

THE PLACEMENT OF ADOLESCENT BOYS

A Survey-Review of the Problems of
Adolescent Boys in Care of the
Children's Aid Society, Vancouver, B. C.

by

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ABSTRACT

The basis for this study is a survey made by the Vancouver Children's Aid Society of the adolescent boys in their care, with special reference to their problems of adjustment and foster home placement. Since the schedules of the survey were of a very general nature, rating scales were devised in an attempt to give more specific classifications to the data. Age at admission and average number of foster home placements were used as starting points; and a fourfold classification of admission (corresponding to the developmental stages, oral and anal, oedipal, latent, and adolescent) was employed throughout.

The psychology of the adolescent and the developmental periods prior to adolescence are briefly described as a background for this study, since adolescent adjustment is affected by anxieties and fears which have been carried over from previous developmental periods. Separation of a child from his parents may represent to him the total loss of parent affection upon which his ability to adjust is based: the child in care may thus be prevented from making a satisfying adjustment due to the anxieties of separation.

Examination of the survey data showed that the four major groups of problems among the adolescents were emotional maladjustments, delinquent tendencies, relationship difficulties and forms of disturbed behaviour. Correspondingly, the boys who predominantly showed these problems had been placed in the greatest number of foster homes. A "hard core" of approximately sixty boys appeared to be completely unsuitable for foster home placement, because of the problems they showed, as well as the number of foster home placements they had experienced. The analysis also made clear that children admitted to care during adolescence have the greatest difficulty in adjusting to foster homes.

To present a more detailed picture of the present and past adjustment of the adolescent, case illustrations were used; these lead to suggestions on resources other than foster homes which would satisfy the adolescents' needs. The illustrations emphasize the effect of experiences prior to adolescence and the damaging effect of numerous foster homes on a boy's adjustment.

In general, the study points up the need for complete diagnostic examination of the child when he is first admitted to care. From this diagnosis a plan for the care of the child

should be made which will satisfy his needs. If the plan proves inadequate, a complete review of the case should be made in order to determine the reasons for the failure of the original placement, and as a guide for preventing future failures.

Several types of residential units are suggested which would offer a group living experience for those boys for whom foster home placement has proven unsuitable. These units could be coordinated into an adolescent boys department. Community assistance would be needed to set up these resources, especially those concerned with the treatment of gross maladjustment which if allowed to go untreated, will almost certainly result in greater damage to human lives and cost to the community.

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CHAPTER I

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ADOLESCENT IN PLACEMENT

Adolescence is a period of conflicting needs, tensions and anxieties; a period of transition from the dependency of childhood to the longed for independence of adulthood. The adolescent wishes to achieve maturity, but is reluctant to give up the security of childhood. He attempts poise and accomplishments beyond his psychological and physiological maturity. Often, in retrospect, he regards his actions as being childish, but at the same time longs for the protection of his childhood. He desires the prerogatives of an adult yet cannot accept the concomitant responsibilities.

The adolescent is driven on towards maturity by the new physical and emotional drives he is experiencing. Simultaneously, he is seeking a new structure of behaviour, a new standard of values and principles to act as a guide for these new drives. Because of his inadequacy to handle these new drives and because of a residue of problems from earlier developmental periods which confront him again, the adolescent experiences tensions, anxieties

and fears. These may tend to make him aggressive at one time and withdrawing at another as he tests out himself and society. The most striking characteristic of this period is the presence of contradictory and mutually exclusive trends. The adolescent has further been described as being, "altruistic and egocentric, devoted and unfaithful, gregarious and solitary, blindly submissive to a leader and defiant of authority, idealistic and cynical, sensitive and callous, ascetic and libertine, optimistic and pessimistic, enthusiastic and indifferent."¹ This lack of consistency arouses in the adolescent the fear of being misunderstood, which further increases his inner conflict as he tries to adjust to new demands.

Those working with adolescents meet these conflicting facets in them and must be prepared to accept and enable the adolescent to understand this conflict and to adjust to it. With adolescents who have experienced many traumatic events such as rejection and abuse from their own and substitute parents, greater inconsistencies and confusions will be apparent in their personalities and actions. They will tend to be more extreme in their

1 S. Hirsohn, "Role of the Male Caseworker with the Adolescent Boy," The Journal of Social Case Work, vol. xxi, No. 1, (January 1950), p. 27.

reactions, to have greater swings in mood and difficulty in forming relationships. Many of the difficulties of the adolescent can be traced back to the problems of earlier developmental phases, and to new stresses and anxieties which appear in adolescence, but which are affected by earlier adjustment. This is especially true of the adolescent in placement who has, in some form or other, suffered the loss of love and affection of his own parents.

The Meaning of Separation to the Child

The basic reason for separating children from their own parents and placing them with substitute parents is that their own home is no longer tenable. This physical separation is one of the most traumatic events a child can experience. It comes to him as the unwelcome climax to a long series of traumatic and misunderstood events; it is the confirmation of his worst fears about his own undesirability and the badness of his parents.¹ Those children who are separated from their own parents because of parental neglect or discord, have suffered from rejection, abuse and the lack of suitable parental figures to identify to and to imitate. Many children in this category have not known in their own homes, the harmony that is essential to their development. This experience has developed in

¹ D. Hutchinson, "The Parent-Child Relationship as a Factor in Child Placement," The Family, The Journal of Social Case Work, vol. xxvii, No. 2, (April 1946), p. 47.

them anxieties about their self-worth and the satisfaction of their needs. Separation for them may mean that they have failed to win the love of their parents and this failure may carry with it feelings of guilt. These anxieties and fears may make it exceedingly difficult for them to accept substitute parents.

The children who are admitted to agency care because of the loss of one or both parents through sickness, mental incapacity or death are disturbed by their feelings pertaining to this loss. They may be experiencing feelings of desertion, or guilt feelings if they have wished the removal of a parent. While they may have experienced the best of care prior to this separation, the problem of accepting substitute parents is a very difficult one. At the time of separation from their own parents, children are faced not only with their feelings about their parents but also with the task of relating to substitute parents, of adjusting to new routines, new ways of doing things and new methods of discipline. Even though they may be able to make this adjustment, they can never completely become part of a foster family because of the realization that they are different from them, even though it be in name only. The anxieties and fears engendered in the child during this period of transfer from one family to another, unless completely resolved, can greatly hinder his normal development. These anxieties are particularly

manifested during the stress of adolescence. The developmental period at which the anxiety of separation occurs will have a specific effect on adolescent development.

The Effects of Previous Development on Adolescence

Problems of adolescence can be described in terms of the character and severity of the anxieties of infancy and early childhood.¹ The first anxiety of the infant is the fear that his id desires will not be met, that he will lose his mother's love, his source of sustenance. If his physical and emotional needs have been fully met through the love, care and attention of his mother, he will have experienced security and will have been able to modify his id desires in a socially acceptable manner.² Thus, when in adolescence he is faced again with increased id desires in the form of glandular changes, he is better able to adjust to these desires if he has experienced previously the satisfaction of self-worth through his mother's love. Where the infant has suffered from anxiety and feelings of insecurity in the oral period, he may show his insecurity in aggressive demanding behaviour, or in depressed withdrawn behaviour. At adolescence, he will again experience feelings of

1 Helen Ross, "The Case Worker and the Adolescent," The Family, vol. xvii, No. 7, (November 1941), p. 231.

2 O.S. English and G.H.J. Pearson, Emotional Problems of Living, New York, W.W. Norton, 1945, p. 29.

insecurity, and may exhibit these same behaviour problems with greater intensity and show greater confusion and difficulty in seeking a socially acceptable adjustment of them.

While an adolescent in his own home may re-experience these anxieties of the oral period at adolescence, a foster child will experience them to a greater degree because of the separation involved in placement. Those children who come under agency care during the first stage of their development, the oral phase, should have the best chance to succeed in placement if loving, permanent foster parents can be found for them. Because of their age, they will not have experienced anxieties, maltreatment and rejection over as long a period of time as an older child. Nevertheless they may have experienced continual frustration at not having their needs met; their affective appetite may have been starved, and this, combined with the trauma of placement will arouse tensions, fears, and anxieties in them beyond what the average child experiences. Their disturbance will be revealed in aggressive demanding behaviour or in depressed withdrawn behaviour. Unless the foster parents are given a great deal of help from the case worker prior to, during, and after the placement, they may not be able to understand, cope with or accept the reactions of the foster child to their care. This may result in a further rejection to the child and a

replacement may serve only to increase his anxieties, and to delay his progress to the next developmental phase.

Adolescents who have had this kind of experience in the first two years of their life will experience difficulty in making an acceptable adjustment to the stresses of adolescence. The adolescent who has not gained satisfaction of his id drives through sublimation will strive for this satisfaction and will tend to operate on the pleasure principle. This is seen in adolescents, with aggressive tendencies, who want something and see no reason why they should not get it when they want it. On the other hand, if the childhood reaction to being deprived was one of withdrawal and resignation, this will reappear in adolescence in a similar form. It is often expressed by adolescents in such phrases as, "What's the use in trying?" and "Who cares?"

Adolescents who have suffered considerably from these anxieties in the oral phase are further handicapped in that they will have experienced difficulty in the anal and oedipal phases. This will mean a lack of proper and sufficient development of the ego and superego. Where this development is weak, the adolescent will have further difficulty in controlling his id desires, which are strong in adolescence. The strength of the id, as compared to the weak ego, creates further tension in the adolescent. "This increase in instinctual tension accompanied by a

tremendous increase in anxiety is the real and basic problem of adolescence."¹

The next anxiety of the child is that centering around toilet training and the development of the ego. It is in the years between two and four that the child begins to develop his conscious ability to deal with reality, to conform to the demands of society and to develop habits which his environment impinges upon him. If this training is not carried out successfully and is rigidly imposed, the child, in trying to achieve control may develop an anxiety that he is stupid or incompetent. He will develop a low feeling of personal worth, or a poor ego. With this subjugation of the ego, the child may tend to become extremely conforming or non conforming, aggressive or withdrawn. This is his way to relieve himself of the anxiety engendered in the expectations and demands of the environment and to protect his ego. This anxiety will reappear in adolescence when he is struggling for his independence. He will show considerable difficulty in conforming to the expectations and demands of society, will have conflict with authority and will show difficulty in accepting guidance and help from his elders.

¹ F.J. Hacker and E.R. Geleerd, "Freedom and Authority in Adolescence," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, vol. xv (October, 1945), p. 626.

The child is only able to conform to the demands of society if he is secure in his love relationship to his parents and is willing to give up his own desires in return for their love.¹ The child who is separated from his parents at this time, and who has not developed a similar relationship with substitute parents, will experience greater anxiety in achieving control. His ability to relate to new parents will be made more difficult if he has experienced insecurity and rejection prior to placement. It is only through emotional satisfactions that the child is liberated for new experiences and new people.² Through achievement of excretory control the child develops an increased sense of personal worth. The child who is given a new set of substitute parents at this time, unless the placement is successfully made and unless he is free of the fear of rejection or punishment, will lack this sense of personal worth. If he has not been able to achieve control and the acceptance of authority normal to the anal period, at any time prior to adolescence, then in this period of stress the anxieties in regard to authority will be increasingly acute.

In adolescence these problems are seen in a refusal to accept the authority and demands of society, in behaviour

1 O.S. English and G.H.J. Pearson, Emotional Problems of Living, p. 5.

2 D. Hutchinson, "The Parent-Child Relationship as a Factor in Child Placement," The Family, The Journal of Social Case Work, (April, 1946), p. 47.

which is self-centred either in an aggressive or a withdrawing form. This is the adolescent's attempt to escape from the demands of society. Also, the adolescent may be showing difficulty in gaining excretory control through continued enuresis and soiling. This would indicate that he is more or less fixated in the anal phase. Such adolescents will also likely show a low sense of personal worth.

In the next developmental phase, the child between three and six learns to resolve and develop his relationship to his parents and his identity with his own and the opposite sex.¹ This is the development of the conscience or superego. This development of the superego is culminated in the working out of the child's love relationship to his parents. It is an attempt on the part of the child to bring these authorities with their increasing demands into some sort of inner harmony, some guide by which he can direct his behaviour.² If these authorities have been conflicting and confusing to the child, he will experience difficulty in integrating them, and the resulting struggle with his conscience arouses anxiety in him. This anxiety may be expressed as a fear of not loving oneself, and in adolescence

1 O.S. English and G.H.J. Pearson, Emotional Problems of Living, p. 77.

2 Helen Ross, "The Case Worker and The Adolescent", The Family, (November, 1941), p. 232.

may temporarily be expressed in the saying, "I hate myself." Since the parents are the first to represent authority to the child, their influence is of the greatest significance in the formation of the child's conscience or superego. Confusion and inconsistency in the authority of the parents will be represented in the development of the superego of the child. Rigid, severe authority on the part of the parents can result in rebellion and delinquency on the part of the child. Weak, vacillating authority can result in a weak and flimsy conscience in the child which will succumb to any force around him.

The development of the conscience is particularly important at adolescence when the boy is breaking away from the parental authority. At this time he will experience considerable difficulty in conforming to society if he has not developed a stable superego or internal authority. Allied to the development of the superego is the situation of the oedipus complex. Unless the child is able to reach an adequate solution of this complex, he will experience considerable difficulty in adolescence when his social horizon broadens and his physiological drives act to bring him into more frequent and closer contact with the opposite sex. While no child can be entirely free from these anxieties during his development, if they persist without melioration then in adolescence they will be intensified and will

create difficult problems.

The child who is placed between the years of three and six may be delayed in or prevented from solving the problem of his identity in relation to his own and the opposite sex by a residue of anxieties and problems from previous years. Moreover, the fact that he is being separated from his love object and placed with strangers further delays him in reaching a solution to the problem of his relationship with his parents. If the child is unable to develop a sufficiently strong relationship with substitute parents or has insufficient contact with his own parents, it is doubtful if he will ever be able to work out his relationship to both sexes. At adolescence, the boy may experience difficulties in his social relationships because he has never resolved his attachment to his mother.

Substitute parents also present a new set of authorities to the child. These authorities may conflict with the ones he has known previously and he will not be able to accept them unless he has a strong relationship with his substitute parents. His guilt over separation from his parents also may prevent him from accepting the authority of substitute parents. This will have an effect on his ability to work out the oedipal situation and will also affect the development of his conscience or superego. A

poorly developed superego will hinder the adolescent adjustment. The development of a strong superego is important for the adolescent if he is to keep the increased id drives in line in face of a weakened ego.

The dangers inherent in these three periods, the oral, the anal and the oedipal, point up the necessity for care in foster home placement at this time, if serious problems are to be diminished or avoided. Replacement, unless very carefully made, only serves to add further confusion to the child. Initially, each move means further rejection by parent figures and creates, in the child, a fear of showing normal love and anger. It increases the existing anxieties and may impair his ability to form a meaningful relationship to substitute parents and society in general. The child's need to form sound relationships is fundamental to the solution of his problems.

