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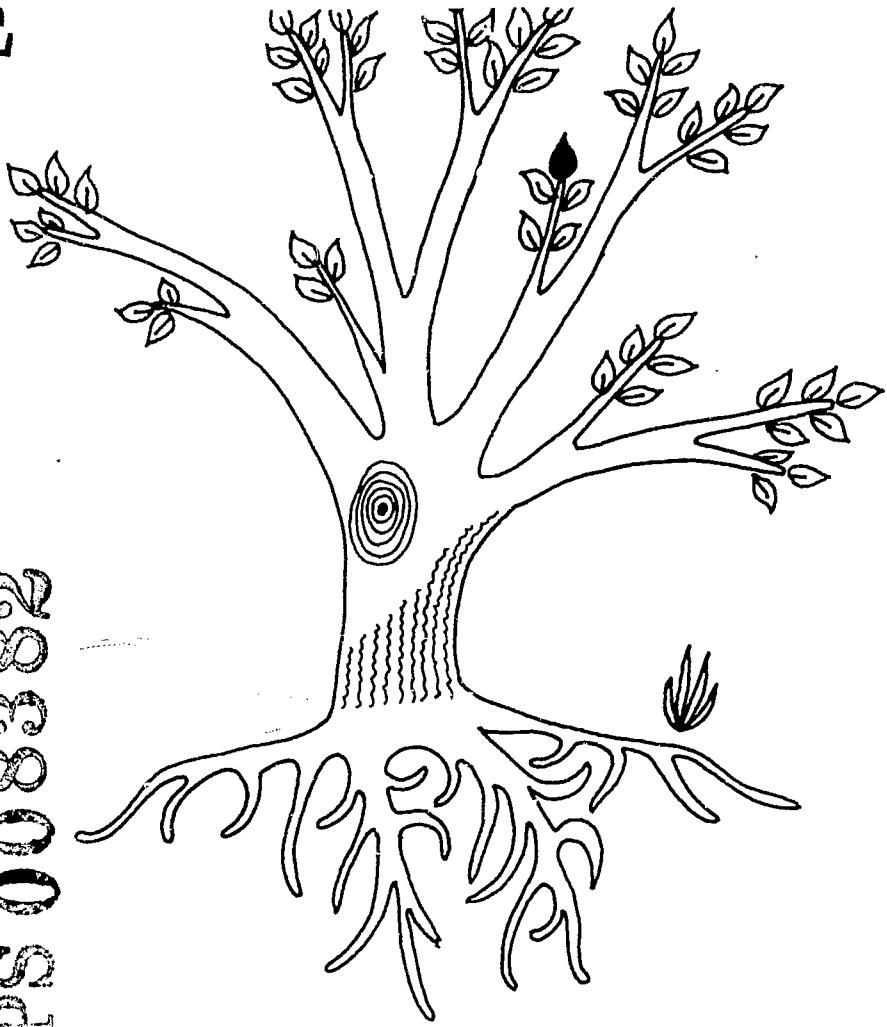
ABSTRACT

This booklet describes a state subsidy program designed to facilitate the adoption of black children in need of permanent homes. Program participants were children, ages 3 months to 17 years of age living in foster homes in Chicago and East St. Louis, Illinois. Some of the children had serious emotional and/or physical problems, but all were free of significant ties to their parents and relatives. The major components of the program were: (1) finding children who could benefit from adoption, (2) providing direct services to children, (3) locating and developing adoptive homes, (4) effecting adoptive placements (with and without subsidy), and (5) research on all phases. Permanent nonfoster homes were found for nearly 70 percent of the children; about 12 percent were assigned to remain in planned, long-term foster care because of strong ties with foster parents who would not adopt. Adoptive homes could not be found for 8 percent of the children. An extensive recruitment program for adoptive parents was initiated, incorporating advertising, door-to-door recruitment in black neighborhoods, and interaction with foster parents. A discussion of the role of adoption subsidies is included. Appendices provide data tables and a casefinding schedule. (BRT)



"Where love and need are one"

A Report on the Use of Subsidies to Increase Adoption of Black Children

WHERE LOVE AND NEED ARE ONE

A demonstration of the use of subsidy to facilitate the adoption of black children in need of permanent homes

Vivian Hargrave

Joan Shireman

Peter Connor

REPORT OF A STUDY FUNDED
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INTRODUCTION

In 1969, when the Illinois Legislature passed a statute authorizing subsidized adoption, Illinois became one of the first states in which it was possible to implement subsidies on a large scale through the public child welfare agency. Hopes were high that subsidies would enable many families to adopt children in foster care. Existing adoption procedures were modified to implement the program and cost-benefit reports were made to the Legislature. However, eighteen months after the effective date of the law, only 149 subsidies had been approved, only 59 of these for black children. Little was known about how to make this new program work, and clearly it was not as effective in enabling large numbers of children to move into adoption as had been expected. The experience in Illinois was not unlike that in other states.

The Project described here was inaugurated in 1971 at the request of the United States Children's Bureau, Office of Child Development, to attempt to assess the need for subsidies among a group of black children in the foster care of a public agency in an urban setting, and to develop and demonstrate ways of using subsidies to facilitate permanent planning for these children.

A survey of 1,962 black children in foster care in Chicago in 1972 showed that these children had entered foster care when young and remained in foster homes; the median age was now 10 years. Most were healthy, of average intelligence, and without emotional or physical handicaps. They had very little contact with their parents or other relatives; only 15 percent of the parents were known to plan on the child's return home. Research analysts thought adoption at least potentially appropriate for 66 percent.

Department workers did not know these children well and had, in general, not formulated concrete plans for their future. A follow-up a year later revealed little change in planning for the children. By making no decisions, workers were in effect planning long term foster care.

As a demonstration of the plans that could be effected for these children, 112 of these children were given direct service by Project workers. Knowing the children well was the core of the service. Workers also worked intensively with natural parents and relatives, foster parents, adoptive parents, the Court, and community agencies. Permanent adoptive homes were found for almost 70 percent of the children; another 11 percent were established in formalized long term foster care. For only 8 percent was it impossible within the time limits of the project to locate adoptive homes.

Various techniques for recruiting adoptive homes were developed and tested during the project. Results indicate that publicity does bring good homes, though "having a friend who adopted" remains the best source of usable homes.

Thus the data show that there are many black children drifting in the foster care system of Illinois, and that with effort, enthusiasm, and manageable caseload size adoptive homes can be found for many of them. The effort may be expensive and exhausting. But surely every child has the right to a home—to a place where, as Robert Frost wrote, "They have to take you in."

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT

Introduction

In March, 1971, the Children's Bureau, Office of Child Development, requested Illinois Department of Children and Family Services to submit a proposal demonstrating methods of utilizing subsidies as one means of securing adoption for black children who would otherwise have no legal and permanent homes of their own. Although Illinois had passed subsidized adoption legislation in 1969 and was one of seven states then having statutes authorizing subsidized adoption programs by public agencies, and subsidies had been used by both public and voluntary agencies to increase the pool of adoptive homes, there was little information about this new approach to expanding adoption resources. Published research related to subsidized adoption was extremely limited and there appeared to be none at all on subsidized adoption for black children.

The Children's Bureau believed that a project's experiences with subsidy would have national interest and value. The development of the concept itself, and a test of the potential of subsidies in increasing the number of homes available for black children would be useful. In a large agency program such as that in Illinois with more than 24,000 children under care, there would be ample opportunity to test, demonstrate, and document methods of utilizing subsidies in adoption. Such a demonstration would benefit not only children in Illinois, but those in other states where the adoption programs could be enhanced with this additional resource.

At this time adoption workers agreed that the concept of subsidized adoptions was sound and that it would produce increased numbers of homes for children. Subsidized adoption had developed as an enabling service to provide financial assistance to adoptive parents when needed in order to increase the number of available homes for the children who were not being placed in adoption because of race, age, physical and emotional conditions, or other similar reasons. Agencies, by and large, had to institute their programs on a trial and error basis without adequate documentation and description of problems and how they can be overcome.

Adoption for children in foster home care requires effort and motivation for agencies, and both financial and technical support is necessary to expand and utilize the opportunities for subsidies. Many activities precede actually making an adoptive placement for these children. It is necessary to identify children for whom adoption should be considered; make them legally adoptable; and locate adoptive parents for them.

Subsidies are more likely to be needed for black children who, once in the system, remain the longest. The problem and its significance is shown rather graphically by the following facts. In 1970, the Chil-

dren's Bureau made an educated guess that at least 40,000 black children were awaiting adoption, with the probability of double that number (Reid, 1971). During the same year, Child Welfare League of America's Research Center reported that there were 116 approved white homes for every 100 white children while there were only 39 approved homes for every 100 non-white children (Reid, 1971). Of 198 children placed in 1970 through Adoption Resources Exchange of North America (ARENA), only four were black, 16 black/white and six black/Indian. In March, 1971 ARENA had 322 children awaiting placement with 169 or 52.5 percent of them black. Adding the 62 of mixed black parentage, the percentage reached nearly 72 percent. Families available with ARENA totalled 645 but only one would consider a black child and six a black/white child (ARENA News, 1971).

In Illinois, the picture was equally discouraging for the black child. In March, 1971, the Adoption Listing Service (a listing of children needing homes, and of applicants for whom there are no children) had 73 black children, who comprised 75 percent of the 97 children registered with the service. At that time, of the 74 homes registered, eight were for black children. During 1970, there were 147 new children registered with the service. Of these 117 were black. Homes new to the listing service during the year numbered 82, of which 10 were for black children.

Review of Literature and Related Research

There is serious concern both locally and nationally about the increasing numbers of "hard to place" children, legally and permanently separated from their natural families for years. They face a bleak future as they are subject to the hazards of multiple placements involving new adjustments, rootlessness, and being different. Efforts to increase adoptive resources through extensive recruitment, flexible adoption requirements, and adoption exchanges have not produced enough resources for the substantial number of black children without permanent families. Long term foster care has become the alternative for many black children who have become lost in the foster care system.

At least since the publication of Children in Need of Parents (Maas, 1958) child welfare practitioners have been aware of and concerned about children who remain for years in foster care. Though follow-up studies (Thies, 1924; Meier, 1965) demonstrate that adults who have spent a number of years in foster homes create at least superficially adequate lives for themselves, a wealth of writing by practitioners and child development theorists expresses the opinion that long term foster care must be damaging (Christmas, 1961 and Hoffman, 1963 for example).

Foster care is undoubtedly a needed resource for some children and provides a valuable temporary living plan. A recent study of the reasons children enter foster care has disclosed the poverty and poor living conditions of the majority of these children in New York City, and has documented the many reasons for foster care. Mental illness, desertion, neglect or abuse of a child, or unwillingness to care for a child accounted for 63 percent of the placements (Jenkins and Sauber, 1966). Though 16 percent of the placements lasted less than a week,

and though other placements might have been prevented by improved services to children in their own home,

> the study indicated that for many children there were no alternatives to placement . . . In the judgment of the interviewers, only 17 percent of all families studied could have kept their children at home even with needed services. (Sauber, 1967, p. 449)

Concern about foster care arises when a placement lasts for longer than seems necessary. Repeatedly studies have demonstrated that the rate of discharge from foster care drops off markedly as children remain longer in foster care, so that a child who has been in foster care for as long as three years is likely to remain in foster care (Maas, 1959; Fanshel, 1971). Analysis of the characteristics of children who remain in long term foster care has shown that the manner of entry into the system, particularly when combined with non-white race and birth out of wedlock, is associated with longer care (Fanshel, 1971) and that a disproportionate number of children in foster care 10 years or more are non-white and intellectually or physically handicapped (Maas, 1969). Some of these children might, however, be able to move back to their own homes or to adoptive homes.

Return home may be the answer for some children. However, the reasons for placement are serious, and point toward long term and intensive work with families, work probably complicated by distrustful and alienated attitudes found among families (Jenkins, 1969). A recent intensive analysis of a small private agency foster care caseload indicated that a return home was not a realistic plan for 31 of 50 children (Rothchild, 1974.

There are indicators, however, that many children are "lost" in long term foster care, with little or no work being done to make permanent plans for them. In general, parents do not visit children in long term foster care, and these parents often receive little or no treatment from the placing agency (Maas, 1969). The ties of natural parents to children become attenuated, the feeling of responsibility for the child, not being actively exercised, atrophies; the parents reorganize their lives in a way that does not include the child, so that the child's return home would mean disruption of the current situation (Kadushin, 1967). A recent Massachusetts study found that a high proportion of these children are not legally free to move into adoption (Gruber, 1973). The children considered adoptable are not promptly placed (New York State Charities Aid Association, 1960; Gruber, 1973). There seem to be groups of children in the foster care system who do not move out of it, and they are probably not the easiest children for whom to find adoptive homes.

An Illinois study, conducted before the enactment of the Illinois legislation, focused on the use and need for subsidized adoption. The sample covered 600 children in foster family homes and subsidized adoptive homes of two private agencies and two public agencies (Shireman, 1969). The study disclosed that at that time the child adopted by his foster family with the help of partial payments was the older child, the handicapped white child, and most of all, the "normal" black child of any age. Differences in patterns of foster care between Chicago and one downstate area were noted; subsidies appeared more needed

in the urban area because of the characteristics and needs of the population served, a larger proportion of black children, and longer term foster care. From the study, it seemed probable that a large number of children would be adopted by their foster parents if partial payments for care were to continue. Projected savings in long term care costs for an estimated 1,430 children under public agency care statewide amounted to over $5,000,000.

Subsidized adoption appears to be a resource which would be of help in developing permanent homes for children who otherwise would remain in foster care. The statement of the Child Welfare League (1968) that subsidies that would make it possible for a child to have both a permanent home and continuity of care and affection . . . would in the long run cost the community no more than the alternative of long term foster care seems to be supported by the data. Further experience and study are necessary to determine whether subsidized adoption is "Clearly more beneficial . . . than long term foster care," though logic and our knowledge of child development seem to support this assumption. Existing data do indicate that the only alternative form of family life for the children currently being placed in subsidized adoption is foster family care.

CHAPTER II

THE PROJECT: GOALS, STAFF, AND MAJOR COMPONENTS

In August, 1971, Illinois Department of Children and Family Services received a three year grant from the Children's Bureau to study the impact of subsidy upon the adoption of black children.

GOALS of the Project were:

1. To identify in the Department's foster care caseload those black children who were, or should be, available for adoption.
2. To help qualified foster parents adopt black children under their care by furnishing financial assistance to meet legal, medical and/or maintenance costs.
3. To recruit new black adoptive applicants who, without subsidy, could not consider adoption.
4. To improve methods and procedures for earlier and more complete identification of the black children who are under care of the Department and are legally free for adoption.
5. To secure appropriate, continuing and productive involvement of both consumers and black communities in implementation of the project.
6. To continue emphasis on the adoption of black children in the ongoing adoption program of the Department, utilizing subsidy only as appropriate and essential to serve the best interest of the child.
7. To cooperate with and encourage private agencies to utilize subsidies for increasing adoption of black children through their own resources in the manner and to the extent possible.

Target areas for the project were the Department's Chicago Region and the East St. Louis District, both with large percentages of black children in foster homes and heavy concentrations of black families who offered potential resources for adoption. The original plan was that all black children in foster home placement at the beginning of the project, or who came into foster homes during the three-year period, in the two areas would constitute the client universe.

The Agency and Project Staff

The Department of Children and Family Services operated the State-administered child welfare program through its Division of Child Welfare. When the project was initiated, there were eight regional offices under which there were more than 30 district or direct service offices throughout the State providing a full range of child welfare services.

Though organization in each of the regional offices was adjusted to accommodate the particular needs and resources of the region, the basic program and policies were effective throughout the State.

Staff in the Chicago Region and East St. Louis District carried out the ongoing functions of the adoption program.

In East St. Louis, all adoptable children were served in a special adoption unit with staff who were experienced and knowledgeable about adoption policies and procedures. Pre-adoption programs and developing adoptive families were carried in the same unit. This concentration on adoption enabled staff to give prompt attention to children needing adoption and families interested in adopting these children.

In the Chicago Region, pre-adoptive services were handled by the staff with general caseloads in the four district offices. An adoption coordinator in each district office served to expedite the adoption process. A centralized homefinding unit developed adoptive families for all of the district offices. The regional coordinator assisted in getting the children and families together.

Project staff consisted of a director, research consultant, research analyst, and in East St. Louis, a coordinator; in each area there was a small unit with social workers, child development aides, and clerical personnel. The outstanding qualifications of staff were flexibility, high level of energy and enthusiasm, and a strong commitment to the goal of getting permanent families for children. The director, coordinator, one social worker, and a research consultant had full social work training, and the other social workers had bachelor of arts degrees. With the exception of the research analyst, all staff had experience in child welfare. However, they had few preconceived ideas about adoption and were encouraged to take a fresh view of each child. A Roosevelt University student was assigned to the project for one semester. A trainee with Urban Corps served as an aide for six months.

Major Components of the Project

The major components of the Project were: (1.) finding children who could benefit from adoption; (2.) providing direct services to children; (3.) locating and developing adoptive homes; (4.) effecting adoptive placements—with and without subsidy; and (5.) research on all phases.

Casefinding: Identification of legally available and potentially adoptable children was the logical beginning point and first phase of the project. Generally, hard-to-place children, to whom subsidy is directed, become lost in the system, and little is known about their individual needs, personalities, social and emotional development. Additionally, there was little idea of the numbers of potentially adoptable children

in foster homes. It was decided that a comprehensive picture of each child was needed to determine the appropriate long range plan and as a basis for considering use of subsidy.

A casefinding schedule was developed with the idea of securing extensive information about the child, his current situation, ties to his natural family, agency services to the child and his family, and the caseworker's plan for the child's future. Some material on the schedule was drawn from that used elsewhere in the field (Boehm, 1958), some was developed to answer the particular questions of this project. Adoption was to be considered for every child who needed close and permanent family ties which could not be provided by his natural family. No child would be automatically ruled out or considered unadoptable unless reasons were explicit.

A listing of all non-white children in foster homes in Chicago and East St. Louis showed that. as of November, 1971, there were 4,000 in Chicago and 333 in East St. Louis. Black children over two years old under care totaled 3,360 or 77 percent of the non-white children over one year of age. Of this latter group, 665 were under five years of age, 1,079 were six through eleven years, 840 were twelve through fifteen, and 776 were over sixteen years old. There was not a satisfactory method of knowing the number or identifying the individual children who were legally free for adoption. Determining which and how many of the black children were under guardianship with the right to consent to adoption or were legally free because of a voluntary surrender could only be accomplished by a review of individual cases. When this work had been done, we were able to ascertain that 212 black children who were legally free for adoption had been under care over two years and 35 legally free black children had been under care less than two years.

The listing was reviewed to pinpoint children in foster care three years or longer as the first group to receive attention from the case analysts. Since they had waited longer, it was believed that there was a greater likelihood of their being "forgotten." Services geared toward adoptive planning were not likely for these children.

From information in the case record, supplemented by a conference with the child's worker or supervisor, Project workers completed schedules for 1,962 of these black children.[1] A year following the initial case review, there was a follow-up with the district office staff to find out changes in the child's status or living situation. Of special interest was movement towards adoption.

Direct service to children: Case reviews were terminated in Chicago because of time limits and the eagerness of Project staff to provide direct services. Although it was anticipated that contacts between project staff and district office workers would result in building the concept of permanent planning into the ongoing program, in practice this was not accomplished. Project workers became frustrated and discouraged when little or nothing was being done to facilitate adoption for children. It appeared futile to continue identifying children who could benefit from adoption when no efforts were being made to im-

[1]When reviewed and on last follow-up, children were being served by the following Chicago offices: East—140; Special Services—34; North—684; South—830; Central—264; Unknown—10.

plement an adoptive plan. While some progress was noted in increased adoptive planning, particularly in specialized units, by and large there was little change. During the second phase of the Project, children were transferred into the Project in Chicago for direct services. Simultaneously, work was also directed toward locating and developing adoptive homes for these children. The major thrust in East St. Louis, where there was no backlog of children, was recruitment of new families. It was hoped that homes could be developed in East St. Louis for Project children in Chicago.

The major objectives in providing direct services were (1) to demonstrate that older children in long term care could be prepared and placed in adoption and (2) to determine the use of subsidies in making these placements. In working with children, their foster parents, who had an influential role in their lives, were involved in long range planning for the child. Considerable attention was given to the extent of the foster parents' investment in the child and their interest in making the child a permanent member of the family through adoption. Interpretation of subsidy and reassurances that subsidy was an ongoing program were an integral part of services to foster parents.

There were two aspects of homefinding: developing the current foster home and enabling foster parents to make the transition from "temporary" foster parent to adoptive status, and studying new families who responded to recruitment efforts. With both foster parents and new families, the availability of subsidy as a service was included in the study.

The Project was interested in testing out new techniques in recruitment and determining if a new source of black families, those with low incomes, could be reached. In a large urban area such as Chicago, a demonstration of creative recruitment methods would be a valuable contribution.

Major emphasis in the Project was on the demonstration of a new service to children. The research design was adopted to both monitor and, where possible, facilitate this service.

The Research: Project workers had a vital role in developing the research instruments, and thus used them with relative ease. The schedule on which information was recorded about the children in foster care was developed in conjunction with the Project director and direct service staff; it reflected their concerns about the diagnostic information they needed to plan for children. The schedule on which information about adoptive and foster homes was recorded was developed with the homefinders. This instrument, though originally intended to be the recording vehicle for the homefinders, was not used this way; instead it was completed by the worker who best knew the home at the time a child was placed in adoption (or a foster family decided not to adopt). Other tallies, such as the monitoring of the results of various recruitment devices in East St. Louis, were designed to serve secondary purposes such as keeping necessary office records.

Despite the involvement of staff, there were difficulties in securing complete data on all phases of the Project, primarily due to time pressures on the workers and their commitment to providing direct service to children. These difficulties may have been less than in many a service-oriented project, however.

The tie to judgments made and needed in daily practice may be reflected in a lack of conceptual sophistication in the instruments. Certainly the research methodology was strongly affected by the commitment to carry out the service component of the project[1]. However, the monitoring of this service does seem to reflect the essence of what the project demonstrated.

