving to a series of homes. It means the difference between being loved, understood and developing feelings of security in the home, and the absence of these qualities plus distorted feelings which limit the child intellectually and emotionally. Workers with a moderate caseload should not need to place children too frequently. Their daily task is rather that of helping children to be assimilated into foster homes where they derive satisfaction from the home situation which their own home for some reason was not able to give to them. The gauge of good case work with foster children might well be the relatively small number of her placements, as well as the happy adjustment of children to life away from the natural home.

It has been already noted that records do not show what quality of case work is being done in foster homes.
Workers are more inclined to record only the problems relating to the child in the home and omit most details of the part they played in attempting to deal with these problems. Thus it is difficult to show to any great extent the amount or type of casework that is being done. In the following record it will be noted that the worker has missed discussing the actual problem of dealing with the child's tie to his own parents, and considered instead the more superficial problem of trying to stop the enuresis difficulty; that is, she dealt with the problem on a surface level rather than attempting to solve the cause of the difficulty. The interview is taken directly from the record.

22. 11. 44.
Called at the foster home. Foster mother is finding it too difficult to keep Alice, as she is still wetting the bed. She said that she found that if Alice is promised something she wants to do the following day or to have something she likes she does not wet the bed. She does not wet it either if she says she won't. For instance if she knows she is going to visit her family she will not wet the bed for a week. Foster mother is sure that it is pure laziness. Discussed this in some detail with foster mother, trying to learn just what type of routine she was following with Alice. Worker found during the conversation that the foster mother has not been conforming to any definite hours for taking Alice to the bathroom and also that Alice has not been fully awake when she does get her up. Foster mother complained that Alice was too big a girl and too heavy to lift. Worker said that it would not do any good to get Alice up if she was not awake and if she did not use the toilet. Suggested that foster mother place a piece of linoleum beside Alice's bed and that when she gets up the cold will be more apt to wake her up and she will then use the bathroom. Also suggested that foster mother keep a chart of the times she gets Alice up and the times that she is dry. In this way she could gradually find the routine she should follow with Alice to get her before she wets the bed. Stated that perhaps foster mother gets Alice up at eleven o'clock and the bed is wet. Perhaps then she should get Alice up at 10.30 and she would have a dry bed. Stated that the same thing
applies during the night. Foster mother did not seem to complain about getting up for Alice but is complaining that when she does get up the bed is already wet. However, foster mother is not in a very accepting mood and still thinks Alice should be moved.

Such an example would remind us of Gordon Hamilton's words: "The only way to understand the behaviour problem is to understand him."

Because of the failure of workers to record their own part of interviews it has been most difficult to find a case record that shows evidence of good case work having been done. In the following record the worker shows a greater awareness of the problems of adjustment in the home, and in the latter part of the interview is able to help the foster mother to understand the reasons for the child's behaviour.

Visited foster home as foster mother telephoned requesting a visit as Margaret's behaviour has become quite difficult. Foster mother says that Margaret is insolent and when told to do something by foster mother often states "I will tell Miss .... (caseworker) on you!" She is very demanding and wants new clothes, money, etc. She refuses to get up in time and foster mother has a great deal of trouble in getting her to bed at night. Foster mother seems quite demanding and gets upset over any misdemeanor on Margaret's part. However, she has a genuine affection for the child, which appears to be mutual. Foster mother said she is still untidy although she has improved in that respect. I said perhaps foster mother was expecting too much of Margaret. If the other children in the neighbourhood were allowed to play until nine o'clock it was naturally hard to be told to come in at eight. I said that perhaps when school was out during the summer she could stay in bed later in the morning so she could have a longer play hour in the evening. Foster mother then started talking about Margaret's assets. She emphasized the fact that she had not threatened her with leaving the foster home. When Margaret

returned from the Receiving Home her behaviour improved for a time but after a while she lapsed back into her old demanding ways. I said that often children whose families had rejected them took this way of getting back at the world and kept asking for material things to replace the loss of their parents. I interpreted this at length and foster mother seemed quite accepting.

In this case the worker recognizes the child's problems and she not only helps the foster mother to understand the child, but she sees the child in her office about once a week as well. This gives the child an opportunity to discuss the things that bother her with someone who knows and understands the situation. This must help considerably in relieving her feelings, and following this it should not be necessary to make so many demands upon her foster mother.

Recognition of Foster Mothers

Foster mothers take and keep children whose resentment and pain at having been separated from his own parents is almost always projected upon her. Children who have suffered at the hands of their own parents come to foster parents belligerent and unhappy. Foster parents must receive not only the child, but parents and relatives too. Eventually the foster parents must give up the child in whom they invested so much and to whom they have given so abundantly of their care, time, and interest. Workers should be aware of the foster parents' need for satisfaction in the job, which will make it easier for them to give love and acceptance to the child. It is important that workers convey recognition and encouragement of the foster parents' work in attempting to bring about such modifications in the attitudes of the foster parents as may be necessary for them to deal with the child.
All too seldom are foster mothers given the recognition they deserve. Theirs is a job which cannot be performed by any professional member of the staff. A little encouragement along the way helps to lighten what can be a heavy burden to carry. The following excerpt from a record shows the effect of giving recognition to a conscientious foster mother:

25. 3. 48. Worker said June seemed to be so happy and secure with Mrs. Brown it would seem a shame to move her. Mrs. Brown beamed and said that she thought it was so and added that June seemed very appreciative of the things she did for her. Worker said she certainly realized this and said she noticed how tickled June was to have her shop for her. Whereupon Mrs. Brown showed worker the dresses they had purchased and told her she gave the children as much leeway in choosing their dresses as she could. She added that she gave them the chance to choose their desserts too, and that they got quite a kick out of it. Worker remarked that she certainly has the knack of making the children happy.

Dorothy Hutchinson has said that motherhood has been romanticized beyond reality, but little is written in honour of foster mothers. Yet foster motherhood calls for all that is demanded of motherhood, and more. To love someone else's child calls for uncommon qualities of heart and mind. The rewards of a foster mother are in watching a child grow more confident, waiting for him to change into one able to give and to receive love. "All normal motherhood is altruistic, but foster motherhood, when normal, is altruism at its best."


Chapter V

ADJUSTMENT, INTELLIGENCE, and PERSONALITY

Authorities tell us that the "latency period" in a child's life represent the years in which he strives to be independent. The normal child has passed through a period of being close to his parents and greatly dependent upon them. When this need has been fulfilled, he is able to go to interests in the world outside his home. Beneath the surface he still has a great need for parental love, but he does not show it openly. At this age too, he enters school and is stimulated by it, so that his interest is diversified in many channels. He develops a sense of responsibility about the things he feels are important. The child feels impatient with people who tell him what to do, since he has incorporated into his thinking his parents' teachings, and wants to be considered responsible. In their desire to be independent, children in the latency period may present a rather "tough" appearance. They may go about carelessly dressed, use poor table manners, and in general show a distinct change from the "good," loving child of a year or two previously. The latency child tends to get along well with the friends he likes, and to fight against those he does not like. He likes people of his own sex, but shows little interest in the opposite sex. Because of their strivings for independence in this age level, the home atmosphere should be relaxed and agreeable, not making too many demands upon the child.
And because the school situation occupies most of the child's daytime activity and interest, it is necessary that the curriculum should not be too rigid, but pleasant and satisfying, with a teacher who understands children of this age, and who is interested in aiding each child to become an individual who can achieve in some special way.

Children who have to be removed from their own home, or a home which they have known a long time, thus may lose much that has been accomplished in the past. Usually they must regress again to the point where they feel secure in their surroundings, before being able to proceed to normal latency independence. On the other hand, many children from homes where they have been deprived and neglected have never known security in their relationships with their parents, and removal from their home seems to them to be complete rejection on the part of their parents. These children have special needs in experiencing love, understanding, stability and achievement for their security of feeling and their emotional growth.

The Effect of Multiple Placement on Personality

Dr. Florence Clothier points out that where children have had many replacements in early childhood they become confused and cannot develop normally. They have not had a consistent love-object to whom they can relate. It is only from such a love relationship that a child can identify with a parent person, finding a pattern of desired emotional growth.

The case of Peter may be cited as an example of a child who shows progressive decline in personality through a series of eight placements which make up his foster care experience.

Peter is the child of an unmarried mother who asked for wardship since she could not care for the child herself. He came into care at the age of one month. He remained in his first foster home three months. The record shows that he was a lovely little boy, very cheerful and playful, and quite the pet of the family. At the end of three months the foster mother decided that caring for the child took considerable time and effort, and she requested his removal.

In the second foster home he appeared to be happy and played well with the children. After this there is a gap in the record, and apparently the child moved into another home for a time, but the foster mother later moved away from the province. At three years of age he was in his fifth foster home. He is described as a "scrawny and rather delicate looking child." The foster mother was extremely fond of him, and "doesn't know how she ever got along without a little boy in her home before." The child was not so shy and did not mind the worker as much as formerly. The foster mother was very much attached to the child, although she found him extremely stubborn. After a visit to the clinic it was decided that his tonsils and adenoids should be removed. The foster mother took this opportunity to request that he be removed elsewhere after his discharge from the hospital, as she felt he was becoming too difficult to manage, and "did not feel she was getting the best out of the child." The worker was surprised to hear this as the foster mother had seemed so fond of the child.

After the operation Peter was placed in a babies' home for awhile, then replaced in the home of a single woman. Peter, at this stage, seemed nervous and high strung. He cried when leaving the babies' home, though he made himself right at home on his arrival at the foster home. The visitor explained that he had had several placements recently and
might take some time to adjust.

The foster mother had a "strenuous time" with the child. He resented correction, cried for no apparent reason and had bad temper tantrums. — The foster mother seemed rather discouraged, but the worker pointed out that the child was only three and should not be too difficult to train. The foster mother said she would persevere as she realized frequent changes of foster homes were the worst thing for the child.

One month later the foster mother stated that she did not think he was normal due to his strange behaviour. He refused to play with other children in the house, and seemed to resent any attention given them. Peter wandered about the house at night, and wakened with deep circles under his eyes. He was destructive and broke his toys. He had a violent temper and would work himself into rages. He was very cruel, picking the cat up by the tail and throwing him in the water.

When moved to his sixth home he did not seem to resent the change, although when worker left he was very upset. His new foster mother was very pleased with his appearance and was not discouraged at the prospect of having a problem child to care for. They were able to stop his night ramblings about the house and the whole family felt satisfied with the progress he was making. The record states at this point: "He is a very clean child." He seemed very frail and never slept well, always waking about five in the morning. At the age of five he was still a very difficult child to work with, and the foster mother was worn out trying to care for him, especially when he had measles.

She felt that his behaviour had improved in some respects but the child was getting beyond her. Unless he got his own way he would kick and scream. Worker had a talk with him and he told her he did not like being scolded and corrected all the time. He agreed to obey promptly. The worker pointed out to the foster parents that they should not expect too much of the child, he was bound to have lapses of his behaviour.
For the next year things seemed to be going better. Then the foster mother reported that she did not dare to leave the child alone. He had retrogressed in every way. She found him wilful and difficult and indulging in violent temper tantrums. The foster mother felt she must give him up before he started school, since in three years she had accomplished almost nothing.

Peter made a poor start in the next foster home, but the foster mother felt that something must be bothering the child. She told him that his own parents were dead, and he seemed to settle down for a time. When the family moved to another home he told her she would have to take him with her, since he was a "poor little boy who had no mother." This foster mother found him quite amenable to discipline, and felt that he was quite intelligent and did quite well in school. When the family had to give up their house it was necessary for Peter to move.

Before placing the child in the next home the worker went over Peter's problems with the foster mother. Also he was tested at the Child Guidance Clinic. The foster mother agreed to take him on a temporary basis at least and said she would keep him if things worked out satisfactorily.

The following report was received from the Child Guidance Clinic:

"The above-named boy was examined yesterday at the Clinic. He has a chronological age of 7 2/12 and a mental age of six, which is an I Q of 84, placing him in the slow normal group of general intelligence.

His physical examination showed a congenital heart at the present and a slight flatness of the left side of the face. He was quite active, rather submissive, but reacted quickly and without much thought. He was fairly neat and clean and was co-operative. Because of his heart condition and irregularity of his teeth a blood test was taken, (the result being negative).

In reference to his tantrums we would suggest that no notice be taken of them, that he be placed in a room by himself from which articles have been removed."
Instead of Peter's behaviour improving in this his eighth home it seems to have grown worse.