In comparison to the oral, anal and oedipal phase of a child's development, the latent phase is a relatively quiescent one. One of the most important features of the latent phase is that the child's social horizons are greatly broadened. Whereas prior to this time the child spent most of his time within his home, he is now away from the home a great deal. The child attends school, begins to join in gang activities and finds a great deal of his recreation, work, leadership and authority outside of his home life.

With this moving away from the parents, life for the child becomes more competitive. Also, it is a period of homosexuality for the child, from which he needs to gain satisfaction if he is going to be able to relate to his own sex in adulthood.

This change in direction for the child has certain implications for those working with, and placing children with substitute parents at this time. In order for the child to move towards this wider experience, he must feel secure in his relationship to his parents. If he has doubts about their continued love and affection, while he is away from them, he will be reluctant to make this move. In effect, he is separating himself from his parents or parent substitutes and if he has experienced considerable anxiety previously through rejection or separation, he will re-experience this to some extent. If he has not completely resolved the oedipal conflict and fears that his father will take away his mother's affection in his absence, then he will have difficulty in leaving the home to attend school. While in school, the child will be troubled by this anxiety and this will be evident in his behaviour. He may be aggressive, unwilling to learn, or withdrawn and wrapped up in his day dreams. These are signs that he is lacking the security to take the next step.

Another sign that the child has not resolved the

oedipal situation would be if he had not accepted the parent of his sex as his ideal and did not attempt to imitate the attributes of that parent. This is seen in the boy who prefers to be with girls and to play their games rather than to be with those of his own sex. Here the boy has not accepted the father as his masculine ideal. If the child is with substitute parents and has not identified with his foster father, then he will not desire to imitate that parent. The child who is not able to move toward this homosexual experience in latency will also face the censure of his playmates of his own sex.

Although the development of the superego begins prior to latency, it is in this period that it is tested out and developed. Prior to the commencement of school, the child has had the protection of his home for his actions. He has not been on his own. In school, the child is more responsible for his actions and faces a number of new limitations within which he must guide his behaviour. Moreover, he faces the group pressure which at times conflicts with the limitations of the home or school. At such times the child must make a decision, and such a decision can create a great deal of anxiety for the child, depending upon his previous and existing security and relationship with his parents. If the child brings to latency a residue of anxieties from previous developmental periods, or has been

placed with substitute parents just prior to this period and has not as yet, been able to adjust to this move, then latency may be anything but quiescent. It will be a time of anxieties and tensions and will be signified by reoccurring enuresis, reticence, fears of the unknown, reluctance to move beyond the home or by aggressive, hostile, uncooperative and demanding behaviour. This insecurity, as displayed in anxieties and tensions, will handicap the child in moving towards, and in adjusting to the stormy period of adolescence.

Although anxieties in these developmental phases will affect adjustment in adolescence, there are several major problems peculiar to this period. In his struggle for independence, the adolescent faces the problem of forming new attachments outside of the family and also that of integrating new authorities with the old.¹ These problems are further complicated by the boy's maturation which gives him an increased capacity to love and an increased capacity for physical and mental achievement. The adolescent has to learn to channel and direct this new drive so that he can reach his goal of maturity. This arouses anxiety in him in that he may not be able to handle these drives adequately. He may tend to regress to the security of

¹ Helen Ross, "The Case Worker and the Adolescent," p. 232.

childhood temporarily rather than suffer the blows to his ego as a result of gaucheness.

The adolescent's ability to form new attachments depends especially upon the identification he was able to make with his parents. This carries with it the implication that he has had a good pattern with which to identify. A normal identification with the parent makes the formation of new attachments easy.¹ Adolescents who, at some time, have been separated from their own parents, and who have faced the task of relating to one or more substitute parents, will have difficulty in forming new attachments in adolescence. This is especially important in the case work relationship.

The necessity for a strong inner authority or superego has been discussed previously. It is fundamental to the problem of integrating new authorities with the old, to the channelling of new drives and to the evaluation of new experiences and situations. Inner security and standards to meet these problems depend upon the love of and attachment to the parents. For adolescents who, because of the continual shift from parents to parent substitutes, have failed to make enduring attachments and from them develop security of standards, these problems assume major proportions.

¹ Helen Ross, "The Case Worker and the Adolescent," p. 233.

At adolescence there is still another force which acts upon the psychological changes of this period and upon the problems of making new attachments and integrating new authorities. This force is the cultural demand placed upon the adolescent. He is encouraged to be masculine, aggressive, competitive; to select and prepare himself for avocation; and to move into contact with the other sex. These demands occur almost simultaneously and for the adolescent venturing out into these areas there is the possibility of failure which is difficult for their weakened ego to accept. Most adolescents have a stable family tie to fall back on at such times. However this is increasingly difficult for those who have alienated themselves from their families, who have experienced rejection and abuse through the years, or for those who have no tie to a family because of a continual shift from family to family. Such adolescents have considerable difficulty in relating to and trusting in someone who could fulfill the parental role. These are the adolescents with whom social agencies are so frequently concerned.

Since the adolescent is attempting to emancipate himself from parental control and to establish his own independence, this must be considered when separation from his parents is necessary at this age. If he is placed with substitute parents who do not assist him to develop his

independence, his problems will be increased. He may refuse to accept a setting where he will be involved in personal relationships with substitute parents. In such instances the adolescent needs someone to whom he can look for guidance, understanding, limits and direction, and someone who can relieve the pressures, bolster his weakened ego and can help him understand himself. Because of the unfortunate schism which our society creates between childhood and adulthood, the adolescent needs to re-experience many of the steps taken in his early developmental stages.¹ Whether he can be helped to achieve a socially acceptable adolescent adjustment through placement with substitute parents or in an institution, will depend upon the ability of workers to enable the child or adolescent to understand the separation from his parents; to give foster parents help in meeting the problems presented by those in their care; to develop a strong supportive relationship with adolescents. The help which a case worker is able to give will be more effective if it is based upon a complete diagnosis of the life experience of the adolescent and his relationships with others.

Placement of Adolescents by the Children's Aid Society

Until recently there has not been much emphasis upon the special selection of foster homes for adolescent

¹ J.G. Milner, "Some Determinants in the Differential Treatment of Adolescents," Child Welfare Journal of the Child Welfare League of America, vol. xxix, No. 8, (October 1950), p. 4.

boys at the Children's Aid Society. Foster parents who had showed an ability to work with adolescent boys were used extensively. If this did not fill the need of homes for adolescents, the remainder were selected from the general foster homes available. Also, special advertisements were run in the papers requesting homes for boys. This aroused people's interest in adolescent boys, but since only approximately one out of every fifteen applications received was suitable, the existing needs were never met. Another difficulty in this method of getting homes was the lack of workers to investigate the applications received. Thus, often by the time the applications were investigated the prospective foster parents had lost interest or had made other arrangements. This situation was partially met by assigning one case worker, in May 1951, to investigate applications pertaining primarily to teen-agers. This has resulted in some easing of the dire need for homes for this age group.

There has also been a gradual change in philosophy in regard to the type of homes suitable for adolescents. This change in philosophy gave greater recognition to the special needs of the adolescent. It was a change from the philosophy of providing a "good Mommy and Daddy" for the adolescent to providing a good physical set up where the boy, unless he wanted to, would not be expected to form an

emotional tie or strong relationship with the foster parents. This required a change in interpretation to the prospective foster parents. The problems involved in caring for an adolescent were pointed out. His probable lack of consideration and his inability to accept them as parents were examined as well as the necessity for him, during the transition to adulthood, to continue his tie to his own parents, regardless of their inadequacies. This represented a change in thinking on the part of the agency from the idea that they could remake adolescents, to the idea of preserving the adolescent's own dignity. Foster parents, instead of deriving an emotional parental satisfaction from the placement of the teen-ager, gave a professional service to the agency.

This professional service was recognized by the payment of a slightly higher board rate for foster parents taking adolescents which compensated for the additional service involved. This special board rate was given only in specific cases at first. These were generally cases where the agency was experiencing considerable difficulty in finding homes which could handle the behaviour problems of a particular adolescent. Later this special board rate was extended to all new placements and to replacements. The need for payment for service rendered by foster parents in medical cases had been recognized by the agency some time

previous to this latter recognition of payment for service. At present where medical or emotional problems are involved, a still higher board rate may be paid but this is given on an individual basis and is subject to approval by the administration.

In the past the agency has not developed many variations in types of foster homes used for adolescent boys. Recently there has been more exploration into and development of foster homes for special purposes. The general foster home has not proved suitable for all adolescents and the difficulty in placing boys has brought about some specialization of foster homes. This has resulted in homes being used that are geared to the boys' special needs.

Placement Resources Currently Used for Adolescents

Specialized foster homes have been used for medical problems for some time. An example of this is a home used for an adolescent suffering from diabetes where the foster mother has had training as a nurse. The use of homes where the foster parents have had some training in and experience in dealing with emotional problems has not been too extensive. There are several reasons for this. One reason is that there has been a lack of emphasis on the need for homes which can handle such problems. Thus, there has not, until recently, been a drive to recruit such foster parents, nor has there been a recognition of the extra service and ability of the foster parents by payment of a service fee. There

is also the fact that homes with such qualified parents are not readily available.

The use of subsidized foster homes has not been fully explored for adolescents. Because of the need for placement resources for teen-aged boys, the agency is faced with the necessity of exploring the possibility of this type of home. A subsidized foster home offers distinct advantages for the placement of adolescents. It provides temporary accommodation where the adolescent is not expected to make a close relationship to substitute parents until a more permanent plan can be made. Moreover there can be closer cooperation between the temporary foster parents and the agency which facilitates a diagnosis of the adolescent's needs and anxieties. This type of home offers a more neutral setting for the adolescent to adjust to when he is suffering the trauma of separation from his own parents or when he is not sufficiently ready to give up his own parents and to be able to accept substitute parents. A subsidized home is also less threatening to an adolescent's own parents and allows them and the boy to work out their feelings regarding placement without the pressure of the regular foster home.¹ It also gives the adolescent reassurance as he can see that there are others

¹ G. A. Glick, "Establishing a Subsidized Foster Home," Child Welfare Journal, Child Welfare League of America, vol. xxvi, No. 9, (November 1947), p.-6.

in a similar situation.

Progress is being made in the use of the straight boarding house for adolescent boys. In this case the agency pays the full cost of the board until the boy is able to assume this responsibility. These homes are not foster homes and little supervision is exercised over them. The supervision which exists is mainly between the agency's worker and the boy. This provides a neutral setting which is much more suitable for certain adolescents. The agency also uses such agencies as the Salvation Army Hotel, the Y.M.C.A., and the Central City Mission. Placement in these agencies is on a shelter basis and is for boys needing temporary placement.

A further resource that the agency has for care of adolescents is the Boys' Receiving Home. This was opened in 1950 as an emergency housing unit for teen-aged boys. The agency was faced with the problems of caring for a number of adolescents who were not suitable for immediate placement in the existing resources previously outlined. The group of boys placed in the Receiving Home showed a number of behaviour and emotional problems such as truancy, bullying, lying, stealing, temper tantrums and a refusal to cooperate with adults. Many of these boys had histories of unsuccessful foster home placements from which they had run away or had to be removed at the request of the foster parents. This group of boys led to the function of the Receiving Home being twofold; that of being an emergency and temporary shelter until new plans could be formulated, and that of a semi-

treatment centre where more coordinated efforts could be directed toward the rehabilitation of these boys. Throughout its development, this latter function has received more emphasis so that now its function is nearer that of a study and treatment centre.

In view of this change in function certain changes have been necessary in regard to admission criteria. Those with established delinquency trends were eliminated from the home. The age grouping of the boys was reduced to between twelve and fifteen years. The population was reduced from sixteen to eleven, and only boys who were attending school and who could be expected to benefit from the group situation were thought of as being suitable for the treatment the home could offer. A male caseworker with a small case load was made the supervisor of the home and was largely responsible for the narrowing of the focus of the Receiving Home to the point where it became more of a treatment centre. This has resulted in a more selected group of boys being admitted to the home, closer relationships with the house parents and the development of better public relations in the community and use of community resources, especially in the recreational programme of the home. Continual improvements have been made in this physical set up of the home and a group work programme has been developed through the field placement of a master student from the School of Social Work.

Statement of Method

This Chapter has presented some of the psychology of the adolescent, and has pointed out how his adjustment in other developmental phases affects his adolescent adjustment, especially as it is pertinent to the foster child. The importance of the trauma of separation from one's own parents and its place in the development of the child has also been stressed. The philosophy of the placement of adolescents at the Children's Aid Society, Vancouver, the resources used in the past and the current resources have been outlined to give the background for an analysis of their present policy in regard to the adolescents in their care. The material in Chapter Two has been taken from a survey, by the Children's Aid Society, of their adolescent male population. Classifications and rating scales are used to set up a number of tables which will compare the material. This comparison will show the frequency of problems presented by the adolescents and will be related to the age at admission, number of placements, and parental background to determine if there is any correlation between these and the problems outlined in the theoretical discussion in Chapter One. Since the material in the survey did not give sufficiently detailed background information on the problems presented by the adolescents studied, the case illustration method is used in Chapter Three to trace as far as the records permitted, the underlying

causes of adolescent problems. This detailed information is also presented to show the types of placement resources which might satisfy particular needs in the adolescent.

As far as is possible, the case presentations trace through the developmental phases as set out in Chapter One. The implications in and conclusions of Chapters Two and Three are drawn together in Chapter Four so that recommendations can be made regarding the nature of case work services and resources for adolescents.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF ADOLESCENT BOYS IN CARE

The Vancouver Children's Aid Society have been experiencing difficulties in finding sufficient suitable placements for their adolescent boys. The Agency attempted to meet this situation partially by appointing an additional worker to the foster home finding department for the investigation of homes which would be suitable for adolescent boys. The establishment of a higher foster home rate which included a service fee to the foster parents further improved the situation. Although these two innovations have eased the situation to some extent, the Agency desired to determine what further problems they would face in the placement of adolescent boys and the resources that would be needed to meet these problems. Therefore, they undertook a survey of the adolescent boys in their care.

From the survey the Agency desired to determine the number of boys suitably and unsuitably placed. The boys suitably placed included those who were secure and settled in their foster homes, and those who had become self-supporting and for whom the Agency was administratively responsible. The main interest however was in the boys unsuitably placed and this would include those who had been

in a number of foster homes, who had not been able to find satisfaction for their needs in such homes, and who would require a further placement. With the information about the number who would require another placement and the problems involved in working with such boys, the Agency would be able to plan and develop resources which would meet the needs of this group. The survey schedules were completed by all the workers who had adolescent boys in their case loads. In what follows the material in the survey has been analysed, classified and compared, in an attempt to determine the problems shown by the boys, as well as to determine the number of boys unsuitably placed.

The headings used in the survey schedule included age at admission, reason for admission, parental interest, psychiatric or vocational examinations and findings, number of placements, earnings (part of full time), board rate and status, reason for change in placement, suitability of last placement, and the reason for change of last placement. Each worker filled in this information for each adolescent boy in his case load. The survey, in this form, would give much of the desired information; yet, on the other hand, it presented a number of difficulties in analysing the quantity of material obtained.

One of the major difficulties in filling out a survey of this nature is the case workers' lack of free time.