[1]For example, see Chapter 8 for a description of the way in which the political maneuvering of the project within the agency affected the attempt to give direct service to a random sample of children.

CHAPTER III

THE CHILDREN IN FOSTER CARE

CHICAGO

The first task of the Project was to ascertain whether there really were children in the foster homes of the Department for whom adoptive planning would be appropriate and, if there were, to ascertain what planning was being done for these children.

Data Available

A casefinding instrument was designed to record information about the child, his own family, his foster family and the services he had received from the Department (See Appendix A). The initial plan was that Project case analysts would read the records of all black children in the Department's foster homes in Chicago and East St. Louis, and supplement this information in an interview with the child's worker. Through this process the children needing planning would be identified, and follow-up work with the child's own caseworker could facilitate the carrying out of these plans.

The East St. Louis Office was considerably smaller than that in Chicago and had, just prior to the beginning of this project, completed a program of reviewing the situations of children in foster care and placing many of them in adoption. The 237 children read in East St. Louis foster care therefore constituted a somewhat different population. A summary of results of these children is given in the second part of this chapter.

The casefinding schedule contained extensive information on the legal, personal, familial, foster care, and agency service factors relevant to sound casework planning for a permanent family home. It also included the caseworker's own plan and evaluation of the foster home, and of the child's needs related to family life. From the schedule, the following could be determined: (1.) Children who were in foster homes, though ready for adoption and with usual preparation, could be placed once an adoptive home is found; (2.) children for whom adoptive planning was indicated, though work with the child, his family, and/or legal system was needed; and (3.) children for whom adoptive planning was inappropriate.

Staff orientation meetings were held in each district office to introduce and interpret the casefinding schedule to staff. It was hoped that these meetings would also serve to better acquaint district office staff with the Project and the additional input which the Project could make to focus direction and future planning for individual cases. Initially, there was considerable resistance, concern, and reaction to the Project as an unnecessary duplication of effort. Reviewing records signified an element of judgment and evaluation of planning which

was negatively viewed. However, as Project staff persisted and relationships developed with district workers, there was more openness and sharing between the two.

The situation of 1,962 black children in Chicago in foster care, about 40 percent of the black children beyond infancy in foster care for three months or longer in Metropolitan Chicago during 1972-1973, was investigated. Data collected proceeded more slowly than expected as case analysts searched for records and caseworkers in order to obtain information about the child and his family. Records were read and caseworkers interviewed in all district offices of the city. The 1,962[1] cases obtained were in no sense a random sample of the black children in foster care, being simply the first cases read. There is no reason, however, to suspect that the sample was in any way biased.

The decision to terminate data collection when only 40 percent of the cases had been read was made because of the time limits of the Project and because of the morale of the Project staff. Obtaining the information we thought necessary to really understand the situations of these children was simply taking more time than had been expected. Even more seriously, again and again, the case analysts had the impression that only worker time, initiative, and effort stood between the child and his finding a permanent home. The urge to "do something about it" grew stronger, and finally the decision was made to terminate casefinding and give these workers cases of their own.

The data with which the casefinding schedule was completed are probably typical of the data available in any large urban department. Almost 90 percent of the children were given caseworkers, some of whom were relatively recently assigned and did not know the children well (or had not yet seen them). Ten percent were in uncovered caseloads. Records of the child in foster care were located for all children, but sometimes there was difficulty in finding the record containing work with the child's own family (perhaps reflecting the paucity of work done with this family since the child had come into placement).

The situation of these 1,962 children was investigated again approximately 18 months after the first review. At follow-up, 405 children (20.6 percent) were in uncovered caseloads. The follow-up could not be completed for an additional 69 children (3.5 percent) when even the extensive efforts of the research staff could not locate the records and workers for the children.[2]

Department workers evidenced interest in the Project, were generally cooperative with Project personnel, and seemed to be trying to provide accurate information. It was the research worker's impression that their contacts and questions did stimulate some thought about planning for the children, though workers sometimes said their large caseloads would make it impossible to carry out plans.

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[1] A other 102 children read by Project workers have not been included in the study. Though records showed them to be in foster care, in the first interview with the caseworker, the research worker learned that seven were in institutions, 26 were in adoptive placement, 52 had returned home, three were in independent living, five had already been legally adopted, five had been discharged from guardianship to a parent or relative, and four had been emancipated from foster care due to age. We continued to follow these children, however. For example, 24 of the 26 children in adoptive placement have been adopted. Of the 52 children returned home, at least seven have returned to the system—one is even in adoptive placement.

[2] It should be remembered that between the original reading and the follow-up, extensive administrative changes had taken place in the Department. It is possible that this large number of records that could not be found reflects, at least in part, the temporary disorganization that can accompany change.

Description of the Children

All of the children in this sample were black, and had been in foster care in metropolitan Chicago for three months or more. In other respects, they were a varied group of children.

As infants and children in foster care less than three months were not included in this sample, there is a relatively small proportion of very young children and a high proportion of teenagers. Only 28 children (1.4 percent) were less than two years of age, while 644 children (32.8 percent) were between 13 and 19. Ages ranged from 9 to 19; the median age was 10 years as of December, 1972.

These children, had, however, grown up in foster care. Thirty-six percent of the children entered foster care at less than one year of age, and only 3 percent at age 12 or more. By the end of 1972, 49.6 percent of the children had completed six or more years in the State's foster care system. (Appendix C.)

Fifty-three percent of the children were boys, reflecting the slight preponderance of boys reported in other studies. The largest percentage of boys (60.9 percent) was found among those children whose parents had been active in initiating the request for foster care.

Other descriptive information about the children was much more difficult to obtain with accuracy. We attempted to assess emotional health, physical health, physical handicap, and intelligence. Despite written instructions, training, and continuing discussion as the schedule was used, case analysts had difficulty with these items. Physical conditions, in general, were known and understood by Department caseworkers, and reasonably complete information was obtained. Emotional health was defined in terms of problems displayed, but whether a problem was "minor and reactive" or "serious" called for a judgment case analysts were often uneasy about making. Part of the uneasiness stemmed from lack of detailed knowledge about the child's behavior; part stemmed from what they perceived as inadequate professional training to make such decisions.[1] The most serious difficulty with these descriptive items arose when case analysts assessed intelligence. The analysts were reluctant to report a low IQ score attained on a test when the child seemed to be functioning adequately. How much of this difficulty was due to inadequate testing and/or inadequate knowledge of the child's current functioning, and how much was due to worker enthusiasm about potential placement for the children is difficult to say.

Though these problems suggest that data may represent a "rough guess" rather than a precise determination, the picture presented was remarkable. As a whole, these children were healthy and functioning normally.

The children were in good shape physically. Ninety-five percent were in good health with only 19 children (1 percent) having really poor health. Ninety-four percent of the children were reported to have no physical handicap, and an additional 2 percent had a minor handicap affecting physical appearance primarily. More serious defects

[1]This perception has implications in thinking about decisions Department staff make routinely. The two Project workers had BA degrees and some experience as caseworkers in the Department before joining the Project. They also had the advantage of close and skilled supervision during the Project.

affecting physical and social functioning were reported for only 3 percent of the children. This figure might have been slightly higher had brain damage been considered a physical handicap by the case analysts.

Brain damage was classified by case analysts as an emotional problem, and these children were included in the 227 (11.6 percent) who manifested serious emotional disturbances. Also in this group were children whose ability to interact with others had been seriously impaired by the circumstances of life, so that symptoms of withdrawal or acting out necessitated special care in handling, special school, etc.

Most children, 75 percent, were thought to have no emotional problems, minor problems of the type common in the course of normal development, or problems predicted to be transient because they were reactions to a special situation.

If emotional problems were difficult to assess, intelligence was almost more difficult. Only 22.6 percent of the children had been tested (some in very sophisticated testing situations at child guidance clinics, children's hospitals, etc.) and 69.3 percent of those tested were of below average intelligence.[1] Case analysts were, as previously noted, sometimes reluctant to use these IQ scores if the children seemed to be functioning pretty well in school. For 77.4 percent of the children, there were no IQ scores or other estimates of intelligence available.

With these qualifications, it can be estimated that 102 children (5 percent) were functioning in the subnormal range—i.e., had intelligence quotients estimated to be below 70. Eighty-three percent of these children had been tested. The vast majority, 1,423 children (72.5 percent) were thought to be of "average" intelligence; 278 were considered slightly below average and only 39 above average.

Intelligence, emotional health, and physical handicap interacted to produce multiple handicaps for some children. Perhaps reflecting poor pre-natal care or difficult births, 42 percent of those with serious physical handicaps (11 children) were also of subnormal intelligence. Of the 227 children with major emotional problems, 42.6 percent were of below average or subnormal intelligence. Whether the emotional problems arose in part from coping with limited intelligence, or whether for some children emotional problems may have caused limited display of intelligence, is, of course, difficult to say.

Other factors also seem to have a significant impact upon emotional health and intelligence. Children in foster care for more than seven years were three times as likely to be judged below average in intelligence as those who had been in care for less than three years. Similarly, a child who had been in placement for more than five years was more likely to have major emotional problems. Children separated from their parents after the age of two and children who had more than three placements were also more likely to have serious emotional and intellectual problems.

Most of the children, 64.9 percent, had siblings in foster care (not necessarily in the same foster home). Eighteen children had eight brothers and sisters in foster care, but 369 children had only one sib-

[1]These figures pose some interesting questions. Were children tested only when problems became apparent, or do black foster children simply test poorly? The first is probably most significant. Another interesting fact was that 53 percent of those tested for intelligence had major emotional problems.

ling in care, and the median number was two. Only 31 percent of the children had no siblings. Eighty-three children (4 percent) were in foster care while all brothers and sisters remained at home (or at least not in State care).

Thus the "typical" black child in foster care in metropolitan Chicago entered care with one or two siblings as a very young child. He was now in grade school, healthy, of average intelligence, and without physical or emotional handicaps.

Foster Care and the Child's Own Family

As has been noted, most of these children were young when they entered the foster care system, and they remained for a long time. The children tended to remain in foster care until they reached age 18. Fifty-four children, 32 of whom had never lived with their parents, had been in care more than 16 years. While generalizing may be somewhat hazardous, due to our methods of casefinding (we read few infants) and a lack of knowledge about intake and system characteristics in years past, there appears to be a slow process of attrition, but the chief limiting factor may well be emancipation.

Drawn from sometimes sparsely dictated records, our knowledge of the circumstances under which these children entered care is superficial. About 79 percent of the children entered the foster care system in the 1960's (9 percent between 1953 and 1959, 20 percent in 1970-1972). Data are presented in Table 1. The parent initiated the request for care for about 17 percent of the children. An additional 20.7 percent came through the court on a "dependency" petition; this covers many circumstances, and often the parent acquiesced to the placement. Parents did not themselves provide care for 30 percent of the children and were passive (or absent) when they were placed through the court. The court placed 29 percent of the children because of abuse or neglect, placements against the wishes of the parents. The reason the child entered placement is unknown for 2.5 percent of the children.

Of the eighty-nine children in the sample for whom parents had requested adoptive placement, valid surrenders were available for only 71. Although the law now requires a surrender from the natural father, only six children had been surrendered by both parents. For 18 children, no surrender had been taken, apparently because the caseworker believed no home could be found.

The request for foster care for a young child by the parents, including father (195 children), occurred for many reasons: a young mother, living with her parents, unable to care for her child; an unwed mother, unable to decide about adoption; or a crisis in the home. In about one-third of these situations, the children entered care because the father had been left alone when the mother died or deserted, and he could not manage. In the latter case, these tended to be large families of young children; the mean number of siblings entering care was 3.8 and mean age, 4.4 years. In the other two-thirds, the children were usually infants. Approximately 10 percent of the children whose parents had requested care had frequent contact (four times a year or more often) with a parent; almost 18 percent of those fathers who had asked for care retained contact with their children—sometimes through many years. Had other services, such as homemakers, been

available, one wonders how many of those families might have remained intact.

Of those children who had been abandoned or "given" to friends or relatives, a surprising 60 (12.0 percent) had contact once a year or more often with their mothers, 33 with their fathers and 44 with other relatives. One is left with rather startling conjectures about the stresses which may have caused hasty and later regretted abandonment, and again one wonders what role supportive services in the community might have played.

Neglect, poor living conditions, insufficient food, and lack of supervision are related to abandonment in the parents' passive abrogation of responsibility, though the neglecting parent wishes to continue to have custody of the child. This is reflected in a greater amount of continued contact. Thirty-two percent of these neglected children saw their mothers once a year or more often; about 13 percent saw their fathers this often. The families of these neglectful parents were also

Table 1—Reason for Entry into Foster Care

Reason	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
Parents initiate placement				
Request for adoptive placement	89	4.5		
Request for foster care	121	6.2		
Father alone and unable to cope	74	3.8		
Child's behavior presents problems	45	2.3		
Total			329	16.7
Parents essentially passive or absent				
Child "given" to friends/relatives who later request care	79	4.0		
Child abandoned with friends/ relatives who request care	196	10.0		
Child abandoned at birth in hospital	73	3.7		
Child abandoned, no provision for care	136	6.9		
Child born to agency ward	117	6.0		
"Dependency" petition	407	20.7		
Total			1,008	51.3
Parents resist placement				
Abused child	85	4.3		
Sibling of abused child	7	0.4		
Severely neglected child	117	6.0		
Neglected child	366	18.7		
Total			575	29.4
Reason Unknown	50	2.5		
Total			50	2.5
Grand Total			1,962	100.0

large. Fifteen children who entered care because of neglect had eight or more siblings in foster care, and the mean number of children in the family was 4.3. Again, it seems that intensive service to the child's own family might have kept a significant number of children with their own parents.

Though abusive parents also want to keep their children at home, in this sample a much smaller proportion retained contact with the child once he was placed. Only about 2 percent of these children saw their mothers once a year or more often, and only about 3 percent saw their fathers this regularly. In contrast to the neglected and abandoned children, over half had no siblings in foster care. Thus these children, though placed over the parents' protests, seemed to be abandoned once they were in foster care.

A final category accounted for 6.1 percent of the children in care. When a girl who is a ward of the state of Illinois has a baby, the usual procedure is to place that infant in foster care—not necessarily with the mother. Other plans are possible, but are not often made. Thus these children begin their lives isolated from permanent family, generally without siblings, and the isolation continues as the mother begins to make her way in her own adult world.[1]

The children in the total sample were, as has been noted, young at separation from parents, the mean age being 3.7 years. Indicative of an expected total absence of relationship with parents, 23 percent had never lived with their parents. Of the 750 oldest children (over 12 years of age) only 9 percent had lived with their parents since they were 12. Sixty-nine percent last lived with parents at under six years.

Thus it is evident that, whatever the reason for entering foster care, these children had relatively few family ties, perhaps because they had been in care so long. Twenty-five percent had ties with the mother, 12 percent had ties with relatives and only 9 percent with their father. The frequency of strong family ties was much lower. The children who entered foster care because of parent neglect (often very large sibling groups) and those whose parents requested care because of the child's behavior problems did retain more contact with parents; these might be children on whom additional community effort should be expended with the hope of keeping the children with their own families. Among all children, case analysts noted the frequency with which visits by grandparents were mentioned, and speculated that grandparents might be easily accepted by foster parents. However, once in foster care, it seems there is little likelihood of a child's maintaining contact with his family over a period of years, and little likelihood of actually returning home.

Siblings can become "family" for a foster child. Among the children in this sample 313 had no siblings, 354 had siblings who were not in foster care, 386 had siblings in other foster homes, and 886 were in foster homes with siblings (448 of these 886 siblings in other foster homes as well). The nature of contacts with siblings was unknown for 110 children; of the remaining 1,539 children with siblings, almost 80 percent retained some type of contact. However, of those children whose siblings were not in the same foster home, a majority had no contact with them. The importance of this "family" in the general

[1]Only 3.4 percent of these children had emotional problems, however.

absence of other ties is underscored by the relationship between emotional health and siblings in the same foster home (See Table 2).

The case analysts thought that the best description of parental involvement with the child was obtained in the attempt to ascertain the parents' goals—their ideas about what the outcome of placement should be. This could only be done (within the limits of this study) through asking the child's current caseworker what he thought the parents wanted. The responses are presented in Table 3. Despite lack of contact, only 8.8 percent of the parents had definitely planned for adoption, either surrendering the child or acquiescing to the court's termination of parental rights; an additional 0.5 percent were known to be ambivalent about adoption. The Department caseworker thought 15.5 percent of the parents planned that the child would return to their home or to the home of relatives. Only 8.9 percent actively opposed adoption without other plans, apparently planning for long term foster care. The remainder either had no plan known to the agency (37.3 percent) or were deceased or had disappeared (29.0 percent).

In sum, these children entered foster care at a young age for a variety of reasons, a high proportion due to parental neglect or abandonment. Once in care, a variety of patterns of contact with relatives

Table 2—Children Having Major Emotional Problems by Number of Siblings in Same Foster Home

	Number of Siblings in Same Foster Home				
	None	One	Two	Three	Four or More
Number of Children	1,079	506	232	100	52
Number of Children with Problems	161	45	18	7	1
Percent of Children with Problems	14.96	8.9	7.8	7.0	1.9

Table 3—Plans for Children—Views of Parents and Caseworkers

Plan	*Parent*		*Workers*	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
Return home or to relatives	304	15.5	162	8.3
Adoption	172	8.8	469	23.9
Long term foster care	174	8.9	932	47.5
Emancipation	—	—	144	7.3
No definite plan	377	19.2	83	4.2
Institutionalization	—	—	32	1.6
Other	10	.5	140	7.2
Unknown	356	18.1	—	—
Parent deceased or whereabouts unknown	569	29.0	—	—
Total	1,962	100.0	1,962	100.0

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developed, but an amazingly high proportion of children lost contact with biologic families, except for siblings in the same foster home. An exception is the one-third of the children who entered care due to parent neglect or because of their own behavior problems and retained contact with families over the years. This raises interesting questions about the possibility of preventive or rehabilitative services for this group of families. Indicative of the failure to involve the parents of these children in decision-making, 75 percent of the parents had no plan which was known to the Department caseworker for the termination of foster care.

Agency Service

The characteristics of the children in foster care, and the families who place them, are important in considering what type of plans can be made for the children. The service given the child since placement is, however, the crucial factor in the agency's evaluation of itself and of its ability to carry out plans for the children. We attempted to record the child's placement experience, assess the service given to parents and child and to learn a little about the current foster home.

Dates of placements were fairly easy to obtain; due to the limited quality of the records, we made no attempt to assess the quality of any but the current placement. The children had had an average of 2.4 placements; 415 children (21 percent) had experienced only one placement, while 13 children had nine or more. Forty-two percent of these children had three or more placements. Four percent of the children in the sample had returned home to live at least once.

Assessing the current foster home was important. Not only is this a statement about the care children are currently receiving, but for an older child who has been in foster care a long time the foster home is a primary resource for adoption. Information on which evaluations of foster homes was based was sometimes scanty and sometimes distorted. Department workers knew some homes better than others, and were sometimes defensive about a home where a child had been for a long time. Nevertheless, a general assessment could usually be made with some comfort.

Despite these limitations of the data, it is of interest that more than 86 percent of the foster homes were rated good or excellent, and only 18 children (0.9 percent) were thought to be in unacceptable homes. Though the data are of uncertain validity, there is some indication of the quality of care given children in Illinois and of the potential of foster homes as adoptive resources.

We asked the caseworker about the foster parents' interest in adoption, and again information was severely limited by the degree of the workers' knowledge of the foster home. As an indicator of lack of agency investment in permanent planning for these children, 62.9 percent of these foster parents had never participated with the agency in a full discussion of the possibilities of adoption. The potential of foster homes as an adoptive resource is underscored by the 15.6 percent of the foster parents who were, even under these conditions, known to have a definite wish to adopt. Of those with whom adoption had been discussed, about two-thirds had an interest in adoption.

The items on agency service to the parents and to the child were drawn directly from another study (Boehm, 1958) and did not reflect the "spotty" service pattern often found in the Department. Variations in parent interest and/or worker turnover seemed to result in periods of activity followed by loss of contact. The same pattern occurred as workers responded to crisis in the children's lives. Nevertheless, the item reflected a clear pattern of more service to children than to parents, with casework services and relationship being provided at some time, periodically, or continuously for 96 percent of the children and 50 perc of the families. Most (80 percent) services to children, however, consisted of contacts with the foster parents, usually with the goal of maintaining the placement.

The plans of the Department caseworkers for the children, detailed in Table 3, show a thrust toward planning for permanency for the 8.3 percent of the children expected to return home, the 1.6 percent needing institutionalization, and the 23.9 percent for whom adoption was definitely planned. The remainder of the children, however, seemed to be in foster homes, often without contact with parents, and without active planning toward a permanent home. Long term foster care without adoption was the definite plan for almost one-third of the children.

These data, then, indicate that the Department usually provides a benign foster care environment with at least periodic casework contact. However, the high proportion of children with three or more moves is disturbing, as is the extraordinary number of placements a few children have had. The emphasis on the status-quo was evidenced by the plan that 47.5 percent of the children remained in their current foster home. The caseworker's lack of knowledge of the foster home and the biologic home indicate a minimal investment in long term planning for children.

Plans for the Future

The core of the Project's casefinding lay in discovering the plans for the future of the children in foster care. As noted, we attempted to learn from the worker of the parent's plans, and we asked for a narrative statement of the caseworker's current plan. Finally using all information in the schedule, the case analyst specified for each child the appropriate next steps in agency service.

Tabulation of the plans as made by the parent and caseworker, presented in Table 3, reveals some discrepancies in planning. More parents (15 percent) planned to return children to the family than is thought possible by professionals. On the other hand, professionals saw adoption as a feasible plan more often than parents. Long term foster care was the Department's caseworker's plan of choice for 47 percent of the children; 9 percent of the parents had this goal (case analysts agreed for 15 percent of the children). Comparisons are complicated, however, because in 47 percent of the cases, the parents' goals were not known.