The foster mother felt the child was a bad influence on the other children. She found it necessary to whip him for playing in the mud, and setting fires. Quite frequently the foster mother had felt he would have to be removed.

After remaining in the home three years the following information is given:

He soils himself and the foster mother makes him wash his own clothes. He has been caught excreting out of the window. He does not get along with anyone in the family and cannot be depended upon for doing any work. He is careless of his clothing.

A January,1949 report indicates that there has been no improvement in his behaviour, and the foster parents state, "he is still a chore."

The case of Peter is not an isolated story, there are several more like it, and there are also cases in which after developing severe behaviour and nervous habits a home has been found which meets the child's need, so that the outcome is happier. The following case of Susan is an example of the latter situation:

Susan's mother gave birth to two illegitimate children, and placed them in care, married and moved to the United States. Susan was then one year old.

Her first foster parents took her "on trial" since they had not had a baby in their home for several years. The child ate and slept well and the foster parents felt that she was an unusually good baby. She walked and talked late, had an enormous appetite and sucked her thumb constantly.

When she was two years of age her foster mother reported that she cried a lot, and that she would sit and stare into space and howl. She did not play well with other children. The record states that the foster mother is a little older than average, and it was felt the child would stay indefinitely. The foster mother seemed to be co-operative and gave the child good care.

At the age of five the foster mother noticed that
the child made queer faces when she could not have her own way or was excited. A Child Guidance appointment was arranged and the foster mother stated she did not know whether or not she would keep the child. At this time the child is described as bright-eyed, pleasant manner and not at all shy. She plays by herself as there are no other children to play with. She talks to herself and pretends other children are there. She shares well, is obedient and a good child. The foster mother said she was "as pliable as a jelly fish and could be pushed around by anyone." She feared for her when she grew up. However, she did find the child was a good help in running errands for her. The foster mother was somewhat deaf and spoke in a loud, harsh voice.

The Child Guidance Clinic found the child to have intelligence; however, the foster mother insisted the child was not normal, and cried and "carried on" in front of the child. The child was then removed from the home. She had been in this one home for five and a half years.

After a short stay in the Receiving Home, Susan was placed in her second foster home. She was well liked in this home, though the foster parents found her "saucy." The foster mother scolded her considerably, and it was observed that the child did not settle down in the home. She asked to return to her former foster home or to the Receiving Home. The foster parents' own children were thin, and whined a good deal. Susan quarrelled with these children. She engaged in some stealing, particularly food; and her facial tic grew worse. The foster parents resented the fact that the child seemed to be eavesdropping frequently.

Susan was again referred to the Child Guidance Clinic, and the psychiatrist stated that this foster mother was the coldest person he had ever known. He found Susan "not so much of a behaviour problem, as a child who has not had enough affection."

The child was quickly removed from this situation and given a summer placement. She could regard it as a holiday but if it worked out well the child could stay. Susan was very happy in the home and has remained. Although there is some occasional stealing, her facial tic has disappeared, and the foster parents are very attached to her. They have recently requested adoption.
It may be recalled that Bobby and Harry are other examples of children who reacted to poor foster home placement by displaying disturbed behaviour. In Bobby's third foster home he ate poorly, had temper tantrums, masturbated severely, exposed himself and urinated on other children. Harry, while in the Receiving Home was very destructive, and in the foster home displayed an indifferent attitude and became enuretic. Fortunately for these two children, and also for Susan, their unsatisfactory placements were followed by favourable ones, and since these foster homes offered love and protection these children have adjusted well in them.

**Intelligence Quotients**

Knowledge of a child's intelligence is obviously of relevance in understanding his personality, and therefore, the next step to be considered is the range of intelligence of the fifty children in the sample. Not only is the child's intelligence level important in the selection of a suitable home for him, but it should constitute a vital factor in working with him while in the foster home.

Twenty-three of the children in the study were tested at the Child Guidance Clinic. The service of this agency is given free of charge to the children's aid societies on a consultative basis for any child for whom such tests seem required. From the present study it appears that the children from the protective agencies go to the clinic for one or all of three types of assistance: (a) on the adoptability of a child; (b) on how best to meet the needs of children recognized as dull; (c) on how to help children showing evidence of disturbed behaviour. Since the ser-
vises of the clinic are readily available it might be a fair assumption that the twenty-seven children not tested showed little evidence of being dull or a behaviour problem, and have not been considered adoptable because of family ties. It may be that the assumption is not entirely valid, for some authorities declare that the services of such agencies can become a "crutch" for workers who find it easier to turn the responsibility of making decisions to some outside guiding force than to arrive at a plan themselves. The following table indicates the range of intelligence for the group:

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Placement Experience</th>
<th>Superior (Over 110)</th>
<th>Average (90-110)</th>
<th>Not tested</th>
<th>Slow Norml. (80-90)</th>
<th>Borderline (70-80)</th>
<th>Moron Under (70)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group A: retained in one foster home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B: 2 foster homes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C: 3-4 foster homes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group D: 5 or more foster homes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be observed that 13 of the children tested...
by the Clinic were found to be dull, or having less than average intelligence. Ten of these children have had serious multiple placements. This undoubtedly indicates that placement of dull children is a difficult task, and requires special attention as to the choice of foster home. On the other hand, it is pointed out by some authorities that when children are insecure and unhappy they may cease to grow intellectually as well as emotionally. It may well be that some of the children who tested as slow normal might have developed to average intelligence, had their home life been more stable. It must be significant that the two children who have had eight placements registered as slow normal in intelligence, while the child who has had ten placements tested as having borderline intelligence. These are children who have been under the care of a protective agency all their lives.

If the assumption be accepted that the children not tested by the Child Guidance Clinic are of average or better intelligence, then it can be said that eighteen of the children who have at least average intelligence had only one or two foster home placements, whereas nineteen of these children had serious multiple placement. This would imply that children of normal intelligence have the same possibility of having multiple placement as one or two placements.

23. Mrs. Exner, Executive-Director of the Medina Children's service in Seattle, conducted a "Foster Home" Institute in Victoria, B. C., May 1 - 5, 1949. At that time it was pointed out that children have been known to increase their intelligence quotient by several points under favourable home conditions.
Adjustment

How can an assessment of a satisfactory foster home placement be made? The opening paragraphs of this chapter indicated what is considered to be normal behaviour for children in the latency period. But one cannot take any deviation from this norm and categorize it simply as good, bad, or mediocre. All children differ to a certain degree, and it is only to be expected that foster children who have known uprooting from their own homes, or who have had unhappy experiences in their early childhood, would differ from children who have lived in their own homes and with their own parents throughout. A further difficulty is that the present study is dependent on the records contained in agency files relating to these children. It was found that there was an almost universal tendency on the part of workers to record only that type of behaviour which was considered to be "bad," unwholesome, or different. The negative approach is not difficult to understand, since it is with these problems that the worker must deal. For the purpose of this study it was evident that the less that was recorded about a child, the more favourable his behaviour appears to be. However, in the interests of further research, the need for more adequate recording would seem desirable.

In order to make some progress with analysis and comparison of social adjustment the cases were sorted into three categories on the basis of careful judgment. These cases cited as examples were mainly taken directly from the case record, and are comprised of sections referring directly to the personality or adjustment of the child.
(1) **Appears Positive**

Children, whose files show no evidence of improper behaviour, and where there has been nothing of a derogatory nature written about the behaviour of the child within the last year or more, were placed in this category. The following are examples of this group:

(a) He is a fine active boy, bright and attractive. He is obviously greatly loved in the foster home and has a deep affection for the foster mother. Although he is a "mischief" he has been trained to obey, and worker noted that he obeys with good grace and without resentment. He has an easy outgoing manner, and an attractive personality.

(b) This child hopes to become a telephone operator when she grows up, like her foster sister. She is a lovely looking girl, and seems happy and secure. She takes tap and ballet dancing lessons. She loves to help folks when they are sick. Her parents visit occasionally. Her school reports show that her behaviour is good.

It is evident from these records that in the worker's opinion the child is adjusting well in the foster home. The danger is in this category that since the worker feels that things are going nicely that visits are less frequent and recording is very limited. It is this category of children, one would believe, that workers know least. There is always the danger that workers may not recognize problems among these children whose behaviour is considered to be "good" and that shy or withdrawn children may be conforming to the foster home situation in a neurotic manner.

(2) **Questionable**

This category has been used to classify that group of children for whom it is difficult to determine how serious
is the behaviour, and where some maladjustment is indicated. In this group, too, there is the question of knowing very little about the situation. The following examples are given as being of questionable adjustment:

(a) This child is happy and secure in this home. She is gradually becoming less shy, but is not an outgoing type of child, and her glances are usually indirect. She is well loved and has many treats together with her foster brother. Foster mother says she is a "picky eater." She is sweet and attractive looking and very feminine. Her foster mother is very proud of her, and there is no doubt that she is receiving every privilege and security as a member of this household.

There are a number of instances in which a child with previous behaviour problems is moved to a new foster home, where there appears to be little evidence of matching of needs. In such situations placement frequently smoothly at first, with eventual difficulty presenting itself later. The following is a summary of such a case where the outcome is doubtful; and the child's adjustment questionable:

(b) This child moved from his former foster home because the foster mother felt he did not fit in with their home. She found him hard to understand. He fought with other children and was hard on his clothing. He moved to his present foster home in January 1948. Three weeks later when the worker talked to the foster parents they told her that he was just the right boy for them. They had not found him trying in any way. Foster father said they might wish to adopt him later on and wondered if this would be possible. Worker explained that we would want to be sure that he fitted into their home, also that his mother's consent would have to be obtained and that he would have to be seen at the Child Guidance Clinic "as we would seek their advice as to whether he would be considered adoptable." Foster father pointed out that they had no children and that one day the farm might be his. The child is undoubtedly at this time well accepted and very much wanted in this home, and worker feels that it should give him the security he needs.
(3) **Negative**

In this group were included all children whose behaviour indicated serious disturbance. Children, who by the symptom of enuresis, express hostility toward a world where they feel they are neither loved nor understood, were included in this group. Also were those, of course, whose records indicated nothing but very negative behaviour. For this whole group, treatment, from intensive case work to psychiatric assistance is required. The following are examples of negative adjustment:

(a) Contact with parents has been maintained until the present time. There is the problem here of lenient parents who are over-indulgent with the boy, and on the other hand, the foster parents who are quite strict. The foster mother is at her wits' end regarding the boy's enuresis. She can't stand the smell of his room. She told him he would have to move to the basement. He took the attitude that he did not care. He engages in some petty stealing. He thinks his natural parents can do no wrong. The foster parents are moving out of the city and are taking the boy with them. The parents realize that their own visiting has not been too helpful. A new baby has been born into the foster home and the boy seems attached to it.

(b) The foster mother regards this child as very destructive and a problem. He takes nuts and bolts out of things and loses them. He climbed up on a garage roof and threw lighted matches to the ground. He threw paint at a neighbour's garage. When tested at the Child Guidance Clinic he continually asked the psychiatrist if he were all right.

(c) The child soils himself, and foster mother made him wash his own clothes. He has been caught excreting out of the window. The foster parents wish to send him back. They have now had the child three years. They feel they have done all in their power to make a decent person out of him without success. He does not get along with anyone in the family and does not work well. He is careless with his clothes and needs a new jacket every week. Worker talked to him, "but he took the attitude that since he cannot find a cause for misbehaving there was little chance for improvement."
Having thus tried out the categories of adjustment in this manner, the results for the total group are interesting, though not by themselves conclusive.

Table 5

PLACEMENT IN RELATION TO THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Placement Experience</th>
<th>Appears Positive</th>
<th>Questionable</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group A - retained in one foster home</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B - 2 Foster homes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C - 3 or 4 foster homes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group D - 5 or more foster homes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is probably significant that five of the children whose adjustment rated "Appears Positive" remained in their first foster home. Only three of the eleven children who came within this category have had more than two placements. Since twenty-six of the thirty-nine children who came in the "Questionable" or "Negative" groups have had more than two placements, it is believed this is evidence of the fact that multiple placement has a harmful effect on the social
adjustment of foster children.

The aim of every foster home program is to have stable, secure and happy children. The test of such a program would seem to be how well the children adjust to foster home care. If the children adjust well, then placement is believed to be successful; and conversely if adjustment to foster home care is poor, then placement experience has failed for the child. A summary of the information already discussed may prove helpful in deciding what factors are significant for favourable or unfavourable adjustment.