Some of the workers were unable to complete the schedule, and information on approximately half of the number of cases was filled out on a short form.¹ Some workers, especially those who had recently taken over a case load, were unable to give the information desired without reviewing the files. In some cases these reviews were not made with the result that there were a number of gaps in the information supplied. In other instances the workers had not had recent contact with their cases and designated some adolescents as lost. However, since the sample of the adolescents was almost complete, and since the percentage of the total sample for whom little or no information was given was comparatively small, the over-all results were not greatly affected.² There were two further difficulties in the completion of a survey of this nature. Because of the length of the survey workers were tempted to postpone completing the sheets until they had more time. An even more important difficulty which affected the results obtained, was the lack of classifications and specific responses for the different categories of the survey. For statistical purposes, assumptions had to be made on the meanings of the workers' remarks. A safeguard against too great an error in this regard was the use

1 See Appendix B. The "short form" is an index card used to consolidate the information from the larger survey under several classifications.

2 There are approximately two hundred and fifty adolescent boys in care and the sample in this survey consisted of two hundred and twenty-eight boys. Of these, information was lacking on approximately nine percent.

of classifications and rating scales.

The Classifications and Rating Scales

A classification of reasons for admission was adapted from the thesis, How Foster Children Turn Out, by A.L. Langdale¹ and is as follows:

1. financial inability to provide for a child
2. parental break-up
3. moral incapacity of parents
4. medical incapacity of parents ²
5. no parents for the child.

A sixth category ("other"), i.e. reasons not coming within the above, was not found necessary in the present survey.

A classification of reasons for change in placement was arrived at after a trial run through eighteen cases in one case load.³ A further category, ("other") was provided for those cases which would not fit into the above and it was used only three times for "can't find suitable foster home." If this last reason had been included with the other main categories, it is likely that greater use would have been made of it.

The classification of problems of the boys was not made up until the survey had been completed. The many problems listed by the workers were divided into nine

1 A.L. Langdale, How Foster Children Turn Out, Master of Social Work Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1951

2 See Appendix A I

3 See Appendix A II for the various categories under reasons for change in placement.

broad categories. It was difficult to determine to which categories some of the problems belonged. Thus, those which appeared to be primarily of an emotional nature were assigned to that category, while those problems which appeared to be indicative of a behaviour disorder were placed under that category. While behaviour problems may be the result of an earlier emotional disturbance, the problems assigned to this category were so placed on the basis of their¹ symptoms, rather than the causes.

In the appendix, the problems are listed in the order of the frequency of their appearance rather than in the order of their importance to the development of the adolescent. If a child is able to achieve a normal relationship with his parents and others, then he will likely be well adjusted. Where the child has been unable to relate successfully, the symptoms of this may be apparent in an emotional problem or delinquent tendency. Therefore, if the problems were listed according to cause and effect, the problem concerned with the child's or adolescent's inability to relate to others would be foremost. This is particularly significant for the foster child because of the factor of separation from his parents, and the necessity for him to establish a sound relationship with substitute parents if he is to proceed in his emotional development.

A scale of suitability of last placement was set up on the basis of five factors necessary for a very

1 See Appendix A III for the various problems assigned to each category.

good foster home for adolescent boys. These five factors are:

1. Full acceptance of the boy by the foster parents
2. Full acceptance of the foster parents by the boy
3. Both foster parents in the home.
4. Both foster parents able to cope with problems of the boy.
5. Full acceptance of placement by the natural parents.

Complete acceptance of placement by the natural parents included those cases where the parents cooperated in the placement of the boy and where their influence was such as would enable the boy to adjust to another set of parental figures. It would also include that group of parents who had shown no interest in the boy since the time of placement proceedings and with whom the Agency or the boy had had little or no contact. For a foster home to be rated very good, or good, it is necessary that both parents be in the home. A number of cases were noticed where the foster parent was a widow. In adolescence, as in the oedipal period, the boy needs a father figure to whom he can relate, and with whom he can identify. He needs a father to help him develop his masculinity, to strengthen his weakened ego, to help him work out his competitive feelings, and to provide him with a person from whom he may seek guidance and direction, and in whom he can confide and find acceptance. The cases where the foster mother was a widow, regardless of the stability of the placement at the present time, were all rated as being

mediocre.¹

Another factor not given consideration in the survey was the duration of the last placement. Some of the placements would be of a duration of six months or less and if this information was known it would have been a check on the suitability of the last placement.

Analysis of the Survey

The information in the survey schedules has been put into tables which show the problems and their effect upon the placement of adolescents. In the tables, good adjustment refers to those cases in the survey schedules where it was indicated that the adolescent had achieved this, or where no problem of any kind with the adolescent was indicated. "No information" means the adolescent was lost or discharged. Since it took approximately six months to complete the survey, some of the cases listed in the schedules were discharged in the intervening period.

¹ See Appendix A V for the complete rating scale on the suitability of the last placement.

TABLE I

FREQUENCY OF PROBLEMS IN THE CASE LOADS

Category of Problems	Distribution by Case Loads			Num- bers	Per Cent
	A-N	O	P (a)		
Emotional	39	10	18	67	19.0
Delinquent Tendencies	48	11	7	56	15.9
Behaviour	17	7	5	29	8.2
Difficulty in Relating	17	3	7	27	7.7
Incontinence	15	1	1	17	4.8
Low I.Q.	14	1	2	17	4.8
Physical-Medical	7	3	1	11	3.1
Disturbed	5	1	4	10	2.8
Sex Difficulties	5	-	1	6	1.7
<u>Sub Total</u>	<u>167</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>240</u>	<u>68.0</u>
Good Adjustment	63	20	10	93	26.3
No Information	10	2	8	20	5.7
<u>Total</u>	<u>240</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>353</u>	<u>100.0</u>

(a) A - N Each case load is distinguished by a letter; therefore A - N represents a total of fourteen case loads.

O and P These two letters each represent one case load and are listed individually because they consist predominantly of adolescent boys.

The distribution in Table I shows the over-all pattern of problems. No case was marked under more than four problems. Where a case was marked under more than one problem, there was no attempt made to distinguish the primary from the secondary problems. Moreover, there was no indication whether the problems enumerated were active,

dormant or no longer existing. Such information would be valuable as it might affect the placement of an adolescent at any time.

The four most frequent problems shown in Table I are emotional, delinquent tendencies, behaviour and difficulty in relating. Emotional problems included all behaviour which was symptomatic of an emotional upset such as compulsive or moody behaviour. However, these four categories of problems are interrelated and the underlying cause would likely be in a poor emotional development in the formative years. These functional difficulties may be due to the child's early relationships and experiences, especially with his parents or parent substitutes; to the trauma of separation from the parents, or to unresolved anxieties and tensions described in Chapter I.

The concentration of problems in these four categories points up the possibility that the foster home placement programme in regard to the emotional development of the child is not too successful, nor are foster parents being given adequate case work services. The emphasis on, and the effectiveness of case work services in helping the child resolve the trauma of separation and his feelings toward his own and substitute parents may be questioned also. The number of problems shown as constitutional disorders is small compared to the functional disorders. The survey schedules were not constructed so that they would show the emotional

problems accompanying constitutional handicaps such as low I.Q.

Although any adolescent showing any of the problems listed in Table I could be considered disturbed, the category of disturbed in this list refers to adolescents whose behaviour showed a pre-psychotic or psychotic trend. The low concentration of problems concerned with sex difficulties is notable when it is considered that adolescence is a period when there is increased activity in the sex glands. This would indicate that as far as is known, most of the adolescents had achieved a socially acceptable adjustment in the area of sex.

Approximately one half of the boys in care do not pose any undue problem at the present time. This group includes those adolescents who have achieved a good adjustment and those about whom no information was available.

In Table II the problems are compared to the age at admission and the latter has been divided into four age groups to represent the developmental periods discussed in Chapter I, i.e. the oral and anal, oedipal, latent and adolescent periods respectively. This age grouping was selected to determine if there was any relationship between the problems and the developmental period at which the child was admitted. If the trauma of separation is such that the child is unable to resolve his current developmental problems, these same problems will appear during the stress of adolescence.

TABLE II

FREQUENCY OF PROBLEMS COMPARED TO THE AGE AT ADMISSION

Category of Problems	Age at Admission				Num- bers	Per Cent
	0-3	4-6	7-10	11 +		
Emotional	8	5	18	36	67	19.0
Delinquent Tendencies	6	4	20	26	56	15.9
Behaviour	2	4	8	15	29	8.2
Difficulty in Relating	5	3	6	13	27	7.7
Incontinence	3	3	2	9	17	4.8
Low I.Q.	6	4	3	4	17	4.8
Physical-Medical	3	-	2	6	11	3.1
Disturbed	1	3	1	5	10	2.8
Sex Difficulties	1	1	-	4	6	1.7
Sub Total	35	27	60	118	240	68.0
Good Adjustment	29	16	14	34	93	26.3
No Information	10	2	2	6	20	5.7
Total	74	45	76	158	353	100.0

The age groups of "7 - 10" and "11 Plus" show the highest concentration of the four major problems. The fact that the adolescents in these age groups were with their own parents for a longer period of time and may have had a longer damaging and detrimental experience could account for this. It might also signify that the placement was not planned to meet the needs of this group or that this group was not so amenable to an immediate foster home experience. From this it would appear that the

Agency's programme is more successful in the placement of the younger children.

The relatively high appearance of incontinence among the older boys would indicate that the developmental problems of the anal period had not been solved. Through incontinence the boy exhibits his hostility to his environment and is clinging to an infantile satisfaction. Also, it may signify that the adolescent cannot meet the stress of this period and has regressed to one in which he found satisfaction and security.

The fact that sex difficulties and disturbed personality problems appear frequently during adolescence shows that this period is a particularly trying one. Although adjustment to puberty has not been stressed prior to this, the concentration of sex difficulties in Table II bears out the fact that adolescence is a period of increased sex activity for which socially acceptable outlets must be found. Disturbed personality problems show a high incidence for those admitted during their oedipal and adolescent periods also. This might be expected since these periods are the peaks of emotional activity in the development of the child. One of the common and most important problems facing the child in these two periods is that of forming relationships. An inability to do this could result in personality disturbance.

TABLE III

FREQUENCY OF PROBLEMS COMPARED TO THE NUMBER OF PLACEMENTS

Category of Problems	No. of Placements				Num- bers	Per Cent
	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +		
Emotional	13	14	18	22	67	19.0
Delinquent Tendencies	12	10	9	25	56	15.9
Behaviour	4	4	9	12	29	8.2
Difficulty in Relating	4	6	6	11	27	7.7
Incontinence	4	6	3	4	17	4.8
Low I.Q.	3	6	4	4	17	4.8
Physical-Medical	3	3	2	3	11	3.1
Disturbed	2	2	-	6	10	2.8
Sex Difficulties	1	1	2	3	6	1.7
<u>Sub Total</u>	45	52	53	90	240	68.0
Good Adjustment	44	27	9	13	93	26.3
No Information	4	13	-	3	20	5.7
<u>Total</u>	93	92	62	106	353	100.0

For those who have had more than two placements, it can be expected that their ability to relate has been severely impaired, that they will have feelings of insecurity and a low sense of personal worth; in short they will have feelings of not being wanted, which is evident in the concentration of problems in this group. Each removal and new placement signifies a further rejection and is a verification to the child of his unworthiness. The result is that he is less willing to invest affection

and chance further rejection. The attempts by the adolescents to gain satisfaction or retaliate are evident in the concentration in the category of "delinquent tendencies." All other methods of gaining satisfaction by the adolescents have been unsuccessful or have brought rejection, with the result that these satisfactions are gained at the expense of society and in a more infantile, self-centred manner. This is indicative of poor superego development. A strong superego is dependent upon the precept and example of a loved person with whom the child identifies and the chance of such development is slight in a succession of foster homes. The damaging effects of numerous placements is also evident in the increase of sex difficulties and disturbed personality behaviour.

The following cases are given to show some of the damaging results of numerous foster home placements.

Johnny was admitted to care because of parental break-up at the age of four months and was placed in seventeen homes in as many years. He is now showing psychotic behaviour which has necessitated institutional placement. Because he has been in so many foster homes, he would not have experienced any continual security, love and affection which are so vital to his dynamic development. It is therefore not surprising that he is now completely disturbed.

Bobby was admitted to care when he was one year old and in the succeeding eighteen years has experienced

twenty-eight placements. At present Bobby is institutionalized because of delinquency. His behaviour is indicative of the first four problems shown in Table III. Both these boys were admitted when very young and their chances for success in a foster home should have been quite favourable.

Harry was admitted at the age of fourteen, but had sixteen placements in five years, and is now tending to become psychotic. The reason for admission was parental break-up. Harry has a strong neurotic tie to his rejecting mother. This has made it extremely difficult for Harry to relate to and accept foster parents. From this limited information it can be seen that the personalized atmosphere of a foster home was unsuitable until Harry had been able to resolve his strong feelings about his mother.

Some of the changes in foster homes were the result of sickness or moving on the part of the foster parents. While such reasons for change in placement may not be avoided, the validity of these reasons needs to be examined in the light of the effect of replacement on the foster child. It must be recognized that for a child with his own parents, these circumstances would rarely mean the loss of his home. Perhaps foster parents should be subsidized during such exigencies so that the foster child can remain in the home.

In the case of Harry, he was considerably damaged in his ability to relate prior to his admission to care

because of his tie to his mother. In present day practice, every attempt is made, through the giving of case work services and financial assistance, to keep the child's own home together as long as possible. There is a danger here that, regardless of the services given, the environment of the child's home can be more damaging than would be the trauma of placement.

These three cases are of an extreme nature and are in no way indicative of the over-all practice of the Agency. It must be emphasized that nearly fifty per cent of the adolescent population is rated as having no problems. Also, during the last fifteen years the practice of caring for children in foster homes has changed. However, these three cases were picked to illustrate the severity and damaging effect of constant replacement upon the boys and upon the Agency's main resources for care of them, the foster homes.

So far the tables have shown the frequency of problems compared with the age at admission and the number of placements. In these tables a boy may have shown several problems and they were marked in the appropriate categories. The next table lists the number of problems shown by each boy.

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF PROBLEMS PER CASE

Defined Problems	Distribution by Case Loads			Num- bers	Per Cent
	A-N	O	P (a)		
Boys listed as having:					
Four Problems	8	4	4	16	7.0
Three Problems	12	6	5	23	10.0
Two Problems	25	1	4	30	13.1
One Problem	36	3	7	46	20.5
Sub Total	81	14	20	115	50.6
Good Adjustment	62	15	16	93	40.7
No Information	12	3	5	20	8.7
Total	155	32	41	228	100.0

(a) A - N Each case load is distinguished by a letter; therefore A - N represent a total of fourteen case loads.

O and P These two letters each represent one case load and are listed individually because they consist predominantly of adolescent boys.

Nearly one quarter of the adolescents are shown as having only one problem. The number of boys showing good adjustment is the same as in previous tables. Thus approximately one quarter of the adolescents are shown as having two or more problems. Therefore this is the group who need intensive case work services and for which it is difficult to find suitable placement resources. This

table lists the number of problems but does not indicate the degree of severity of the problems. Thus, the difficulties presented by a boy with only one problem might be far more severe than those presented by a boy with several problems.