The data on the parents' goals are severely limited by the lack of knowledge workers have about parents; one would suspect that they

report with real accuracy about the parent who has made a clear request and acted toward implementing it.[1]

The worker's plan, as it was articulated to the case analyst, was usually a plan for the next few months. Particularly, in the early months of the project, plans tended to take the form of maintaining the current placement or finding a better foster home. As the goals of the Project became better known, and as some of the ideas of planning permeated the thinking of Department workers, some sophisticated and thoughtful plans began to be reported, involving assessment of the child and the potential of his own family and moving toward return home or adoption. In the final months of the Project, workers began to make a different type of statement about plans. They reported what activity should take place for the child. But in a sad appendix they added, "But I'm not going to do these things; I don't have time."

One wonders about the benefits which staff training and development can have for children (or staff) unless at the same time work pressures are relieved sufficiently so that staff can try out new ideas.

An item on the usefulness of family life to the child was intended to be a primary indicator of whether adoptive planning was currently appropriate. Discriminations proved difficult to make, however, with the limited knowledge of the worker and the limited training in childhood disorders of the case analysts. However, 91 percent of the children were reported able to benefit from close and permanent family ties. Of the 7 percent who were judged to need "low intensity" family life, at least temporarily, and the 0.5 percent needing group care, some were adolescents currently exhibiting normal drives toward independence. Only 19 children were thought to need institutionalization in the near future. (Analysts felt that an additional six children would need institutionalization eventually.) Though the data may be limited, it is clear that planning toward a permanent home is appropriate for most of these 1,962 children.

The final assessment of plans involved a concrete categorizing of children according to the "next step" which the agency should take. Presented in Table 4 these "steps" ranged from the relatively concrete to the recognition that what was needed was more knowledge.

In startling contrast to the lack of planning being done for these children 66.7 percent were classified as potentially adoptable by case analysts. For another third the analyst recommended re-evaluation of the agency plan—almost always a plan for continued foster care. The final third consisted of children about whom there was not sufficient knowledge to plan realistically; either they, their biologic parents, or their foster parents need to be known better.

For 652 children (about one-third of the sample) adoption was thought to be inappropriate, in almost all cases because of existing ties with own or foster family. Fifty-one of these children were either too emotionally damaged for close family ties or in need of institutionalization. In general, however, this group consisted of younger children with natural family ties and older children for whom adoption by the foster parents was not a feasible plan.

[1]Some confidence in the data is imparted by the fact that the percentage planning or considering adoption and the percentage planning a return home "sometimes" seem similar to those reported in Massachusetts (Gruber, 1973, p. 47) after an interview with parents.

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Table 4

Child's Position on the Route Toward a Permanent Home at the Time the Casefinding Schedule Was Completed

Status	*Number*	*Percent*
Child is ready for adoption	193	9.8
Adoption is potentially appropriate, but one or more steps must be taken before child is adoptable	1,117	56.9
Child needs to be legally freed	364	18.6
Child needs more than usual emotional preparation	4	.2
Child needs to be better known	42	2.1
Family needs to be better known	167	8.5
Foster family needs to be better known	185	9.6
Re-evaluation of agency plan is recommended	355	18.1
Adoption is inappropriate	652	33.3
Child is to return home	144	7.3
Child has strong identification and meaningful contacts with natural family, but rehabilitation not possible	136	6.9
Child has deep roots with foster family, who do not want to adopt	126	6.4
Child needs institutionalization	25	1.3
Rehabilitation plan for family needs to be implemented	66	3.4
Child emotionally damaged—cannot benefit from close family ties	26	1.3
Child too old to form new close family ties, emancipation planned	129	6.6

Movement Toward Permanent Plans

In normal agency routine, there should be some movement in a year's time toward permanent planning for the children in care. Such movement should be accelerated by the impact of early staff training. It was suspected, however, that little change was occurring in the status of children in foster care. And workers told our case analysts that, due to caseload pressures, any plans they might like to make for children were not likely to be carried out. Indeed, they doubted that they would even get to know well many of the children. The data, displayed in Table 5 indicate that the caseworkers were, in general, correct.

With the exception of those children who were legally free and identified as ready for adoption at the time of the original case reading, the most notable thing about Table 5 is that more than half of the children remained in the same category a year later. In other words, 48 percent of the children for whom adoption was considered potentially appropriate, were still so considered a year later at follow-up (though 15 had become 18 years old and left the foster care system) and 46 percent of the children for whom adoption was not thought appropriate, remained in foster care with unchanged status. The primary

Table 5

Child's Position at Time of Original Casefinding, by Position at Follow-up

Original Position	Position at Follow-up								
		In Foster Care							
	Total	In Adoption	Ready for Adoption	Adoption Potentially Appropriate	Adoption Not Appropriate	Returned Home	Left Due to Age	Deceased	Status Unknown
Ready, legally free	193	125	48	1	11	3	2	—	3
Adoption potentially Appropriate	1117	120	65	543	271	53	15	1	49
Adoption not appropriate	652	10	10	78	402	80	54	1	17
Total	1962	255	123	622	684	136	71	2	69

reasons that adoption had not been considered for these children were age—54 were dismissed from care when they became 18 during the year, or went into independent living—and ties with parents and relatives. It is encouraging to note that 80 children (12.3 percent of this group) returned to their own homes or to relatives' homes during the year.

Some of the movement displayed is curious. It is interesting, but comprehensible, that 10 children for whom adoption was not considered are now in adoptive homes, and an additional 10 are now free for adoption. Less happily, one also wonders about the 271 children, almost one-quarter of those for whom adoption was thought of as a potential resource, who are now classified in the "not appropriate" group. Have caseworkers grown to know these children better and recognized inability to deal with family life? Have absent parents been located and become involved with their children? Or, most likely, have the children simply grown a year older and a year more deeply rooted in foster homes which do not wish to adopt?

Clearly, the major hurdles in attaining adoption are the identification of the child as adoptable and moving through the court system to free him legally. Of the 193 children ready for adoption at the original case reading, 125 (64.8 percent) were in adoptive homes a year later. In contrast, only 10.7 percent of those for whom adoption was thought potentially appropriate, were in adoptive homes, and only an additional 5.8 percent had been legally freed.

Some children moved toward adoption with greater ease than others. Of 25 children of above-average intelligence who were potentially adoptable, four of the five who were legally free moved into adoption as had five of the remainder. On the other hand, only one of the six legally free children with very low IQ scores (below 70) went into an adoptive home. Serious emotional problems were a major impediment to adoption; only three of the 13 legally free who had severe emotional problems moved into adoption, and of the 104 considered potentially adoptable, only five of were adopted. Serious physical handicap was not a barrier; two of the three who were originally free moved into adoption, and seven of the 13 considered potentially adoptable were legally freed (two were placed). One is tempted to speculate that in these large caseloads a distinctive attribute, even if it is a physical handicap, may be an advantage, for caseworkers may get to know these unusual children and then invest in planning for them.

A final word must be written about the 69 children whose status was unknown at follow-up. These are children for whom neither record nor caseworker could be located. Truly these are children "lost in the system."

Summary and Some Conclusions:

In summary, most of these children had been in foster care for a considerable length of time, on the average, more than six years. The vast majority were healthy and without serious emotional or physical handicap. Most were in grade school years. All were black. Adoption was considered at least potentially appropriate for 65 percent of the children when the cases were originally read. Pressures on the case-

workers were such that there was little movement toward this goal, and a year later adoption was still considered potentially appropriate for one-third of the children in foster care. Parents and professionals articulated different goals, but there was little contact with parents by caseworkers and little knowledge of their capacities. Caseworkers tended to think of short-term goals and say that work pressures prevented investment in permanent planning.

Meaningful family ties, except for ties with siblings in same foster home, were the exception rather than the rule. We must conclude that most of these children had their primary ties with the foster parents. In most cases (64 percent) the caseworker had not investigated the foster parents' interest in adoption. The response from those who had been asked was positive—67 percent had some interest in adopting their foster children. We can only conclude then, that a concerted push for adoption by foster parents (subsidized adoption, in most cases) would produce worthwhile results.

It is not difficult to link the practices outlined here with the current plight of black children in foster care. The system has operated to provide benign custodial care, but that is not enough. Accidents of circumstances do not alter the need for every child for a home. From every human, ethical and legal standpoint, these children deserve our best efforts and resources to find permanent homes.

EAST ST. LOUIS

In a program paralleling the Chicago casefinding, black children in foster care were reviewed by the East St. Louis staff. Casefinding schedules, identical to those completed in Chicago, were filled out for each child. The result was a usable sample of 237 children, representing virtually all black children in East St. Louis foster homes at that time. Although this group was very much smaller than our Chicago sample, it provides some interesting comparisons.[1]

The children in East St. Louis appeared to present more problems. The breakdown by age (median age, 10 years) and sex (54.9 percent, male) was almost indistinguishable from the Chicago sample. Black children in East St. Louis tended to have more siblings in foster care. Approximately the same fraction (48 percent) were in foster homes with siblings. A somewhat higher percentage of these children had emotional (18 percent) and physical (8.5) health problems. Similarly, only 87 percent (as opposed to 95 percent in Chicago) were definitely known to have no physical handicaps, while 25 percent were considered below average in intelligence, and an additional 11 percent were thought to be subnormal (IQ below 70). To some extent, these figures may reflect different patterns of entry into care. As shown in Table 6, a much lower percentage of these children had come into care as infants; only 5 percent had never lived with their parents, and 75 percent had entered care after the age of two. Few children had come into care by surrender (1.7 percent), abandonment in the hospital (.4 percent), or a request for foster care (3 percent). Child abuse (10.0 percent), abandonment without provision for care (15.2 percent), severe neglect (7.6 percent) and maladjustment or minor in

[1]The more important tables are given in Appendix D.

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need of supervision petition (7.6 percent) were more significant causes in East St. Louis, although they may also indicate better community resources for averting foster care in less serious situations. In either case, it may not be surprising that a higher percentage of these children had problems of one sort or another.

The number of placements ranged from one to more than nine; however, a much higher percentage of children (37 percent versus 21 percent) had been in only one placement, and the average was only two placements per child. Such figures do not necessarily argue a more stable system of foster care; these children had been in care for considerably less time than the Chicago group. Almost 55 percent had been in care fewer than four years, while 31 percent had been in care fewer than two.

Only 25 percent had ties with the mother, 6 percent with the father, and 16 percent with relatives. These data are quite comparable to those of the Chicago children, although the East St. Louis children were somewhat more likely to have ties with relatives and less likely to have ties with the natural father. Not surprisingly, frequency of contact with members of the natural family was also similar.

Table 6

Reason for Entry into Foster Care (East St. Louis)

Reason	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
Parents initiate placement				
Request for adoptive placement ..	4	1.7		
Request for foster care	7	3.0		
Father unable to cope	11	4.6		
Child's behavior presents problems	17	7.2		
Total			39	16.5
Parents essentially passive (or absent)				
Child "given" to friends/relatives .	20	8.4		
Child abandoned with friends/ relatives	11	4.6		
Child abandoned in hospital	1	0.4		
Child abandoned/no provisions ..	36	15.2		
Child born to agency ward	2	0.8		
"Dependency" petition	35	14.8		
Total			105	44.2
Parents resist placement				
Abused child	24	10.1		
Sibling of abused child	1	0.4		
Severely neglected child	18	7.6		
Neglected child	32	13.5		
Total			75	31.6
Reason unknown	18	7.6		
Grand Total			237	100.0

About the same percentage of foster homes were rated good or excellent in East St. Louis (83.5 percent in Chicago) but a much higher percentage were judged excellent (30 percent versus 9 percent). These ratings may reflect a somewhat different approach to the categories listed on the casefinding schedule.

About 50 percent of the foster parents had been asked their interest in adoption; approximately half had shown some definite interest. These figures are higher and lower, respectively, than those for the Chicago population.

In general, the goals of natural parents were somewhat better known in East St. Louis—only 47 percent of parents had plans which were unknown, or no plan. Fewer parents planned to return the children home (14 percent). Most surprisingly, 25 percent planned to surrender the child for adoption, as compared with 2 percent in Chicago. These data are a little puzzling since workers planned to return the child in 18 percent of the cases, and only planned to free the child in 19 percent of the cases. The effectiveness of these plans is neatly highlighted by the fact that 17 percent of the children were returned home, as of the last follow-up, while only 7 percent became legally free during the same period.

In view of these figures, we note that 31 percent of the parents in East St. Louis were thought to have received complete and comprehensive service, as compared to 8 percent in Chicago. Some service was received by 75 percent, as compared to about 50 percent in Chicago. And although a similar percentage of children received some service in each area, 53 percent of the children in East St. Louis were thought to have received comprehensive service, while only 12 percent were in this category in Chicago.

Overall, case analysts found the population of children in East St. Louis to be less adoptable than their counterparts in Chicago. Only six percent were legally free, while an additional 51 percent were considered potentially adoptable and needing work. It's worth noting however, that many children had been placed in adoption in the year and a half prior to casefinding, as the result of an intensive adoption program in the East St. Louis area. Most of the children who could be legally freed had been placed, a pattern which continued during our follow-ups. In any case, it is clear that the East St. Louis caseload did not contain the same kind of backlog of adoptable children which was so evident in Chicago.

Even so, follow-ups in East St. Louis show a pattern of active casework, possibly reflecting the better knowledge of parents and children seen earlier. As shown in Table 7, twenty-eight children (11.9 percent) were placed in adoption. Forty-one (17.3 percent) were returned home during this period (approximately 18 months) while an additional 13.1 percent were emancipated or on college maintenance. Only four (1.7 percent) remained legally free, but had not been placed in adoption.

Conclusions

It appears that black children in foster care in East St. Louis received better services and more effective planning than corresponding children in Chicago. Although the East St. Louis children had more

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Table 7—Movement in Foster Care: Original Casefindings by Last Follow-up (East St. Louis)

Category	Original Casefinding No.	Original Casefinding Percent	Last Follow-up No.	Last Follow-up Percent
Free	15	6.3	4	1.7
Potentially adoptable—work needed	122	51.5	58	24.5
Adoption inappropriate	100	42.2	75	31.6
In adoptive placement			21	8.9
Emancipated, independent living, college			31	13.1
Adopted			7	3.0
Returned home			41	17.3
Total	237	100.0	237	100.0

problems, they moved out of foster care much more rapidly than Chicago children. Adoption was not a primary factor in this movement, although the East St. Louis office seems to have been very efficient in placing children identified as adoptable, when parental rights could be terminated. In fact, 13 percent of our Chicago sample moved into adoption, while the figure was 12 percent for East St. Louis. Significant differences existed, however, for return home (17.3 percent versus seven percent) and emancipation (13 percent versus 5 percent). Our research indicated that caseworkers and supervisors in East St. Louis were more likely to know both child and parent in the context of continuing service. As a result, plans seem to have been more realistic and more frequently carried to a conclusion.

Several other factors appear to be significant: (1) East St. Louis is "small" in comparison to Chicago offices; caseloads are more manageable than is typical in Chicago. (2) As a result of this "smallness" and the fact that the office works more closely with the community, few children become "lost" in the system. (3) East St. Louis has had an active and successful adoption unit since 1970. This specialized unit has paid substantial dividends in reducing the total number of children in care, freeing placement workers for casework with the natural families.

Finally, and perhaps most important, workers in East St. Louis have proved that foster care need not be a hopeless, morale-sapping treadmill. Because they have achieved, they are motivated to continue achieving—with the help of a supportive administration. In East St. Louis, foster care has once again become a means, rather than an end.

CHAPTER IV

PROJECT CHILDREN IN CHICAGO

Introduction

The decision to accept children into the Project in Chicago for direct services was made with the objective of demonstrating that subsidy could be a key factor in the adoption of older black children. Project review of 1,962 cases had demonstrated that there were substantial numbers of black children in foster homes in Chicago who could benefit from adoption, more than 60 percent of them being potentially adoptable. Having located the children, the next step was to determine how many of them could be prepared and placed in adoption.

A plan to use regular Department staff, rather than Project staff, to do direct work with children and families was developed at the conference which initiated the project. This plan appeared sound since involvement of regular staff would be a means of building thoughtful, goal-oriented planning for all children into the system. Project staff was to assume the role of training regular staff in permanent planning, the appropriate use of subsidy, and the placement of older children in adoption. In practice, the Project's efforts to motivate staff through staff development were not effective. From experiences with regular staff, it was evident that demands of large caseloads consumed most of their time and energy. All too frequently, potentially adoptable children were seen as stable placements, and the pressure of the child's presence was not felt. Other emergent assignments took priority over planning adoptions, and regular staff saw no value in becoming involved in staff training.

Project staff were greatly discouraged, frustrated, and concerned with the lack of commitment to adoptive planning and to permanent planning in general within the agency. Administrative support and investment were missing. The children were getting older and there was little or no movement toward the implementation of a permanent plan. Their need for permanent families was urgent and real. It was felt that there were resources for many of these children and Project staff were eager to provide services to bring children and families together.

From the pool of cases reviewed, 100 cases were selected for transfer into the Chicago Project.[1] Because the Project was entering its final year, it was decided to select children who were known to be potentially adoptable, with the additional provision that about half should be legally free. Most of our cases were obtained in this manner. A fairly small number of cases were obtained because (1) they were siblings who should be placed together or (2) they were in the same

[1]Agency dynamics subsequently prevented this sample from being random. We were required to accept 25 cases from each of two district offices, as a result of having obtained a staff member from each office. There is no reason to suspect bias in the sample, however.

(adopting) foster home with one of the randomly selected foster children. As a result, our sample contained more children who had previously been free than anticipated.

The Children

All of the children were black, living in foster homes, and considered, by their caseworkers, to be free of significant ties to their parents and relatives and in need of adoptive homes. With respect to age, sex, length of time in care, and physical and emotional condition, the sample was characteristic of a general caseload of a public agency. Some of the children had handicaps, a few had physical problems, such as cerebral palsy, and some were functioning at a retarded level or displayed emotional problems. Table 8 displays some of the characteristics of this group.

Table 8—Characteristics of Project Children

Total—112 Children

A. Sex: 68 Male (60.7)
44 Female (39.3)

B.

Age:	*Male*	*Percent*	*Female*	*Percent*
0-2	4	3.3	1	.9
3-5	12	10.7	12	10.7
6-9	32	28.5	24	21.4
10-13	17	15.2	5	4.5
14-17	3	2.7	2	1.8

C. Number of Placements:

	No.	Percent
1 —	50	44.6
2 —	45	40.2
3 —	10	8.9
4 —	7	6.3

D. Emotional Health:

	No.	Percent
None or minor problems —	98	87.4
Some problems —	7	6.3
Serious problems (therapy indicated) —	4	3.3
Severe problems which may be of long duration —	3	2.7

E. Physical Health:

No significant problems —	100	89.3
Minor health problems —	10	8.9
Serious health problems —	1	.9
Severe health problems —	1	.9

F. Physical Handicaps:

None —	103	91.9
Minor handicap —	6	5.4
Serious handicap, functioning impaired considerably —	2	1.8
Severe multiple handicap (child died) —	1	.9

G. Intelligence:

Above average —	6	5.4
Average —	94	83.9
Learning disability —	5	4.5
Seriously retarded	7	6.3

H. Length of Time in Care:

Time (Yrs.)	*No.*	*Percent*
0-1	0	0.0
1-2	7	6.3
2-3	10	8.9
3-4	24	21.5
4-5	19	17.1
5-6	12	10.8
6-7	10	9.0
7-8	14	12.6
8-9	4	3.3
9-10	5	4.2
10-11	3	2.7
11-12	4	3.3

I. Legal Status:

Previously free (father's rights not necessarily terminated)	61	(54.5)
Not free	51	(45.5)

In general, our sample was quite comparable in most respects to the general population of children in foster care. Our 112 children were about the same emotionally, slightly more likely to have physical problems or handicaps, and somewhat less likely to be retarded than the general group. They had been in care slightly less time than the average child, but as long as the average adoptable child. (See our analysis of casefinding.) The average age of these children was seven years, as opposed to nine (approximately), for the general foster children population. As a consequence, they also tended to have somewhat fewer placements. This was to be expected. More difficult to explain is the preponderance of boys (60.7) as opposed to 53.7 percent, in our larger sample. This difference is probably not significant, however.

Children

Project staff were intensively involved in getting to know children. The children were approached with the same honesty and directness as the foster parents. In this area, the worker's comfort and security

with the concept of foster care and adoption are highly significant. Many workers have experienced feelings of guilt and defensiveness about the poor service and lack of attention to children in long term foster care. From the outset, Project workers recognized that we could not undo past mistakes and problems. Our focus had to be on the realities of the present for the child and relating to a permanent plan which would fit his individual needs and circumstances.

Each child was seen as often as necessary in order that the worker could become well-acquainted with him and all aspects of his life. Efforts were made to involve the child in planning for his future. In many instances, older children had ties with foster parents, relatives of the foster family, and in addition, some member of their natural family. The meaning of these ties to the child had to be understood and considered in overall planning.

The children who were legally free for adoption appeared on slides and live television appearances. They were carefully and thoroughly prepared for their participation in publicity and for the whole idea of adoption.

Direct Services

Project staff approached direct services with a strong conviction that Project children could be placed in adoption. The staff had incorporated the philosophy of permanent planning and each child's right to have a family of his own. From their perspective as case analysts, they knew that services were not being given to a large percentage of children to facilitate and implement adoption. They were challenged to demonstrate what could be done for children and to prove that adoption could be achieved for a significant number.

The staff was enthusiastic, energetic and dedicated. They functioned as a team with each person having a specialty but sharing total responsibilities. There was a great commitment to the success of the Project and each worker was willing to make the investment, which often required working evenings and weekends.

Each worker had a caseload of between 20 and 25 children. In addition, work with foster parents and, where indicated, natural parents, was expected.[1] Although the primary focus was adoptive planning, with emphasis on use of subsidy as an appropriate plan for children, adoption was considered within the context of overall alternatives for the best interest of the child. Return to natural parents, planned long term foster care agreements, and residential care were also utilized as resources appropriate for some of the Project children.

Planning was done systematically. Each case was carefully read by both workers and supervisor. In reviewing cases, the objective was to use available information as a basis for formulating permanent plans. Both immediate and long range goals were set. Concrete steps needed to achieve the goals and a target date for completion were determined.