(a) Sex seems to have some importance, since the "Negative" group consists of twelve boys and six girls. In the "Positive" and "Questionable" categories, however, the division was about even. It was pointed out previously that the boys in the sample have suffered from the problem of multiple placement more than the girls, and since boys comprise the greater number in the "Negative" group, this would seem to bear out the fact that multiple placement has a deleterious effect on social adjustment.

(b) The age at which children come into care appears to be significant. The "Appears Positive" group consisted of nine children who were placed under the age of two years and two who had been placed over the age of two years. However, the "Negative" group consisted of seven children placed under two and eleven placed over two years.

(c) Family background shows a similar relationship as the time the children came into care, since those born out of wedlock mainly came into care under the age of two years.
(d) Intelligence also appears to be a significant factor, since eleven of the thirteen children who tested less than average in intelligence fell into the "Questionable" or "Negative" groups. It is believed that in this area there is greater need for research, however. It is difficult to tell whether the problem of multiple placement and other adverse factors produced a state of emotional blockage, rendering the child incapable of attaining the maximum in intellectual development or whether the problem of limited intelligence causes children to be misunderstood and unaccepted, thus intensifying the problem of multiple placement.

(e) The greatest variation in adjustment is in regard to the problem of multiple placement itself. It will be seen that, on the whole, the more favourable the adjustment the fewer foster homes the child has had, and conversely the greater number of placements the greater evidence there is of seriously disturbed behaviour.

It will be agreed that multiple placement works against successful experience for the child, but it is not the only circumstance that matters. Everything possible should be done to see that the right choice of foster home is made in the beginning when the child comes into care. It will have been observed that even in the single foster home placement only five of the eleven children rated "Appears Positive" in adjustment, yet only two of these eleven children came into care after the age of two, and only one has an intelligence quotient
which has been rated less than normal. This would seem to indicate the need for more careful assessment of foster homes. The reason the foster parents felt the need for taking children into their homes must be thoroughly understood. When these needs are normal and children are placed into these homes, steps should be taken to help the child to become secure in the home, and visits by workers should be frequent enough that unhealthy patterns of behaviour may be corrected before they become internalized and fixed.
PART III. Chapter VI

PREPARATION FOR PLACEMENT

It should be the aim of the agency to assure for each child a favourable placement situation in which maximum opportunities for development are present. The child, his parents and foster parents should be assisted in their adjustment to the preparation situation and to one another on a case work basis, throughout the period of placement, according to the needs of each situation, and until the time of discharge when the child and his family no longer need or wish further assistance.

In addition, for those children whose problems are such that they are unable to use the opportunities in the placement situation, or to be sufficiently helped through the placement experience alone, direct treatment should be made available for parents who wish them, in order that during the placement period they too may be helped to assume greater responsibilities as parents, or to leave the child free to form new family ties.

The preparation of each child and family for placement experience should begin during the intake study and be continuous up to the point where the child is actually living in a foster home. Insofar as the decision to place the child should be based on a consideration of what is involved in placement and of agency procedures, the preparation of parents
is inseparable from the intake service. In determining what their future relationship to the child will be, in terms of custody, financial responsibility, and how they may use the case work services of the agency or other agencies, the parents should be able to anticipate the placement experience and to assist in the preparation of the child.

Preparation of parents will aid them in deciding whether or not they can be parted from their child, or if any other plan is feasible. They must face their own feelings to the child and also their own capabilities. If they are not going to be able to help the child by remaining in the picture, or if it is believed that it is in the child's interest for them to sever all ties, the break must be made. The realization of this fact can be gently brought into focus by the case worker. When all connection with parents is to be broken the child should be permanently placed, preferably for adoption. He will need security which must extend until he is grown. The parents who find this complete severance most difficult, perhaps, are parents who feel some guilt regarding placing their child and the fact that they are failing as parents. This type of parents needs even more help than those who give up their child because it is in his interest to do so. Parents with guilty feelings should be helped to see that they are being good parents in giving up their child.

It has been said that the obstacle to child placement is that he is seldom ready for placement. Not only is the child facing the problem of leaving home and family or a foster home where he has lived for some time, but he fears going into a new
unknown situation. The removal from his own home must be gently suggested until he comes to accept the fact, feeling at the same time that he can rely on the worker. The child placement worker then, must be a person who can relate to children, who can speak his language and can understand how he feels. He must be given a chance to verbalize his fears, his anger at having to be moved, his distrust of the new situation. He must understand that the reason for his removal is that his parents, whatever their good qualities, were unable to provide the type of home for him which would help him to develop normally and to become a mature, self-reliant citizen of the future. It is necessary that he accepts this fact, or placement will be a more terrifying experience for him. He must know that the worker is his friend, not a child-snatcher, who takes children away from their parents. This situation presents itself so often and so when the worker calls, the child hides from her, or screams in terror at the sight of her car. It is a more difficult task to help tiny children to understand a situation. However, on the whole it is felt that workers under-estimate the understanding power of a child. Even at the age of two, when a child has very limited vocabulary, the worker can talk to the child and by her kindness and understanding of the situation help to make placement more acceptable.

The topic of moving to a new foster home should be introduced when it is felt the child is ready for it. If he is not able to discuss it, the worker can merely introduce the topic and leave the subject until it is more acceptable. The child
should understand that on the whole people are kind and that the foster parents will be helped to make him more comfortable in their home. The child will be told about the various members of the family, and of their habits, their home and any special circumstances about the family so that when he goes to see he will know what to expect and they will seem less strange.

The child's first contact with his new home should be a brief visit. He should not remain so long that he is overwhelmed by so many new things and people. The next time some things will seem familiar and he can go further and stay longer. Perhaps at the time of his third visit he might stay with the family for a meal. If the foster mother knows in advance what he likes to eat, or how he likes one certain food cooked it will help him. And if he is made aware that the foster mother wished to please him and so made his favorite dessert, he may find her more acceptable as a foster mother. Within a short time, if preparation has been done properly, the child will not feel threatened to think of moving into the home, and may make his own decision as to when he is ready to go to the home permanently.

The foster mother should be well known before any thought of placing a child in her home is arrived at. Not only should the worker understand her relationships with every member of the family, and her attitudes regarding foster children, child training and child care, but she should know something of the routines followed by the foster mother. She must know what to expect of this foster child beforehand, so that there is less danger of the problem of the rigid foster mother who cannot
tolerate certain modes of behaviour. If she cannot tolerate what this child due to his previous experience is almost sure to do, especially at first, then the child should not be placed in that home.

As has been suggested the foster mother will want to aid the child's transition into her home. Therefore, it behooves the worker to learn what the child's special pleasures are, and what things he has difficulty with, what foods he does not care for. What an unacceptable thing would it be for the child who does not like rice pudding, for example, to look forward to moving into a foster home, expecting to find loving, kind people; and on his first visit there to be confronted with rice pudding. If, when the child is put to bed, the foster mother can go over his favorite story, or repeat a well loved nursery rhyme, the child will know he is accepted and the situation will seem more tolerable to him.

The whole foster family should be prepared for the child's coming, and the worker should understand the feelings of the various members of the family toward having a foster child in the home. There should be an early discussion with the members of the family individually and collectively regarding the child's personality, and how his stay in the home will effect the lives of each member. They must know what to expect in the way of his behaviour—that he will probably be a model child at first, later perhaps very demanding to determine what limits there are, and finally a period when he will desire to be dependent, and thence to grow into the foster family's ways gaining
security as he goes. The foster family should expect that if the child does regress to a stage of dependency, that the foster parents should aid him by giving him the love he so badly needs, actively and openly. He needs to know that he is loved, and that he is one of the family, with no threat of being sent away again. Yet all the time that he is demanding love and receiving it in full measure he is being encouraged to achieve, to do things for himself and become more independent. But he should not be forced into independence. When he is ready for this, when his feeling of security is adequate his development will progress again. A girl in the oedipus stage, or a boy in the latency stage will feel the need of a good father and here the foster father must be ready to take his place. He must know what to expect of the child. If the child's own father was cruel to him, the foster father should know that the child will probably identify him with his own father, and that he should show patience and understanding and wait until the child can accept him. Foster parents should not expect that the child will love them immediately. Even after he gets over feeling strange he will still feel the tug of family ties. It is only by patience and understanding that they may gradually win the child to their way of doing things and to becoming a member of the family group. The foster parents should know before the child comes into their home that it may take a year before he can wholly accept them. If these foster parents cannot tolerate a child who does not love them immediately, they will
not likely make good foster parents for any child, and certainly not for the child with family ties.

Foster parents should not be expected to take whatever child a case worker brings to their home. They should participate in the decision for this particular child to come to their home. They should have been given sufficient information to have some understanding of the particular child, his needs, and his parents. They should want the child and feel able to anticipate and accept the demands which the care of the child will make on them.

The foster mother who is taking her first child should be prepared as carefully as the child, for she too may not know what to expect. Her contacts with shy but normal secure youngsters are probably limited, and she can hardly imagine parents who reject or neglect their children. She will need help before she can give the child the welcome he needs and accept him as he is without sentimental over-indulgence or too stringent rules and regulations. We all know foster parents who feel so sorry for the child that for the first week he gets everything he wants and then is either so unmanageable he is returned to the agency or requires months of retraining before one can live with him with any degree of comfort. On the other hand much must be overlooked until the child is sufficiently secure in his new surroundings to be willing to try new ways that are not exactly the way his own mother did things. Children cannot be rushed, and the new foster mother must be
prepared for a period in which the child may hold her off at arm's length while he gets his bearing. Too much excitement, showing him off to relatives and friends, may be definitely upsetting. The child should feel that he is wanted, that there is a place in the family waiting for him, but he should not be expected to fit in at once. The foster mother will be able to adjust to the new experience much more adequately if she knows in advance that there may be problems and that placement may have a greater significance for the child than on the surface. As we interpret the situation to the child we must also interpret the child to the foster parents and in this way help them to gain a deeper understanding of his needs.

There is little difference in handling placement and replacement except that preparation is a longer and more difficult process. In replacement there is a need to evaluate the real situation in the foster home in the light of the child's present and past experiences, and to decide whether placement is absolutely necessary. If it is, work must be done with the child in the unsatisfactory home as would be done if he were in his own home, trying to give him insight into the nature of his defences. Where it is not possible to prepare a child in the home where he is living then, there is need of a temporary foster home interval, when this preparation may be done.

Many workers feel they could not devote time such as has been described in arranging placement and preparing the child, his parents, his foster parents and their family.
However, this procedure pays dividends. It must be remembered that workers who have studied their replacements have concluded that either they did not know the child or the foster parents well enough, and therefore made placements which were not suitable.

Some children seem to accept placement easily. However, it must be realized that there is danger of repression of the real feelings at the time of placement. When this feeling builds up with all the little misunderstandings which are bound to take place, there may come a time when the child's placement is absolutely intolerable, and his feelings will explode forth. Some children show no emotion at all during placement. Often these children accept placement, and only exist in the foster home, living for the moment when they can return to their parents or his former foster parents again. Where this is not possible the child suffers from this passivity, which is almost pre-schizophrenic in character.

One cannot cover the topic of preparation for placement without discussing the all-too-common situation where a case "blows up" without warning and the child must be removed immediately. It is for such children that the agency should see to it that there are always a type of temporary foster homes on hand where there is a warm, welcoming foster mother, ready to take children any time they are brought to her door, and who can accept such children regardless of their problem. Preparation then can go on the foster home with the child aware that he is
only visiting until permanent placement is made, and any special problems can be worked through. The worker should see the child frequently, as he will feel more insecure in leaving what he has known and going into the unknown.

Preparation Procedure in Vancouver

The files read for the study give little indication of the amount of preparation procedure that took place. In the records of a few years back there is practically no evidence of preparation of the child for the foster home, and vice versa, at all.

Tommie was born to an older unmarried mother who attempted to care for him for a time. At the age of three he was brought to the agency by his uncle who felt that the child was receiving poor care. Tommie was placed in his first foster home in 1942. He progressed well in this foster home, however, was removed later.

No reason is given for this removal and placement procedure is not discussed.