TABLE V

FREQUENCY OF SUITABILITY OF LAST PLACEMENT

Suitability of Last Placement	Distribution by Case Loads			Num- bers	Per- Cent
	A-N	O	P		
Very Good	26	3	11	40	17.5
Good	46	8	-	54	23.7
Mediocre	24	3	5	32	14.0
Poor	13	6	2	21	9.2
Very Poor	2	2	3	7	3.0
Self Supporting	16	9	6	31	13.6
Sub Total	127	31	27	185	81.0
No Information	27	5	11	43	19.0
Total	154	36	38	228	100.0

Table V shows the distribution of the suitability of last placement in the several case loads. Approximately twenty-seven percent of the placements were rated as mediocre, poor or very poor. In this group the greatest number of replacements can be expected and serious consideration should be given to closing the homes represented by these placements. Case loads "O" and "P" show a higher

percentage of unsuitable placements compared to the other combined case loads. This is to be expected because the boys with the greater number of problems are concentrated in these two case loads. These boys require special attention in regard to placement resources.

TABLE VI

SUITABILITY OF LAST PLACEMENT COMPARED TO THE PROBLEMS

Category of Problems	Suitability of Last Placem't (a)						Not Given	Numbers
	V.G.	G.	M.	P.	V.P.	S.S.		
Emotional	14	12	11	10	5	4	11	67
Delinquent Tendencies	7	10	11	10	5	6	7	56
Behaviour	1	5	7	5	5	1	5	29
Inability to Relate	4	7	4	2	2	3	5	27
Incontinence	1	6	5	2	1	1	1	17
Low I.Q.	3	6	2	3	1	1	1	17
Physical-Medical	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	11
Disturbed	-	1	3	4	1	-	1	10
Sex Difficulties	1	2	-	1	1	-	1	6
Sub Total	33	52	44	38	22	18	33	240
Good Adjustment	25	24	8	6	-	23	7	93
No Information	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20
Total	58	76	52	44	22	41	60	353

(a) V.G. Very Good
 G. Good
 M. Mediocre
 P. Poor
 V.P. Very Poor
 S.S. Self Supporting

Table VI compares the suitability of the last placement to the category of problems. Placements rated as being very good, good or self supporting are considered to be successful placements. The most frequent number of successful placements appear where the adolescents are classified as having achieved good adjustment. This result would be expected; a boy rated under good adjustment and also classified as having a poor placement would be a most unlikely situation. However, this did appear in six cases, the reason possibly being that the placement was of insufficient duration for the boy to show problems. A high incidence of emotional problems is noted under the very good placement category. In such instances the placement may be satisfying the needs of the boy but the emotional problems have not been completely resolved.

A comparatively high number of cases showing poor and very poor placements appear in the categories of emotional problems and delinquent tendencies. It is expected that cases showing this low rating of suitability would present a high number of problems. Such a placement does not lessen problems but is acting towards increasing the severity of them. Only one third of the adolescents showing emotional problems and delinquent tendencies were rated as being satisfactorily placed. On the other hand the Agency shows some success in the placement of adolescents with problems concerning low I.Q., physical-medical and sex

difficulties. This would indicate that the Agency has less success in placing boys with the first two problems listed in the Table. The reason for this may be the lack of resources which will satisfy the needs represented by emotional problems and delinquent tendencies.

TABLE VII

SUITABILITY OF LAST PLACEMENT COMPARED
TO THE NUMBER OF PROBLEMS PER BOY

Defined Problems	Suitability of Last Placement						Not Given	Numbers	Per Cent
	V.G.	G.	M.	P.	V.P.	S.S.			
Boys listed as Having:									
Four Problems	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	16	7.0
Three Problems	3	1	4	5	3	3	4	23	10.0
Two Problems	4	12	6	5	-	1	2	30	13.1
One Problem	9	13	8	3	1	3	9	46	20.5
<u>Sub Total</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>115</u>	<u>50.6</u>
Good Adjustment	25	24	8	6	-	23	7	93	40.7
No Information	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	20	8.7
<u>Total</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>228</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table VII is an extension of Table IV. In Table VII the number of problems shown by each boy is compared to the suitability of last placement. The category of one problem shows the highest concentration of good and very good placements. On the other hand, where there is

more than one problem, the boys are rated as having unsatisfactory placements. Again this indicates that the greater the number of problems shown by a boy, i.e. the more antisocial type of problems such as delinquent tendencies, the more difficult it is to find suitable foster homes for such boys. The inference may be that the foster home has not been sufficiently developed for this group or that some other resources are needed for these boys. Accordingly this is further examined and illustrated in the case histories in Chapter III.

TABLE VIII

SUITABILITY OF LAST PLACEMENT
COMPARED TO THE NUMBER OF PLACEMENTS

Suitability of last Placement	Number of Placements				Num- bers	Per Cent
	0-2	3-4	5-6	7- 7		
Very Good	23	4	7	8	42	18.4
Good	21	18	6	7	52	22.8
Mediocre	6	10	5	12	33	14.8
Poor	4	5	2	9	20	8.7
Very Poor	-	1	3	3	7	3.0
Self Supporting	10	9	3	8	30	13.0
<u>Sub Total</u>	64	47	26	47	184	80.7
No Information	22	7	6	9	44	19.3
<u>Total</u>	86	54	32	56	228	100.0

This table shows the correlation between the successfulness of the last placement for each boy and the number of placements. It is significant that if a boy has experienced only several placements that the last one is rated as being good or very good; whereas if he has experienced many placements the last one is rated as being unsatisfactory. This indicates that the greater the number of foster homes a boy has been in, the more difficult it is to suitably place the boy in this type of resource. This is understandable if the premise is accepted that the more moves made by a boy, the more severely damaged is his ability to relate to and adjust to a foster home environment. Continual moving only serves to activate and accentuate the problems of a boy. The notable exception in the table is that there was no placement rated as being very poor for a boy who has been in two or less foster homes.

Some boys have had five or more placements, yet the last placement is rated as being good or very good. A number of those in this group are at present placed in the Boys' Receiving Home and placement in this home is rated as being good or very good. The reason for this is that placement in the Home is based upon a diagnosis of the boy's needs and, upon the consideration of whether the home experience will satisfy those needs. Other boys appearing

in this category may have been placed in their last home only for a short time prior to the commencement of the survey and at present seem well satisfied. However, over a period of time such a home may not remain so suitable.

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF PLACEMENTS
COMPARED TO THE AGE AT ADMISSION

Age at Admission	Number of Placements				Num- bers
	0-2	3-4	5-6	7 +	
0-3	20	10	8	8	46
4-6	4	8	6	13	31
7-10	10	15	8	16	49
11 +	33	19	11	16	79
<u>Sub Total</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>205</u>
Discharged	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Total</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>228</u>

The age at admission category in this Table is the same as in Table II. The age groupings were selected to represent generally the several developmental periods and the purpose of this Table is to show the correlation between the number of placements and the age at admission. It is noticed that the highest proportion of those in the youngest age group have had the fewest number of placements. This signifies that the younger the child at admission, the greater is the possibility of a successful foster home

placement. For those admitted during the oedipal developmental phase, i.e. the age group of four to six years, there is a high incidence of replacement. This phase is one of great emotional activity, during which the child's fear of rejection is the greatest and placement at this time may hamper the child's ability to relate if it is not made from a diagnostic basis. A considerable number of adolescents have had only two placements. While it may appear that the foster home programme is fairly successful for this group, those having only two placements represent not quite half of the total number admitted at adolescence. Approximately one third of the adolescent group have experienced five or more placements, which indicates that for some boys a foster home is not the answer. A number of boys in this group are striving to break rather than form family ties. The choice of a foster home or some other placement for these adolescent boys must rest upon a diagnosis of their personality, of the strength of relationship and nature of experience with their own parents.

The next table acts as a check on Table IX, in that it shows the number of placements in a specified time. For example, in the previous table a boy admitted in his early adolescence could be shown as having had five placements in as many years. However, the picture would be much darker if he had had this number of

placements in three years. Even though the grouping of the years in care category is rather large, this table indicates such situations. In Table X all placements to the right of the stepped line are considered to be too frequent for the number of years the boys have been in care.

TABLE X

NUMBER OF PLACEMENTS
AS COMPARED TO YEARS IN CARE

Years in Care	Number of Placements				Num- bers
	0 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - /	
0-4	25	21	13	6	65
5-8	18	10	3	18	49
9-12	8	7	8	13	36
13-16	13	12	8	13	45
17 - /	3	2	1	3	9
Sub Total	67	52	33	53	205
Discharged	-	-	-	-	23
Total	67	52	33	53	228

Placements to the right of the stepped line average approximately a place for every year in care. A number of the boys have nearly two placements for every year in care. Those boys who have not been moved to foster homes every year obviously have a better chance for normal adjustment.

TABLE XI

FREQUENCY OF REASONS FOR ADMISSION

Reasons for Admission (a)	Distribution by Case Loads			Num- bers	Per Cent
	A -	N	O - P		
1	7	8	4	19	8.5
2	52	9	10	71	31.7
3	17	6	2	25	10.9
4	30	7	3	40	17.5
5	14	-	5	19	8.5
Sub Total	120	30	24	174	77.1
No Information	34	6	14	54	22.9
Total	154	36	38	228	100.0

(a) See Appendix A I

Over a quarter of the total number of boys surveyed were admitted to the Children's Aid Society's care because of break-up of their own homes in the form of desertion, separation, divorce or jail sentence. With the present trend toward the financial support of and the giving of case work services to such homes and parents, it is likely that now this reason for admission has decreased greatly. This trend is in accordance with the philosophy that where possible, a child's own home is the best for him. Financial inability to care for children is one of the lesser reasons for removing them from their parents, while medical incapacity on the part of the parents is a fairly frequent reason for removal.

TABLE XII

FREQUENCY OF REASON FOR CHANGE IN PLACEMENT

Reason for Change In Placement(a)	Distribution by Case Loads			Num- bers	Per Cent
	A - N	O	P		
1	10	2	-	12	5.2
2	13	-	-	13	5.8
3	3	-	-	3	1.3
4	22	1	2	25	10.8
5	31	7	11	49	21.6
6	8	1	3	12	5.2
7	3	-	-	3	1.3
No Change	20	7	1	28	12.2
Self Supporting	10	6	9	25	11.0
Sub Total	120	24	26	170	74.6
No Information	34	12	12	58	25.4
Total	154	36	38	228	100.0

(a) See Appendix A II

Behaviour problems of the boys is by far the most frequent reason given for a change of foster homes.

This may, in part be the surface reason for such changes and the underlying reasons would likely be the inability of foster parents to relate to or cope with the boy, or the inability of the boy to relate to the foster parents. Also, there may have been less emphasis on the behaviour problems of the boy, if the reason that a suitable foster home could not be located had been included in the original schedule.

The incidence of such reasons for change of placement as sickness of foster parents or financial inability indicates the need for more selectivity of foster homes.

Included in the group of adolescents in the survey were a number of Fairbridge Farm boys who had been transferred to the Children's Aid Society when the Farm closed. This group had been used to living under institutional conditions at Fairbridge, and also prior to coming to Canada. Many of these boys were entering adolescence at the time they were placed in foster homes. It has been observed that a number of these boys experienced considerable difficulty in adjusting to a foster home after an extended stay in an institution. These boys were not able to form the parental relationship necessary for a successful foster home placement. The reason they were unable to form so close a relationship was that they had not had the basic parental experience.

Conclusions

The major problems of the adolescent concern emotional maladjustment, delinquent tendencies, behaviour problems and relationship difficulties. The common factor of these four problems is poor emotional growth during the developmental phases. Adolescents with these problems showed the greatest difficulty in adjusting to foster homes. This may signify that a review of different resources and the foster home programme for adolescents is needed.

Since sixty placements are considered unsuitable, these should be reviewed to determine the reasons and whether other resources would more adequately meet the needs of adolescents. A continuation of these placements would only result in greater damage to the personality development of the boys.

The dangers inherent in continual replacement have also been mentioned, and every agency is anxious to avoid this evil. Unless continuing the old placement is more damaging to the child than replacement, the latter, however carefully made, creates and intensifies some problems for the boy. His ability to relate and feelings of personal worth are affected by a move to a new home. The importance of these factors in the child's and the adolescent's development was pointed out in Chapter I. Another noticeable trend was the concentration of problems for those being admitted at adolescence and the higher number of placements for this group. This would indicate a need for a review of placement practices for this group, and investigation of other community resources.

The lack of stress on the number of boys who have achieved good adjustment, who have had few and suitable placements may have created the impression that the adolescent boy population contains nothing but a series of difficult problems. This is not the case as a good

percentage of the total number of cases are satisfactory in most respects. The reason for the emphasis that has been given is that this is primarily a study of the problems in placement of adolescent boys. As such, this emphasis follows the purpose of the survey and the questions posed in the preceding chapter.

Before leaving the survey it seems wise to summarize some of the difficulties encountered in analysing the survey so that they can be avoided in future surveys of this nature. The first and most important drawback was the lack of complete and clear cut classifications and rating scales with which each case in the survey could be graded. The advantages that would have resulted are those of uniformity in, and ease of grading and greater reliability of the resulting information. If this had been done the survey could have been completed much more quickly and definite conclusions could have been reached. Moreover, such data and classifications that would give a weighting to the importance of the problems of the boys, the reasons for admission, the nature of parental attachment etcetera would have been immeasurably valuable in suggesting recommendations which would help to eliminate or lessen these problems. With the information available it was difficult to determine what was cause and what was effect in the different problems. Many of the classifications and rating scales given here are of a most elementary nature and would need revision for use in future surveys of this nature.

CHAPTER III

ILLUSTRATIONS OF PROBLEMS IN THE PLACEMENT OF ADOLESCENTS

The four major problems of adolescence shown by the survey, i.e. emotional maladjustment, delinquent tendencies, behaviour and relationship difficulties are examined in this Chapter. In order to determine the etiology of these problems, the case illustrations trace the boy's experience prior to admission to care, the reasons for admission and his experience in foster homes. The effect of unresolved anxieties and fears of the different development phases on the present adjustment of the adolescents will be examined in order to determine the resource that will satisfy their emotional and psychological needs. This background information is presented because the adolescent problems are not only a result of the stress of this period but also of all previous developmental periods. Because the case records did not contain complete information on the development of the adolescents, it will not be possible to present a complete picture of this development.

This Chapter is concerned with examining cases for which the present resources of the Agency have proved

inadequate and suggesting some resources which might satisfy the needs of adolescents. The case illustrations used here emphasize the problems which cause continual replacement among adolescents; not those with which the Agency has had considerable success in their placement programme.

Need for an Observation and Study Home

Don B. was born on August 28, 1939. His early home life was very disturbing and unsettled. When Don was two years old his father deserted him and his mother. Don's father was described as being an inadequate person, "a poor type, with a police record." Prior to coming to British Columbia, Don was placed privately in several homes. After coming to this province, Don's mother was forced to work to support herself and her child. Consequently, Don was left to his own devices and he received little supervision. Don began to wander about the community and he joined a gang of boys and eventually became involved in vandalism. He was first sent to the Boys' Detention Home but was eventually removed from this institution and placed in a foster home on October 30, 1948, at the age of ten.