When received, some cases were complete with current and significant information and a well-defined plan. With these cases, continuity of service and maintaining focus were accomplished with relative ease.

[1]It should be remembered that this staff was also at this time gathering follow-up data on the larger sample of children, an additional demand on their time.

Other cases lacked pertinent information, and it was difficult to understand the plan or direction. Some cases had been in uncovered loads (no worker assigned) and there had been no direct contact between the foster home and agency for a long time.

Efforts were made to sustain sound social work practice and thoughtful decisionmaking. Some cases were presented for group consultation, and there was some in-scrvice training. Specialized resources, such as Child Dysfunctioning Unit and Mental Health Centers, were also used for diagnostic assessment and treatment.

Case goals were evaluated regularly by other team members and by the supervisor, and there was pressure to implement plans for children. With manageable case loads, staff were expected to move cases towards adoption within a designated period of time.

Foster Parents

In planning for children who are in long term foster care, involvement of foster parents is a "must." The foster parents are influential people in the lives of these children and the foster family is a primary source of information about the child's relationships, personality, likes, dislikes, and future needs. For many children, the foster parents represented their own family and security.

Considerable work was necessary to involve foster parents in understanding the Project's interest in making permanent homes for children. The attitude of maintaining the status quo, with children remaining in foster homes until they reach maturity, was also prevalent with families and they saw no reason to adopt. Other foster parents felt that Project workers were intruders. Initial contacts with many foster parents were greeted with resentment and resistance.

A series of meetings with foster parents with Project children in their home was arranged. Foster parents were invited to bring out their questions, anger, and concerns. These parents were in various stages of considering adoption; some had expressed opposition to adoptive planning; a few felt they were being blackmailed into adoption because they did not want the children moved from their homes. A former foster parent couple who had adopted three children with subsidies participated in the meeting. They had experience with subsidy and could respond to the concerns of the foster parents. Foster parents seemed free to enter into discussion in this atmosphere. During the meetings and subsequent discussions with workers, most of them became understanding and cooperative.

In only one instance, however, was the foster parent unwilling to be involved in preplacement visits; the children had to be abruptly moved into an adoptive home. Some foster parents did not believe that children would actually be removed from their homes, since the usual practice had been extended foster care. Without the support and participation of foster parents through this group, it would not have been possible to interest so many in adoption, or for the Project to move older children into new homes in a constructive manner.

Other Resources

Legal Consultation—We were fortunate to have an agency attorney provide consultation on cases being referred to court for termination of parental rights. This helped to facilitate the process of freeing

children for adoption and provided support to workers, who frequently devoted much time to the preparation of cases for court. In some situations, this demand was increased when the court action brought forth natural parents, who were not previously involved with their children, and there was a continuance.

Medical, Psychological and Related Services—The services of other disciplines were vital in our work with children. Knowledge and understanding of their physical, emotional, and educational needs are key factors in initial and ongoing diagnostic assessment of the child. The Project staff worked with other professionals in obtaining special services for children in order to make intelligent decisions concerning the child's life. We also wanted to determine the need for subsidy to enable continuation of necessary services. Some examples illustrate the use of these special services:

> Four children were evaluated at Dysfunctioning and Child Psychiatry Centers. Presenting problems ranged from hyperactivity and inattentiveness in school for a nine-year-old boy to severe withdrawal behavior in a five-year-old girl, who had experienced two unsuccessful adoptive placements (and subsequently was replaced and adopted by her foster parents). A single male parent adopted the nine-year-old-boy whose anxieties subsided considerably after he was moved into his permanent home. The parent saw many positives in his son and the restless hyperactive behavior, which had been disturbing to the foster parents, did not become a major issue between father and son.
>
> Two children received therapy from Mental Health Departments. One of these children, a bright, appealing, extremely attractive boy was impulse ridden with a poorly developed ego. He had much deprivation in his early life, having been abandoned by his mother and living in an institution for a year after coming into agency care. Through the efforts of the project worker and the Mental Health Center, his foster parents were also involved in his therapy program. He is in a residential facility and his foster parents are continuing an active interest in him.
>
> Therapy for the other child, a five-year-old girl, was effective in helping her to work through problems of identity. This child was in a foster home with adoption as the plan but her natural mother visited the home unannounced and established her claim to her child. The foster mother encouraged the relationship between mother and daughter, generally urging the child to kiss the mother and essentially respond to the mother's needs. Both the foster mother and her husband, who was stronger in dealing with the natural mother, were given support in dealing with this problem.
>
> Psychological evaluations were done for six children. These evaluations included projective tests and interviews with foster parents. We found that foster parents were concerned about learning problems, fears, and other behavior which in many instances caused children to be rejected by their peers and adults. Most foster parents were cooperative with the psychologist and eager to increase their understanding of their foster children. An exception were foster parents who had cared for a boy for eleven years (since he was about three months old). Both before and after the psychological evaluation, they remained convinced that the boy was genetically impaired.

Remedial education, medical and other health services, camp, and recreational programs were provided for many of the children.

Parents and Relatives

Project staff worked with natural parents and relatives in making permanent plans for children. Some of the children had legal ties but

often vague and uncertain emotional ties with their parents and relatives. We approached parents with the idea that their children needed permanency: either through returning to live with them or in adoptive placement. In many instances, parents were very happy to have their children remain in foster homes. These parents had superficial contacts with the agency and the chance for occasional visits with their children, but carried no real responsibility. The agency had sanctioned this arrangement by its failure to take any action to change this situation.

Work with parents and relatives resulted in our finding resources for three children: a brother and sister were returned to their putative father, who became their legal guardian; one child was legally adopted by his maternal grandmother, who is receiving a subsidy.

This work required patience, skill, and much time and energy. The first task was to locate the parent, which often took persistent effort. Having found the parent, we had to convince him or her that our attitude was not automatically "anti-parent." We had to initiate the process of getting parents to set up concrete goals and to follow through on decisions within a specified time period.

From our Project experience, work with parents is often necessary to implement permanent plans for children. For too long, we had permitted parents to leave their children in foster homes, while they went on to form new and productive lives for themselves, but the child was denied the same opportunity. We cannot erase this aspect of the child's past (and sometimes present), but must be prepared to recognize parents as a key element in the child's life.

> Intensive work was done with a mother and her family to return a seven-year-old boy into their family. The caseworker was aware of the mother's problems, but there were also strengths in this situation for this child. The extended family assumed much responsibility for this child and the caseworker found many resources to help the mother with her personal problems. After the mother moved into a home of her own, the placement disintegrated and the child was returned to his former foster home. The experience enabled both mother and worker to better assess her capacity. We are now in the process of obtaining termination of parental rights on this child. Failure of this rehabilitation plan was a setback for this child and our work with the foster parents became even more complicated. The returned child was confused and testing, far different from their charming foster child, in whom they had invested seven years. The child has been helped to understand, insofar as possible, all that has happened. Although the foster parents blamed us for all of the child's problems, we have progressed with them to the point of discussing their interest in adopting.

We must anticipate some difficulties in working with parents. They frequently had not requested our services and viewed us as enemies. This was not an easy process for most staff. There needs to be recognition, support, understanding, and direction to staff involved in working with parents.

Long Term Foster Care Agreements

Although the image of long term foster care is a poor one, we found that there are some children who will continue to live in foster homes for long periods of time. Within the present system, there is a need for planned long term foster care as a resource and its poten-

tialities should be recognized and developed. We must be realistic about the fact that all children in placement will not be returning to their own homes or moving into adoption.

> Lisa and Jean, both seven years old, had been in the same foster home since infancy. Both had serious emotional problems and, while Lisa was average, Jean was severely retarded. The foster parents, while committed to these children, couldn't be convinced about the merits of adoption. They felt Jean's prospects were very uncertain; she might require institutionalization at some point in the future. Also, since they were receiving substantial special service fees, even the maximum subsidy would have involved a considerable cut in income.
>
> Our worker therefore went about trying to locate other adoptive resources for these children. The prospect of leaving the foster home, however, seemed devastating to the girls. At this point, psychological testing was done which confirmed the advisability of keeping the girls in their current home. The only reasonable alternative was to sign a long term foster care agreement with the foster parents.

A written long term foster care contract was developed with the participation of the foster parents, and signed by the parents and a Deputy Director of the Department of Children and Family Services.

The intent of the long term foster care contract is to give children the stability of a permanent home with the foster parents. The agency agrees to make board payments according to the established rate, furnish a medical card, have a minimum of one contact each year, and assist the foster parents, upon their request, with necessary supportive services. The foster parents agree to care for the child until he becomes self-supporting; make provisions for routine education, food, clothing, shelter, and medical care; notify the agency in case of serious illness or emergency, and report changes in the foster home situation to the agency.

We felt that with the mobility of workers, there needed to be a written contract which would become a part of the record. Continuity of the long term plan would thus be assured. We also considered it important to have the agreement signed by a top level agency administrator. The agency thus should have a moral professional (and perhaps legal) responsibility to fulfill terms of the contract, regardless of changes in local staff.

A Note on the Planning Process

Our experience in planning for older children indicates that planning for a given child can take place only in the context of understanding his specific environment and needs. Sometimes, however, these plans must be altered or adapted as circumstances change, or our knowledge increases, or merely because of the passage of time. As a result, flexibility and resourcefulness are of key importance. A fairly simple example of making the best of the unexpected involved James:

> James, a happy, healthy boy of four, was placed in an adoptive home after his foster parents, who didn't want to give him up, nevertheless refused to adopt him. Difficulties gradually began to build up in the adoptive placement, however, because of some apparent hostility on the part of the adoptive mother, a school teacher. She began to imply that the boy was retarded, although he talked well and had tested above average in an IQ test. His social worker, certain that the boy was in no way retarded, felt that something had gone

seriously wrong in the adoptive situation. His judgment was confirmed a few weeks later when the adoptive parents asked for James' removal.

While looking for another adoptive home, the worker replaced James with his former foster parents. Overjoyed at the boy's return, they had a complete change of heart. They requested adoption, with a subsidy, as soon as possible. The adoption was legally consummated a few months later.

In general, Project social workers were trying to implement the best plan possible, as opposed to the best possible plan. Although there was a strong bias against long term foster care, in some cases workers had to accept it as the best plan possible for *this* child in *this particular* situation. Adoption is not an end in itself; it is a means of improving the child's overall welfare. In some cases, it may require extensive diagnostic work to know whether this will indeed be the case. Whatever the best plan, it should be a conscious decision in the light of the evidence available. Inevitably mistakes were made; that is a certainty in any kind of decisionmaking. The biggest mistakes, however, lie in not deciding at all. Perhaps this philosophical background will provide some insight into the results of our endeavors with this group of children.

Our approach to the problem of getting older children adopted centered around relatively small caseloads (20-30 children) and intensive casework. Much of the caseworkers' time was spent in getting to know the individual child and his or her foster parents. As a plan began to develop for each child, other kinds of work became necessary. Each worker was involved in work with the natural parents or relatives in some cases, preparation of court referrals, listing children on the Illinois Adoption Listing Service and ARENA, helping foster parents to complete subsidy applications, and generating publicity for children needed adopting resources. Court appearances, preplacement visits, placements and adjunctive services (i.e., medical and psychological workups, trips to summer camp, etc.) consumed a great deal of time. The time, effort, and miles driven reflect the stark fact that in working with older children there are no shortcuts.

Results: Permanent Plans for Children

Direct services to children were terminated as of January 1, 1975, after most children had been in the Project between 16 and 18 months. The results, as shown in Table 9, indicate that this phase of the Project was highly successful. An appropriate permanent plan had been implemented and completed for 70 percent of all Project children. Another 9 percent had plans which were in the process of being completed. For six children adoptive plans had been made, though obstacles in obtaining legal rights to consent to adoption were still being resolved. For 13 children an adoptive home was needed. Only two children lacked definite plans; this was due primarily to intrinsic uncertain ties in their current situation. One child had died.

Age was clearly significant in the distribution of final outcomes. The plan of choice was adoption for all 17 children between one and four and this plan was successful for about three-fourth of the children. This was almost equally true for children between five and nine, although one child was returned home and four are in long term foster

Table 9—Final Status of Project Children

Status of Plan	*Type of Plan*	No. Children	Percent Children	Age* 1-4	Age* 5-9	Age* 10+	HANDICAPS: Serious Physical	Serious Emotional	Serious Intell.	Emotional & Intellect.	Multiple	Minor Only
Completed	Adoption final	64	57.1	12	42	10	1	3	—	1	—	6
	Returned home, guardianship discharged	2	1.8	—	1	1						
	Long term foster care	12	10.7	—	4	8	—	1	—	1	—	1
Total		78	69.6	12	47	19	1	4	—	2	—	7
In process of completion	In adoptive placement	11	9.8	1	8	2	—	1	1	—	—	1
Total		11	9.8	1	8	2	—	1	1	—	—	1
Plan being implemented, obstacles remain	Adoptive resource needed	13	11.6	2	10	1	—	1	—	4	1	1
	Adoptive placement pending legal appeal	6	5.4	—	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Total		19	17.0	2	15	2	1	1	—	4	1	1
No definite plan	Foster parents undecided about adoption; unclear about child's moving	2	1.8	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Deceased		1	.9	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Institutional living		1	.9	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Total		4	3.6	2	1	1	—	2	—	—	1	1
Grand Total		112	100.0	17	71	24	2	8	1	6	2	10

*Age at time of adoption finalization, or as of January 1, 1975

care. Seventy percent of this group were placed in adoption. For one-third of the 24 Project children age 10 and over, the plan is long term foster care, however, generally because of strong ties with non-adopting foster parents. Even so, 50 percent of these children were adopted, and one returned home.

We were also successful in planning for handicapped children. Nine children with serious handicaps, and eight with minor ones, had permanent plans completed or in the process of completion.

The Children Who Were Adopted

Approximately two-thirds of all Project children were legally adopted or in adoptive placement as of January 1, 1975. Most, as indicated by Table 9, were between the ages of five and nine, but substantial numbers were under five (thirteen children) and over ten years (twelve children). Seven of the children were seriously handicapped, while an equal number had minor handicaps of one sort or another.

The following table shows who adopted these children and whether or not they received a subsidy:

Table 10—Adoptive Resources

Resources	*Foster Parents*	*Outside Resources*	*Total*
Ongoing subsidy	49	8	57
Special subsidy only	0	2	2
No subsidy	7	9	16
Total	56	19	75

About 75 percent of the children were adopted by their foster parents, and subsidy was involved in about 87 percent of these cases. For children who were adopted by outside families, subsidy was a factor only 50 percent of the time.[1] Our results strongly confirm the adoptability of black children in foster care. As the preceding table shows, foster parents were obviously the primary resource for these children, while subsidies were involved in seven out of eight foster parent adoptions. Subsidy was clearly a casework tool of critical importance to us in our work with these children.

Placement of these children in adoption was not always easy. The following case illustrates work with foster parents and children towards adoption. These children had been in the home for many years.

> Mr. and Mrs. Collins, 59 and 56 years old respectively, were closely attached to Edwin and his brother, Warren. Both youngsters had been in this home for a long time: Warren, age five, was placed at birth and Edwin, age seven, came into care at the age of two. Because there had been no parental involvement, the Collinses regarded these children as their own. Edwin had suffered much early deprivation and insecurity and had required a great deal of attention and physical care. Both boys thrived in this home, and the Collinses were very proud of them. Edwin and Warren were included in all family activities, such as visits with relatives in other states. This was considered a stable and loving home in which it was anticipated that the children would remain until they reached their majority.

[1]For discussion of the characteristics of foster homes deciding to adopt, see Chapter 6.

The Collinses were friendly and cooperative in initial contacts with the Project worker. However, it was extremely difficult to get them to focus on adoption. They considered these children as members of the family and there was no question about their total commitment to the children. During several interviews, they expressed concern reflecting distrust of subsidy. It was revealed that they did not understand why the children were transferred to the Project. Mr. Collins thought that the Project was a public aid office. He had been employed for 37 years as a truck driver and he had supported his family. He did not need charity, his view of subsidy.

Mrs. Collins came to a group meeting with other Project foster parents who had voiced similar questions and concerns. She indicated that they could not understand our emphasis on adoption. It was revealed that the Collinses had given much thought to adoption, but they worried about the expenses. Prior to their contact with the Project worker, they had never heard of subsidy. The meeting answered many of her questions, and she had an opportunity to talk with a family who were subsidized adoptive parents.

Following the meeting, the Collins discussed what adoption would mean to them. They were concerned about what would happen to the children in case they became seriously ill or died. Mrs. Collins' sister died and they were involved in making funeral arrangements for her. Later, Mrs. Collins' mother was hospitalized and this required much of her attention. It seemed that there were many delays in their proceeding with an adoption plan. At one point, the worker was ill. Several months passed before the Collins and the worker could make definite plans about adoption.

The worker spent four hours on a Sunday afternoon with Mr. and Mrs. Collins and their 21 year-old son, a college student. The son had many questions. Why were we pushing adoption? Both boys were getting good care and treated as part of the family. At one time Mr. Collins suspected that there was a trap, and they were being lured into adoption. Other workers had not made such a big issue of adoption. The visit cleared up doubts and questions. The family agreed that they wanted to go ahead with adoption immediately. They discussed all aspects of adoption and subsidies. Based on Mr. Collins' low income, they could not adopt without additional financial assistance. The son agreed to be guardian for the children in the event of his parents' deaths or disability.

A few days later, the Collins attorney called us about finalizing the adoption. The adoptions were completed shortly thereafter. Helping the Collines to move into adoption had taken thirteen months.

Finding a new home and introducing the child to it was sometimes even harder, as the following example shows:

Bob, age 12, was in an excellent foster home in which his foster mother, Mrs. Harris, showed much warmth and sensitivity to his needs. In addition to Bob, there were two older foster children and several grandchildren to whom the foster mother provided care during the week. When approached about adopting Bob, Mrs. Harris was realistic in stating that she and teenagers did not mix. A spry person in her 70's, Mrs. Harris had reared children and grandchildren. She realized that Bob was growing up and wanted a chance to test his wings. Although she cared a great deal for Bob, she encouraged us to seek younger parents for him.

The worker spent many months getting to know Bob. He was not a very talkative child and it was difficult for him to respond to new people and situations. However, he gradually became comfortable with the worker, and he could express his attitude about his adoption. He liked his foster home and did not want to leave. A maternal aunt had infrequent contacts with him and she reappeared in his life as plans for adoption were being discussed.

Bob's aunt wanted him to live with her. She had cared for Bob when he was an infant, and she felt some sense of obligation to open her home to him. As we got to know the aunt, we found that she was lonely, with few friends, and her life was pathetically empty. She seldom ventured away from home as she was fearful of the neighborhood. Bob had no interest in living with his aunt. On the few occasions that he had visited in her home, he was unhappy and could hardly wait to return to the foster home.

When the aunt learned that the boy would not be placed in her home, she contacted his mother, who lived in another state. The mother wrote us and requested that Bob be sent to live with her. Information obtained from her local agency ruled out the mother's home as a possible resource. The mother was caring for a seriously ill husband, and there was nothing positive about her situation. In fact, it appeared that her request had been prompted by a need for help, which she thought her son could give.

Bob, was eager to have a family of his own. For almost two years there was publicity and efforts were made to find a family for him. Mrs. Harris thought that her daughter who lived in another state would adopt him. Our request for a homestudy of the daughter's home was followed up but it took several months before a final decision was reached. Bob was most anxious to live with the daughter who had a son around his age. Until we found out the daughter's home was not a possiblity, we could not present Bob to another family. The daughter felt that she could not accept responsibility for Bob as she was having some problems. Mrs. Harris gave Bob much support and understanding as he reacted to this disappointment. She wanted him to have a family which was secure and right for him.

The next home considered for Bob was a foster home where two children had been adopted. The foster mother, a single parent, saw Bob's photo in our brochure and she knew from her worker that we had no resource for him.

Bob's worker was quite impressed with this foster mother, who appeared warm, sophisticated, and capable. During preparation of Bob for this family, he was reluctant and seemed fearful. Mrs. Harris encouraged him to at least meet the other family and his worker agreed to stay with him throughout the visit.

The worker noted that Bob was rather tense during the drive to the new home. However, when he arrived and became acquainted with the other children, he was more relaxed. The first visit was brief and Bob had little to say, but he was not a very vocal child. A second visit was arranged but Mrs. Harris called to cancel. Bob felt that there was no place for him in the new home. Interesting was the fact that the new mother later indicated second thoughts about adopting another child.

Bob was selected by Mr. and Mrs. Peterson, who had seen his picture in the newspaper. When they were approved for adoption, they reiterated their interest in Bob. The adoption worker felt that Bob was a suitable choice for them. The Petersons had much experience with children; nieces and nephews spent time with them. They were interested in an older child, someone to whom they could not only give physical care and affection, but also with whom they could share some of their life experiences. The two social workers exchanged information about the child and family. They agreed to present Bob to the family.

When information about Bob was given to Mr. and Mrs. Peterson, they were pleased and eager to meet him. A series of visits took place between Bob and the Petersons over a period of two months. Bob was initially slow in responding, but the Petersons quickly found out that he was interested in puzzles and games. On weekend visits to their home, all of them spent time together with games. The Petersons were house hunting and Bob joined them in their search.

Early in the preplacement process, Mr. and Mrs. Peterson met Mrs. Harris, whom Bob continued to regard as his grandmother. Mrs. Harris was pleased by reports that she got from Bob about the Petersons. She was encouraging and approving of his new family. On the day of placement, following Bob's farewell party in the foster home, Mrs. Harris confided to the worker that Bob was ready to move and she was ready to give him up. He would be in good hands.

Children Who Were Not Adopted:

The children for whom it was not possible to plan adoption were in a variety of situations. Two children had been returned to the putative father, and agency guardianship was released to him. For almost 11 percent of the children long term foster care had been implemented as the only feasible plan. Thirteen children were still in need of an adoptive resource. For six children, adoptive placement was waiting for final termination of parental rights, and decisions being under appeal. Two children were in a good foster home where adoption was probable but not certain; both children had problems, making a move somewhat difficult. A final decision on the part of both parents and caseworker will soon be forthcoming. As previously mentioned, one child died from complications of spina bifida. Finally, one child was placed in a residential school (where he is frequently visited by his foster parents). Thus permanent and thoughtfully considered plans had been made for all but fifteen children.