The second family took him as a companion to their own child. "He was kindly received and played with his new foster brother, but when the worker drove away he screamed and kicked in the foster mother's arms." In this foster home Tommie was blamed for every misbehaviour of his foster brother and the worker states that "altogether it was a poor move for the child." Eventually he was moved to his original foster home five months later. The record states that "he was accepted back into the home but the foster mother was very resentful that he had ever been taken away." He has remained in the foster home until the present time.

Lack of placement procedure will be noted in the following:

(a) - Jackie came into the care of a protective agency as his father was dead and his mother committed to a mental hospital.

He was a difficult child to place due to his disturbed behaviour and his limited intelligence. He had three unsuccessful placements before the two described here took
place.

The record states that he seemed out of place as the children in the home were older. The foster mother finding him a problem due to his low intelligence was disappointed to think that the worker had brought them a boy "such as this." They were disturbed that he stole cigarettes and smoked them, and they felt he was lonely, therefore, they thought it would be better if he was placed in another home.

The next foster parents were told something of his behaviour. The foster mother seemed "quite prepared to cope with anything that might come up." It was noted that "the child had peculiar mannerisms, he sneaked up and scared her, did not talk at the table, couldn't greet people as she wished or say 'please,'" She and foster father tried to help him to overcome these habits and they felt he would be all right.

Later, however, they became aware that the child was really dull. The foster mother spent a good deal of time on him but was unable to get any positive results. The foster mother said that if she had known he was so dull when he was placed she would not have accepted him. She blamed the former worker, who had promised another child and then brought Jackie without giving any explanation.

(b) Frank is the youngest child of a common law union. He was committed to the care of C. A. S. in full at one month of age. In his first foster home he is described as making good progress and developing normally. He was a nicely behaved little boy although the foster mother felt that he had a mind of his own. She did not find him hard to manage, and he played well with other children.

At the age of two years he was walking and talking well and enunciating very clearly. The foster children in the home quarrelled considerably and the foster mother felt that she would have to give them all up, though she wished that she would be able to keep Frank. She said he was well mannered, happy-go-lucky, and full of life. He was also destructive having broken some windows.

He was moved to his second foster home at the age of six years. No account of preparation is given, however, it was felt that the child settled down in the home quite well. "He went riding with foster father and called his foster mother Mummie. He was obedient and played well
with the children. However, he continually asked when he
would be moving back to his former foster home." Four
months later he was still asking for his Mummie, and the
worker realized he did not feel secure. When he had been
in the foster home seven months the worker observed that
he was a "behaviour problem at home and school." "He was
'difficult to manage". He refused to co-operate with
the family. He was rough with their own children, being
jealous of them. They punished him by sending him to his
room and were concerned because "he seemed to enjoy this."
The foster mother wondered whether or not their home was
suitable. Following this the child was moved six more
times. His intelligence quotient is given as 82.

Very little preparation of foster children is entered
into the files and it was felt that little could be gained by
studying past placements. Therefore, the children who were
replaced in the year 1948 were studied in order to determine
what the present quality of preparation is like. Ten of the
fifty children had a 1948 replacement and those have been re-
viewed to determine the present picture.

Some of the placements show evidence of fairly careful
placement preparation. Others show preparation of the child,
or the prospective foster mother or the former foster mother;
however, they have only prepared one person and omitted to
prepare the others. Still other records indicate that prepara-
tion has gone on, but do not discuss the full preparation in
the file. This makes it difficult to know what type of prep-
paration has been done though in some instances it appears that
it must have been fairly adequate.

Florence is the child of an unmarried mother who was con-
sidered to be so dull that the child was apparently re-
garded as unadoptable. She was placed in a foster home at
the age of six months and remained there until she was
eleven years of age. Her foster mother died in 1947 and
Florence remained in the home for a year longer as her
foster father was so fond of her. After having a series of rather unsuccessful housekeepers, the foster father decided to marry. Therefore it was necessary to give up the children.

The following account of the removal from the foster home she had known so long and the transfer into a receiving home is an exact transcription of record material pertaining to placement. Any omissions are where problems other than placement are concerned.

23. 10. 48. It was decided that it would be better to put Florence in the Receiving Home for a time until she is ready to accept another foster home.

In discussing Florence's behaviour further the foster father stated that she had a very nasty temper if she did not get her own way and if asked to do anything she seemed to resent it and carried the request out very unwillingly, if at all. She seems to want her own way all the time and does not respond to persuasion.

15. 11. 48. Visited foster home and took Florence out for a drive to get to know her better. We went to the library and changed her library books. She enjoys reading a great deal and changes her books faithfully every week. . . . She is an appealing child but seems quite immature.

4. 12. 48. Visited foster home to tell foster father that Florence could be moved the following Tuesday. He was very anxious for me to tell her about it and said he was so upset about her going that he did not like to say anything to her about it.

Later: I took Florence out for a drive and after chatting for a few moments I asked her whether she had any idea she would be leaving her foster home. She said "No" and started to cry. Then I explained the situation to her and told her that the other children would be leaving and that I knew it would be difficult for her, as she had been there such a long time. She continued to sob but she controlled herself quite well and asked questions about where she would be going and I told her in detail about the Receiving Home and how after a while she would be placed in another foster home. I told her she could come out and visit her father and could go to the Carnival the following Sat-
urday with the neighbours who had invited her. She was quite upset but soon recovered to some extent and seemed fairly calm when I left.

9. 14. 48. Called at the foster home to place Florence in the Receiving Home. She seemed quite happy today and had numerous toys, clothing, doll's furniture, etc., all ready to take. She said good-bye to her foster father quite nicely and there were no tears. The foster father seemed more upset than she was. I told her more about the Receiving Home on the way down. She seemed quite curious to know what it was like. When we arrived the matron and I talked to Florence about regulations and routines of the Receiving Home. When I left her lower lip was trembling a little and I learned later that she had seemed quite blue for the rest of the day.

15. 12. 48. The Foster father called for Florence and took her home for the week-end. Her behaviour has been excellent. She is easy to get along with and seems to enjoy the routine and all the girls quite well.

This file was read May 30, 1949 and there is nothing further recorded on the file.

The above interview is given as a fairly adequate preparation for placement. It is to be observed that this worker made a determined effort to get to know the child in order to determine her needs.

The following account of preparation is quite good, though not as thorough as was that of Florence.

Donald was born in 1940 and after four unsuccessful placements was placed with Mr. and Mrs. F. in 1947. It was later realized that this foster home was quite unsuitable as the foster father was blind and both foster parents rather old and infirm.

The following is an exact copy of recording from the file except for omission of excerpts not directly concerned with the placement:
May 1948. Donald continues to be quite a problem in the foster home. It was evident that foster father's attitude toward the school was having rather a harmful effect on Donald.

In April he was admitted to the hospital for a tonsillectomy. After his return home he was delirious for several nights in a row. His nightmares again took the form of his losing his father and mother. Worker learned at this point foster parents felt they could not carry on looking after Donald. Foster mother had a series of illnesses since Christmas—quinzy, colds, and is now crippled with rheumatism. They will always be interested in him but feel that they cannot have him in their home. When worker suggested she visit them in order to prepare Donald further for the transfer, it was learned that they had told him about it before he went to the hospital. However, they could not see that this could make his delerium worse.

The worker saw foster parents and Donald several times during April. She felt there was little point in trying to keep him in this home.

Foster parents have actually served their purpose in showing him that he can receive love and affection but they are too old and set in their ways to continue the training of him. Foster mother's rheumatism became so bad that she was eventually confined to bed and it was not possible for foster father who is blind to look after Donald.

24. 4. 48. Donald was placed in the Receiving Home. He had been well prepared for this move and knew beforehand the names of the children in the home. Worker visited the teacher at . . . . School who felt that in many ways he had improved. He was not as much of a bully and seemed to be able to learn a little more. She felt he should pass into Grade II. He was enrolled at . . . . School and worker talked to the principal about his background and behaviour. Worker has seen Donald regularly every week for the past month. At first he was unhappy in the Receiving Home and did not like any of the children, fighting with the boys. He kept saying he would return to his former foster home as soon as foster mother recovered. Worker explained gradually to him that although these foster parents will always be interested in him, they will
not be able to have him live with them again. He now seems more accepting of this. He is very anxious to go to another foster home but wants to be sure it is just as nice as the one he had.

Worker has prepared Donald for a new worker. She explained to him that his previous supervisor was helping her find him a foster home. He himself suggested that if they found him a new foster home then he would have another supervisor. From this worker discussed with him the fact that she was leaving the agency but that his old supervisor, Miss . . . . was anxious to continue looking after him. He was able to accept this very well. His health has been pretty good since his tonsils were removed.

During the month of June Donald spent a Saturday morning with his former foster parents and also spent a week-end with some prospective foster parents Mr. and Mrs. Martin. They had two grown children and applied to take two boys around the age of seven or eight.

During worker's first visit to this home several of the boys who were in the Receiving Home were described to the foster mother. Mrs. Martin seemed interested in Donald and worker felt that this home might be suitable for him. Mrs. Martin is around 56 and Mr. Martin 63. Mr. Martin, however, seems a lot younger than his wife and is a very friendly and jolly person. His wife, who is more serious, is a big stout woman, rather slow in her movements. Worker is proceeding rather slowly in view of the clinic's recommendation that the central figure in the new home is the foster father with whom Donald can identify himself. Donald asked if he could spend the week-end there so this was arranged later in the month. They have lots of flowers, a large back yard and he seemed to enjoy playing with the dog and picking flowers. On 2. 7. 48 he went to visit Mr. and Mrs. Martin again and will spend two or three days there.

23. 7. 48. Telephoned Mrs. Martin and learned that Donald seemed to be enjoying his visit. This morning they took him downtown shopping and he was a great help in carrying the parcels, etc. (He wanted to cook and foster mother let him help her make doughnuts one day). Worker will telephone or visit Monday to discuss the possibility of Donald remaining in this home for at least some months.
There has been no further recording from 3. 7. 48 to 3. 6. 49).

Evidently there is doubt in the worker's mind as to whether Donald will remain in the home, since she hopes he will remain some months. Undoubtedly this worker has the well-being of the child at heart, but it would seem that she does not count on placement being permanent.

The following record shows less evidence of placement preparation, although one feels that more preparation may have been done than what shows in the file.

1. 5. 48. Worker has been in continual touch with this foster home but unfortunately it is not a satisfactory placement as Rebecca and Mae fight continually. There is not a moment's peace and foster mother asked that Rebecca be moved. (More details of the quarrelling follow, but no information regarding placement).

10. 6. 48. Rebecca was placed with Mr. and Mrs. Kelly on a boarding basis of . . . a week. Rebecca was very interested in the move and not in the least sorry to leave the foster home. She waved good-bye to foster mother and shouted out the window that she was sorry she had been a bad girl. However, she would not say good-bye to Mae and contented herself making faces out the window. Rebecca's new foster mother is very experienced having had a great many Children's Aid Society children. She has been very successful as a foster mother and is warm, motherly and kind. She had been told in detail all Rebecca's habits and she was prepared to accept these. Foster mother had another foster child a little younger than Rebecca and one a little older and she hopes that the children will play together. Worker told her that in the past Rebecca had had a great deal of trouble in playing with other children and is inclined to be quarrelsome and wants the last word. It would probably be easier for Rebecca to get along in a home where she was the only child. However, worker feels that she is going to have to learn to adjust to other children and that in an easy-going atmosphere like this home she will have a better chance to do this.
10. 7. 48. At first Rebecca did very well in this home. She quickly formed quite an attachment to foster mother although she insisted on arguing every point that came up. Worker saw her often and she frequently said how well she liked foster mother, and how she wanted to stay there until she was grown up. However, in spite of Rebecca's liking for foster mother, foster mother did not feel she could keep her because of the other children in the home. She said that Rebecca was quarrelsome, disobedient, cheeky and extremely high-strung. She said she could cope with this if Rebecca was the only child in the home, or the only child around this age. However, in fairness to the other girls she did not feel that she could keep her, and suggested a friend of hers, Mrs. Mack, who had three sons and a younger Children's Aid Society ward aged two. She said that Mrs. Mack had met Rebecca several times and had seen her at her worst but was still interested in her.