In the period from October 30, 1948 to July 2, 1951, Don experienced four unsuccessful and damaging

foster home placements. In this regard Don comes within the category of more than one placement per year as outlined in Table X, Chapter II. For the first few weeks in each of these foster homes, Don's behaviour was reported as being good, but after this period he began to show delinquent tendencies and emotional and behaviour problems. His behaviour caused his removal from these homes. At this time he could not accept any social relationship or discipline. He also possessed an extreme fear of physical injury. The school report at this time indicated that he lacked initiative, was introverted, moody, lethargic and easily led.

After the fourth foster home placement, Don was placed in the Boys' Receiving Home on July 11, 1951 because of his inability to accept a foster home. Don was thirteen years old at this time. While in the Boys' Receiving Home he made considerable and consistent progress. He learned to cooperate, do his chores, and was able to adjust to the limitations of the semi institutional setting. The school report indicated that he was showing improvement and was not a "discipline problem." He appeared happy and was taking an active part in school sports. His personal appearance was much improved and he seemed to be more secure, happy and healthy.

One of the most important factors in this case was

Don's extremely strong tie to his mother. The personalized atmosphere of the foster home appears to have constituted a very real threat to this parental tie. It not only hampered work with Don but also made more difficult any attempt to offer protective case work services to Don's mother, because foster home placement represented to her the possibility of his taking on new parents. The Agency was unable to secure the cooperation of Don's mother in the placement of and in the work with Don. Home visits between Don and his mother were not a satisfactory experience as the latter was constantly watching for signs of transfer of allegiance.

On the other hand, the Boys' Receiving Home allowed Don a "less threatening" setting in which to work out his mixed up feelings of rejection caused by his separation from his mother and his experiences in foster homes. Don's attempts to test out the feelings of foster parents for him only strengthened his conviction that he was rejected by them. Don's mother was more able to accept his placement in the Receiving Home because this was not so great a threat to her relationship with him. This allowed the worker to give Don's mother case work services and to enable her to understand Don's problems to a greater extent. With this understanding she was able to realize that the Agency and the worker were trying to help her toward rehabilitation of herself and her son. With this support and encouragement from the worker, she was able to find more suitable accommodation

for Don and herself, and the relationship between them was strengthened.

During Don's stay in the Receiving Home he was allowed to visit his mother weekly and on occasions to spend the weekend with her. These visits proved satisfactory and no ill effects resulted after each visit. Six months after his placement in the Receiving Home, Don was placed with his mother on a temporary order which was, at a later date made permanent. During the temporary placement with his mother, Don received continued supervision and support from the worker. The worker records that Don continued to show favourable progress and development.

There are several points in this case which bear emphasizing. When Don was admitted to care he was just beginning to enter adolescence. His problems are not due to the stress of this period but rather point to unresolved insecurity and anxiety from his earliest moments. Considering the type of person his father was, it seems likely that, until his desertion, the home atmosphere was often unpleasant and confusing for Don. Although he was still very young at the time of desertion and though we have no records to indicate his feelings at this time, Don probably interpreted this desertion as rejection. This would increase the anxieties and insecurities previously engendered through the home atmosphere and would add to his low feelings of personal worth which were apparent at his admission. These feelings

would be increased in the years following the desertion as he received less attention from his mother because of her absence from the home in order to support herself and her son.

There is also little information about Don during his years from three to six when he was going through his oedipal development. It appears, considering his present adjustment, that he has been able to resolve, to some extent, his relationship to each sex. The extent of his success in the oedipal period would be clearer if he had reached the point in adolescence where he was again faced with this relationship. It is evident though, that he has a very strong tie to his mother, and this would indicate that he has not completely resolved the oedipal situation. This tie is further reinforced by the lack of stable and suitable father figures in his development. Moreover, with the desertion of Don's father, his mother may have invested a greater part of her interest in the boy. This would act to compensate for his low feelings of personal worth, yet would at the same time hamper him in his attempts to move beyond this small circle. In summary it can be said that to Don his mother represented some security, and any breaking of this tie represented the insecurity he had experienced since he was two.

Although nothing is known of Don's placement experience prior to admission to the Children's Aid Society, it is possible that the foster homes he was in helped to condition his negative feelings about any home other than his own, which may be another reason why he was not able to accept foster home placement by the Children's Aid Society.

His experience in this Agency's foster homes was not a positive one. His anxiety over his relationship to his own mother was increased by his rejection by foster or substitute parents, which in many ways paralleled the desertion of his father, and apparent desertion of his mother when she went to work. Thus early traumas were reinforced. These feelings of insecurity made it difficult for the case worker to help Don and his feelings toward foster parents would be diffused to the worker. Replacement of Don by the worker only served to increase his feelings of insecurity and to alienate Don from the worker.

The Receiving Home did not constitute so great a threat to Don. The atmosphere was less personalized and he could keep intact his allegiance to his mother. The atmosphere of this home provided a set of regulations and limitations which were the same for all the boys. From this Don gained strength in the feeling that there were others the same as he. Through visiting he was allowed to keep his tie to his mother. Encouragement of visiting while in the

foster home might have helped Don, his mother and his foster parents to a clearer understanding of their relationships. In his attempt to move out into areas beyond the home, he received friendly guidance, support and direction from his worker. The success of this placement and the evidence that it was less threatening and more satisfying to Don's needs is seen in the change in his appearance, attitude and personality.

This case illustrates the use of and need for a receiving and study home. Don's difficulties were not of the proportions where a treatment centre was necessary. The Agency knew little about Don prior to placement. The strength and importance of his tie to his mother was not recognized or dealt with until he was placed in the Receiving Home. The foster home placements were not based upon a thorough diagnosis of his needs and emotional development. His needs were not recognized at the failure of the first placement. At this time there should have been a further analysis made of the case to determine if Don's emotional needs could be more adequately met through any available foster home or through other means. It can be seen that the replacements only accentuated Don's problems. If he had been placed in a receiving and study home first, there would have been several advantages. In this setting it would have been far easier for the worker to establish a relationship with Don and this relationship could have been used to gain an understanding of his peculiar psychology and to help Don move

towards, and accept foster home placement if that was indicated. Moreover, positive work could have been begun with Don's mother much earlier, with the possibility of Don's returning home much sooner. Finally, and most important of all, Don would have been spared most of the feelings of insecurity that he experienced and would not have felt the necessity to display these feelings through emotional and delinquent behaviour. What fears and trepidations he did have about coming into care could have, initially, been handled more easily and adequately in the Receiving Home setting.

In this particular case, it may have been impossible for Don, because of his emotional make-up and apparent inability to accept substitute parents, to succeed in a foster home placement even after a period of observation and study in a receiving home. Since the purpose of a receiving home is primarily for observation and study of a case in order to arrive at a complete diagnosis of a boy's needs in regard to placement, or is for temporary shelter purposes, a boy such as Don would not have been able to remain in the home after this initial period. This raises the question, if foster home placement is unsuitable what then for a boy attending school who does not require intensive treatment? The answer would seem to be a long term resident home other than a receiving or treatment home, which would provide group living, adequate supervision, support and encouragement for the

residents without involving them in the parental relationship of a foster home. This type of resource is particularly suitable for adolescents boys attending school who have a strong relationship to one or both of their own parents and who cannot accept the relationship with substitute parents. It is suitable also for those who have reached that period in adolescence where they have begun to emancipate themselves from the parental relationship or where their parents cannot allow them to accept placement. Generally speaking what has been outlined above would constitute an acceptable criterion for admission to this type of home.

Another group of school boys who would be particularly suitable for this type of resource are those who have spent a long period in an institution and who are entering their adolescence. The group particularly suitable for this in the care of the Children's Aid Society are those who came from the Fairbridge Farm School. Because of their long experience in an institution, many of these boys found the foster home setting particularly difficult. This resource would not only decrease the shortage of suitable foster parents for adolescent boys but would also prevent the damage to potentially good foster parents, who have often had their fill of boys who are unable to relate to them and adjust to their routine. Since foster homes are the Agency's main and most valuable resource, it is extremely important that unnecessary strains, pressures and unsatisfactory experiences

be avoided where possible.

The Need for A Treatment Home

Two cases may now be reviewed to illustrate situations where the boys needed a placement for an extended period of time in a study and treatment home before they would be suitable for foster home placement.

Tom was born in July 1937, the illegitimate child of Mrs. W. Mrs. W. refused to take the child with her from the hospital because she was penniless and could not plan for his care, nor would her parents assist her. However, Mrs. W. did assume financial responsibility for Tom until November 1938. Tom had been boarded out during most of this time. There is no record of Mrs. W's. health during pregnancy, or of Tom's development until he came into the care of the Children's Aid Society in November 1938. At this time he was in good physical condition, although his abdomen was markedly enlarged. He began to walk at thirteen months.

Tom was placed in a foster home while plans for adoption proceeded. He appeared to settle in this home fairly well although there was some sibling rivalry. His development appeared normal but the worker felt that he received little interest or affection. He is described as being a quiet, stolid little boy with a polite and friendly manner, although somewhat shy. At times he was stubborn in the foster home but was usually quite obedient and caused

little trouble. It is stated that he played well with other children but did not initiate activities or take any leading part in the games. At age six, it is noted that Tom was beginning to masturbate and was pulling his hair out. When he was discovered, Tom was ashamed of his actions. A year later, he developed a blinking in his left eye. The school reported that he needed to learn to cooperate and that he lacked a sense of responsibility. In 1945 it was reported that he was fighting a great deal at school and was continually coming home late from classes. He was punished for this behaviour by the foster father.

The home that Tom had known up to this time is described as being good in so far as the physical care of the foster children was concerned. However, it is felt that the foster children received little love and affection and that the foster mother had little concern for how or with whom the children occupied themselves as long as they came when called.

In 1945 Tom was told by the foster parents that they were not his own parents but that he was to have parents of his own. From the record it appeared that this explanation was handled fairly successfully. In the meantime, Tom's mother had married and she and her husband requested the return of Tom. With this plan in mind, visits were arranged between Tom and his parents so that they could become gradually acquainted before they were reunited. Tom visited his mother on several occasions but was quite disturbed after

these visits. Tom's mother overfed him with candy and made a number of promises to him which she did not keep. This rejection further disturbed Tom. His school behaviour became worse; he was uncooperative, bullied the other children, and seemed to feel the world was against him.

Tom had a change in foster homes in October 1945 and this one lasted until January 1951. This home is described as being cold and rigid. The record indicates that Tom made a painful attachment to the foster parents as it was the only place he thought he could be. The lack of warmth in this home, undue sibling rivalry and Tom's unpreparedness to meet the demands of social and family relationships resulted in great hostility in him. This hostility was repressed in the foster home and came out in the open at school. Here he was uncooperative, did not work to capacity, could not handle the responsibility of discipline and continually fought with the other school children. Another outlet for his hostility was in the playing of soccer and in outdoor activities. In this area he had reached considerable proficiency.

The school reported that Tom was very unhappy. Especially noticeable were his feelings whenever a discussion arose in the classroom concerning family units and fathers and mothers. At such times Tom would begin to cry or put his head down and not look anyone in the face. There is nothing in the record to indicate that this was ever

discussed with him by the worker. Another example of his feelings of rejection was seen in his reaction to punishment. When chastised over small incidents, Tom cried easily and his dejection indicated that he felt he was being picked on because he was Tom W. He was noted as trying hard to please in an effort to gain acceptance and was very discouraged and unhappy if he failed.

Arrangements were again made for Tom to visit his parents in May 1950. At this time Tom was thirteen. His reaction to this visit was positive and Tom was happy, talkative and proud of the visit. Shortly after this visit Tom's mother and step father stated they did not want Tom with them.

In September 1950 Tom's foster father died. In January 1951 the foster mother requested Tom's removal. Tom stated that the home was "Okay" until the foster father died and after that he could not please the foster mother. Tom did not seem to mind moving from the foster home and he appeared pleased with his new foster home initially. This placement lasted for four months, after which time Tom was removed because the foster parents found having foster children too demanding of their time and attention. The record indicates that Tom liked this home but his behaviour showed no improvement. The foster parents complained that Tom dawdled over his chores, was late in coming home from school, would not do his homework and spent every spare minute reading

comic books. Tom's feelings about foster homes are recorded as being a place where, "you have to work all the time and everything, and the people don't look after you."

From this last foster home, Tom was placed in the Boys' Receiving Home, and he has been there since. Tom has shown a good deal of progress during his stay in the Receiving Home, although he has definite periods of regression. He still quarrels somewhat with the older boys and his school adjustment is still poor. However, Tom has made progress in this setting and appears to be reaching out for understanding and the closer relationship of family life. Although he is confused and unhappy, he does respond in a positive manner to warm encouragement and support. Thus the prognosis for a carefully planned move into a specially selected foster home is fairly good. Tom has experienced a total of seven foster homes and has had fourteen workers while in Agency care.

There are numerous points in this case that bear discussion but only a few of them will be dealt with here. Tom's relationship with his mother was a most unsatisfactory experience and one of the bases for his difficulties. Initially, Tom was not wanted by his mother and was probably quite rejected for the first sixteen months while he was in her care. The seed for his basic feelings of insecurity was

sown in this first relationship.

The damage to Tom might have been remedied if his need for love and affection had been met in the first foster home. Tom was in this foster home for the greater part of the first three developmental phases, the oral, the anal, and oedipal. That he was not progressing favourably through these three phases is evident in his somewhat withdrawn personality, his lack of initiative, in the symptoms of hair pulling, masturbation and blinking of the eye. At this time Tom lacked the love and affection necessary for growth and instead experienced anxieties, fears, feelings of rejection and a low sense of personal worth.

With the realization by Tom that he did not have his own mother and with his negative experience with her at a later date, the emotional disturbance noted above was accentuated. The change of, and the types of foster homes did not offer Tom any affectional relationship to enable growth. The increase in his emotional disturbance was particularly noticeable at school where he was compared with children who had early parental support. Tom's sensitivity to his lack of parents was very noticeable at school. Fortunately for Tom he was able to release much of his hostility through sports and outdoor activities. This provided a socially acceptable compensation wherein he could receive praise rather than rejection.

The question might be raised, why not another foster

home placement where Tom would get love, affection, encouragement and an increased feeling of personal worth, rather than a treatment placement? Aside from the difficulty of finding such a home, Tom's ability to relate to parental figures had been severely damaged by his previous foster home experience. He indicated his feelings that foster homes were no good. Tom needed a less personalized setting where he could move at his own pace, where the limitations were the same for all, where he could test out his relationship with the house father and mother without the fear of rejection. He needed ego building and he needed to establish a sound relationship with a worker. This relationship can act as a staff to support him in his future move into a foster home. Tom is now entering this step in his development.