The 13 children for whom adoptive homes were needed represent "failures" of the Project. Five of them were the victims of plans that did not work; two had been in adoptive homes where parents and child could not adjust to each other, one eight-year-old had gone to the home of a maternal aunt and uncle and had had to return to care, and one seven-year-old had returned to care after his mother had attempted to make a home for him. For each of these children the Project had been looking for an adoptive home only briefly. All but two of the other children were retarded; one of these was only partially sighted and another was autistic. These are very hard children for whom to find homes. The remaining two brothers have ties to a paternal grandfather who visits them; this seems to frighten some applicants, but workers are confident that in time a home will be found for these boys.

Adoptions That Failed

Seven children were placed in adoptive homes from which they later had to be removed; two of these homes had been recruited and studied within the Project, the remaining five by regular homefinding service in this or other agencies. Apparently there was a flaw in the evaluation process of five of these homes, for it became evident that the families, who looked very good, really did not want to adopt. Three asked for replacement, citing fears that there was something physically or emotionally wrong with the child; two overtly rejected the child and consented to his removal. The two other situations involved strong families with whom children probably too damaged for adoption were placed.

The five young children who were rejected by adoptive parents are now in new adoptive homes or in the process of placement. One of the older children is in a residential setting; one is in the midst of further evaluation.

Clearly, it is not easy to know a child well enough to plan for his future, and not easy to evaluate the motivation and capacity of adoptive applicants. Matching child and family is even more fraught with hazard. Though these children and families have been through damaging experiences which one would wish could have been avoided, perhaps the damage is no greater than that due to lack of planning.

Barriers to Adoption:

Grouping together those children adopted, in adoptive placement, or returned home, our "success" ratio was approximately 70 percent. It is important to ask the reasons for our "failure" if only in a relative sense, with the other 30 percent.

Briefly summarizing, they included legal problems in freeing six children, ties with non-adopting foster parents, ties with parents or relatives who were unable or unwilling to provide a resource, distrust of subsidy on the part of the foster parents, and simple inability, on our part, to locate a resource for the child. For a few children, failure of an adoptive placement has, in itself, been a significant deterrent.

We encountered unusual difficulties in freeing nine children. In six of these cases, the legal obstacles have been the main impediment to adoption. This figure reflects the fact that, for two different groups of children, time-consuming trials have terminated parental rights only to be followed by an even more lengthy appeal process. A particularly difficult case involved six children in the Thomas family:

> In the process of attempting to free the children for adoption, our worker contacted the mother, who was in prison for armed robbery. Although the mother had made no attempt to see or write her children from 1969 to 1973, she strongly opposed the idea of their being adopted by foster parents. Our worker made the trip to State Prison to talk to her, and to arrange for an exchange of letters between the mother and her children.
>
> Other relatives, conspicuously absent up until then, began to appear on the scene when a hearing was scheduled. Although these relatives were opposed to adoption, very little investigation was required to discover that none of them had either the resources to make a home or the interest for sustained visits with the children.
>
> Working with the children during and after the exchange of letters had by now convinced our worker that the three older children did remember their mother very well, while the three youngest (in another foster home) had only the vaguest idea of who she was. He decided to request adoptive rights for the three youngest children, the older children to remain in foster care until such time as their mother might be released, and they could return to her.
>
> After a great deal of preparation, the case was brought to trial. Both the mother and the legal father, who had taken no part earlier, were brought in from prison to appear and testify. After considerable sound and fury, the judge ordered parental rights terminated. However, an appeal was filed and subsequent continuances have ensured that this decision will not be final before May of 1975, almost two years after we began work on this case.

This example also illustrates the fact that natural family ties have proven to be a major stumbling block to adoption in several cases. In five instances, we returned children to their parents or relatives only to find subsequently that the commitment simply wasn't there. Finally, work with the natural parent(s), particularly when they are ambivalent about taking the child or consenting to adoption, can be extremely

time-consuming. It is, of course, necessary if the rights of child and parents are to be protected. However, when as in most cases the natural parent finally drops out of the picture, adoption may be less feasible and a year or more may have been lost in the search for an adoptive resource. In all, eleven children whom we were unable to place were impeded by their ties with relatives or natural parents.

Of the 56 children who were adopted by their foster parents, we had difficulties with at least thirty in getting them to see the benefits of adoption. The most frequent difficulty was in explaining subsidy in such a fashion that the foster parents would understand and trust it. Quite a number of them were initially suspicious of the subsidy program; in some cases, this suspicion lingered on.[1]

Subsidy does not always make adoption possible. For example, there are two children for whom we are now seeking adoptive resources. Their foster mother, who is providing an excellent home, wished to adopt both of them. She is, however, on Public Assistance and has several other foster children with medical problems. (As a result, her medical expertise is considerable.) Subsidy was adequate for all of her needs except one; one child has undiagnosed symptoms which have puzzled several doctors. These symptoms may become serious, or they may fade away completely in a few years. She feels it would be unwise to adopt this child without a medical card. Subsidy, while it could provide for regular medical expenses for diagnosed conditions, cannot provide for regular medical costs. The Department of Public Aid has refused to provide a medical card after the child is adopted, since ongoing subsidy payments would make the child ineligible. The system seems to have failed these children and their foster mother, although adoption workers hope to find resources for both children.

Inability to locate an adoptive resource has been a primary factor impeding adoption in nine cases. Table 10 attempts to examine systematically the 27 children for whom we had to search hardest and longest to find adoptive families. Analysis of these data suggests that the child's age and sex were not particularly important factors in whether or not he was placed in adoption. Resources were found for the five oldest children, albeit not without difficulty. Eight of the ten children in the one-to-five age group were placed; both exceptions being children with severe physical handicaps, one of whom died. We were most unsuccessful with children in the six to ten group, placing only 25 percent. Most of these children had emotional and/or intellectual handicaps or were members of sibling groups. Similarly, although we found resources for 75 percent of the boys and only 39 percent of the girls, a much higher percentage of the girls had handicaps of one form or another.

One conclusion to be drawn from Table 10 is that children with serious emotional and intellectual handicaps are extremely difficult to place. On the other hand, we have found that black children without handicaps can generally be placed, whatever their age. Of nine "normal," healthy children who were not members of sibling groups, we placed eight, and the ninth is an eight year old girl for whom we have only recently been seeking a resource.

[1]See chapter on subsidy for greater detail.

Table 10—Children in Need of Adoptive Resource (at Least 3 Months)

Category	Number	Handicap			Age			Resource Found (no.)	No Resource (no.)
		Emot.	Intel.	Phys.	1-5	6-10	11-13		
Age 1-5	10	1	2	3	—	—	—	8	2
Age 6-10	12	6	5	2	—	—	—	3	9
Age 11-13	5	1	0	0	—	—	—	4	1
Emotional handicap	8	—	6	2	1	6	1	1	7
Physical handicaps	5	2	3	—	3	2	0	2	3
Intellectual handicaps	7	6	—	3	2	5	0	2	5
No handicaps	13	—	—	—	5	4	4	10	3
Part of sibling group	6	2	2	0	0	4	2	2	4
No handicaps, no part of sibling group	9	—	—	—	5	2	2	8	1
Males	16	3	2	2	7	5	4	11	5
Females	11	5	5	3	3	7	1	4	7
Total	27	8	7	5	10	12	5	15	12

Including those children in sibling groups, we placed two and are still seeking resources for four. It's worth noting that the current workers are confident of placing all groups eventually. The primary source of families for those children placed was the Central Home-finding Unit. We used the Adoption Listing Service, a statewide registry of waiting children and available families. In one case, however, the placement resulted from a combination of hard work and coincidence:

> Ted, a normal active boy of 11, was unusual in only one respect; he knew he could not remain in his foster home indefinitely. He wanted to be adopted. We used every conceivable kind of publicity, in addition to regular channels like the Adoption Listing Service. Newspaper articles were written about him in Chicago and St. Louis. He appeared on one television show about adoptable children. Color slides of him were shown on another show (Kennedy and Co.). He appeared in our brochure of eight black children needing homes.
>
> Finally, we showed slides at PUSH Expo '73. All efforts were in vain until a chance conversation between a Project social worker and a foster mother. She and her husband had several girls and they

were interested in adopting a boy. Furthermore, she had seen Ted's picture at Expo. Our worker suggested that Ted would make an excellent choice. The homestudy confirmed his impression. Preplacement visits were a great success. Eight months later, Ted was legally adopted.

Summary and Conclusions

We selected a group of children for service by the Project which was fairly representative of older adoptable black children in the Chicago foster care system. We were successful in finding permanent non-foster homes for almost 70 percent of the children. About 12 percent remained in planned long term foster care due to strong ties with foster parents who would not adopt. For 8 percent of the children, we have been unable to locate adoptive resources. The remaining cases include children tied in court (6 percent), foster parents who may adopt (2 percent), and one institutionalized and one deceased child (2 percent).

Our experience illustrates the entrenching nature of the foster care system. Every year that a child remains in foster care increases (1) the likelihood that the foster parents will not wish to adopt; (2) the difficulty of finding other resources for the child; and (3) the difficulty of moving the child to an adoptive home. In many cases where we successfully completed adoptions an enormous amount of time and effort was expended in overcoming the "inertia" of a system geared to long term foster care. Realistically, we may have been fortunate in the high percentage of foster parents who adopted (about 50 percent) because the readjustment in mental attitude from foster care to adoption was quite difficult for some of them. For discussion of adoption, innovative services such as group meetings were helpful.

In general, however, our results confirm the practicality of adoption for many older children in foster care. Pitfalls abound, but our substantial degree of success illustrates the potential rewards of patient and skillful work with these children.

CHAPTER V

RECRUITMENT

CHICAGO

Our recruitment responsibility became clearly defined and organized after children were transferred into the Project for direct services. The major goal of recruitment efforts was to find adoptive families for these children. In consultation with a community organization specialist, we attempted to develop an innovative strategy, stressing subsidy. Both the actions of the recruiter and the expected successes (indicators of community response) were outlined. We wanted to work out various techniques and evaluate the effectiveness of each technique in selected communities. We saw the key element of our recruitment effort as being the applicant's reaction to subsidy.

Our early recruitment efforts had been artless, with poor response. Relating our activities to other Department recruitment programs had been a struggling ineffective process. In Chicago, two units of the Department, Central Office Recruitment and Adoption Information Service, were involved in mass recruitment. It was thought that adding a black adoption recruitment dimension would dilute the effecttiveness of other efforts and present a confused picture to the news media and public. There was a definite need for broad public understanding of subsidized adoptions, which was not being covered in regular recruitment programs. At times, calls from the community about subsidy were referred to the Project. We felt that the Project could have a significant role in increasing and facilitating the use of subsidy with recruitment emphasizing subsidy as a service. However, at that point, early in the Project we had no overall plan and our activities were spotty and piecemeal.

The total Project staff became involved in developing a recruitment plan, with direction from the community organization specialist. Although we had initially assigned recruitment a Child Development Aide, it became apparent that the job was too great for a single person. In fact our planning became extremely ambitious and we recognized that much community participation was needed if we were to achieve our goals.

A recruitment planning conference was used to develop a concrete plan of action.Among the participants were adoptive parents, foster parents, and resource persons, in addition to public and voluntary agency staff. Some unsuccessful adoptive applicants who had either withdrawn or been rejected by agencies were invited to participate, but none attended. All of the participants were familiar in some way with the problems concerning adoption of homeless black children.

Following the conference, our staff and consultants got together to implement some of the ideas from the conference. Based on the capability of our staff, we set placement goals and identified com-

munities from which potential adoptive families could come. The community of foster parents was considered in addition to geographic areas and special recruitment thrusts which would produce new families. Public relations tools were also developed by the Project staff as we had no printed materials on subsidies. An attractive brochure illustrated with real children waiting for adoptive homes was designed. Also, an information leaflet on subsidy was printed for general distribution.

We agreed to carry out recruitment in three areas:

1. Work with foster parents with whom children were currently living to develop these into adoptive homes. The conversion of a foster home into an adoptive home would have benefits for both the child and the family. It would mean that the child would continue to have the stability and identification with the real home of his own without the threat of further replacements. For foster parents who were already invested and fully committed to a child, there would be the continuance of a relationship with mutual satisfactions, and legal ties would formalize this relationship.

2. Work in the community to recruit new homes. We identified the village of Robbins, a black suburban community, as a target area. We also hoped to reach the wide metropolitan community with selected recruitment techniques. With the assistance of community volunteers, we hoped to reach new families of low or modest incomes who traditionally had not approached agencies for adoption. We wanted to give recognition to the strengths of black families and reach out to them in a manner which conveyed our interest, concern, and consideration. Rather than using the approach that black families do not adopt, we had conviction that black families are caring, concerned people, who will respond to the needs of children.

3. Foster parent applicants who come to the agency were considered to be a promising source of potential adoptive homes. At least at some times they are not needed for foster care but may be interested in adoption of an older child. Information about subsidies would be included in the initial group meetings. Agency experience has shown that many black families enter adoption through the door of foster care and see this as a much more comfortable and acceptable process for them. Subsidies could be a replacement for the anticipated board payments.

A schedule was developed to record activity and measure outcome in order to assess the impact of subsidy on all recruitment efforts. This included community work, the homefinding process, and the caseworker's approach to foster parents. From initial contact with applicants, whether by telephone or in person, it was noted whether or not subsidy was mentioned by the applicant. The adoption homefinding schedule was used to document the way in which the applicant learned of the possibility of subsidies, the applicant's reaction, any differences between the reaction of husband and wife on subsidy, and whether or

not subsidy was tentatively planned. The caseworkers recorded the viewpoint and attitude of the foster parents toward subsidy including the events leading to subsidy, who initiated need for financial aid, why foster parents needed subsidy, and whether or not the parents would have adopted without subsidy.

All Project staff became reoriented to the subsidy program. We felt that this training was basic to productive use of subsidy. Without a staff able to utilize subsidy, any efforts to interpret subsidy as a resource on a public relations level and as a recruitment tool would be stymied.

Two recruitment techniques are described in detail: PUSH Expo and work in the Robbins Community.

PUSH Expo

Operation PUSH, a black community organization based in Chicago, currently headed by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, holds a yearly exposition of black culture, art and business commonly referred to as PUSH Expo. PUSH Expo is held in the International Amphitheatre and draws hundred of thousands of people, including sizable numbers from other states, to a wide assortment of exhibits, concerts, and just plain getting together. It has rapidly become a major meeting ground for the black community of Chicago. Held during the last week of September, it attracts many school children, as well as their parents.

For obvious reasons, our staff felt that PUSH Expo '73 would make an excellent forum for both the Project and the Department. We, however, were primarily concerned with presenting adoption and subsidy in the context of older black children, in the Project, who needed homes. Our approach was to focus on these children, while simultaneously presenting information about the adoption process and subsidy in Illinois.

Since we felt that our "product" would sell itself if properly presented, we concentrated our efforts on obtaining good black and white photographs and color slides of the children. Considerable effort was devoted to preparing both the children and their foster parents, since we did plan to use our publicity materials in the Chicago metropolitan area, where friends, classmates, etc. might come in contact with them. In actuality, we had no problems resulting from this publicity, and would not hesitate to use it again.

The photography itself was done by professionals at a relatively low cost. Our general approach was to assemble children in a park-playground area and then let them play while the photographs were being taken as unobtrusively as possible. The results were excellent, and emphasized how happy and attractive any child can be in the right circumstances. It is worth mentioning that this aspect of our work was virtually unique within the Department; both the recruiting team in Chicago and the community relations Department in Springfield made copies of our photographs and slides for a variety of uses. One of our children appeared on the front cover of the Department's annual report, one of our slide transparencies is on display in the State Capital, many of our slides have been shown on television, etc. So an important byproduct of our preparations for PUSH Expo was to create a significant Departmental resource—a supply of quality photographs and slides of black children.

Having completed these preparations and with a contract for a booth from PUSH officials, we proceeded to design two brochures for use in our recruiting activities. One brochure provided pictures and information about eight Project children, as well as a business reply card for those interested in further information. The other brochure dealt specifically with questions and answers about subsidized adoption. The Department of Community Relations did a good job of getting both brochures printed on short notice, so they would be available in time for Expo. Before these brochures were developed, the Department had no publicity material relating to subsidies, although the program had been in operation for three years.

Finally, we needed to design a booth which would display our materials to best advantage. Our pamphlets, brochures, etc., could be placed on a table running across the front of the booth. To handle our photographs, slides, and a banner with our name on it, we needed something else. Members of our staff, with the help of friends and relatives, designed and constructed a three-panel structure, approximately eight feet high, to serve this purpose. The center panel contained a four by four foot translucent screen for rear projection of selected slides from a cassette slide projector. The two side panels were used to display enlarged black and white photographs of Project children. The banner, "Our Children Need Black Adoptive Homes—We Can Help With Expenses," ran across the top. Black contact paper was applied to the exterior of all three panels to give a finished appearance to our exhibit.

The purpose of an exhibit, of course, was to attract people who might have an interest in adoption. Once attracted, our contact with them was of crucial importance. We spoke with hundreds of people, some of whom were interested in foster care, child abuse, etc. We tried to give them an accurate, realistic insight into the problems and rewards of adoption, the adoption study process, which children were available and so on. The Department was receiving a lot of bad publicity at this time[1], so another, less conscious, effect was to give people a more positive view of the Department and what it was trying to do for children.

We provided sign-up sheets for two group meetings of those interested in adoption to be held in the weeks after Expo, and got a good response. Approximately 120 indicated an interest in attending these meetings. Of this number, approximately 35 actually showed up at one of the two meetings. Most of the families not attending either meeting were referred to Central Homefinding for follow-up; some were referred to out of state agencies; while 14 were referred to other offices of the Department because they did not live in Cook County.

Altogether, 17 families were approved from the group recruited at Expo. (This figure does not include families referred outside of Cook County). The first family received placement less than three months after Expo; almost all of the families have received placement in the year since, with several adoptions finalized.

Perhaps equally important in the long run, however, is the fact that we talked with many people who had no immediate plans to adopt,

[1]This was due to the case of a child returned from foster care to his own home by the Department, who subsequently died as the result of a parental beating. The case received wide newspaper coverage.

but hoped to be able to some day. Many will continue to discuss adoption with neighbors, friends, and relatives; by reaching them, the effect of our presentation at Expo may be multiplied many times over a period of years.

There were foul-ups, of course. We didn't complete the finishing touches on the booth until three hours after Expo had opened to the public. Our projector lamp burned out over the weekend, and we had difficulty in finding a replacement. We had some problems in distributing the limited numbers of passes to all of our volunteers.

All in all, however, most felt that it had been a rewarding experience. "We did it," and it was well worth the doing.

Robbins Community

Door-to-door recruitment in Robbins was an idea proposed at the Recruitment Conference. Robbins was selected as a target community because it is an all-black community with very low per capita income and is comparatively small in size so that testing publicity efforts could be done easily. It was also hoped that the concentrated effort in Robbins could be used as a recruitment model for other areas at a future time.

The Department of Children and Family Services had many foster family resources in Robbins, which we felt indicated great concern for children and potential for subsidized adoptions. Letters were sent to the 69 licensed foster families informing them of our plan to recruit in their community.

Project staff had been in contact with two foster parents, who agreed to give leadership and volunteer services to us. One foster parent couple had adopted three children with a subsidy. The process of getting subsidy had been tedious but they were determined to stick with it. This family indicated from their participation in the foster parents organization that there were many questions about subsidy and much fear about the permanence of subsidy.

The other foster mother, a widow, had developed a special skill in working with handicapped children. She was very proud of the community and felt strongly that people living in Robbins respond particularly well to their neighbors and extended families. She was enthusiastic about recruitment and offered to hold an informal gathering in her home so that her neighbors could learn more about subsidies.

The Robbins Community Center offered us space and the Director assigned five students from a technical school to work with us. All of the residents of Robbins agreed that the only effective method of reaching people was a door-to-door canvass. Project staff and volunteers from the community were involved in the door-to-door campaign.

An orientation meeting with the volunteers included a showing of the film, "Johnny Boy." In spite of the all-day rain, 15 people attended the orientation. Most of the volunteers were not familiar with foster care or adoption. Two of the volunteers completed applications to adopt before the neighborhood canvass.

Publicity materials were given to each person who answered the door. We had planned to complete a short survey on each personal contact to report on any expressed interest in adoption or familiarity with subsidy. However, because of the rain, our contacts were brief.

The volunteers from Robbins carried out a telephone canvass during the following week to invite residents to informational meetings on adoption. The recruiter was available at the Robbins Community Center to respond to questions or assist people in making applications. (No one showed up.) One of the foster mothers agreed to accept calls at her home from anyone desiring additional information.

From this recruitment effort, we received 22 applications for adoption, seven of which were from foster families. Our significant contribution was helping these foster families obtain needed services from the agency. There were no workers assigned to two of the families and they needed agency services with children living in their homes. We were instrumental in getting staff coverage from an area office for these families. Other families were in various stages of considering adoption of children living in the homes. Considerable information was needed concerning subsidy and the adoption process. There was much suspicion and distrust of subsidy. We were able to provide necessary information and also bring these parents into closer communication with the agency.

One family was approved from Robbins. They accepted a child with a minor medical problem, and subsidy was arranged for legal fees only. Although there were three children in the family and the father's income was low, the parents did not request subsidy. They were managing on the father's earnings and did not consider that subsidy was needed.

The other 14 families withdrew; a few were active foster parents. When these families really examined the idea of adoption they discovered they had little room for another child and really were not interested.

Our recruitment activity, though brief, demonstrated that subsidies could be added to community publicity in a way which would preserve the dignity and worth of the child. Contrary to predictions that publicizing subsidies would demean the child because it was like putting a price tag on the child, we found that the value of the child was enhanced. Most of the reluctance to publicize subsidy came from the agency staff.