17. 7. 48. Rebecca was placed with Mr. and Mrs. Mack. Before placing her in this foster home worker had three visits with the foster mother and foster father and went over Rebecca's good and bad points with them in detail. These foster parents, and foster mother in particular, seem to have a good understanding of children and are sincerely interested in Rebecca. Worker emphasized that it is of great importance that she be placed permanently now. Worker purposely did not slur over Rebecca's irritating habits but foster parents felt that they would still like to give her a home. Foster mother said that where they live there are no stores and Rebecca will not always be whining for a nickel. There are no girls her age in the home and while she can play with the three boys she does not feel that they will put up with any nonsense from her and that she will have to play their way or not at all. There are other children in the neighbourhood with whom she can play if she wishes but they have a large yard if she wishes to play by herself.

Two of the files contain no placement procedure whatever, and it is felt that the worker believed the peculiar circumstances made preparation unnecessary.

The Allen children were originally taken into care when their father was in the hospital and the mother deserted them. When the father was discharged from the hospital the children were returned to him, he having employed a housekeeper to look after them. However, plans did not work and the following entry took place when the children were returned to the agency.
7. 12. 48. Kenneth and his sister and brother were re-apprehended. This was necessary because of another break-up in the family situation. They were brought to the office by their father.

After the children said good-bye to their father with no apparent emotional reaction, we went out for a walk and had lunch. The children were taken for a medical check. Kenneth and Keith were then placed in the home of Mrs. Cole at a boarding basis of $4.32 per week.

These children were extremely active although Kenneth was the least so. They ran around and showed a great interest in everything going on around them. They played together well for the most part, though at times Kenneth liked to boss his sister. They seemed to get along better when she was not around.

There was no difficulty with placement; they took off their coats and settled right down to play with their foster brother.

Worker explained to the foster mother that there were additional clothes coming for the boys and that she would try to bring these out in a few days.

Out of the ten records of children who moved during 1948 only one is well enough written to tell what preparation took place. There are the two in which there is no evidence of placement at all. The other files show some placement preparation. It is believed that while in some cases fairly adequate preparation has been made this has not been recorded. Several of the files have been summarized over a long period, rather than written up following each interview. Thus the record is not accurate and detailed. The case of Donald is an example of this kind of recording. Some rather bad instances of recording being far behind came to light in this study. At the time the files were read in January, 1949 two had had no entry since 1945, and a number had had no entry since 1947. When it is considered that these children are wards of a society and thus under their care and protection, it seems unfortunate that they should be
overlooked in this manner.

It is felt that preparation of the child, the prospective foster family and the present foster family or the own family is immensely important in preventing confusion and trauma which may form the basis of later disturbances. All too often it seems that when a child is going to a foster home already known to the agency, very little preparation or matching of needs is done. And as with child Rebecca the home and child do not meet each other's needs. It is felt that proper preparation would prevent many poor or unsuitable placements as the better understanding of child and foster family would be invaluable in determining the needs of each.
Single placements for foster children are the cherished dream of every child placement worker. The value of continuity in developing security within the child has long been recognized in the placement field. Therefore when a case worker places a child in a foster home she hopes that the move will be more or less permanent. However, this study seems to confirm that single placements are the exception rather than the rule. The present study is too limited to give any exact indication of how frequently single placements occur, but it does indicate that they are far in the minority. Only one-fifth of the fifty children comprising the study stayed all the time with their foster parents, while nearly four-fifths were multiply placed to a greater or lesser extent. It will be recalled that the largest group of children falling into the A, B, C, and D groups was the D group—the children who have had more than five placements. While the actual situation may not be as bad to-day as this would indicate, many of these placements having been made five to ten years ago when case loads were even heavier that they are at the present time, there is some ground for believing that single placements would still be in the minority. It therefore behooves an agency to make a different kind of attack on the problem of multiple placements.

It is true that a better understanding of foster
parents and child should reduce the problem considerably. But what of the child, who though well understood, is unsuited at the present time to live in any foster home? One solution to this problem that appears to have been successful wherever it has been tried is the use of the temporary foster home. Among others, the Jewish Child Care Association of New York have experimented with this system of foster home care for disturbed children, or for children who have recently been removed from their own home or a foster home. This agency recommends it as an admirable way of getting to know the children and working out their problems.

The Jewish Child Care Association, like others in the field, saw single placements as a shining goal which was so impossible to attain in many instances. They observed that all too often children did not fit into the original home in which they were placed. They found some children who, when they lost their own homes through death, illness, or other causes, suffered a loss of faith in themselves and in adults. Frequently they could not accept the affection which foster parents were eager to give them, while the foster parents, for their part, could not bear their withdrawal or fearfulness. Under these circumstances, potentially good foster homes were lost to the agency upon the failure of placement, while the children were not spared replacement. There were also the children whom they replaced because their parents were not ready to accept foster home care. Having failed with some they wondered if they could serve this latter group of children at all, but their need was so great they
had to find a way to meet this responsibility.

For these reasons the Jewish Care Association decided to test the validity of temporary home placement as a planned experimental undertaking. From the standpoint of the agency, this experiment was costly and time-consuming, particularly because it was carried on in war time with its attendant scarcity of staff. But their experiment established the fact that a temporary home is a valuable asset for a child placing agency, both in its conservation of homes that can serve for long term care, and in improved help to children.

Love and sustenance are synonymous to children and where the parent delegates responsibility for sustenance to the agency, it arouses many feelings within the child, positive and negative. Within these feeling areas, and what is done with them, are potentialities both for the development of the new relationship, and the giving up of the old.

While the child is struggling with giving up his known world, the foster parent; who wants a child to fill some need of his own, is trying to find his role. The foster parent psychologically is at the point where he is seeking to take on a child, and comes to the agency for this. Because the foster parent and the child are experiencing such different feelings, psychologically they are pulling in opposite directions. It is in the midst of all this that the child must take on a vast new experience.

The solution to the problem should be a way of working which does not make excessive demands on the child, nor ask too much of the foster parent. The child and the foster parent are at different places, one looking grimly at separation, the other hopefully at union with a new person in his family. The question arises as to the feasibility of establishing some midway point, where a child can experience the loss of his parent, with the very minimum of the other beginning phase. There is a need, too, for some place more adaptable than the regular foster home, where the child can express and work out his feelings and conflict over finding himself separated from his parent and related to a worker and agency.

It is not only the child, however, who requires a transitional experience. The parent, too, has need for this. Contrary to what might be expected placement does not go along smoothly from the moment a parent decides to give up his child. Experience has shown that there is a constant emotional shuttling forward and back, varying in intensity with each parent. He both wants and does not want to place his child. Each parent who feels that his child needs placement is at the same time battling his guilt and his fears. Up to the present time the parent has had legal responsibility for his child and has made all the decisions in relation to the child's everyday living. The parent struggles against turning over the responsibility for the care of his child to an agency. He wonders about many things: whether the community will think he is a bad parent if he places the child; if he will
be able to see the foster home before his child goes there; why the foster mother would wish to take children; will he be able to get his child back if he is able to care for him; how often may he visit? The worker handles these questions in terms of their real meaning to the parent and in terms of the realities that make placement what it is. The parent does not know what placement will really mean to him or to the child until he can experience it.

If a temporary foster home is used the parent will be comforted to know that the child will remain there from two to six months, and during this time difficulties can be worked out. The parent will have time to muster his resources to determine whether or not it will be possible to establish a home or to have the child in his home. He will be able to see what separation means to himself and the child. He will have a chance to determine whether placement can give to the child what he was not able to give, and do the things he was not able to do in helping the child to become a wholesome, mature individual. That means the decision is not final, and the parent realizes that during the temporary home period he will have to decide whether or not placement shall continue.

The child does not make the decision, but he is the one who will live in a foster home. Through his behaviour, however, he expresses his feelings about placement from the moment he becomes aware of the change. The child's feelings are his only
means of expression, and through them he participates in placement.

The child must accept the fact that an agency will now provide for him the things his parents formerly provided, and realize that a worker now holds the power to provide a home, sustenance and a new and strange way of life. This is usually frightening to the child. Up to the present his total world has been his home, his school, and the streets he knows. Who will support him through the experience of changing not homes, but worlds? The placement worker has the responsibility of carrying out this part of the job with as much thought as was given in helping the parent to decide on placement.

Going to live in his temporary foster home is the first concrete evidence to the child of what separation from his parents really is. The worker will have discussed before the day of placement, what it may feel like, and what will happen when the child goes to his temporary home. This serves to take the edge off the experience but the beginning of placement still carries with it a good deal of pain resultant from the emotional impact of the separation. Here he is in a completely strange home, with people he never saw before, and even little things such as his familiar chair and bed, the mother’s style of cooking are gone. The young child is more dependent on routine such as special songs or stories to accompany eating, having a bath, going to bed; and it is helpful to learn these from the parent where possible, since it may serve to ease the pain.

The temporary foster mother is interested in doing a job
of helping children get used to being away from home, in co-operation with the agency, and she does not have need to absorb a child. Because she does not have need to invest in making the child what she wants him to be, she can allow the child to establish a strong tie to the worker. She is willing to accept any child needing temporary care, and is not afraid of the more gross behaviour problems such as temper tantrums, bed-wetting, etc. This is particularly important since a child who is going through all his feelings of rejection, pain at separation from his parents, resentment to parent-and worker, will often live out these feelings through his bad behaviour. The temporary foster mother can live with disturbed children as she knows these experiences will be ending.

One of the most important things in the temporary placement is the kind of help that the worker gives the child in handling the problems indicated above. In order to accomplish his objectives, the worker must visit the child weekly. She also takes over many of the functions of the parent. She may take the child to clinic for regular or check-up examinations, for glasses or for special treatment. She may bring him clothing or take him shopping for new things. She may enter him in the new school, arrange outings for him, and do a great deal of the going back and forth that was done by the parent when the child was at home and that will be done by the foster mother later when the child goes to his long-time home. The worker does these things because it is through this kind of activity, reinforcing the discussion as to how the child feels about the things that are happening to
him, that the child begins to realize how much and what kind of responsibility the parent has given over to the agency. The Jewish Child Care Association believes that though it seems like a time-consuming program, there is in it an essential economy, since the child's emotions about placement frequently come out in connection with these very functions which the agency has assumed. They can be handled then, by the skilled worker at the place and time they arise. Agencies have difficulty in helping children handle these feelings with which they have lived for a long time. They have found that children who have had the opportunity of living in a temporary home are clearer about the role of the agency in their lives.

The worker, in her weekly interviews with the child focusses on how the child feels about the foster home, how he is getting used to this new kind of living, whether it seems different to him this week from the way it did last week. She is aware of what the child is experiencing, in the way of guilt, anger, and other conditions. The child expresses only little bits of emotion at a time, and he will bring up only a part of his reactions about placement, about the worker and about his parents, and she lets him see that the agency will take care of him even if he is angry. The child learns that the worker is different from other adults he has known. The worker can let him talk about the negative side of this experience, and will maintain her interest despite the child's expression of his anger and aggression. In fact she helps the child to bring out these feelings.
The child finally begins to understand that the worker is interested and he can begin to trust the worker. If at the time, the placement was decided upon, the child thought that has part in the picture was overlooked, he finds in the temporary foster home that his feelings are considered.

The worker arranges for visiting between the child and parent, and has a responsible role in making any necessary changes. Visiting the parents after he has gone to the foster home is important to the child since he thus begins to realize that he has not lost his parents. This helps develop for the child an awareness of the parent's new and difficult relationship to him and consequently of the meaning and role of the worker in his life. The child learns that the worker and the foster mother have replaced the mother in many areas.

As the child goes on in placement, the worker helps him to see the positive elements there are for him in this experience. Essentially the experience of being placed is a negative one. However, as the child continues in foster care he is able to free himself of some of his guilt and hostility over having been placed, and is freer to relate to the worker and the foster parents. He begins to realize that the agency's care is good. He begins to express warmth to the foster parents, to think that although he misses his parents, nonetheless he is receiving adequate care. Sometimes he realizes he is getting more adequate care than he did at home under the disturbed conditions which made placement necessary. The child begins to want the foster mother more to himself, and he also begins to want more than the temporary foster home
offers—he wants to become absorbed and become part of the foster family. He has negative feelings about remaining on in the home, too, since it would be good to be away from this place where he suffered the agony of separation from his parents. It is also true that no matter how much one wants something there is some element of holding back, of fear of facing the new.