When he first came to the Agency, Tom could have been adopted, but was considered not adoptable by the Child Guidance Clinic because there was supposed to be a minute trace of Indian blood in him. At a later conference with the Child Guidance Clinic adoption was turned down because paternity was not established. Many of Tom's problems might have been avoided if he had been adopted at an early age. Under present day practice, Tom would likely have been adopted.¹

¹ There were a number of cases in the survey which, under present practice would be considered for adoption rather than foster home placement.

Jack C., now fourteen was first admitted to care in April 1949. Little was known of his background prior to admission and it would have been advantageous if he could have been placed in an observation and study home prior to making plans for foster home placement, in order to diagnose what would be the most suitable resource for his needs. Jack's mother died in July 1941 and his father was in the Air Force at this time. Up to this time there is nothing to indicate that Jack's development was anything but normal. After Mrs. C's death, Jack and his sister were placed privately a number of times. Little is known about Jack's experience in these placements other than he had a number of parental figures to relate to during his anal and oedipal phases. Jack only saw his father spasmodically over these years. Mr. C. appeared to be a rather ineffectual person who was interested in his children but who was unable to plan successfully for them.

In the private boarding homes, Jack had exhibited a pattern of lying and stealing. It is recorded that the boarding home parents had unsuccessfully tried a variety of methods of dealing with this behaviour. It was because of his behaviour that the private boarding home parents requested his admission to care. Jack did not wish to leave the private boarding home and he went into a temper tantrum when he was removed. Up to this time Jack had

attended five different schools.

Upon admission to care Jack's general physical health was good. He has not revealed any outward concern about his physical condition but he has had a very strong fear of a local anaesthetic and some feelings about the use of a hypodermic needle. Jack has always been a very active youngster with average skills in most activities.

Jack has always found school very difficult, and has had difficulty in making his grades, although he is of low average intelligence. School reports have noted that he is immature in his attitudes and that he is not working to capacity. Jack claimed that the school work was too hard and his teacher was "too crabby." He was placed in a special class but whenever things did not go his own way he refused to go to school. He was expelled from school because of his aggressive and disruptive behaviour. Jack was unable to accept the rules and limitations of the classroom.

Upon admission to care, Jack was placed in a home with three other boys of a similar age. He continued his stealing activities while in this home and the foster mother attempted to meet this behaviour by holding the threat of removal over his head. After his stealing activities Jack was always remorseful and confessed that he did not know why he did it. He seemed overly anxious to please and worked very hard in and around the foster home.

So far Jack had been unable to form a relationship with his social worker. Every attempt that she made to establish a relationship with Jack was rejected by him. To Jack the worker represented authority as she was primarily responsible for seeing that he attended school, and he rebelled against any authority.

Jack was removed from the foster home to the Boys' Receiving Home by this worker in April 1951. Jack did not wish to leave the foster home and broke into tears when the time came for the move to be made. He said to the worker, "Don't you touch me!" When asked what was wrong he replied, "None of your business." Jack expressed the feeling that everyone, including the "Aid", was against him.. During the first few months in the Receiving Home, he felt that he was "picked on." Jack also showed considerable sensitivity and feeling about his father. He would cry when asked about him, and expressed a desire to see him.

Shortly after Jack went to the Boys' Receiving Home a male worker was assigned to him. Jack found it difficult at first to adjust to the limitations of the home. At approximately weekly intervals he had violent outbursts of temper which could only be handled by long talks with his worker. Jack continued to make little progress until the house parents were changed in the summer of 1951. With the new house parents Jack was able to form a good relationship and his conflict with authority and delinquent tendencies

began to lessen. He began to move closely to the house mother and he received a good deal of affection and attention. A very noticeable change came over Jack. He was happy, made friends easily, took pride in his personal appearance and was cooperative and helpful around the home. Unfortunately the house parents left unexpectedly and Jack immediately regressed back to his old behaviour pattern. He began to steal constantly and outbursts of temper reappeared, although not quite so frequently. The situation became so acute that Jack's worker had to warn him that further acts of delinquency would result in commitment to the Boys' Industrial School. Since this warning, Jack has been watching himself very carefully.

Jack has again started to relate slowly but surely to the new house parents. He is being able to accept and keep within the limitations of the Receiving Home. His stealing tendencies have diminished considerably as have his emotional outbursts. He has begun to show a greater acceptance of, and interest in his school work. Jack still finds frustrations and limitations hard to take but with supportive help from his worker is being enabled to manage these fairly successfully. Jack has had two placements with the Children's Aid Society counting the present one, and has had four workers.

The most outstanding feature of Jack's early life is his constant moving from place to place and home to home.

He has undoubtedly experienced many feelings of rejection and desertion since the death of his mother and the resultant break up of the home. Although Jack has indicated tender feelings for his father, the latter has not been able to do anything for Jack and has seldom visited him. Nevertheless, Jack has a need to cling to the family identity. While with the Children's Aid Society, Jack appears to be able to relate more easily to male figures as he had a stronger relationship with his foster father, his male worker and the Receiving Home Father. His inability to relate to female figures may be explained in his feelings of desertion by his mother, by experiences in private boarding homes at the time when he was working out his relationships, and by his experiences with a female figure who represented authority to him. When he let down his defenses and began to relate to women, such as one of the Receiving Home mothers, he met rejection in the form of her disappearance. This parallels his first feelings of desertion with his own mother.

Together with this lack of relationship to a mother figure, Jack has had difficulty in handling the demands and responsibilities of social relationships and limitations outside of the family circle. This lack of development of the superego further indicates that he has not completely worked out the oedipal situation, although he is making progress in this direction. Jack has been completely

confused by the number of adults in his early life. Along with this confusion there has been a lack of affection and security. Thus Jack has developed many fears and anxieties and a low sense of personal worth. His limited intelligence, combined with further negative experiences at school have combined to increase his feelings of rejection and to make school repulsive to him. He has lacked the incentive to do his best. His need to prove his smartness is seen in the delinquent episodes that he has engineered but in which he has not taken an actual part.

Although at first the Boys' Receiving Home did not appear to be a suitable placement, it has proven itself otherwise over a period of time. There is a danger that those placed in the Receiving Home may, at first, regard it as something similar to a sentence to the Boys' Industrial School. Thus they may test out the home to see if this is true. Jack's reluctance to go to the Receiving Home, besides being a fear of the unknown, may have been representative of the above feeling.

The Boys' Receiving Home did provide Jack with the necessary limitations that he needed to control his id impulses. At first he rebelled emotionally against these limitations, but their imposition supported his ego and reinforced his weak superego in its struggle to keep in check his strong id drives. The proximity of the Receiving

Home to the Agency allowed Jack to establish a closer relationship to his worker and enabled him to gain supportive help from the worker as he needed it. The atmosphere of the Receiving Home also helped alleviate Jack's feelings of being alone as he could see that there were others in the "same boat."

Jack repeatedly showed his need for love and affection. In many of the placements he had experienced rejection and this need was not satisfied. In the Receiving Home he was, for a short time, able to satisfy this need and even though he had an unfortunate experience in this regard he still had gained some benefits from it. After the departure of the house parents, Jack regressed to his former methods of reacting, but this regression was not so deep and he was still able to make another attempt to satisfy his basic needs. At present he is receiving satisfaction and is gaining more inner security and self confidence daily. Because of the depth of his rejection it will still be some time before he can move into a less protective atmosphere.

Both the cases of Tom W. and Jack C. illustrate the use of a treatment home for boys with considerable emotional disturbance. It is only recently that a treatment programme has been developed but, as can be seen from the preceding cases, it is showing positive results. Only two cases have been selected for illustrative purposes, but there are a number of other boys who can benefit from a group living

experience in a treatment focussed situation.

Need for a Home for Working Boys

Up to the present the concern has been solely with boys who are attending school; however there are many boys who are becoming self supporting and who need a fairly depersonalized living situation, yet one where they can get direction and support in their move into the working world. Alan N. is one of these.

Alan was born in September 1935 and was admitted to care in February 1937. He is the illegitimate child of an Oriental girl. The mother felt her pregnancy was a great disgrace and was especially fearful of her family knowing of her condition. Thus, she was unable to call upon her family for support. There is little information in the record pertaining to Alan's development prior to admission to care. The mother's attitude toward Allan appeared to be positive and reveals a sincere concern for his welfare. Before his admission to care, his mother had made four unsuccessful attempts to place him privately.

After admission, Alan's first foster mother reported that he apparently had not had any toilet training. There were large urine scalds on his buttocks and legs. Alan was a year and a half old at this time and was still using a bottle for feeding. However he soon began to achieve some excretory control and it was also noted that he liked a

good deal of petting. Alan was discharged to his mother in November 1937, ten months after his admission to care. Upon discharge he was reported to be in good physical condition. He was noted as being a stubborn and selfish child who was most difficult to train in toilet habits.

In the intervening years Alan's mother, with the help of her maternal aunt, tried to care for him. Alan was readmitted to care in February 1940. From November 1937 to May 1944 the Child Welfare Division supervised this case and at this later date supervision was transferred to the Children's Aid Society. By this time Alan had experienced five private placements. In one of these homes he presented many behaviour problems and was troubled with enuresis. His behaviour difficulties increased after the outbreak of war with Japan. Alan was described as intelligent and attractive but disobedient and troublesome in school. One foster mother admitted to beating Alan with a rubber hose and threatening him with placement in a Japanese camp. Alan was approximately eight years old at this time.

From May 1944 to February 1950, one adoption and seven foster home placements failed. In most of these placements Alan's behaviour revealed a severe disturbance. He suffered from incontinence; he was uncooperative, unmanageable, lied, stole, was deceitful and disobedient. He was also very retarded in school. In February 1950 he

was placed in the Boys' Receiving Home. It must be remembered that the Agency experiences considerable difficulty in finding suitable homes for boys of mixed racial origin.

Alan stayed in the Receiving Home from February 1950 to August 1952. In this setting he was able to settle fairly well, to find new security and begin a new adjustment. His school progress was poor and he was allowed to leave when of age. Alan found employment with the Canadian Pacific Railway but after several months changed to a job in a grocery store. After starting to work, Alan seemed to progress in every way. He appeared happier, more secure and outgoing. He had adjusted to the Receiving Home very well and was building a relationship with both parents. Alan began to save money from his weekly pay and undertook some responsibility for part of the payment of his board.

In view of his amazing progress, the possibility of a boarding home was discussed with Alan. He agreed that he should be on his own and away from the younger children and regulations of the Receiving Home. In consideration of this, Alan was placed in a boarding home and supplied with a complete outfit of clothing and his room and board paid in advance for one month. Alan had changed jobs shortly before this placement and appeared keenly interested in his new work on a car lot. However he quit this job just prior to his placement in the boarding home. After the placement Alan was not interested in seeking employment.

He soon began to drift and his whereabouts became unknown. He was picked up by the police and returned to the boarding home on probation. Attempts were made to find employment and another placement for him but before this could be accomplished he was found guilty of delinquency and placed in the Boys' Industrial School.

Alan presents a very disturbed development. He lacked most of the essentials in his early years that are conducive to normal adjustment. His behaviour in the foster homes after his second admission shows unresolved anxieties of the oral, anal and oedipal phases. His feelings of insecurity and low sense of personal worth are quite pronounced. Another factor against Alan was his mixed racial background. His adjustment in the Boys' Receiving Home would indicate that it was satisfying many of his needs.

His removal from the Receiving Home may have been made before he had had a chance to consolidate the gains he had made there. Premature as this removal may have been, it was necessary because the Receiving Home focus and programme was directed toward group treatment of boys attending school. Therefore Alan presented a special case with a special set of limitations and regulations in a setting not equipped to handle this. To allow Alan special treatment was unfair and detrimental to the other boys in the Home. However, placement in a boarding home

was more than Alan could handle at this stage of his development. He was reaching for his independence and emancipation but still needed the support, guidance, direction and security he found in the Receiving Home.

If the Agency had been able to place Alan in a Working Boys' Home, similar to that advocated for school boys in the first case presented, the results may have been much more encouraging. Such a home would allow working boys as much freedom and independence as they could adequately handle. It would also provide them with a neutral setting where they could get support and guidance as they needed it. Boys in such a home could be encouraged to assume the responsibility of independence as they were able to by the partial and full payment of their "keep," and could be allowed to be dependent where this responsibility became too great for them. When ready, they should be encouraged to assume the total responsibility for themselves by moving out of the home to a straight boarding situation. With Alan, as with many other boys, it was too long a step for him to take from Receiving Home to Boarding Home without the intermediate step described above.

Need for A Subsidized Boarding Home

The final case in this Chapter illustrates the need for a subsidized boarding home for fairly capable boys who are well along the road to independence and for whom the

personal relationship of a foster home is unsuitable. Ted A. presents many of the features which make him suitable for placement in such a resource.

Ted was born in October 1935 and was admitted to care at the age of fifteen in 1950. Upon admission, he was placed in the Boys' Receiving Home. His father died when Ted was six years old. His mother was very dependent upon her husband and after his death began to show signs of mental illness of a schizoid type with paranoid trends, and was later committed to the Provincial Mental Hospital. Mrs. A. could not get along with her mother and left her to come to Vancouver with her children. After the death of her husband Mrs. A's. only interests were her children and her religion. From her children she expected and demanded much affection and gratitude. At the same time she was ambivalent in her preference of which boy she liked the most.

The effect of this home life may be seen in Ted's development. He was shy and retiring, had few friends and although he was rated as being of very superior intelligence, his attendance at school was poor and he was noted as not working to capacity. He attended the church of his mother's faith regularly. While Ted presented emotional and behaviour problems, they were not of the aggressive nature that has been presented in the previous cases. Ted was courteous and cooperative but was also passive and introverted.

Although Ted was placed in the Boys' Receiving Home,

he was reluctant about being admitted to care and did not accept the Agency's interpretation as well as did his brother. There has been considerable sibling rivalry between these two boys and for this reason they were placed separately. Ted resisted any attempts on the part of the worker to discuss with him the reasons for his admission.

Ted showed a great deal of independence, both in wanting to support himself and in refusing to become involved in a close relationship with a substitute parental figure, or with other boys. He gives the impression of being self sufficient. Most of Ted's activities have been with the Air Force Cadets, Scouts and the church, of which he is an elder.

Ted's attachment to his mother is indicated in his guilt feelings about her mental condition and in his inability to help her. Ted has often mentioned his desire to live with his mother, his need to help her and to support her after discharge from the hospital, even though this may mean quitting school in order to seek employment. That Ted had difficulty in accepting his mother's illness is seen in the fact that he would always refer to her as being in Tranquille. Although the illness was regarded as being chronic, Ted still feels he has to plan for his mother's return. This situation was cleared up somewhat by having Mrs. A's. doctor at the mental hospital give Ted a complete explanation of her illness over a period of several

interviews. Ted was also encouraged to visit his mother in hospital.

Ted's adjustment to the Receiving Home was quite favourable. He exhibited leadership qualities and was able to take responsibilities. Although he did not contribute to his maintenance, he purchased his own clothing. His worker has tried to interpret to him that he would be in a better position to support and care for his mother if he finished his schooling and took up a career such as the Air Force, in which he is presently interested. His response to this interpretation has been rather slow.