The Project terminated recruitment because we were greatly overextended and did not have the staff capability to continue. We felt that we had provided a foundation for the Department and this activity could be absorbed by the regular recruitment program.

Homefinding Process:

From our early recruitment efforts, we learned that a strong connecting link between recruitment, homefinding, and children was needed. There had to be a consistent philosophy for all staff; in other words, the recruitment could not preach flexibility if the homefinders had rigid ideas about adoption requirements. We not only wanted to recruit families, but once found, we were interested in keeping them and following up their interest in adoption. We knew from past experience that families would be lost unless there was prompt follow-up service and continuity between recruitment and homefinding.

We were fortunate in having two adoption homefinders loaned to the Project by Central Homefinding Unit. Both homefinders were em-

ployed full time with the Project, and their salaries and expenses were carried by Central Homefinding. One of the homefinders was involved in setting up the recruitment plan.

The experiences of one of the homefinders are related in the following write-up:

> There were 30 cases assigned to this worker for study. There were nine families approved for study, 20 families withdrew, and one family was rejected. In looking at most of the families that withdrew, it seems necessary to make some examples. The family in general had not thought seriously about adoption and what it would mean for their family. For many, it was a quick decision and only after one interview did they realize that adoption was not really for them. There were two couples who completed the adoptive home study and were approved but later decided that adoption was not for them. One couple realized that one of their strong priority values was to earn and save money, and they did not really feel ready to support a child financially. The other couple moved to Florida and decided to make a new life there. They did not feel ready to adopt, as by the end of the study process they had come to more awareness of themselves and what they wanted.
>
> One family withdrew after the first interview, being very fearful of having their home rejected as a resource. Many families were not motivated to follow through and withdrew on their own. There were two families studied for specific children. The one family received placement within two months but they were highly motivated to adopt that particular child. The other family did not receive placement very quickly, mainly because they had some doubts about adoption which needed some time to be worked through. They also did not return their medical forms for five months because of their indecision.
>
> A homefinder was also essential to the Project because she was able to help the other workers understand what families were appropriate for their children. There were particular instances when workers would discuss families and the homefinder would help the worker with what questions he needed to ask to ascertain if the adoptive parents would be able to adequately meet the needs of their children needing placement. There was a particular instance where the Project worker was considering a home for the ten-year-old boy on her caseload. I was helpful to her and encouraged her to pursue the family, and together we tried to resolve some of her fear and doubts about placement. The Project workers were strongly identified with their children and could not be as objective as the homefinder in choosing a family. The Project worker also helped the homefinder in focusing more on the children and helping her become identified with them and their needs.
>
> The staff of the Project were the most enthusiastic and congenial staff that I have ever worked with. They were interested in children and their needs and would not hesitate to work after hours. We shared many ideas about how to deal with families and kids, about how to be objective about our own feelings, and how best to serve the kids. There were many times when we had group supervision and exchanged many good and helpful ideas. As statistically shown, all nine families approved for adoption by the Project homefinder were used as resources for children. There were two Project children placed with these families and the remaining children were referred through Central Homefinding and the Adoption Listing Service. I feel it was very beneficial for the Project to have its own adoption homefinder for the following reasons. It is necessary that a homefinder be aware of what children need as a resource. This was accomplished by the fact that the workers in the Project were able to acquaint the homefinder with these children. It was also possible to study a family for a particular child, which was done with three of these families. These three families already had prior knowledge of the children that they were requesting.

The homefinder also helped in the recruitment of families. They were immediately assigned to her for study and none of the families got lost. All received either a call or a letter within a week after their application was received.

The homefinder was also able to acquaint the Project staff with the dynamics of the homefinding process and offer help to them in choosing appropriate families for the children on their caseloads.

On a more personal level, I feel that Project staff were able to give me a better perspective about the adoption process. We discussed many cases with the whole group and this was beneficial in gaining new ideas about how to help foster parents, children, and adoptive families. We were very united as a unit and there was good spirit in our group. We openly shared many ideas and were able to learn a great deal from each other. I feel my knowledge of subsidy was increased and I became more comfortable with talking about it and helping families plan for a subsidy. I am very grateful for having the opportunity to be a part of this Project.

EAST ST. LOUIS

Recruitment

An intensive and ongoing recruitment effort has been carried on in East St. Louis by Project personnel there. The entire community became involved, as the following article published in Sparks[1] makes clear:

No Energy Crisis Here

Volunteers are everywhere! Would you believe gas station attendants passing out bumper stickers? Cab drivers advertising adoption on taxi bumpers. How about band directors bringing a passel of high school kids . . . in band uniforms . . . with instrument . . . to a black adoptions parade?

You can believe all these things about volunteers in East St. Louis. These are only a few of the people who have offered their help to the Black Adoptions Project in East St. Louis. The project is a three-year pilot program of the Department of Children and Family Services financed by a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Its purpose is to determine whether the utilization of financial subsidies increases the number of black adoptions. Jeanine Smith is project coordinator in East St. Louis.

The first step in recruiting black adoptive parents, Ms. Smith says, is seeing that the black population is fully aware of the need for homes for black children, primarily older black children. Then prospective parents must be convinced they will be selected on the basis of their parenting ability and desire to raise a child—not on the basis of income and white middle-class cultural standards. Ms. Smith also believes that people are willing to give of themselves to help find homes for children. Some examples:

Everybody loves a parade. So a parade is planned for November 17—especially for adults. The object: to encourage black families to adopt older "waiting children". Signs and banners will carry messages dispelling common myths about adoption. Some will read: "You Don't Have To Own Your Own Home!" "Single Persons Can Adopt!" "You Can Get Help With Expenses!"

Cars loaned by automobile dealers will sport banners and carry various dignitaries, including the mayor. The parade will culminate in a rally at East St. Louis High School where guest speakers, including city officials, will answer questions about adoption from first-hand experience.

[1]In-house magazine. November, 1973. Illinois Department of Children and Family Services.

The parade will be an attention-grabber. But project staff are employing other—some even slightly more subtle—means of educating the community.

Bumper stickers displaying an abbreviated version of the Black Adoption project's theme are in evidence around town. Fifteen hundred bumper stickers were distributed to individuals and taxi cab companies. At service stations, customers are offered an adoption bumper sticker with every fill-up.

A poster contest was held last February involving East St. Louis junior and senior high school art students. The junior high winner, Janessa Little, designed her poster around the slogan "Show Your Pride. Adopt A Soul Child."

Janessa, now a 15 year old sophomore at St. Teresa's Academy, was recently featured on the front page of the Crusader newspaper. That recognition came as a result of her name and slogan appearing on billboards in seven prominent locations throughout the city.

The Eller Outdoor Advertising Company donated 20 billboards for a minimum of 30 days each. If the billboard space is not rented at the end of 30 days, the adoption message stays up until it is. The only cost to the project was for art work and printing of the billboard sign.

Although bumper stickers and billboards are constant reminders to East St. Louis residents of the need for adoptive homes, they don't impart much information or create a feeling for a particular child. That is accomplished through other media: Both black newspapers in East St. Louis, the *Monitor* and *Crusader*, carry weekly adoption series featuring individual children. Children pictured and described are often from Chicago or other parts of the State. The newspaper articles are written on a volunteer basis by Sheryl Clayton, chairman of the project's citizens advisory committee."

This was obviously an innovative and dynamic attempt to recruit adoptive families for black children. As such, it is worthy of scrutiny. The most important measure of any medium of publicity, however is whether or not it brings appropriate families into the study process. A publicity campaign which is successful in drawing a high level of response will not achieve its objective unless a sufficient number of those families can be studied, approved, and have children placed with them. The results of the East St. Louis campaign, therefore, are of great interest.

Effectiveness of Recruitment. Data gathered by East St. Louis staff from the first eighteen months of recruitment indicate that intake reflected five primary types of publicity. (Some, or many applicants may have responded to two or more forms of publicity; our analysis reflects only what they gave as the primary source of impetus.) Newspaper articles, as Table 11 shows were the most important source of new families. Spot announcements about adoption were the second most important, while printed flyers (leaflets) and adoption posters were also significant in bringing families into the agency. Interestingly, however, about one-sixth of the applicants were not brought in by any known form of publicity. They were referred by friends, knew about adoption because of a previous relationship with the agency, or the reason for their application was simply unknown.

A number of other facts emerged from the analysis. Out of 290 inquiries, 223 were by telephone. The sex of the caller was female in 87 percent of the cases, male in 13 percent. The median age of those inquiring about adoption was thirty-nine years, but it ranged from

Table 11—Intake From Various Types of Recruitment Publicity

Type of Publicity	*Frequency of Intake*	*Percent*
Newspaper	129	44.5
Flyer	10	3.4
Poster	25	8.6
Radio	21	7.2
Television	58	20.0
Friend	18	6.2
Agency-Related	6	2.1
Unknown	23	7.9
Total	290	100.0

eighteen to sixty-eight. Two-thirds of those inquiring were married, one-third were single. More than 39 percent expressed no preference as to the sex of the child they would like to adopt. About 32 percent indicated they would prefer a girl, while 25 percent wanted a boy. Similarly, 39 percent indicated they would prefer a child under five years of age, while 31 percent expressed a willingness to adopt a child whose maximum age was ten or higher.

Final results were impressive. As detailed in Table 12 at the time of this survey, 38 families (13 percent of those applying) had been approved and licensed as adoptive homes. An additional 14.5 percent remained in the study process, although in some cases their applications may have been inactive. Twenty-two percent had withdrawn, while 50.7 percent of the families had been rejected by the agency.

A meaningful number of placements had been made as well; 12 girls and eight boys had been placed with approved families. Eight were six years or older, five were between one and five years old, while seven of the children placed were infants.

While the total recruitment effort in East St. Louis was quite successful, it appears that some strategies were more successful than others. As Table 12 indicates, newspaper articles were the most productive single source of new adoptive families. Television and radio publicity had brought a number of applicants into the study process at the time this survey was made, but only three families had been approved. Posters were more effective than average (16 percent of intake subsequently approved), but on a relatively small scale. The distribution of flyers appeared to be ineffective, although this sample is far too small to make any definite conclusions. Surprisingly, the highest approval rates, however, were found for individuals who did not apply as the result of any known publicity. Although they constituted only one-sixth of the applicants, they accounted for more than one-fourth of all approved homes. These figures tend to indicate that such individuals may be more motivated to adopt, and may perhaps have spent more time in thinking about adoption and its consequences.

Table 12—Effectiveness of Different Types of Publicity

Source	Withdrew		In Study		Rejected		Approved		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Newspaper	24	18.6	10	7.8	74	57.4	21	16.3	129	44.5
Flyer	3	30.0	0	0.0	7	70.0	0	0.0	10	3.4
Poster	7	28.0	5	20.0	9	36.0	4	16.0	25	8.6
Radio	3	14.3	8	38.1	9	42.9	1	4.8	21	7.2
Television	14	24.1	16	27.6	26	44.8	2	3.4	58	20.0
Friend	6	33.3	2	11.1	8	44.4	2	11.1	18	6.2
Agency-related	0	0.0	1	16.7	3	50.0	2	33.3	6	2.2
Unknown	6	26.1	0	0.0	11	47.8	6	26.1	23	7.9
Total	63	21.7	42	14.5	147	50.7	38	13.1	290	100.0

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CHAPTER VI

ADOPTIVE RESOURCES FOR PROJECT CHILDREN

Foster Homes That Adopted (And Did Not Adopt)

Curious about why some foster families wished to adopt the children in their care, while some did not, we attempted an analysis of the characteristics of 69 foster families who had made homes for 112 Project children. Caseworkers who knew these families completed schedules containing some descriptive material, some judgments about motivation and capacity to care for children, and the reasons foster parents gave for their decision. The data are obviously impressionistic, but may offer some ideas for speculation.

Of the 69 families, 33 decided to adopt the children in their care, 27 decided not to adopt. Three were undecided at the time of the data collection, five were not considered as adoptive homes by the agency[1] and one family had decided to adopt one of their foster children and not the other (whose natural father was somewhat involved in the situation).

Though approximately the same number of families decided to adopt and not to adopt, almost twice as many children (sixty) were living in adoptive homes than were living in homes deciding not to adopt (thirty-five). The children ranged in age from two to seventeen, with a median age of seven. Age may have been a deterrent to adoption; just over 60 percent of the children in homes that did not adopt were ten and under, as were over 90 percent of the children in the homes that did adopt. Twenty-two of these children (of all ages) presented serious physical, emotional and/or intellectual problems; twelve of these were not adopted and ten were.

There were eight sibling groups of two or three in homes that did not adopt; in four of these at least one sibling had serious problems, and in three additional ones at least one sibling was over 10. Among the families who adopted, there were 15 sibling groups, one as large as four, and there were two groups of unrelated children who were adopted. In 11 of these families, none of the siblings presented problems, and in nine of these 11, all siblings were under 11. Thus there was some tendency for sib-groups to be adopted if the children were younger and free of serious problems.

The proportion of handicapped children was higher in homes that did not adopt (34.3 percent) than in homes that did (16.7 percent). It should be noted that many adopting families took on serious problems: Cerebral palsy, retardation, and serious emotional problems

[1]Of the homes the agency did not consider, two were couples in their 60's, and two homes were thought to have provided barely adequate care to the children. The children in the fifth home returned to their natural father.

were among those. There was only one multiple handicap, an emotionally disturbed and retarded child. It is hard to evaluate the seriousness of handicaps, but families who did not adopt may have been caring for more serious problems; epilepsy, autism, spina bifida, blindness are noted, in addition to emotional disturbance and retardation. Three children had multiple handicaps.

In sum, it appears that presence of a severe handicap, or entering or being in adolescent years, may be deterrents to adoption by foster parents. Being part of a sibling group does not seem to be a factor.

Size and composition of the two groups of families was similar. These were big families, with a median number of four children in the home. The size of the family did not seem related to the decision about adoption; of the families with one or two children, eight decided to adopt and five not to, while of the families with seven to 11 children, four decided to adopt and four not to adopt. Those with larger numbers of children for whom adoption was being actively considered had a somewhat greater tendency to adopt; of the 11 families with three or four Project children, eight decided to adopt. Conversely, of the 13 families with three or more foster children for whom adoption was not being considered, nine decided not to adopt. Five families had already adopted children; three of these decided to adopt, two not to. Thus neither family size nor composition was associated with the decision, but there is some evidence that the presence of a number of children for whom adoption was being urged might move a family toward a positive decision, while the presence of children not available for adoption was a pressure toward a negative decision.

Other demographic characteristics were not associated with the decision. Five single parents decided to adopt, four decided not to do so (one of the four was a man). The median age of the father and mother in both groups was between 51 and 60. Occupations other than housewife were reported for only six mothers; four adopted. Occupations of the fathers in those families that decided not to adopt may have carried slightly higher status; 10 of these men were in such services as policemen or bus drivers, or in managerial or technical-skilled work, as were only four among the adopting families. Of the six fathers retired from the labor force due to age, four decided to adopt, as did two of three disabled fathers. All of the remaining men worked as laborers. Most applicants in both groups were in good health.

Examination of the demographic characteristics of these homes thus suggested that only the composition of the group of foster children for whom the family is caring differentiates the two groups. These were apparently good foster homes for the Project children; 79 percent were judged by the caseworker to be good or excellent. Eight of the homes which decided not to adopt were rated only adequate, as was only one which decided to adopt. Two deciding not to adopt were rated unacceptable—in both of these situations agency and family agreed adoption was not appropriate, and the Project child was replaced in an adoptive home. There is a statistically significant difference ($x^2 = 11.66$, ldf, p .001) between the two groups in the proportion of homes judged to be good or excellent, but this must be interpreted with skepticism. A caseworker identified with a child would be likely to upgrade homes which adopted the child, and be dissatisfied with homes which refused the child.

Caseworkers judged both the foster parents' enjoyment of the foster child whose adoption was being considered and their sensitivity to the needs of the child and capacity to meet his needs. Again the data are of uncertain quality; reliability is unknown but certainly low due to lack of knowledge of the framework within which caseworkers made these judgments, and the bias of the workers is again probable. However, it is at least thought-provoking to note that in all of these items there is a marked difference between the two groups, particularly when family patterns are considered, as shown in Table 13.

Table 13—Parental Enjoyment Of The Child (Two-Parent Families)

Degree of Enjoyment	Decision to Adopt Yes	No	Total
Mother and father high	16	7	23
Father high, mother some	—	3	3
Father some, mother high	10	2	12
Both some	1	4	5
Father low or ie, mother high	1	3	4
Father low or ie, mother some	—	4	4
Total	28	23	51

Apparently, the mother's enjoyment of the child is one of the strongest factors in the decision to adopt. The mother's enjoyment of the child was rated high in 92 percent of those families who decided to adopt, and in only 39 percent of those who did not. It is in the group who decided to adopt that the large group of families in which both parents enjoy the child is found. Sensitivity to the needs of the child and capacity to meet his needs are strongly associated with enjoyment; for example, of the 16 families in which both parents greatly enjoyed the child, thirteen also displayed a high degree of sensitivity to a child's needs and ability to meet them.

Among the single parents who adopted, all but one evidenced great enjoyment of the child. About 50 percent of those who did not adopt displayed this enjoyment.

A group of ratings on the self-image of the foster parents, on performance expectations for self, and on use of defenses and adaptive mechanisms yielded no differences between those who adopted and those who did not.

Thus, in the rough assessment of the personality of the foster parents, it is apparently only those aspects of personality directly related to interaction with the child that differentiate foster parents who adopt from those who do not.

Workers attempted to classify motivation for taking a foster child into the home. Almost all of the parents in those families that decided to adopt expressed motivation that centered about enjoyment of the nurturing, guiding and interacting with a child. In 25 families both parents were thought to have this motivation; 3 mothers and 26 fathers

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were so classified. In contrast, only about half of the parents in homes that did not adopt were thought to have this motivation. When secondary motivations were considered, a second distinction between the groups became apparent. Sixty percent of the mothers in those families that decided to adopt could be identified as taking a child due to a combination of these child-centered motives and a narcissistic investment in raising children—mainly identified as a desire to see herself perpetuated in children as they grew, and to "fill a void" or emptiness which she perceived in her life. This pattern was found neither among fathers nor among mothers in families who decided not to adopt. One might speculate that there is a depressive undertone in this sense of void and self-fulfillment through children; it may be important for these women to extend the years and effort of child-rearing in order to fight depression.

Case analysts recorded for each of these homes the reason given by the foster parents for their decision to adopt or not to adopt. The reasons are of course those "heard" by the caseworker. Though quite removed from the foster parents' actual words, they may nevertheless provide some added insight into the reasons one group of foster parents decides to adopt and another not to.

Among those parents who decided to adopt, most prominent were statements that they love the child, consider the child their own, and want the child to have a permanent home—reasons given by 20 families. A variant of this were statements that the family had the child many years, had invested time and energy and had become attached to him—reasons given by 14 families (sometimes in combination with other reasons). Only three families mentioned keeping siblings together, and only three mentioned fear that child would be taken away. Thus, congruent with their child-centered motives for taking children, their reasons for keeping the children centered about affection and investment in these children.

The reasons families give for not adopting the foster children in their homes were more scattered and often multiple. The largest group centered about inability to continue to meet the demands of a child, either because of age or health of the foster parents, or more often, because of emotional or physical problems of the child. One could realistically raise questions about why the family thought they were doing adequately now but would not be able to in the future. Many of these were families with whom the caseworker tried to "work"—one presumes to the joint frustration of worker and family.

Six families cited inability to continue to meet the financial needs of a child. This is of particular concern in a project focusing on use of subsidy. In only two of these did this seem to be a solitary reason. One family on public aid would have had to absorb the medical costs of a handicapped child, due to a quirk in Illinois law. Another was frankly suspicious that subsidy was a "ploy" to get them to adopt the child, and wanted no part of it.

Another smaller group of reasons given seemed to rule out any possibility of adoption. In six families, one partner had little interest in the children; foster care was identified as a "project" of the other. (In two of these families, it was the mother who was not interested). Three families expressed fears about the heredity of the child and one

about the impact of previous experiences; there seemed to be a fear that the child would develop unknown problems.

A final group of reasons, used by relatively few, centered around dissatisfaction or distrust of the agency. Two families had wanted to adopt a few years earlier, but when the agency did not act to legally free the children, they lost interest. Five families voiced suspicion of the agency and concern that the subsidy would not continue as promised. In all of these instances, suspicion seemed to preclude constructive work to discuss the issues.

Analysis of motivation and of reasons given for adopting a child suggests again that strong child-centeredness and enjoyment of children differentiates those who decide to adopt from those who do not. The hint of use of a child to fight possible depressive feelings of emptiness and self-negation among those foster mothers who decide to adopt is also fascinating. Also of interest is the thread of fear among those not adopting that, without agency help, they will be unable to continue to meet the demands of a child. One also notes with concern the relatively high proportion of families (about 40 percent) who voice reasons for not adopting that may be also indicative of inability to work with the agency and provide constructive child care if they keep a child, in long term foster care.

This group of parents were also sent an attitude scale used by Wolins (Wolins, 1963), and designed to tap attitudes toward family life and child rearing. The schedule was mailed and there was extensive telephone follow-up to explain and try to elicit returns. Twenty-four of those foster parents who decided to adopt returned the completed scale (72 percent). However, only eight families who decided not to adopt returned the schedule. The differential rate of return is itself interesting, but precludes further analysis to differentiate the groups.

The statements these foster parents who adopt make about themselves tend to validate the judgments made by the caseworkers. They are amazingly child-centered; agreement with items such as "a parent lives mainly for his child" or a "parent should be willing to make any sacrifice for a child" averaging 80 percent. They feel children need to be carefully supervised and cared for. They all agree that "no two children are alike" and differentiate ways of handling children. And they show great trust in the potential of children, three-fourths agreeing that "any child can grow up to be a great man."

One can only regret that insufficient returns from those who did not adopt precluded further analysis of these data.

Summary

In summary, the attempt to distinguish the foster home that decided to adopt a foster child from that which did not has yielded some interesting data for speculation, but no clearly differentiating characteristics. The children who were adopted were somewhat younger and less severely handicapped than those not adopted, and were often part of sibling groups. Presence of other foster children for whom adoption was being urged was apparently an inducement to adopt; presence of other foster children who were not adoptable was discouraging.