The child in temporary placement goes through a cycle of feeling toward his worker. At the beginning he may be quiet and subservient in his fear about what his powerful worker will do to him. As he feels safer he can begin expressing his negative feelings, which are directed as much against the worker as against the parent. Frequently the child will feel safer about expressing these feelings against the worker both because she leaves him free to do so and because of the great social pressure against free expression of hostility to parents. As the relationship develops the child is able to draw closer to the worker. At this point he may want to know when the worker will come again, may ask to be seen first, may be angry if the worker has to change the day of the visit. This relationship reaches a peak, and as it begins to taper off with the child's increasing security in the foster home, the child begins to turn some of his feelings toward the foster family, and to develop his relationship with them. When the child begins to express positive feelings about the placement, the worker again indicates that the child can have an experience which has these positive elements when he goes to his long-time home. The child may feel
resentment at being unable to remain in the temporary home after he has begun to find positive elements in it. He is helped to accept that this really is a temporary home because all the children in the home are there on a similar temporary basis, and he may have watched other children move on to long-term homes. The worker sometimes brings up the possibility of the child's going to a place where they want a little boy to be their little boy, which is different from his present home where the foster mother helps boys get used to being away from home but doesn't have boys who stay and grow up there. As he begins to accept the necessity for going on to a long-term home, he may himself decide it will be good to go on to a new worker, too, since the temporary worker represents to him the pain of separation and of taking on the experience of placement.

When the child was placed in his temporary home, he did not participate in the decision, but when he goes to his long-term home, he participates actively, and the experience no longer holds only negative implications for the child.

It would appear that there are many advantages to using temporary homes. It is a fine opportunity for getting to know the child so that one can determine the type of foster home he would best fit into. Then his problems are worked through in the foster home. The temporary foster mother accepts each child as he is. She is able to do this since she is aware that this behaviour will last only a short time. The child leaves this temporary home only when he is able to face normal
living in a normal home. In this way many good foster homes are saved for the agency's constructive use of them, instead of the old method of hit-and-miss placement, trying foster home after foster home in order to find one which can accept the child as he is. It is believed by many authorities that the use of temporary foster homes will prevent the misuse of long-term homes. Temporary homes should now be used as parking places for children. Always they require the support of their worker. Replacement of necessity means a child needs help.

Temporary homes should not be used for every child. There is no need for such placement when children are too young to prepare for placement. However, there is good reason for believing that children cannot take on a foster home at the point of separation from his own people except at very great cost to himself. It is easier for the child to work out the great pain of leaving his parents if he is not simultaneously burdened with the necessity for loving new substitute parents. It is believed by agencies that have used this program that it is both psychologically sound and administratively practical.

Institutions

Many authorities claim that some children get along better in institutions than in foster homes. Certainly it does not seem logical that every child will fit best into a foster home. It has been said that foster family care as a service for any or all children has been oversold to the point of diminishing returns.

It is agreed that small children and infants develop better in foster homes than in institutions, as they need the close relationship with a loving person with whom they can identify. Florence Clothier points out the danger involved where children do not form strong relationships with adults. Everyone in the child welfare field has undoubtedly read Anna Freud's *War and Children*, in which she describes the behaviour of tiny children who had to be parted from their parents during the war. Some experienced workers have gone so far as to say that an infant who remains in an institution for three years or more is mental hospital material.

It is also agreed that orphans should not be placed in institutions. Since their family ties have been permanently broken, the children can be best served by placing them into a permanent family group where they will be assimilated by means of adoption. It would, by the same reasoning, be advisable to place all children born out of wedlock whose mothers have maintained no contact with them in adoption homes. There are several of the children in this particular group who are adoptable, being in good health and of sound mind, and where the present foster parents are most anxious to adopt them. For the children, particularly as they approach their stormy teens, this would mean security and stability and acceptance. In several of the cases the workers feel doubtful about this particular family adopting the children. However, some of the

children are so firmly rooted any replacement from the home would be a severe blow to these children. There is reason to believe the children will remain in these homes regardless of the workers' concern regarding the advisability of adoption. The value of a secure, permanent home to the child is well appreciated. And from the point of view of the agency it would seem to be good business. For the workers it would mean reduced caseloads, and for the agency it would reduce their maintenance costs so that the money expended for these children would be used for other purposes. This would seem to be a strong factor in favour of adoption of these older children and especially at a time when there is a difficulty in raising sufficient funds through the community chest.

It is generally agreed that any children who differ appreciably from the normal group should not live in institutions. Institutional life calls for a certain amount of regulation due to greater numbers of children being accommodated. Therefore, anyone who would have difficulty in conforming to the group would not benefit from institutional life. Among this group are the hyperactive children; withdrawn, shy children; children with a physical illness such as diabetes, heart disease or epilepsy.

Miss Paradise, in her recent book, makes a summary of the kind of children she believes could benefit from institutional care.
They are:

1. The child who has had a succession of failures in foster homes and is in need of a less personal environment before again attempting family life.

2. The child who requires a period of close and continuous observation in order to determine his needs.

3. The child needing regular habit training is more easily helped by the institution.

4. The child who requires protection from unstable parents.

5. The child who has such strong family ties that his acceptance of substitute parents would be difficult.

6. The child who is unable to form any close relationships with adults, such as are required in foster homes. 27.

Many workers will agree that most of these categories could be tested or helped in a temporary foster home. Institutions are very costly to operate and therefore, should be used only where there is a definite advantage. Perhaps an institution of the school variety would meet their needs of Group four and five. Where family ties are very strong the children might be given the chance to visit their parents frequently; yet receive good care and learn good habits while in the institution. These children frequently come from homes where there is a great deal of affection from the parents, but along with it there is too much leniency and lack of regulation to their lives which does not help a child to fit into normal society. On the other hand children frequently feel insecure from lack of regulation or limits. This would be gained in a school setting,

27. Paradise, Viola, Toward Public Undertaking of Casework, New York, Russell-Sage Foundation, 1948, p. 188.
yet the children would still have the advantage of strong family ties.

Institutions might be used in working out problems of seriously disturbed children. Children who have come from serious neglect situations, or those having had one or more poor placements may be so seriously disturbed as to require psychiatric help in an impersonal atmosphere, where the child will be restrained as little as possible. Ryther Centre in Seattle is such an institution and is famous for the good work it is able to do with seriously disturbed children. It would seem that there is a place for such an agency. However, if all the other facilities were operating to advantage, a good many of these problems could be dealt with in the temporary foster home. Institutions such as Ryther are very costly to operate. It is claimed that $140 per day is expended on every child in the institution. It is imperative therefore, to use such an institution to its best advantage by placing only the most seriously disturbed children there.

Play Therapy

One recent demonstration of how disturbed children may be helped is the play therapy experiment carried out under the auspices of the Children's Aid Society. Play therapy gives the child the chance to live in a home during the period in which a therapist is finding out the child's difficulties and helping him to resolve these difficulties and grow beyond them. If the child cannot remain in his own home during the treatment
period, it would seem that he might be best accommodated in the permissive and non-demanding atmosphere of the temporary foster home.

Play therapy is done by specially trained therapists. During the period while the child is seriously disturbed the therapist receives psychiatric advice, in order that the child may be helped to his best advantage. At first the consultation with the psychiatrist almost matches hour for hour the actual play interview. However, as soon as the child shows signs of definite advancement the therapist will be able to carry along with less psychiatric help.

The equipping of a playroom is not too expensive. The actual room needs only to be one where there is no concern about walls being scratched or painted on, and where the floors can stand pounding and rougher play. The Children's Aid Society has the advantage of having a special "vue" window, which looks to the occupant of the playroom as an ordinary mirror on the wall. However, from a small observation room in the back the observer can watch the child in action with the play therapist. This window is invaluable to the psychiatrist during the first few interviews. He is able to determine a great deal about the child's personality and the extent of damage done, and accordingly, is better equipped to make a diagnosis and to recommend treatment.

Toys in the playroom should be adequate and numerous enough to allow the child to give expression to his feelings.
There should be paints for painting with—this is so essential in so many forms of play. Paper, pencils and crayons are also necessary. There should be the mechanical toys which so many children like—cars, aeroplanes, trucks, tanks, boats. Indians and cowboys and other figures are used a great deal. Also animals of various types—domestic and tame. Dolls, particularly the types that have some therapeutic value, such as "wettum" dolls and natural figures resembling as closely as possible male and female contours are invaluable in the playroom. These latter may be obtained made of soft plastic which are so pliable they may take any form and allow the child to direct his hostility against them without damage. A playhouse is most useful too. Frequently it is found to signify the child's own home, or other buildings. The Children's Aid has a large sturdy wooden house which may be roughly handled—the roof is flat and the children may even stand on it. However, for the child who has the urge to destroy a house there is a cardboard house which can be substituted. The toys are contained in large drawers which the child can climb into himself if he desires. Shelves also allow the child to put things on them and to climb up on them if he desires. A swing is provided on the lawn.

The purpose of play therapy is to diagnose the child's problem and to help him give expression to his difficulties either verbally or actively. Following this the child regresses to the stage of development he was at when he stopped growing emotionally. With the co-operation and warm acceptance of the therapist the child is helped to understand his difficulties and
to grow beyond them. The atmosphere of the playroom, of necessity is accepting of the child as he is, and permissive of any behaviour he may indulge in almost to the extreme. The only limits are that the child may not hurt himself or the therapist and that he may not damage certain fixtures, break windows, etc. The therapist wears a smock to protect her clothing. At first the therapist merely observes, and helps the child to become aware of his actions. She may help him to distinguish between reality and fantasy, if this difficulty exists. Later she may give some interpretation to the child regarding his behaviour when it is believed that it will be of value to him.

Since most of these children have known disturbing home conditions, the therapist aids the child in understanding what people are like in the world outside his home. He learns that people are not "good" or "bad," but have many contrasting qualities at the same time. She helps the child to accept himself as a child at whatever age level he is, and indicates that he will grow up and do the things that adults do then. The problem of sex comes frequently to the fore in play therapy interviews. Here too, the therapist must be accepting of all the child's behaviour. She helps him to see that in the playroom all his behaviour is acceptable, whereas in the real world there are many things which may not be done. Here, he is able to bring his feelings into the open. Matters relating to sex are dealt with in a matter-of-fact way, so that there is no confusion in the child's mind regarding the functions of men and women or the birth of children.
Two of the children in the study have had the benefit of play therapy, having been seriously disturbed children previously. Both of these children have shown a great deal of improvement after treatment. One child remained in a receiving home while being helped by play therapy. The other child was placed in a specially selected foster home during treatment. His record is discussed below. It is tragic that such a disturbed child should have been subjected to so much pain and ridicule; and so little understanding by the foster home while attending play therapy. The record is so long and involved that only the foster mother's attitude during his treatment will be described.

Arthur had had nine previous foster homes and was a very disturbed child. At the time of placement in the White Foster home he was described as "emotionally flattened" by the Child Guidance Clinic.

4. 4. 46. Arthur was placed in the White home. He seemed to be more interested in the house than the people in it.

8. 8. 46. Upon telephoning the foster home it was learned that so far Arthur was doing well. He had had one school lesson during which the foster mother learned that he could write his name, and could draw a little but could not do number work. He had helped foster mother's elder son to put in some wood. He was still wandering about the house and during one of his wanderings had found the older son's mouth organ and had to be reprimanded about taking other people's things.

The child started taking play therapy that day.

17. 4. 46. Foster mother in the office. Worker interviewed her before seeing Arthur. Mrs. White had written down a list of his misdoings on a slip of paper and said she had had quite a week-end with him. She did not seem particularly disconcerted and in fact gave worker the impression of getting a certain amount of enjoyment out of reciting what had occurred; but she did definitely
display more condemnation and lack of sympathy towards Arthur's whole attitude and difficulties. She ascribed them merely to "selfishness" and "laziness" saying Arthur was an "egotist" and "revengeful" by nature. "This character is typically a Ukrainian one." (She is sure Arthur is Ukrainian from his physical appearance and walk and name). She went on to tell of a Ukrainian they had known on the prairies who had murdered a man who had insulted him about his plowing, and threw his two small children in the cellar.

Foster mother had had relatives visiting in the house at the week-end and Arthur had seemed to seek attention by many misdemeanors. He had shut foster mother's cat in a box placing on it another box. He had been reprimanded for cruelty by foster father. The next day he had gone around taking handles off basement fixtures and washing machines, and had turned on all the taps. Foster mother's daughter had given her a clue as to some of the things he had been doing and he had been angry and threatened to get even with her. Afterwards, when she had her hand on the floor to pick up something Arthur went to jump on her hand with both feet. Foster mother grabbed him and administered corporal punishment. Worker felt it not wise to disagree too flatly with her methods and attitudes as she certainly is observing Arthur closely, and endeavouring to do what she can for him.