Ted was placed in a foster home in October 1951 as he had asked to be removed from the Receiving Home. He was a good deal older and more mature than the other boys in the Home and did not care for the staff. After a difficult beginning Ted began to show good progress in this home. His appearance was much better and he seemed to be more sure of himself, happier, outgoing and more self determined. He has become attached to the foster mother's daughter and this has precipitated a request for his removal. It is felt that the foster mother has some negative feelings about this relationship.

Ted, because of his attachment to his mother and his general independence, needs a placement in a situation where he can be independent and not be involved in a personal relationship, and where he can receive supervision and support

from his worker. At this time he is revealing anxiety over his inadequacy to plan for the future and is showing a lack of feeling of personal worth.

The most notable feature in this case is Ted's attachment to his mother. His father's death occurred before Ted had resolved the oedipal situation. Thus death meant the removal of his most serious competitor for his mother's love and affection and it enabled him to take his father's place. Therefore he feels a very definite responsibility to care for and support his mother. Because of her mental condition, she has encouraged this relationship. This has prevented Ted from forming attachments outside the home and the responsibility served to increase his feelings of independence and to mature him.

In the beginning, the Boys' Receiving Home offered a suitable placement for Ted, although his need for a treatment setting was not so great as for other boys. However, it did not involve him in a close parental relationship at a time when he was unable to form such a relationship. Although Ted did, at a later date, make a fair adjustment to a foster home it did not end as a positive experience. This has helped to increase his lack of feeling of personal worth. Ted has the ability to continue his education on to university. However, this may involve more pressure than he is able to cope with. A career in the R.C.A.F. does offer him considerable security and independence but on the other hand it may represent

a more complete separation. physically and emotionally, from his mother, than he is able to stand.

Progress with Ted can best be achieved through his relationship to his worker. A subsidized boarding home setting would allow Ted the independence he can handle and would not involve him in a greater personal relationship with parental figures than he would desire. His independence could be encouraged by allowing him to assume some responsibility for his maintenance; he could be grouped with boys nearer his own age and he could continue his schooling. None of the previously mentioned resources could as adequately meet these needs.

The problems shown by the adolescents in these case illustrations correspond to the four major problems revealed by the survey. It has also been noted that these problems are a reason for the numerous changes of foster homes for many boys. The adolescents in the case illustrations have been admitted to care at different ages and for a variety of reasons. In this Chapter the discussion of the problems of the boys has not only been on the difficulties of adolescence but also on previous difficulties; the insecurities and anxieties that have affected adjustment in adolescence. The psychological and emotional development of these boys have not corresponded to the normal dynamic development of the child and the adolescent. A brief outline of the criterion for the suggested resources to meet these adolescents' problems has been given after the case discussions. These resources and the implications from the survey are summarized as recommendations in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS FOR WORKING WITH ADOLESCENT BOYS IN CARE

The two major problems in foster care of adolescents are the difficulties of continual replacement and the close connection between frequent replacement and the four major "problem areas" classified in the survey, namely emotional, delinquent, behaviour and relationship difficulties. The effect and impact of replacement on these problems of the adolescent were noted in the case discussions.

Preventive Measures to Reduce Future Problems

The lack of complete and adequate diagnoses of the child's needs at admission were notably absent in the case records. It would seem far better to delay, if necessary, the placement of a child in a foster home in order that a complete diagnosis could be made, rather than to place him in a foster home more or less at random and then have to replace him again shortly thereafter, or leave him in an unsuitable situation until problems mount to the breaking point. Two preventive measures can be taken to avoid the problems caused by these inadequacies in placement. They

involve some time and effort on the part of workers, but do not involve the setting up of special resources at a later date to meet problems engendered by inadequate placement practice.

The first preventive measure that can be taken is a complete diagnosis of the child's needs in placement. This diagnosis should be concerned with the child's emotional, mental and physical development. It should explore very fully the nature of the child's relationship to his parents and his siblings. As far as possible, from obtainable facts, a detailed analysis of his development in the oral, anal and oedipal periods should be made. The strength of his emotional satisfaction, his feelings of personal worth and security should be determined. If this was done and expressed in dynamic terms, the Agency would have a far better picture of the child that they are about to place, and they would be in a far better position to determine and select the most suitable resource that would satisfy the child's needs.

Such a diagnosis would be fruitless if the actual mechanics of placement were not carefully watched. It is at this initial period that the child forms his idea of the Agency and it is here that his identity with the Agency begins. If this identity with the Agency is strong, the child in care will be better able to withstand the unavoidable

change in workers. When the child is first admitted to care, it is exceedingly important that he receive support, understanding and acceptance of his feelings about leaving his parents and siblings, about his fears and apprehensions in regard to his new parents. The worker acts as a bridge between these two sets of parents and experiences, and that bridge must be strong both in relation to the child and to both sets of parents, if the child is to cross this gap successfully. The success achieved here will determine, to a large extent, the child's ability to adjust to the placement and his relationship with the Agency as well as the foster parents' ability to understand and accept the child. For many reasons it is easy for workers to become insensitive to the subtle signs of distress exhibited by the child when first coming into care. However, it is necessary that great care and caution be taken at this period if later difficulties are to be avoided. Recording of the diagnosis, the plan and the child's reaction to each step of the plan can, if simply and clearly done, be an immeasurable aid for future care.

If the diagnosis of the child at the time of admission has been carefully worked out, and if the resource for placement has been carefully selected in accordance with the results of the diagnosis, and if the initial placement has been carefully made, then the chances for the child to succeed in placement are greatly increased and the chances for the appearance of problems at a later date are greatly

lessened. However, this does not mean that replacement may not be necessary, for a variety of reasons such as sickness or death of the foster parents. The more firmly and carefully the child, foster parent and, in many instances, natural parent relationships are worked out by preplacement and early post placement interviews, the less the placement will be affected by pressures.

It is recommended that if a replacement is necessary the reasons for this be carefully explored between the worker and his supervisor before another placement is made. Also, a further evaluation of the dynamic development of the child should be made to assess the effects of the first placement on the child. Replacement can then be made in accordance with this evaluation and the case conference.

In the event of another placement, whether within a short or long time after the second placement, a full scale conference should be held on the case before the placement is begun. This conference could consist of the worker, the supervisor, the head of the Child Placing Department and a member of the Home Finding Department. Prior to the conference, a further evaluation of the child, and his foster homes should be made, preferably with psychiatric consultation, and this should be discussed at the conference in an attempt to find out why the placements were not successful. Every resource of the Agency should be considered in order

to find the most suitable resource for the child.

The danger and evils inherent in continual replacement cannot be over emphasized or stressed, because the damage to the child resulting from replacement is considerable.¹ In the survey the correlation between the present problems of the adolescent boys and the number of placements was very evident. For these reasons, it is strongly recommended that any possible preventive measures should be taken. Some of the measures outlined here should do much to relieve the problems of children reaching adolescence at a future date.

An administrative check on the amount of and reasons for replacement could be established in the monthly statistics of the child placing workers. If each worker, on his statistical form, indicated which children were replaced and attached a statement of reasons, the administration would have a barometer which would indicate the amount of and reasons for replacement. This barometer would indicate the success of any measures taken to prevent this evil.

A monthly statistical report of the number of visits to and regarding each child should be set up so that the effects of preplacement planning, contact with the natural parents and postplacement visits can be studied.

It is also recommended that the survey analyzed in Chapter II be extended to cover all those in care, especially those who have not reached adolescence. Before this is done,

1 D. Kline and H.M. Overstreet, "Maintaining Foster Homes Through Case-Work Skills," Social Service Review, vol. xxii, No. 3 (September 1948), p. 324.

the survey would need some revision, as has been outlined, if valid results on which definite recommendations and preventive measures could be based were to be obtained. Such a survey would indicate future problems that the Agency may have to face and for which a review of their total programme may be necessary. If the survey could be incorporated into a monthly report by the workers, the Agency would have a constant picture of the children in their care. This would be invaluable in the planning of their programme.

Recommendations for an Observation and Study Home

The first case in Chapter III indicated the need for a Receiving Home. This home would act as an observation and study centre and also as a shelter for those who would be in care for a limited time. Formerly the Boys' Receiving Home served this purpose but does not any longer since its focus has been on treatment. Aside from the fact that it is not advisable to mix treatment and study cases, there is no accommodation in the Boys' Receiving Home for this type of case. Moreover, if an attempt is to be made to place children in the best possible resource, such a home would be valuable and very much needed while diagnostic evaluations were being made. The main emphasis in such a home would be to establish a strong relationship between the boy and the worker, and develop a positive feeling of belonging to the Agency.

At the same time work with the boy's parents should be continued in order to secure their cooperation in, and understanding of placement. Such a home would need to be close to the Agency so that there may be frequent contact between the boy and his worker and also so that the boy may visit and become familiar with the Agency. If a strong positive identification is established, between the Agency and the boy, the chances for success will be greatly increased. The programme in such a home would need to be fairly flexible as the population of the home would be constantly changing. In order that the atmosphere does not become too impersonal, it is suggested that each unit group of the home be approximately six to eight. Whether those in the home would be all of one sex or of a special age group cannot be determined here as there is no definite information on the number that would need such a placement. With the expansion of the programme of finding the most suitable placement for a particular child, it may be found that several homes or several units in one home are necessary and children could be placed in them according to sex and age group.

Recommendations for a School Boys' Home

The next resource that was indicated as being necessary was that of a home for boys attending school. This home would be for boys who themselves, or whose parents are not able to accept substitute parents, yet who do not need the intensive treatment of a Treatment Home. This would include boys who

have a strong neurotic attachment to their parents, who have experienced such rejection that they cannot accept substitute parents, or those who have been so long in an institution that they cannot accept parental figures. It is suggested that this home include only boys attending school as it is difficult to mix them with working boys, not only because of their different interests, but also because of different sets of rules, regulations and programmes.

Since placement in such a home would be more permanent than in the one previously mentioned, a group work programme for leisure time activities would be a desirable asset, although such a programme is applicable also for the Receiving Home. The values of such a programme have been experienced by the Agency with the placement of a masters student in the Boys' Receiving Home.¹ The boys in a School Boys' Home should also be encouraged to take part in community activities. Every attempt should be made to make the life and atmosphere of this home for the boys as near that as is experienced by boys in their own homes.

Recommendations for a Treatment Home

The Agency's experience with a home for boys needing a treatment situation has been considerable and is developing steadily. It is suggested that such a development receive all

1 A. Billington, Group Work Practice in a Receiving Home for Boys, Master of Social Work Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1953.

possible encouragement, as there are a number of boys whose problems are of such proportions that they need specialized treatment. Also, the present experience with a treatment setting is showing encouraging results. Boys who are not in the present treatment home, the Boys' Receiving Home, and who are indicating the need for such a placement, are those who are continually being replaced. Another group, though not so noticeable are those boys who exhibit withdrawn behaviour. Even though their problems may be as severe or more severe these boys are not so noticeable because of the nature of their behaviour. A treatment home should be restricted to school boys as they are a more workable group for treatment purposes. In this home especially, each boy needs individual attention, as well as group and community activity.

Some indication was given in the case illustrations of the type of boys with problems who would be suitable for admission to this home. No attempt is being made to give a detailed analysis of the requirements for a treatment residence as this would take more space than can be allowed here. Moreover, no attempt has been made to study the Agency's present treatment residence as this has been studied from a group work basis in a thesis by A. Billington.¹ The group

¹ A. Billington, Group Work Practice in a Receiving Home for Boys, 1953.

work programme in the present home should be continued on a full time basis by a trained group worker if sustained values are to be achieved.

The final focus of such a home is the return of the boys in it to the normal community living. This may mean placement in a foster home or in one of the other resources suggested. This move has to be carefully planned; the placement has to be selected in accordance with the boy's needs, limitations and strengths and the boy and placement resource selected must be fully prepared in advance for the move. After the move, the boy will need even more than the usual case work attention in order to support him in the new relationship and to help relieve his anxieties about the placement.

Recommendations for a Working Boys' Home

An example has been given in Chapter III illustrating the need for a home for working boys. Working boys are generally older and much more advanced in their adolescence than boys attending school. By virtue of having experience in the working world, they are generally more mature and independent and their scope of interests differ from that of school age boys. Thus it is suggested that a separate resource be set up for this class of adolescents.

Boys who would be suitable for this type of home are those who have achieved a considerable degree of independence,

who, by reason of previous experience in a foster home, have shown that they are unable to adjust to this setting and those whose parental tie is such that they cannot accept substitute parental figures. The atmosphere of such a home would have to be fairly impersonal. At the same time there should be someone from whom the boys could seek counsel and direction to help them meet the problems they are facing in their work.

The need for a group work programme is not so great in this setting as in the treatment setting. Nevertheless, it would be useful in such a home. Through a group work programme, the boys could be helped to plan their leisure time activities, and through group discussions to bring out their problems, concerning their work and their social relationships. Although much of this could, and would be handled on a case work basis, adolescent are especially responsive to group influences. The group work approach helps the individual through group interaction to seek his own solution, which is also acceptable to the group. This will tend to increase his feelings of personal worth.

Recommendations for a Subsidized Boarding Home

The last case discussed in Chapter III was used to illustrate the use of a subsidized boarding home. If the other resources previously mentioned were available, this last resource could possibly be dispensed with. However, if these

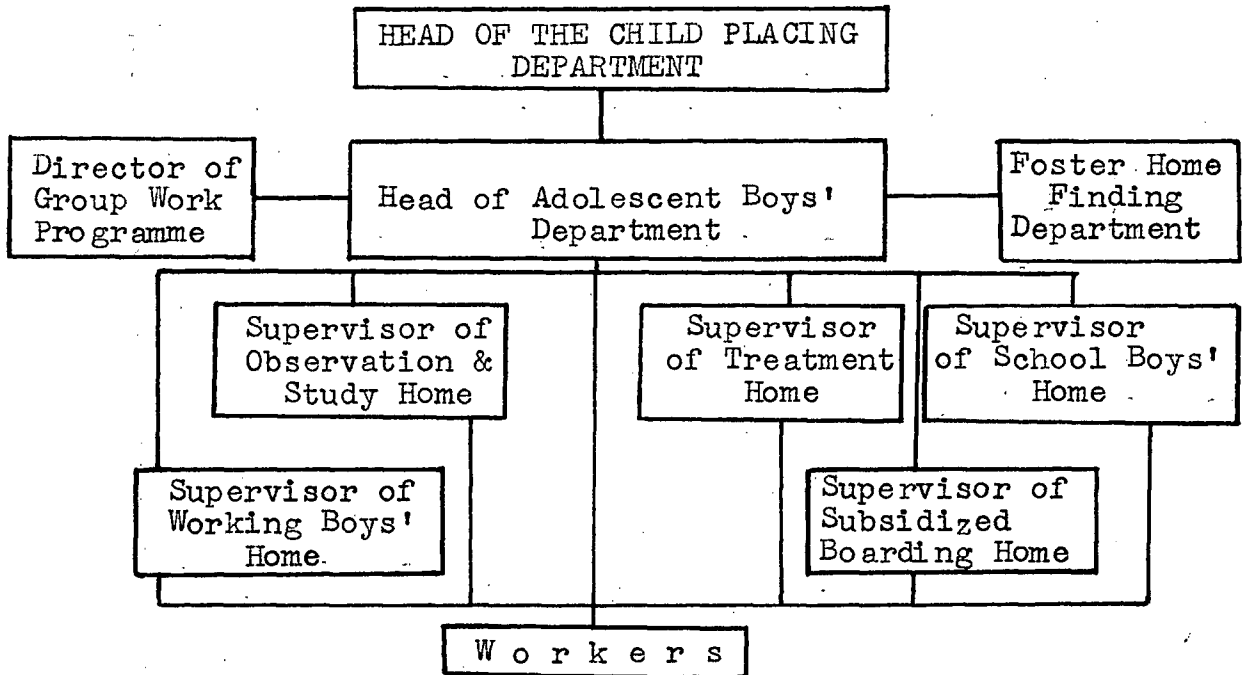
other resources are not available, the use of a subsidized boarding home would need to be explored quite fully. In the case in Chapter III the subsidized boarding home was recommended for an older, more mature and independent boy who was still attending school and who might continue on to university. Because of his tie to his mother, this boy found a foster home placement difficult. Also, he had reached a stage of maturity where he felt he was incompatible with the younger, less mature school boys. Because of his independence, he was able and willing to accept part of the responsibilities for his maintenance. This boy indicated the need of a placement where he could be allowed this independence. A subsidized boarding home would seem to fulfill this need.