The characteristics of the foster parents themselves differ only in subtle characteristics centering about expressed enjoyment of children. Foster parents who decided to adopt enjoyed children, were sensitive to their needs, and were thought to handle them well. The child-centeredness, particularly of the mothers, in the families that decided to adopt was remarkable. One could speculate that the continued presence of children was important and a focal point of their lives.

Families who adopted said they did so because of love for and enjoyment of the children. Most of those who did not expressed uneasiness about being able to meet the future demands of the children without agency support. For smaller groups suspicion of the agency and lack of interest of one parent were prominent.

Those foster parents who adopted were thus strongly invested in and successful with children—good foster parents and adoptive parents. One wonders whether those characteristics that led families to decide not to adopt may not also impede them in giving long term foster care.

New Adoptive Homes Found:

Of the 75 Project children placed in adoption, 19 were placed in 17 non-foster adoptive homes located from a variety of sources:

Table 14—Sources of Adoptive Homes

	No. Children	*No. Homes*
Project recruited	5	5
Central Homefinding, Chicago	8	7
Private agencies	4	3
East St. Louis Project	2	2
Total	19	17

Of these 17 homes, six were those of single parents (two men). Ages ranged from 54 to 24 at the time of adoption. The average age of the single parents was 41; among the couples the average age of the wives was 36 and of the husbands, 37. Men were for the most part employed as skilled laborers or in managerial positions; women were clerks, nurses, teachers, secretaries, counsellors and housewives. Households were small with two notable exceptions. Eleven families had no children prior to this adoption, two had one child, two had two or three. One family had four sons (and adopted a girl) and one had 10 foster daughters (and adopted a boy).

The children adopted by these families are older than is usual in adoptions, as shown in Table 15, reflecting the thrust of the Project toward placing older children.

Table 15—Age of Project Children For Whom Adoptive Homes Were Located

Age	*Number*	*Percent*
2, less than 5	6	31.6
5, less than 11	9	47.4
11, and over	4	21.1
Total	19	

None of the youngest group of children were handicapped, though one exhibited much fearfulness due to prior abuse. Three of these young children went to families who already had older children; all six went to couples.

Only one of the children between five and 10 exhibited problems; this was a five-year-old with emotional problems who was placed with a couple. Single parents adopted five children from this age range. Couples also adopted an 11 year-old and 12 year-old, but a single parent took on the adoption of the oldest children, a 12 and 13 year-old brother and sister.

As a group these adoptive parents exhibit mature personalities, are physically healthy, and cope effectively with stress. They are sensitive to and enjoy children, and their reasons for adopting center around the wish to enjoy, guide, and nurture a child.

It is thus apparent from this brief discussion that the Project workers were able to place black children in adoptive homes that pretty much resemble the adoptive homes described in other studies. In general, however, these homes did not accept children with serious problems.

CHAPTER VII

SUBSIDIZED ADOPTIONS

Subsidy Program in Illinois:

The Illinois legislation authorizing the Department of Children and Family Services to provide financial aid to families who adopt hard to place children is very liberal and flexible and permits the agency considerable latitude in use of subsidy to make adoption possible for hard to place children. There are only three requirements to be met according to the law:

1. That the child be under guardianship of the Department immediately prior to his adoption.
2. That the child be hard to place by reason of age, handicap, race, or other factors.
3. That the assistance be less than the monthly cost of care of the child in a foster home. Special purpose grants may not exceed the amounts which similar services would cost the Department.

The Department of Children and Family Services was given responsibility for establishing rules and regulations concerning subsidy. The guidelines developed by the Department include criteria for eligibility of children; assessment of adopting family's situation; provision for a subsidized adoption committee to review each case to determine if a subsidy would be granted; the process of initiating subsidy and an annual review procedure.

Application for subsidy in practice involves completing forms on the child and family. Information on the child includes a general statement of why subsidy is needed, and documentation for medical, psychological, legal, or other special services, if subsidy is to cover these. Family information stresses the income and expenditures of the family; a copy of the most recent withholding statement for income tax is required documentation.

During the first three years of the program, all subsidies had to be presented to a Regional Subsidized Adoption Committee for approval. In some areas, (East St. Louis, for example), the Committee worked very well with staff in facilitating adoptions with subsidy. In Chicago, however, there was considerable negative feeling about the Committee and its functions. Many workers, feeling confused and unfamiliar with the idea of subsidy, were threatened by having a committee question casework decisions which they believed should only require supervisory approval. There was some feeling that the Committee placed too much emphasis on the family's income and life style, and the primary factor of the child's needs for a permanent home was often obscured.

Recognizing the lack of knowledge and the need for staff training in adoptions and subsidies, the Committee attempted to do some staff

development, in addition to other functions. With the negative feeling and defensiveness which some workers had, the circumstances were hardly conducive to staff training. The role of the Committee was not clearly defined for its members or the regular staff. The Committee in Chicago was disbanded and all decisions concerning subsidy were delegated to the area offices. Responsibility for permanent planning decisions, including subsidy, was placed on line staff, with appropriate administrative supports and accountability. Related staff training then also became a responsibility of the area offices. In practice, these changes made the subsidy process much more simple and less restrictive. Workers gained confidence in their ability to use subsidy, and a substantial increase in approved subsidies has occurred. Statistical information on subsidies for Chicago indicates the increased use of this resource. See Table 16.

Table 16—Illinois Subsidized Adoptions Cumulative by Year

Year	*Chicago Subsidies*				*Statewide Subsidies*			
	Total	Black	White	Other	Total	Black	White	Other
1970 - 71	53	32	18	0	130	52	75	3
1971 - 72	87	58	24	5	294	130	158	6
1972 - 73	130	89	33	8	429	183	234	12
1973 - 74	263	186	64	13	708	326	364	18
1974 - 75	500	341	129	30	1108	533	535	40
To Date*					1221	593	575	53

*March 15. Chicago figures not available

Project Experience With Subsidy

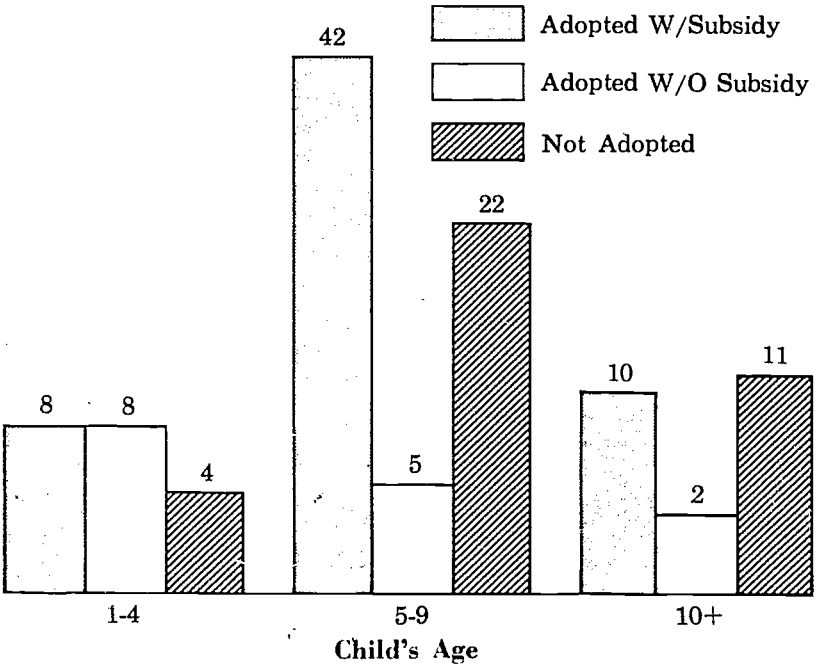
The Project has found subsidy to be a key factor in accomplishing adoptions for a high percentage of older black children. An important element was the incorporation of subsidy as a part of the total adoption process. Other factors, such as health, motivation, assessment of adoptive plan for the family and child, were given thoughtful consideration. We focused on getting a good home for the older child, using subsidy as an enabling service.

The availability of subsidy presents a challenge to foster parents who have said they wanted to adopt but could not afford to assume the expenses of another child. For the first time, many foster parents were forced to make an honest decision concerning their commitment to the child. Since continued foster care had become an acceptable arrangement to the foster parents and agency, it had not been necessary for them to face this decision previously. Several foster families told us they had been promised that the child could remain in the home as long as they wished. Although we encountered much hostility and stalling, we demonstrated that permanent plans would be implemented for most children. In some situations, lack of funds to proceed with adoption was used as a smoke screen to cover other reasons.

Characteristics of Children and Families Subsidized

A number of significant characteristics help to give us a picture of the children and families in subsidized adoption. The median age of children in subsidized adoption was eight years. This seems to reflect a sliding scale of applicability by age. As Figure 1 indicates, children under the age of five were as likely to be adopted without subsidy as with subsidy, while older children, for the most part, were adopted with subsidy or not at all.

Figure 1.



Subsidy was clearly a boon to the handicapped child—all but one of the handicapped children adopted were adopted with subsidy. The breakdown was as follows: learning disability—three children; emotional problems—four children; seriously retarded—one child; asthma, cerebral palsy, heart murmur, cataracts—four children.

Particularly noteworthy were the four emotionally damaged children and the one very retarded child adopted with subsidy. Finding adoptive resources for such children is quite difficult, the uncertainties of placement great. Without subsidy, it is likely that all of these children would have remained in long term foster care. Another interesting characteristic of subsidy is that it seems to promote multiple adoptions. Both sibling groups and collections of foster siblings have been so adopted. The Project had two groups of four children, four groups of three children, and four groups of two children adopted.

Most of the adopting parents had initially been foster parents. On the whole, their income and future earning capacity were quite limited, as can be seen in Figures 2 and 3. The median age was 53 years, while the median income, excluding board payments, was only $650 per month. Since the average adopting family had 1.6 other dependents, it is clear that most of these families were living on very

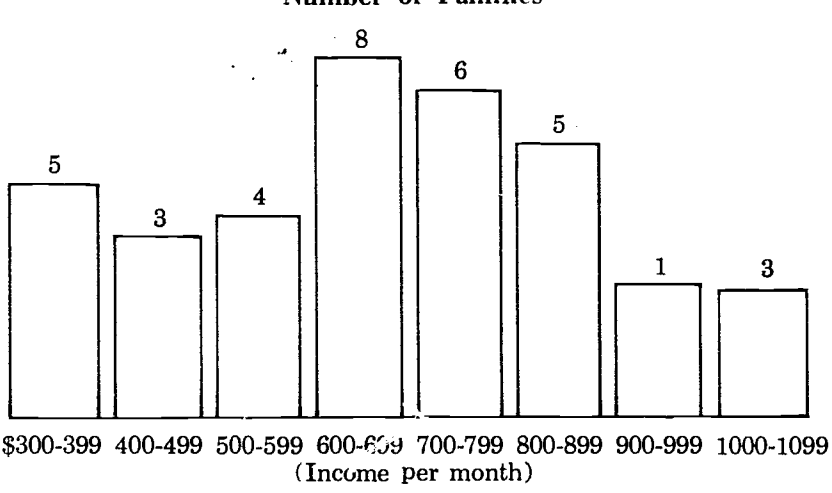


Fig. 2—Gross Income (excluding board) of subsidy families (Median Income = $650.00 Per Month)

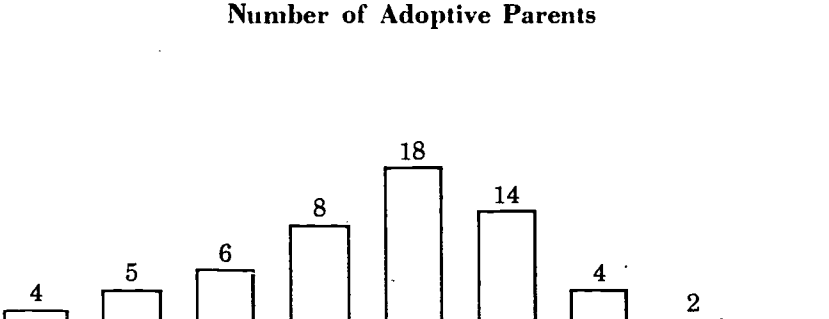


Fig. 3—Ages of Parents Adopting With Subsidy (Median Age = 53 Years)

tight budgets. A number of families were living on retirement pensions or Social Security; others were dependent upon seasonal employment, or subject to layoffs in slack business periods. Despite these factors, however, a very traditional family structure predominated; in no case did the wife in a two-parent family hold a regular job.

These families had many positive factors working in their favor. Both from our study of Project foster families and from experience, we found most of these families to be very child-oriented and full of life. "Happiness" is a difficult criterion to use, but most of these families could be characterized as "happy." It's important to emphasize this because their economic status might otherwise cause some to regard these as "second-rate" adoptive families. This is definitely not the case as illustrated by the White Family.

> Mr. and Mrs. White wanted to adopt all three children who were placed with them six years ago. Mrs. White feels the children need to be together, and she and her husband are very attached to all of them. In addition, the Whites plan to move out of the state as their current neighborhood is deteriorating. The schools are so poor that they pay tuition for each child in a parochial school, which they consider safer and better. The Department does not reimburse them for tuition. Both Mrs. White and her husband feel that it is in the children's best interests for them to have a quality education.
>
> Mrs. White is a conscientious and devoted mother to these children. Her concern about the neighborhood is genuine as is her concern about eight-year-old Sarah, who is having problems in school. It is apparent that Mr. and Mrs. White have made a close family unit with their foster children. John and Sarah are especially close. Gina, the natural child, is accepting of these children. Each weekend, the family goes to their home in Michigan, where they will move when Mr. White retires.
>
> Subsidies enabled the Whites to complete adoption of three children and cement established family ties.

Reactions to Subsidy

The Project staff reviewed all families considered for adoption to determine the role and significance of subsidy in obtaining permanent homes for children. Information reported on each family included: (1.) Events leading to subsidy, step-by-step in chronological order; (2.) Family viewpoint on subsidy, strongest positive and negative factors and any other observations; (3.) Who initiated the need for subsidy? (4.) Why did the family need subsidy? And (5.) In the opinion of the worker, would the family have adopted without subsidy? Additionally, workers were asked to comment on how subsidy was presented to the family and the family's reaction to subsidy.

Six children were adopted by their foster families without subsidy. Four families had knowledge of subsidy from previous workers but they did not want additional financial assistance. One family had considered adoption for three years, and their interest was linked to receiving a subsidy. They requested a long term subsidy with a maximum board payment because this had been almost a guarantee from a former worker. Based on the family's income, and because the child was not "hard to place," a subsidy was denied. The family adopted without a subsidy, but there was a period of tension and turmoil before this decision was reached.

In general, staff devoted several interviews to discussions of subsidy. Some of the families had prior understanding of subsidy but it was necessary to review the subsidy process and provisions again. As adoption is a serious and life-affecting decision, we encouraged families to give careful thought and deliberation to it. Usually, all family members were involved in discussions of subsidy. Elderly persons found a younger relative or close friend to agree to become guardian of the children in the event of their incapacity or death. In some situations, we also provided information to the family's attorney.

The strongest positive factor was the family's investment in the child and desire to secure the child's place in the family. There were many concerns about subsidies. Many families requested written information about subsidy as confirmation of what they were getting from staff. Several families were reluctant to share information about personal finances and assets. One family felt badly about accepting subsidy because it was seen as welfare; the father's employment was seasonal and income fluctuated greatly from month to month. They were very insecure about finances and their future.

Some of the families were experiencing a difficult financial crisis because of unemployment, disability, or illness. Although they had little money, there was great pride and affection for children.

A persistent concern was that families would no longer have the medical card after legal adoption. Many families indicated that costs of routine medical care which are not presently being provided by public assistance for families receiving a subsidy would be a strain on their limited financial resources. Another concern was the loss of educational benefits after a state ward is adopted. This creates a problem when there are adopted and non-adopted persons in the same home, both with college aspirations.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, subsidy was needed because of low family income. The greatest percentage of families were foster families, with the head of the household facing retirement, already retired, or at the peak of his earning capacity. In the future, there will likely be less income in the family.

Staff felt that a few of the families would have adopted without subsidy, but it would have been a big financial struggle. We believe that subsidies should be used to relieve financial strain and enable the family and child to have a better life together.

Cost/Benefit Analysis of Project Subsidies

Any cost/benefit analysis must begin by making certain assumptions and simplifications which are necessary in order to produce a concrete result. Adoption involves several benefits, some of which are scarcely quantifiable. The increased stability of relationships and family structure is certainly beneficial to society, but we will not attempt to evaluate it. An adopted child may have higher self-esteem, and therefore lead a more useful and productive life, but even if we had data to support this hypothesis, it would be difficult to reduce such benefits to numbers. By necessity, then, we shall confine ourselves to agency-related costs and benefits; though in the long run, these may not prove to be the most significant.

One assumption we will make is that very few families adopting with subsidy would have adopted without subsidy. Although a few Project subsidy families might have considered adopting without subsidy, their economic difficulties would have been great, with the possible failure of the adoptions as a result. Such failures are very expensive, both in human terms and in cost to the agency. We will assume, therefore, that no families are inappropriately subsidized.

Program Costs

The primary cost of an adoption program lies in a more intensive use of caseworker time. Administrative and casework costs for the Chicago region are currently projected at approximately $40/month per child. In the Project, we can reasonably estimate this cost as doubled, to about $1,000 per year per child. (1.) The cost of Project services was then the difference between these two figures, or approximately $500 a year. (2.) Caseloads were in the vicinity of 25 children per worker, as opposed to 60 to 80 in the general agency.

Direct payments for subsidy are generally fixed, although they may be increased (up to the amount of foster care) or decreased as a result of the annual review. Direct payments for foster care depend upon the age of the child, and are subject to increase with inflation! We will make the conservative assumption that board rates increase 10 percent every three years. We will also assume that subsidy is for $1.00 less than the board rate, which is currently the situation in a majority of cases.

Administrative costs, as previously discussed, have been estimated by the Office of Management in Springfield to be about $40 a month for Chicago. The figure for downstate Illinois is closer to $60 a month, but we will not concern ourselves with that. Inflation must be allowed for; we will use a figure of 5 percent. The administrative cost of subsidy is taken to be $75 a year, with 5 percent inflation as well. Medical costs of foster children, paid by the Medicaid program, are unfortunately not available at this time for Illinois. Figures do exist for other states. They range from $138.00 per year in Washington state to more than $500.00 per year in New York. Socio-economically, Illinois is probably closer to the latter, but we will estimate medical costs quite conservatively at $300.00 per year, or $25.00 per month. Under current conditions, we anticipate a 10 percent inflation in medical costs per year.

We would anticipate nearly 100 percent savings in medical costs, despite the use of medical subsidies for some children. Data are lacking, but even in such cases, it appears that the Department experiences substantial savings due to decreased frequency of hospitalization, and the payment of incidental medical expenses by parents.

Another factor which we have not considered here is the possibility of a child going into independent living, at rates up to $291 a month, or an institution, where costs may exceed $1,000 a month. In this respect our analysis is highly conservative.

Future by Count/Value—etc.:

The savings experienced by the agency will occur over a period of years in the future, while the costs incurred are in the present. In order to compare the two, a discount rate must be introduced to allow

the expression of future savings in current dollars. The figure of 5.5 percent has been used, although slightly higher or lower values might be equally justifiable.

Savings and the Cost/Benefit Ratio—Examples:

How do all these figures come together to give us a coherent picture of savings in the future versus costs in the present? One example should make this clearer.

Example: A six-year-old child adopted with subsidy. (Subsidy assumed to run until age 18, foster care until age 21.)

Cost of foster care	$31,100
Administration cost of foster care	10,300
Medical cost	9,500
Total	50,900
Cost of ongoing subsidy	17,400
Cost of administration of subsidy	1,200
Total	18,600
Total savings	32,300
Total savings in present dollars	18,000

Additional Cost of Keeping Child in Project for $750/18 Months Benefit/Cost Ratio 24.0

Table 17 presents a summary of such calculations for all children adopted with subsidy in the Project. Total savings were $1,548,800, which comes to $925,800 in present dollars. The cost of keeping all 112 children in the Project was $84,000, giving us a cost/benefit ratio of 11.0. This ratio is incredibly high, considering that we have ignored many other benefits, particularly the non-subsidized adoptions brought about by Project workers. It is particularly impressive when one considers that the Army Corps of Engineers, for example will seek approval for any project with an anticipated cost/benefit greater than 1.7.

Conclusions

Subsidy has a definite and important role in securing adoption for: older children, handicapped children, and groups of children such as siblings and unrelated children in the same foster home. Without subsidy, these children would otherwise remain in long term foster care. We can see from the preceding figures that subsidized adoption, when used appropriately, can effect significant cost savings, in addition to the intangible benefits discussed earlier. It follows that an effective subsidy program can repay its costs many times over in only a few years.

Table 17—Estimated Savings From Project Subsidies

Estimated Subsidy Costs				Estimated Foster Care Costs				
No. of Children	*Max. Length of Subsidy (yrs.)*	*Direct Payments*	*Total Admin. Costs*	*Direct Payments*	*Admin. Costs*	*Medical Costs*	*Estimated Total Savings*	*PV(56)*
2	2	7,100	200	7,200	2,000	1,200	1,200	3,000
1	4	6,200	300	13,500	3,600	2,800	13,400	11,000
3	5	20,300	1,200	47,100	12,900	10,200	48,700	28,100
1	6	7,700	500	17,900	3,000	4,000	18,700	13,900
2	7	18,200	1,200	40,000	11,600	9,400	41,600	29,500
4	8	39,500	280	88,800	26,400	22,000	94,900	64,200
4	9	44,300	3,200	97,200	29,600	25,600	104,900	67,600
15	10	192,400	15,000	405,000	124,500	109,500	431,600	265,000
9	11	115,200	9,900	261,900	83,700	75,600	296,100	172,900
6	12	96,900	7,200	186,600	61,800	57,000	201,300	112,100
4	13	50,600	5,600	134,400	45,200	42,800	166,200	88,100
3	14	48,700	4,500	108,000	37,200	36,300	128,300	65,400
54	Total	647,100	51,600	1,407,600	443,500	396,400	1,548,800	925,800
	Average	12,000	1,000	26,100	8,200	7,300	28,700	17,100

Note: All figures rounded to nearest $100.00

Average cost of remaining in project for eighteen Months = $750

Cost of all children in project = $84,000

Total benefits/Total costs = $\frac{\$925,800}{84,000} = 11.0$

CHAPTER VIII

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AGENCY, PROJECT, AND COMMUNITY

A Impact of Agency on Project

The success of the Project depended not only on motivation and efforts of Project staff but also on the assistance and support of various units of the Department. Although the Project operated somewhat independently from other sections of the Department, we needed Departmental resources and relationships throughout the Project. We received valuable assistance from both local offices and the Central office. In general, cooperation was good.