8. 5. 46. Arthur and foster mother in the office. Foster mother said he had been quite good all week except when her little girl became ill with 'flu and a high temperature last Thursday. It seemed the fussing and attention she needed made Arthur jealous and he spent his time making as much noise as possible, turning on the gramophone and radio, marching outside the little girl's window, and blowing his whistle, etc. Foster mother became very angry and lectured him about his selfishness.

The foster mother accepted the fact that he was "stuck" at some level and had to be taken back and re-enact experiences.

1. 5. 46. Arthur had been cruel to the cat and foster mother administered corporal punishment, telling him if he hurt things or people he would be hurt in turn. The family went to a show which featured Dagwood and Blondie, and also a murder mystery. Arthur was intrigued.
by the murder story. Foster father got "fed up" and said if he could not think about the funny things instead of the horrible ones they would not take him any more.

15. 5. 46. On Sunday they went to a picnic to Bowen Island and the child was thoroughly miserable. She told him the night before that they would have to be up early and when he came down next morning he was crying miserably. She spoke sharply to him, saying she had never taken a crying child on a picnic yet and sent him upstairs to pull himself together. He was completely "poker faced" all day and seemed to enjoy nothing including the free western picture show. Foster mother thought that all the arrangements for picnics meant "too much standing on his own feet" and he "hates" that. In a crowd she said he is miserable. He "cannot stand competition." Worker related this to Arthur's insecurity but foster mother feels very condemnatory towards it and says he "must" learn. When worker suggested that he would do so if he developed self-confidence and belief in his own activities foster mother said she would hate him to get self-confident. He would be so "cocky" there would be no holding him.

Foster mother describes the child as "nothing but a stinking egotist." She told him there weren't any supermen on this earth. He was just like everyone else. As long as he had to go to the toilet every day he was an ordinary human being, and no different from the rest.

There is a lengthy discussion of the fact that the foster mother believes the child to be a "lazy prostitute's child."

One day when he did not like the soup he made faces and left the table to go to the bathroom and "proceeded to scream like a maniac." She said she did not go to him because that "would feed his ego all the more," but when he did return to the room she told him only lunatics made a noise in that way and asked her daughter to look up the address of Essondale in the telephone directory, explaining that was where they sent people who are "funny in the head."

26. 6. 46. Foster mother felt the child was improving—he now laughs out loud like any child and runs out to play spontaneously.

10. 7. 46. Foster mother said the final straw came when Arthur called her little girl "Pig-face." That made
her mad as they do not allow derogatory nicknames in the family, as they feel it tends to make sensitive children feel inferior. When he told her he had been called pig-face by other children, she got a book and showed him that was just how he looked at times—pointing out that when he screwed up his face it was like a pig's snout, that he sometimes walked with his head down and his shoulders hunched like a pig, and that it was also like a pig to go and root in people's belongings without asking, as he apparently often does in other people's houses. She went on to say that God made men to hold their heads up, to talk and ask for things straight out, etc. She thinks this had quite an effect on Arthur.

7. 8. 47. Foster mother and Arthur in the office. Foster father is still away and foster mother feels Arthur is harder to handle when he is not there. Foster mother said the child had been lying a lot lately, and this she will not stand. Her family had been brought up with very strict ideas on truth and she will not have them led astray. Arthur had been lying all week about little petty things. Finally, one morning she asked if he had both garters on and he said "Yes," when he actually had not. He had lost one and "was too lazy to look for it." Foster mother felt this was the last straw and "paddled" him, explaining that it was not just for one lie, but for all those he had been telling throughout the week. She had warned him she would spank him if he continued to lie, and also told him that if it continued he would have to leave at a fortnight's notice.

There is abundant evidence here of the poor understanding lay people may have of the basis of behaviour, and of what has been endured by disturbed children in the past. The worker worked slowly with this foster mother and the result has been most gratifying. The child too, has shown considerable improvement, which is indicated by the final entry in the file:

January 1949. Worker called at the foster home on November 26th, December 1st, and January 21st.

The two first visits were casual visits, bringing clothes. Worker saw Arthur once and he smiled in greeting her. This was the first time he had done this or given any voluntary greeting. On the third occasion worker had
tea at the home and visited for about an hour. Everything is going well in the home. Arthur is a quiet child but talked more easily than he did a few years ago.

Foster mother suggested he show worker the goat and worker noticed that he stroked the goat gently and seemed to be very affectionate towards it. He also accompanied worker to the car but this was rather a duty walk suggested by foster mother.

Play therapy is most useful in helping children who are seriously disturbed. Every possible means of co-operation with the therapists should be given, for their work is most delicate and intricate, and its success depends partly on favourable surroundings where the child may stay during treatment. Experience shows, that temporary placements where children need not conform to rigid routines are most valuable in such cases, and when the child is ready he can then move on to the usual demands of the normal home.

Surely with more careful placements, play therapy, involving considerable expense could be reduced to a minimum. Disturbances in children, it is agreed by most authorities are caused by reaction to the environment. If the child were placed in a home which met his needs adequately, and where he was loved and understood, disturbances would be rare indeed.
Chapter VIII

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE STUDY

This study does not profess to have covered all the points regarding the problem of multiple placement. It is hoped, however, that it will serve as a preliminary evaluation. In many respects the divisions used in the study do not show such substantial differences that conclusive evidence can be reached. The sample was so small that between the A and B groups, and between the C and D groups, little significant difference was to be noted. However, the variance between the two major groupings into which the study was divided confirmed the fact that serious multiple placement is detrimental to healthy emotional development on the part of foster children.

The harmful effects of multiple placement are indicated particularly in relation to the social adjustment of the child. Social adjustment is considered to be the crucial fact in deciding whether foster home placement has succeeded or failed for the child. The study shows that the children with the fewest foster home placements are, on the whole, the most favourably adjusted. Five of the seven children whose behaviour is considered to be excellent have remained in their first foster home. On the other hand, only one of the twenty-nine children who have been in more than two foster homes has made as favourable adjustment.
How Important is Family Background?

The importance of family backgrounds and of family relationships has formed a major part of this study. It has been noted that the family constellation from which the child has sprung gives an indication of the ties that may bind the child to his own family. The relationships within the home, and particularly those toward the child help the worker to understand the child's personality. It is these relationships that will aid her in knowing the amount of love he has experienced, the care he has had, and the security he has gained. Knowledge of what the child experienced in the home, the habits he formed, and the standard of living of the family will help in determining what the child will require in a foster home, what his habits will be, and what the foster mother can expect of the child. His method of response and his sense of security and worth will be largely dependent upon what he derives in his early years.

Because the infant has taken on few patterns of response he is able to be more readily assimilated into a foster family group and because he will be attached to a family he will tend to identify with them. This family background, therefore, appears to be less important for the young child. This has been indicated by the fact that while many of the children came into the care of a protective agency because their parents were inadequate to meet their responsibilities, the children on the other hand have shown patterns of adjustment which are equal or
superior to average ability. It would appear, then, because good foster home care can give greater security, affection and stimulation than they would have received in their own homes, that the children are able to develop to their maximum potentiality. Even mental qualities seem to be influenced by a favourable environment, since the majority of foster children seem to have average or better intelligence, in spite of the fact that many of them were born to parents of limited mentality. In the study it was found that thirteen of the fifty children had less than average intelligence. However, of this group ten have been multiply placed. This raises the question as to whether the children were replaced from home to home due to their limited intelligence or if, on the other hand, the instability caused by the factor of multiple placement prevented their attainment of their maximum intellectual development. There is evidence of both possibilities being correct, depending upon the circumstances of the individual case.

Adoption versus Foster Family Care

Since in the foster home program children face the possibility of considerable change both in their foster homes and also in regards workers, it is essential that all family ties be maintained if they are in any way beneficial, in order that children know at least one constant factor. For children who come into care having no beneficial family ties the risk of having no constant factor in their lives is considerable. Therefore, it is in the child's interest for him to be assured of a permanent home, with a family to whom he can become attached and
be regarded as a member of the group. The surest way of establishing a child in such a home is by the process of adoption. The study shows that in only five cases has a firm attachment to natural parents been maintained. In three other cases doubtful family connections have been preserved. Besides this, five children are so dull that adoption can scarcely be considered as a possibility. This leaves thirty-seven for whom adoption might have been possible. Twenty-eight of these children came into care under the age of two years. If they had been placed for adoption they would now be in permanent homes, as secure members of families.

The value of such an adoption program would be twofold. Not only would it represent normal family living for the adopted child, but it would result in reduced caseloads for child placement workers. Thus better service would be available for those children, who for various reasons, must remain in the foster care program. In the past it was believed that adopting parents should be protected from the possibility of adopting children who would be in any way inferior. Therefore, only children with favourable backgrounds were selected. However, as has been indicated in this study family background does not seem to be as significant as was previously believed, providing the child came into care at an early age. It is now agreed that not only should the superior child be given the opportunity for normal home living; it should be the right of every child that can be loved and assimilated into a family group.
The modern emphasis is less on the needs of foster parents and
more on what is in the interests of the children, for it is
these children who will form tomorrow's adult generation. If
they grow up to be mature and happy and responsible they will
be able to play their part as citizens of a democracy.

Skill, the Criterion of Professional Social Workers.

The study of foster homes showed that there are no
important tangible features which a worker can tell a home suit­
able for foster home care from an unsuitable one. It is recog­
nized that it is the intangibles which a home has to offer that
cause it to be a success or a failure as a foster home. The
problem is that intangibles are difficult to measure, and that
there are no criteria by which to assess the foster home poten­
tialities. Estimating the intangibles calls for skill. During
the time social workers attend university, they are being taught
to use the skill demanded of them as a professional group. Just
as the practical nurse is able to do many of the things that a
medical doctor can do, so is the unskilled person able to do a
good deal of what the trained social worker can do. But profes­
sional skill is necessary for social workers since casework ser­
vice is practiced incidentally along with such tasks as arranging
for parents to meet their children, giving clothing and material
aid, and making medical appointments for children. Such casework
should be the worker's primary function. Caseloads must not be
so heavy, nor office routines so exacting and time-consuming that
skills become neglected. This skill, with all its sensitivity,
warmth and understanding should be the goal of all workers in the
child placement field.
APPENDICES

Appendix 1  (a) Application form used by the Children's Aid Society.

(b) Application form used by the Catholic Children's Aid Society.

Appendix 2  Instructions for foster home studies. (Children's Aid Society)

Appendix 3  (a) Foster home report made by a volunteer worker during the war. 1941.