In such a home, the boy would not be expected to form a strong relationship with the parents, and he would be allowed almost unlimited freedom. The foster parents would be paid on the basis of a service fee to compensate for the lack of satisfaction found in the impersonal relationship to the boy. In special cases for foster children of all ages this service fee might be considered. The foster parents would not be expected to supervise the boy, but rather would cooperate with the Agency in giving a report of the boy's adjustment to the home and on his activities. Such supervision of the boy, as is necessary, would be done by the case worker in his interviews with the boy.

Administrative Structure for these Resources

The resources that have been suggested would not be as effective as they could be if there was not an adequate administrative structure within which they could function. Administrative lines of authority and delegation of this authority would have to be made clear, and the programmes of these resources would need to be coordinated with, and integrated into, the total placement programme. It is therefore suggested that a department be set up to administer the adolescent boys' programme. The head of this department would be in a direct line under the head of the Child Placing Department, so that the work of these two departments could be coordinated. The supervisor of various homes would each be in a direct line of authority to the head of the Adolescent Boys' Department. Workers with adolescent boys in their case loads would come under the Department Head for general administrative supervision, and under the supervisors of the various homes for supervision of boys placed in these homes. The administration of an adolescent programme would be facilitated if all adolescent cases were grouped into several case loads. Since foster home placement is an integral part of the boys' programme, it should be coordinated in the programme in the capacity of a resource or staff function. A possible administrative outline of an Adolescent

Boys' Programme is noted below.



While this structure may appear to be rather complicated, it should serve to coordinate the adolescent boys' programme more fully than it is at present. Although the concern here is primarily with teen-age boys, this structure could include all adolescents and the other receiving homes of the Agency.

If a group work programme is developed, as suggested in these various homes, several workers would be required. Their work could be coordinated under a Director of Group Work Programme, and could be integrated into the department in the capacity of a staff function from the Head of the Department.

While the Agency is primarily of a case work orientation, the values of group work in an adolescent programme

cannot be underestimated. A group work programme could also be instituted as one unit of a total programme for foster parent discussions. These foster parents could be brought together for periodic meetings, i.e. monthly meetings, to discuss the problems they are experiencing with the adolescents in their care, and to learn how other foster parents are meeting these problems. Both case and group workers could be used to interpret the Agency's position in regard to the boys in the foster homes, and also to interpret the reasons behind the adolescents' behaviour. This would result in a closer relationship between the Agency and their main resource, the foster parents. The value of foster parents to the success of a placement programme cannot be under estimated, and their effectiveness can be greatly increased if they feel they are an integral part of the Agency. Such aids as a foster parents' news letter and special honours to foster parents might be used.

The Supervisors of the various homes would be responsible for the administration of, and for the programme in these homes. Also, they could be the case worker for some of the boys in the home. A start has been made in this direction by assigning all the boys who are in the Boys Industrial School to one worker, and most of the boys who are in the Boys' Receiving Home to the Supervisor of that home.

A further resource person that would be helpful to the programme is an employment and vocational counsellor.

This might be the responsibility of the Supervisor of the Working Boys' Home. Such a person should be in constant touch with the employment opportunities in the community. He would establish a relationship with the employment bureaus, the apprenticeship department of the Provincial Government, with the Vocational Schools, with the Trade Unions, and other possible employers. This would immeasurably save the time of the various workers trying to discover possible employment for the boys in their case loads, and would also result in a better position being found for the boy.

Case Worker - Adolescent Relationships

The nature of the relationship between the case worker and the adolescent boy is very important and it bears emphasis here. Since the adolescent is striving for his independence the relationship between him and the case worker possesses some special features. A general description of this relationship is given by Sid Hirsohn in the statement that the "Caseworker's task is to help the insecure adolescent feel, first, that other people and the world are not so unfriendly and dangerous as he believes and, second, that he himself has abilities and attitudes and can get along as well as others."¹ This relationship might be

1 S. Hirsohn, "Role of the Male Caseworker with the Adolescent Boy," Journal of Social Casework, vol. xxi, No. 1, (January, 1950), p. 24.

described as being of a supportive nature, which is designed to strengthen the adolescent's weakened ego. One of the objects of the relationship would be to bring about a realignment of and balance between the id, ego and superego. This would have the effect of making the adolescent feel more self-worthy and would eliminate the need to appear as such through aggressive type of behaviour. It would also lessen his need to seek protection for his feelings of insecurity in a return to a childhood situation. A relationship of this nature will enable the adolescent to see that life is not as harsh as he expected it to be.¹

At adolescence, the normal boy is beginning to break the ties to his parents. With the adolescent in placement this may not be such a difficult problem as these have been broken to some extent through earlier placements and the lack of contact with his parents through the years. However, this does not provide the adolescent with an acceptable person from whom he may seek guidance, directions, and limits as he feels he needs them. The adolescent needs to find a person who listens to him, who is interested in his ideas and who will respect him for his own individuality. Adolescents in their own home often find such a male ideal among their neighbours, their sports coaches, their associates at work.

1 J.G. Milner, "Some Determinants in the Differential Treatment of Adolescents," Child Welfare, Journal of the Child Welfare League of America, vol. xxix, No. 8, (October, 1950) p. 4.

To such persons they will confide matters and feelings that they would not consider confiding to their parents because of the fear of reproach and the need to lessen rather than strengthen the tie between them.

With adolescents in placement, the male case worker is in an excellent position to become the confidant of the boy. In such situations the case worker not only has the opportunity to give some real support to the adolescent's strengths but is also afforded a good view of things which might be disturbing the adolescent. This will further enable the case worker to know the direction in which the adolescent needs more help. It might be that the adolescent needs help in working out his relationship to his parents, that he is fearful of competition, that he is asking for direction in matters of behaviour, social relationships, vocation etcetera or that he is asking for protection from his feelings of inferiority or from increased id drives in the form of the setting of limits. "The granting of unlimited freedom leaves the adolescent unprotected from the throes of anxiety, induced by his instinctual urges and is actually experienced by the patient as increased dangers."¹ The setting of limits acts as a reinforcement to the superego and thus enables the superego to keep the id drives in check. It is a reassurance

1 F.J. Hacker and E.R. Geleerd, "Freedom and Authority in Adolescence," American Journal of Orthopschiatry, vol. xv (October, 1945), p. 630.

to the adolescent and can enable him to reach an understanding of the problem he faces because it reduces anxiety. Adolescents tend to scorn the giving of too much freedom by the case worker. They are distrustful of such freedom, unable, because of their psychology to handle it, and are made more susceptible to feelings of guilt with the possibility of failure confronting them. Where adolescents have been freely given their own way, they are inclined to regard the giver as "an easy touch."

Success in the setting of limits depends not only upon the strength of the relationship between the worker and the adolescent but also upon the consistency or dependability in the use of this tool. If the setting of limits becomes inconsistent or haphazard it approximates too closely the ambivalence the adolescent is experiencing. The necessity for a strong relationship in the use of limits as a therapeutic tool is pointed out by John Slawson in the statement, "...authority, if consciously and purposefully planned, is accepted by the client only if he is assured of the acceptance, the sympathy and understanding on the part of the worker."¹

The setting of limits is also very applicable to those who came into care at an early age by reasons of neglect, etcetera and who have now reached adolescence. Many of these boys demand that the case worker or the Agency make up to

¹ John Slawson, "The Use of the Authoritative Approach in Social Case Work in the Field of Delinquency," The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, vol. viii, No. 1, (October, 1938), p. 673.

their deprivation. An example of this is seen in the statement often uttered by adolescents, that the agency will do something for them or will give them something beyond what the Agency regularly supplies. "If these demands are satisfied by the worker the pattern may not only be perpetuated but even exaggerated."¹ In this situation the worker takes on the role of an indulgent parent and thus loses the respect of the adolescent.

In summary it can be said that the case worker should not assume the role of the parent or try to be an equal of the adolescent. His is a supportive role, meant to provide for the adolescent acceptance and understanding, direction and guidance, reassurance, encouragement and honest praise to the end that the boy's ego will be supported so that he can function on a more mature level with a greater feeling of security.

Use of Community Resources

There may be a further group of boys whose behaviour is so aggressive or withdrawn that they cannot be adequately handled in any of the previously mentioned resources, without disturbing the programmes of these resources. For this reason, and because of their knowledge and experience, the

1 John Slawson, "The Use of the Authoritative Approach in Social Case Work in the Field of Delinquency," p. 675.

Agency should take an active interest in the plans for the establishment of a treatment centre in this community. The Agency has already moved in this direction with the placement of one of their members on the planning committee of this proposed treatment centre.

It is hoped that the analysis of the survey and the case illustrations will prove of some value in assisting the Agency in the planning of their programme for adolescent boys. While it is felt, that for many reasons the Agency may not be able, or regard it as desirable, to implement all of the suggestions in this Chapter, it is hoped that they will be helpful to the Agency in meeting the complex and difficult problems presented by many of these boys. Where the reasons for not being able to make these changes are financial, the Agency may need to present these problems to the community as they are a community agency. If a solution to the problems presented by a small group of the boys in care is not found, the cost, at a later date to the community, will be greatly increased. Although only a very small percentage of the boys in care have spent a period of time in such correctional institutions as the Boys' Industrial School, Okalla, the Penitentiary and the Provincial Mental Hospital, the cost of their incarceration would go far to the establishment of these preventive measures and resources. The still more important factor is the damage done to these boys and to other lives.

If the stress and focus of the Agency is upon early preventive measures, then the private function of the Agency will be more adequately and completely fulfilled. The importance of enabling the boys in care to reach a satisfying and successful adjustment, for themselves and society in general, cannot be overly emphasized.

APPENDIX A

DEFINITION OF CLASSIFICATIONS
USED IN THE SURVEY

I

Reasons for Admission to Care

1. Financial -Inability to provide for child
 Social Assistance
 Neglect
2. Parental Break-Up -Desertion
 Separation
 Divorce
 Jail Sentence
3. Moral Incapability of
Parents -Drunkenness,
 Cohabitation
 Father immoral
 Prostitution
4. Medical Incapability
of Parents -Sickness
 Death of one parent
 Mental Health
5. No Parents for Child -Death of both parents, ~~parent~~ or
 Parents or relatives abandoned child
 Unmarried mother
6. Other -Specify Reason

II

Reasons for Change in Placement

1. Family Interference
2. Sickness of Foster Parents
3. Financial Inability of Foster Parents to Care for the Child

4. Inability of Foster Parents to Cope with or Relate to the Boy
5. Behaviour Problems of the Boy (i.e., other than relationship difficulties)
6. Inability of Boy to Relate to Foster Parents
7. Inability of Agency to find Suitable Foster Home

III

Problems Manifested by Adolescent Boys

1. Emotional Problems
 - Over-sensitive
 - Over-conforming
 - Demanding
 - Hyperactive
 - Over-dependent
 - Compulsive
 - Impulsive
 - Moody
 - Unsettled
 - Poor Emotional Tone
 - Low sense of Personal Worth
 - Withdrawn
 - Insecure
2. Delinquent Tendencies
 - Delinquent
 - Lying
 - Stealing
 - Destructive
 - Bullying
 - Defiant
 - Rebellious
 - Anti-social
3. Behaviour Problems
 - Truancy
 - Running Away
 - Conflict with Authority
 - Hostile
 - Suspicious
 - Cheeky
 - Contrary
 - Uncooperative
 - Bad Language
 - Non-conforming
 - Lack of Ambition
 - Lazy

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 4. <u>Difficulties in Relating</u> | -Cannot relate to own age group,
or elders
Rejection by Parents
Strong Parental Tie
Sibling Rivalry |
| 5. <u>Incontinence</u> | -Enuresis
Soiling
Uncleanliness |
| 6. <u>Low I.Q.</u> | -Includes up to low average |
| 7. <u>Physical-Medical</u> | -Spastic
Epileptic
Diabetic
Migraine headaches
Blind
Poor Eyesight
Speech Difficulties - hair lip etc. |
| 8. <u>Disturbed</u> | -Pre-psychotic
Psychotic |
| 9. <u>Sex Difficulties</u> | -Sex Behaviour
Masturbation
Femininity |
| 10. <u>Good Adjustment</u> | -Good Adjustment or no problems
indicated |
| 11. <u>No Information</u> | -Insufficient Information to
classify
Discharged
Returned to Parents; or discharge
not completed |

IV

Rating for Suitability of Last Placement

VG Very Good - Full acceptance of the boy by the foster parents
Full acceptance of the foster parents by the boys
Both foster parents in the home
Both foster parents able to cope with problems
of the boy
Complete acceptance of placement by the
natural parents

- G Good - Acceptance of the boy by the foster parents
Acceptance of the foster parents by the boy
Both foster parents in the home
Foster parents have occasional difficulty
in coping with problems
Good acceptance of placement by the natural
parents
- M Mediocre - Some acceptance of the boy by the foster parents
Some acceptance of the foster parents by the boy
Only one parent in the home
Foster parents often have difficulty in coping
with problems
Little acceptance of placement by natural
parents - tend to interfere
- P Poor - Little acceptance of the boy by the foster parents
Little acceptance of the foster parents by the boy
Only one parent in the home
Foster parents have considerable difficulty in
coping with problems
No acceptance of placement by the natural parents
- VP Very Poor- No acceptance of the boy by the foster parents
No acceptance of the foster parents by the boy
Only one parent in the home
Foster parents cannot cope with problems
No acceptance of placement by the natural parents -
much interference on their part

APPENDIX B

Schedule Used for Cases (Example)

Age	Age at admission	No. of placements	Name
Years in care	Suitability of last placement	Length of last placement	Board Rate and Status
Reason for admission			Parental Interest
Boy's Problem - Emotional etc.			Reasons for change in placement
Part or Full time Work			Earnings

Reverse Side of Card

Psychiatric or Vocational Examination

Future plans

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