(b) Foster home study made by a skilled homefinder. 1948.
THE CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY OF THE CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF VANCOUVER

POSTER HOME APPLICATION

Date: 

PHONE: 

1. Name in full: Wife: ___________________________ 
   Husband: ___________________________ 
   Date & Place of Birth: ___________________________

2. Wife's Maiden Name: ___________________________ 
   Occupation previous to Marriage: ___________________________ 
   Approximate Annual Income: ___________________________

3. Husband's Occupation: ___________________________ 
   Telephone: ___________________________

4. Address: ___________________________ 
   Former Address: ___________________________

5. Date & Place of Marriage: ___________________________


7. Children's Names & Birthdates: ___________________________

8. Others in household - roomers, boarders (Give relationship and occupation): 

9. Distance to School: ___________________________ High School: ___________________________

10. Health of Family: ___________________________

11. Name of Doctor: ___________________________ Address: ___________________________

12. Religion: ___________________________ Parish: ___________________________

13. Name of Parish Priest: ___________________________ Address: ___________________________

14. Why are you applying for a child? ___________________________

15. Have you ever taken children before & from whom? ___________________________

16. What type of child do you wish? ___________________________

17. Are you offering an adoption home or do you wish to be paid? ___________________________

18. State whether you rent or own your home: Rent: ___________________________

19. From what source did you hear of our Society? ___________________________

20. Please give names and addresses of three persons, other than Parish Priest or Doctor mentioned above - not relatives - who have known you for not less than one year, to whom we may refer: 

   1. ___________________________ Address: ___________________________

   2. ___________________________ Address: ___________________________

   3. ___________________________ Address: ___________________________

   Applicant's Signature: ___________________________
# Foster Home Application

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Woman</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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1. Surname .............................................. Christian Names ..............................................
2. Woman's Maiden Name .............................................. Date and Place of Birth ..............................................
3. Children's Names and Ages ..............................................
4. Present Address .............................................. Phone .............................................. Former Address ..............................................
5. Date and Place of Marriage .............................................. Any previous marriage of either ..............................................
6. Racial origin of man .............................................. of woman ..............................................
7. School Leaving, age and grade: of man .............................................. of woman ..............................................
8. Occupation of man .............................................. Income ..............................................
9. Occupation of woman previous to marriage ..............................................
10. Health of Family and Date of Last X-Ray ..............................................
11. Names of Doctors .............................................. Addresses ..............................................
12. Any serious illness in family ..............................................
13. How long since seen by Doctor? ..............................................
14. Religion .............................................. Name of Church ..............................................
15. Name of Minister .............................................. Address ..............................................
16. Relatives of both Man and Woman (Brothers and Sisters) — Name and Address ..............................................
17. Others in household, roomers, boarders, (Give name, relationship and occupation) ..............................................
18. Distance to School .............................................. and High School ..............................................
19. Attitude towards use of alcoholic beverages in the home ..............................................
20. Do you own or rent your home? ..............................................
21. How many rooms have you? .............................................. No. of bedrooms? ..............................................
22. What is your motive in applying for a child? ..............................................
23. Have you ever taken children before and from whom? ..............................................
24. State age, sex, and number of children desired ..............................................
25. Could you accommodate a brother and sister? ..............................................
26. Are you offering free, or boarding home? ..............................................
27. From what source did you hear of our Society? ..............................................
28. Please give names and addresses of three persons other than minister or doctor mentioned above—not relatives — who have known you for not less than one year to whom we may refer:  
   1. .............................................. Address ..............................................
   2. .............................................. Address ..............................................
   3. .............................................. Address ..............................................

Signature of Man .............................................. Signature of Woman ..............................................
INSTRUCTIONS FOR C. A. S. REPORTS

Name, surname, and first names
Address, house and mail,
Telephone number, Message number

APPLICATION  Date, who applied, how they heard of the foster home program.

Age and sex of children desired and type of home offered.

SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE

Registrations. Note date C. A. S. registered.

AGENCIES CONSULTED

Follow up of Social Service Exchange registrations and give brief summary of agency's contact.

HOME VISITED  Date, name of worker.

TO REACH  By streetcar, bus, automobile.

NEIGHBOURHOOD

Type of district; how thickly settled; type of homes, opportunity for companionship. Desirable features (recreational facilities, clubs, etc.) and undesirable features in the neighbourhood. Names and distance to public and high schools, and churches.

HOME DESCRIPTION of HOUSE

Country, water supply and sewage disposal.
Exterior: Type, condition and repair, garden; play space. Is front or back garden completely fenced in for pre-school children. Animals and pets kept.
Interior: Number of rooms. Sleeping, play and study space. Sleeping accommodation for foster children. Physical and cultural standards maintained. Modern conveniences, e.g. ice box, washing machine. (restrained.)
Atmosphere: comfortable, homey, lived-in, cold.

FAMILY HISTORY

Man: Name, date and place of birth, early history, education, occupation, appearance, personality, intelligence, understanding and liking for children.
Woman: Name, including maiden name; date and place of birth. Early history, education, appearance, personality, intelligence, housekeeping ability, understanding and liking for children.

MARRIAGE  Date and place. Previous marriage, if so, give details.
CHILDREN
Names, date and place of birth, school attended and grade. If not in school give age and date of leaving, reason for doing so. If working give occupation, personality, behaviour and recreation, companionship and playmates, popularity, characteristics of leadership, relationship between children, with one another and with parents. Attitude toward having a foster child in the home and influence they likely have on foster children.

OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD
Name and age, Social Service Exchange, state if relatives, boarder or roomer; character personality, place in family group; interest in and liking for children. Health, chest X-ray.

RELATIVES
Names and addresses of near relatives, Social Service Exchange, Relationship and contact with the family.

HEALTH
Family doctor, school nurse, chest X-ray. Health history of the family, especially in relation to serious or chronic physical or mental illness. Are family too health conscious?

RELIGION
Attitude toward religious training. Name and denomination of church. Do children attend Sunday School and would foster children be encouraged to attend?

FINANCES
Income, source and amount. Expenditures: rent, mortgages, debts such as large hospital and doctor's bills. Assets: property including home, car, insurance, etc. Has the family sufficient income to maintain their home without supplementation by board of foster child?

INTERESTS
Have foster parents interests outside their home and would they encourage foster children to participate in clubs and group activities? In what community activities do foster parents participate? Is there opportunity for social activity in the home and participation in hobbies and other interests.

MOTIVE
Foster parents underlying motives. This gives insight into how foster children will be used and what needs they are supposed to fulfill in foster parents lives. These needs may be loneliness of foster mother, companionship for own child, desire to do good, financial occupation for spare time. The soundness of foster parents' motives is based upon a stronger interest in children than in the fulfillment of their own needs.
CHILD

Type of child best suited for placement in home. Is this acceptable to foster parents, as it may not be the type and age requested by them? Are policies and regulations of C. A. S. acceptable to foster parents?

REFERENCES

Professional: Doctor's information re health of family. Minister's attitude toward and participation in activities of the church. Standing in community. Family's religion as seen by minister. School-progress and behaviour, health of foster parents' children, teacher's impression of care and training foster parents give their own children.

Non-professional: Type and reliability of references. Length of time reference had known and how well. Opinion as to relationships within family group, possibility of foster children fitting into this group, ability of foster parents to care for and train foster children satisfactorily.

NOTE: The obtaining of references provides a good opportunity to interpret and publicize the work of the C. A. S. References may be a good resource in homefinding.

RECOMMENDATION

Age, sex and number of children which can be suitably placed in the home. State specifically type of children foster parents are best equipped to care for.
FOSTER HOME INVESTIGATION

Clinton, Joyce and John,  
16. 1. 41.

Mrs. C. in office to apply for a pre-school child to board. Her husband is an insurance man. They have been married twelve years but they have no children. They were thinking of applying for a child to adopt but a friend persuaded them to try boarding one first. Mrs. C. seems an intelligent, fairly well-educated woman, who will make a good foster mother. She brought up a friend's little boy for several years and seems very fond of children.

SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE


Neighbourhood

Working class district of smaller homes. Scott Collegiate is a few blocks away.

HOUSE

Exterior: A small four roomed house, recently painted. The front lawn is only in fair condition. In the back are fruit trees. The fence has fallen down but is being repaired. Interior: Inside are four rooms; living room, dining room, bedroom and kitchen. They are small and fairly well furnished. Mrs. C. will turn the dinning room into a bedroom. Mrs. C. had been in bed all day and the house was rather untidy.

Family HISTORY

Man: John Charles Clinton born 1902 in Toronto. He attended a private school until he went overseas at the age of fourteen. After his discharge he went to a technical school. He was in the mounted police for four years. He was interested in engineering and worked at the Pattullo Bridge in New Westminster. For the past two years he has been in real estate. He owns his own business.

Woman: Joyce Adams born 1908 in Vancouver. She attended Maple Ridge public school and Douglas Collegiate. She attended the University of B. C. for a year but stopped because her mother died and her father wanted her at home. She looked after the house for a year and then took a business course and worked as stenographer for a packing company for two years. She married in Vancouver in 1929. Mrs. C. is a slim attractive
woman of medium coloring. Her hands were exceptionally well groomed.

RELATIVES
Mrs. C's father and brother live at Seattle, Washington; while Mr. C's mother lives in Toronto.

HEALTH
Mrs. C. had a slight nervous breakdown when she worked but is now in good health. She had a thorough medical check recently. The doctors cannot determine why she cannot have children.

FINANCE
Mr. C. has his own business at Broadway and Granville. He earns $200 a month. He runs a car and has a gas bill of $25. The rent of the house is $40 per month. Mr. and Mrs. C. plan to buy a home whenever they see a good buy.

RELIGION
Anglican. Mr. and Mrs. C. do not take an active interest in the church and attend about once a month.

INTERESTS
Mrs. C. is interested in hiking. She and Mr. C. often spend their holidays on the island where they can go on long walks. Both Mr. and Mrs. C. are interested in numerology and take lectures from a Mr. Wilson.

REFERENCES
Mrs. G. Smith, 1885 Smythe St. runs a beauty parlour. Sees Mrs. C. a great deal and does not hesitate to recommend her. She remarked that Mrs. C. is unable to have children.
Mrs. F. Brown, 2040 Nelson St. has known Mrs. C. for ten years. Before Mrs. Brown's marriage she lived in the upstairs of a house and Mr. and Mrs. C. lived downstairs. Mrs. C. looked after Mrs. Brown's children and was keenly interested in them. Mrs. C. still likes to take them out and arranges outings for them. Dr. Jones cannot recall either Mr. or Mrs. C.

RECOMMENDATION
This would be a nice home for a child. It would be advisable to place a boy here as Mrs. C. has had experience with small boys.
FOSTER HOME INVESTIGATION

Mary and James Phillips

APPLICATION  
Rev. Black of Metropolitan United Church referred the above named as prospective foster parents. Mrs. P. telephoned and a visit was made to the home.

SOCIAL SERVICE INDEX  
No registration.

TO REACH  
Take a No. 5 street car and get off at the 2300 block. Walk two blocks south. House is in the middle of the block.

NEIGHBOURHOOD  
This house is located in the West End district. Most of the houses in this area are large old houses, many of which have been converted into suites. Central School and Metropolitan United Church are within easy reach.

HOME  
This is an old seven room house in need of paint. The rooms are fairly large, not elaborate but comfortably furnished. There are four bedrooms and a foster child would have his own bedroom.

FAMILY HISTORY  
Man: Born in London, England, September 1901. He completed grade XII at the age of seventeen. For seventeen years he has been employed as Superintendent of the Engineering Department of the Forestry Commission. Because of the nature of his work he is out of town a great deal of the time. At present he is supervising some project at Powell River.

Woman: Mary Edith Phillips, nee Smith, was born in Vancouver April 23, 1902. After completing grade XII at the age of seventeen she was employed by a bookbinding firm.

Mrs. P. presents rather a nice appearance. Her hair is worn upswept with a braid. She appears to be an alert, efficient woman and one who takes an active interest in the community. Until recently she has been an executive of the local parent-teacher's group. However, she stated that her home comes first and she does not allow her outside interests to interfere with her family responsibilities. For instance, she always makes a point of being home in the afternoon when her boys return from school.
In discussing the various needs of C. A. S. children, Mrs. P. seemed to be quite understanding but she made it clear that it would be most difficult for her husband to accept a child who was not permanent. Worker was quite frank in pointing out that most of the children with whom we deal are ones who have one or other parent in the picture. Also explained to Mrs. P. that in a few cases our children do return to their homes. Worker did not wish to discourage Mrs. P. but on the other hand, worker felt it was necessary for Mrs. P. to have a clear picture of C. A. S.

MARRIAGE  
Vancouver, August 1931.

CHILDREN  
Jonathan: 15; Donald: 10. Both boys appear normal healthy and well trained. They are very polite and worker noted that their mother calls them by their full names.

RELATIVES  
Man: Brother, Samuel Phillips, Real Estate Agent, Robson Street.

HEALTH  
Good. Physician: Dr. West.

RELIGION  
Mr. and Mrs. P. are both members of Metropolitan United Church. The boys have group associations with the church.

FINANCE  
Mr. P. earns $250 a month.

INTERESTS  
Mrs. P. is interested in church work and also P.T.A. groups.

MOTIVES  
Mr. and Mrs. P. felt that their home would be complete if they could enjoy the company of a girl. The boys are also interested in having a little sister.

CHILD  
A girl between the ages of four and eight would be most suitable for this home. In view of the ages of Mr. and Mrs. P. a girl around eight would actually be more suitable. It is advisable that a child with few family ties be placed here and preferably one who would be quite permanent. Mr. and Mrs. P. are willing to wait at least a year, and if no permanent child is available during that time the matter will be dropped. Mrs. P. would prefer references not be visited until C. A. S. definitely has a child in mind for her.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Specific References


General References


"Everybody's Children," Board of Public Welfare, District of Columbia, U. S. A.


General References Continued.


Note: As far as the writer was able to determine there is a dearth of material on the specific subject of multiple placement of foster children. Reference to it in the general bibliography arises only in an incidental way.