When the Project was initiated, the Department was organized into regional and district offices, and the state division of child welfare administrative offices. The Project did not fit into this established structure, but remained on the periphery. Initially, we felt little status or identity within the Department. Administratively, the Project was part of the state child welfare division. However, we were physically situated in local offices and relied on local resources for fiscal, personnel, and other transactions. The East St. Louis staff were closely identified with their regional and district office. In Chicago, with five district offices and a regional office, it was more difficult for Project staff to become related to the regular program.

One of the major Project objectives was to influence worker attitudes in the Department and motivate staff to make permanent plans for children. However, the Project had no place in the decision-making process. Personal relationships eventually developed between the Project staff and regular staff which resulted in attitudinal changes. We felt that we were making some impact on assisting staff to make permanent plans for children. However, greater administrative interest and emphasis could have facilitated this process.

It is significant that this innovative project had to develop a casefinding instrument and engage in the casefinding process. These necessary data were totally lacking within the Department. In order to determine need for and use of subsidies, we had to begin by finding the children.

The search for records and workers in the various offices in Chicago proved to be frustrating. In the beginning, we sent lists of cases to be reviewed to the respective offices so that these records could be located and made available for Project staff. This did not work because some records could not be found. We decided that our task would only be completed if we made the search for records.

Initially, workers seemed to view the casefinding process as a nuisance but gradually, they became very cooperative. The Depart-

ment is greatly committed to direct services, and there was little importance attached to being involved with staff on a research project. In this connection, Project workers were constantly explaining the purpose of the Project. Since we were not initially carrying caseloads, it was difficult for Department workers to relate to what we were doing.

Changes, because of decentralization and reorganization, had a great impact on the Project. As we tried to follow-up to update information on the plan or status of a case previously reviewed, case transfers made this a hectic process. Some cases had been transferred several times. At times, new workers were totally unfamiliar with the child and his situation.

Staff turnover made it necessary for the Project staff to begin the motivation for the permanent planning phase again with each new worker assigned to a case. This became discouraging for Project workers.

Feedback to District Offices

Following the review of cases, information on each case was sent to the administrative staff of the respective offices. We hoped that this feedback, which related to the long range plan for each child, would be useful in following up individual permanent planning. Project staff was requested by a Chicago Regional Office Administrator to give a concise statement of logical alternative plans for the child on those cases where we noted that the agency plan needed re-evaluation. It was also suggested that immediate discussion between supervisory and casework staff follow receipt of information on case planning.

At the same time of the Project's review, the agency was setting up a system of administrative review of cases. To avoid duplication, those children categorized by the Project as potentially adoptable, future plans unknown, or long term foster care would be scheduled for administrative review. Regular staff reacted to the demands on their time when they were continually involved in managing large caseloads. In addition, the purpose of having cases reviewed was not generally understood and accepted.

Although our findings were shared with the respective offices, there was no apparent interest in this material. Our staff had serious questions about the extent to which the agency as a whole was seeing adoptions and subsidies as a priority.

Selection of Project Children

The selection of children to be transferred to the Project was to have been a random process. However, two social workers from district offices in Chicago were added to the Project. In the process of negotiating for staff, we agreed to select the majority of children for the Project from the two offices from which staff had been transferred. For research purposes, this method of selection is obviously open to question. This illustrates how the agency political processes can affect a research program, and stresses the priority given to direct services.

Recruitment

One of our recruitment ideas was to tap foster parent applicants to determine interest in adoption. At times, all of the families are not needed for foster care but could be a potential adoptive resource. Since many black families enter adoption through the door of foster care, we proposed to the Central District Foster Care Unit a plan involving the inclusion of information concerning subsidies for adoption at informational meetings for foster parents. Those parents interested in making a total commitment to the child could be steered into adoption, and the subsidies could substitute for the board payments which they had anticipated. The Foster Care Unit had great resistance to changing their system. The message was for us to find families for subsidized adoptions in a separate recruitment effort. No links could be developed between foster care and subsidized adoptions which would have brought some coordination into the agency's overall efforts to find resources for children. The separate and fragmented efforts to recruit families continued.

In summary, complications faced in adding this Project to the agency point up the need for administrative commitments and supports. In retrospect, it would have been helpful to have had relationships and authority lines clearly spelled out. Impetus for changing the system of serving children in foster homes was needed from all levels of the agency; not just the Project.

B Impact of Project on Agency

Influence on Worker Planning

Rather early during the casefinding process, it was apparent that staff needed help in making permanent plans for children. Case goals were usually expressed in terms of immediate or short range plans, primarily related to maintaining the child in his present foster home. In the overwhelming majority of cases, it was observed during the initial casefinding that little or no thought was being given to the idea of permanence. A large proportion of the case records indicated that continued foster care was the future goal. Few cases noted adoption as the long range goal.

Following completion of the casefinding schedules, Project staff talked with the current caseworker or supervisor. Through these informal contacts, we presented to many for the first time the idea that adoption might be appropriate for school-age children. It was necessary to redefine what is an adoptable child, as many workers ruled out the possibility of adoption because of the child's age, some minor disability, or the belief that adoptive homes for black children were nonexistent. Project workers also found that there was a great deal of misinformation concerning the process of freeing a child for adoption. In situations in which parents were not in complete agreement to relinquish the child for adoption, there was reluctance to initiate legal action to make the child available for adoption.

In a large percentage of records reviewed, there had been no exploration with foster parents concerning their interest in adopting children placed in their homes. Too many staff saw their role as maintaining the state of affairs with children and foster parents remaining as they were. In other words, no one wanted to upset the apple cart.

From our position as case analysts strongly identified with adoptions, we saw the untapped and undeveloped resource of current foster parents, many of whom had already expressed interest in adoption. We could also recognize that there were possibilities of rehabilitating some of the children with parents or relatives, and thus achieving the permanence which was so desperately needed for the children. We felt that the Project could play a necessary role in assisting staff in making permanent plans, which would ultimately facilitate and expedite adoptions for children.

After the Project workers had spent several months in a district office, they were approached by staff requesting specific information about legally freeing children for adoption, discussing adoption with foster parents, and other aspects of work on pre-adoptive services. Our contacts with staff served to represent the child to his caseworker and provide added motivation and enthusiasm to "think" adoption as a plan for the child.

We found staff generally interested, receptive to suggestions, and sincerely concerned about the children on their caseloads. However, many of them were overwhelmed with the pressures of emergencies in their caseloads. Planning adoption was not a crisis to be immediately faced. Some shifts in thinking were necessary to enable staff to consider the philosophical and practical issues involved in adoption versus long term foster care. There was great resistance to considering adoption when the child seemed to be managing comfortably in a foster home where he had lived for several years. There was fear of the unknown adoptive situation compared to the known foster home in which both child and foster parents were currently compatible.

The changes in ideas and attitudes of staff were reflected in stated goals after six months when we had follow-up contacts. Not only was there greater emphasis on adoption as a plan but intermediate steps, such as initiating court action, were indicated. Although it is difficult to measure, we feel we had a definite impact on stimulating staff to focus on permanent plans for children. We were encouraged by the feedback from individual workers, particularly when we had been of real help.

Attitudes Toward Subsidized Adoptions

From staff we learned that there was great anxiety about the total process of subsidy. Some workers viewed the subsidized adoption procedure as awesome and complicated. There was a lack of systematic and well-organized staff training in the area of subsidy. Some of the failure to make use of subsidy was due to the gap between the casework staff and the subsidized adoption committee.

The acceptance of subsidy by Project staff was communicated to their colleagues in district offices. While we were proselytizing for adoptions, we made a concentrated effort to put in a plug for subsidy. Some staff asked the Project workers to review their subsidy cases while they were in the preparation stage. There was particular concern about having a family "rejected" by the committee after the worker had encouraged their interest in adoption with subsidy. This staff needed considerable support and encouragement before they appeared before the subsidy committee.

We were aware that there was much more widespread consideration of subsidy than staff realized. From the grapevine, it appeared that few families were approved for subsidies, but in reality most of the requested subsidies were granted. We were in a position to identify staff in each district office who were more interested, skilled, and experienced in adoptive planning and use of subsidy. As less experienced workers approached Project staff, we could steer them to someone in the same office with knowledge of adoptions.

Staff Development Activity

We were involved in both formal and informal staff development activities in the various district offices. In some instances, Project staff met with units of staff in a district office to share information on cases reviewed. This usually expanded to include further discussion of problems which deter permanent planning.

In one district office, a series of programs were planned and attended by both line staff and administrative staff. These programs included: legal aspects of the adoption process; new trends in adoption; the adoption process with special attention to adopting foster parents; subsidized adoptions; use of contractual agreements in facilitating permanent planning; philosophy and mechanics of the Adoption Listing Service; and the film, "Johnny Boy" with an adopting foster parent, who was also a Project employee in East St. Louis.

Some progress was seen towards greater emphasis on adoptive planning. Staff changes and turnover had a marked effect on the adoption program as on other programs.

C. Project Advisory Committee

An Advisory Committee was formed in March, 1972 to obtain productive and continuing involvement of the black community in implementing the project. The committee, consisting of six members from East St. Louis and 14 members from Chicago, met quarterly. Travel expenses for East St. Louis members were borne by the Project. Membership included subsidized adoptive parents, foster parents, attorneys, representatives of Afro-American Family and Community Services, Lawndale Community, Regional Office of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Rights Organization, and staff of voluntary agencies and the Department.

During early meetings, there was comprehensive discussion of subsidized adoptions and all aspects of the adoption program. It was essential that the members thoroughly understand the total adoption process, including provision of subsidies. Preparation of children and foster parents for adoption, development of adoptive families, and related services were fully discussed. Considerable interest and comment centered on agency policies and practices. Particular concern was expressed about flexibility in adoption requirements in relationship to black families. For the first time, some of the members received a detailed account of what is involved in placement of a more difficult older child as compared with infant adoption service.

Committee meetings served a number of purposes, allowing for discussion of the progress of the Project, but more importantly, bring-

ing out points of view to be added into the operation and for future consideration. Personal contacts between staff and committee members created an atmosphere in which constructive relationships were developed that can last long beyond the project. Individual members participated in various ways, such as professional service to the agency, recruitment and community education, sharing ideas at meetings, and public relations.

When the committee was established, the Project emphasis was on reviewing cases to identify children who could benefit from adoption. At this time, we were experiencing bottlenecks in the court system, which greatly delayed getting children legally available for adoption. It was obviously going to be impossible to make permanent plans for children if legal ties could not be terminated. Finding more children who needed adoption was futile unless problems with the legal system could be resolved. A subcommittee, with representation from agencies which had been cognizant of this problem, agreed to take on the task of effecting changes in the legal system. Some inroads were made with the Juvenile Court. At about the same time, the Department employed full-time attorneys in Chicago. Meaningful and consistent communication between the Department and the Court has now been achieved and fortunately, there is no delay in getting cases into court: The result is better services to children.

The committee recognized the need for Department staff to become knowledgeable and intelligent about subsidized adoptions. Without staff training, subsidies could not be optimally used. We felt that much of the fear and negative reaction from foster parents about subsidy was due to the staff's lack of knowledge and comfort with subsidies. A letter was sent from the committee to the Director of the Chicago Region emphasizing the committee's concern and pointing out the need for regular staff development and in-service training on all aspects of subsidies.

The committee had thoughtful and informed people, who were generally supportive of the Project's efforts. Over time we did lose many of the community representatives from Chicago, and the composition of the group became primarily agency staff, with non-agency persons from East St. Louis.

Another Advisory Committee. In East St. Louis, the committee chairman and Project coordinator invited local citizens to form a local group. The group decided that additional input was needed and a committee of 25 persons was established to assist the local project initially in recruiting black families. Selection was through word of mouth and there was representation from black sororities, public schools, ministers, businessmen, adoptive parents, housewives, and students.

This group demonstrated the impact which a community advisory group can have on a project and an agency. All of the committee members were closely and actively involved with the Project operations. They were very vocal and showed much fervor in challenging agency policies. Meetings were well attended and members had strong opinions. They felt free to offer challenges to any Department representative, including the Project Director, State Director of Child Welfare Division and local administrator.

The responsibilities of the local group and its advisory role were never defined. Relationships between the local group and the statewide committee formed a controversial issue. The local group wanted status, recognition, and a voice in decisionmaking for the project. As one member stated, they had not been invited to serve as rubber stamps, but to be advisors. In this capacity, they wanted to be heard.

Their initial concern was about the staffing of the Project. Because of the racial composition of the community, the majority being black, they felt that Project positions should be filled by black workers. They reacted to the Department's policies, which required taking an exam, being on an eligibility list, et cetera. It was their feeling that this procedure screened out black workers. The Project coordinator, who had previously been adoption supervisor in East St. Louis, was white and this was a sore spot for some of the members. Although most of the local group were cooperative and supported her, some of the members were never satisfied, which was a factor in her subsequent resignation. Although the Project director was black, she was based in Chicago and not considered a representative of the local community.

We learned a great deal from this experience which has implications for other agencies seeking community involvement by use of advisory committees. First of all, we felt that we were not sensitized to the attitude and feeling of the black community and the significance of having a black person as coordinator. In retrospect, it would have been feasible to have had some citizens participate in the early stages before the staff were employed and the funding allocation for the statewide committee established. We now recognize that someone from the community was needed on the ground floor. Second, a specific delineation of the committee's function would have been extremely helpful. Third, an examination of the area of agency-community relationships and authority was in order. This also includes agency-staff community relationships; when differences of opinion occur, does the agency support its staff, the community, or take a middle-of-the-road position?

The local committee made an impressive contribution to the Project in spite of the controversy. The committee chairman, who also chaired the statewide committee, initiated a weekly newspaper series in two papers featuring photographs of children waiting for adoption. She contacted agencies to get a child for each weekly issue; wrote descriptive information about the child; and transmitted this material to the paper. At times, she used the photographs from the Adoption Listing Service. This often necessitated making the long distance calls to obtain information about the child. The effectiveness of her efforts can be seen in the results of local publicity which drew many new applicants.

At an orientation meeting on the home study process, the members had questions about the agency reference letter. They attributed the poor response from references to the letter. Some of the committee members took on the job of developing a simplified check list with space for additional information from references. This form was accepted for use by the Department office in East St. Louis.

The local committee served to transmit information between the black community and the Project. Outreach efforts on the part of the agency were reinforced and supported by the committee.

Evaluation of the Advisory Committee. About one-third of the members responded to a request to evaluate their experiences. Generally, the majority rated their experience as positive. Comments were:

> It has made the agency personnel as well as the general public more aware of the plight and availability of black children.
>
> My overall impression was very positive. I felt it provided a needed thrust to agency personnel regarding their responsibility to seek permanence, other than foster care, for children who could not return to their natural families.
>
> Another plus was the information provided in educating the public about adoption procedure and presented a new and accepting picture of the functions of the Department of Children and Family Services. It was interesting that some of the strongest objections to subsidized adoption came from within the staff; there was a resistance to making the community aware of this resource.
>
> Other comments indicated that the Advisory Committee had not made a worthwhile contribution.
>
> I think the committee should meet more often, perhaps monthly on a local level to avoid so much time, and undertake some definite tasks which will contribute to project effectiveness.
>
> The committee seems to be a duplication of Adoption Information Service; why doesn't the state coordinate Black Adoptions and Adoption Information?

From the standpoint of the Project, the committee was never as effective as we would have liked. We felt that a staff person with community organization skills and talents was needed to work with the committee and serve as liaison with the Project.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This Project was undertaken in order to develop a body of information about subsidies and their potential to increase the number of adoptive homes for black children, and to demonstrate ways of using subsidies to adoptions. Both locally and nationally, reports indicate that adoptive homes are not available for the vast numbers of black children in foster homes. It is predicted that thousands of adoptable black children will grow up in foster homes unless new approaches, such as subsidies are developed. The primary objective of the Project was to determine the extent to which subsidies could increase adoptive resources for black children.

The Project was highly successful in identifying children who could benefit from adoption, the first step in any adoptive process. Our goal was to find children drifting in foster care and to urge that their needs and capabilities be understood by the worker. We felt that failure to make a conscious decision about a child's future in effect makes a plan for him—a plan for continued drifting in foster care.

Results of a comprehensive assessment of 1,962 black children in foster care in Chicago showed that 66 percent of the children are potentially adoptable. This determination was made by using a schedule containing extensive information on the personal, legal, familial, and agency service factors relevant to sound casework planning for a permanent home. It also included the caseworker's own plan and evaluation of the foster home and of the child's needs related to family life. Information was supplemented by personal contact with the child's caseworker or supervisor. Decisions about a child's adoptability were thus based on factual information and the caseworker's knowledge of his needs.

These children entered care at a very young age and a great number had completed six or more years in the foster care system. Tho children were in good shape physically, 95 percent were in good health. The vast majority, 72.5 percent were thought to be of average intelligence (22.6 percent had been tested). Most of the children had relatively few family ties, perhaps because they had been in care so long. Siblings became family for some children in the general absence of other ties.

The plans of the Department caseworkers for these children reflect emphasis on maintaining the status quo, with long term foster care, without adoption, as the definite plan for almost one-third of the children. Our data indicate that the Department usually provides a benign foster care environment with at least periodic casework contact. An indicator of lack of agency investment in permanent planning for these children is the fact that 62.9 percent of these foster parents had never participated with the agency in a full discussion of the possibili-

ties of adoption. The potential of foster homes as an adoptive resource is underscored by the 15.6 percent of the foster parents who were known to have a definite wish to adopt. We can only conclude, then, that a concerted push for adoption by foster parents (subsidized adoption in most cases) would produce worthwhile results.

The Project was effective in making permanent plans for the children, who received direct services from the Project. Our focus on the child and his needs may be a key to this success. We started with the conviction there were children in foster care who needed permanent families. We did not ask first whether the families could be found. Our emphasis was on the child's need for (and right to) a permanent home of his own. For those children served by the Project, focus was on a real acquaintance with the particular character of each individual child, and then on making the best plan possible for his future.

We found that the concept of a permanent home for every child has to be built into the thinking of all staff. Adoption, as one means of achieving permanency, should be considered within the context of other alternatives for children. This needs to be a high priority within the Department. To accomplish the goal of adoption, inservice training and staff development is necessary.

Essential to the completion of adoptive plans for older children are small caseloads. Manageable caseloads allow the worker to become thoroughly familiar with individual children and work with foster parents and biological parents. We found that considerable time and effort are needed to get children out of long term foster care and into permanent adoptions.

From our experience, intensive and multiple services are used in effecting adoption. These include casework and medical, legal, educational, psychological, and psychiatric services. Cooperative work with other disciplines was vital to the formulation and implementation of permanent plans.

Of a total of 112 children served by the Project, about two-thirds were legally adopted or in adoptive placement when the Project ended. Most were between the ages of five and nine. Seven of the children were seriously handicapped, while an equal number had minor handicaps. About 75 percent of the children were adopted by their foster parents and subsidy was involved in about 87 percent of these cases. For children adopted by outside resources, subsidy was a factor in only 50 percent of the total. Our results thus strongly confirm the adoptability of black children in long term care.

The Project found that subsidy was a significant factor in facilitating adoptions for older children. Subsidy was clearly a casework tool of critical importance in foster parent adoptions. The reality of their economic situations made adoptions impossible without additional financial assistance.

The subsidy program's great strength has been a high degree of flexibility. In most instances, subsidy was needed for ongoing maintenance and legal fees. Projections indicated that subsidies would be needed for a long period of time. In few situations did it appear that the family's financial condition would change for the better.

Subsidy has become highly successful in the last 18 months, gaining momentum from several sources:

1. Greater emphasis on adoption has brought about a concomitant increase in staff knowledge and experience in the use of subsidy.
2. Simplication and clarification of the subsidy process, with responsibility and authority for decisionmaking centered in area offices has stimulated greater investment on the part of staff in planning subsidies and increased the credibility of the program.
3. Project and Departmental publicity has made subsidy better known in the community. One result has been an increasing awareness of subsidy on the part of foster parents.

The Project has also identified sources of reluctance to use subsidy among foster and adoptive parents, and we have uncovered some of the fears of caseworkers about application of subsidy. We have identified gaps in the program, particularly around medical and educational expenses. Perhaps of most concern we have discovered a lack of trust among users of subsidy in the continuance of the program. This seems related to concern about the responsibility they are undertaking, combined with uncertainty about a new legislative program.

The program was initially hampered by a lack of staff training and low visibility, both within and outside of the agency. However, as staff gained experience in using subsidy, they shared their knowledge with their colleagues.

An important element in appropriate use of subsidy is the skill and sensitivity of staff in moving children toward adoption. The Project demonstrated that staff has a key role in adoptive planning. A well-motivated staff, organized around the goal of adoption, successfully achieved that goal for a high percentage of Project children.

We found resources for older children, sibling groups, and handicapped children. Age as a single factor was not a barrier to adoption, although age and a combination of other factors, such as being part of a sibling group, could be a deterrent to adoption. The children for whom it was most difficult to find homes are mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed.

In effecting plans for children, the flexible use of many techniques of work was important. The team organization of the Project staff evolved without plan, but contributed to the unusually high morale and commitment of the staff—dedication expressed in long hours of work and in conviction that work would be successful. The task-centered supervisory model used with workers kept planning active. Use of group discussion to help foster parents resolve questions about subsidy proved highly productive. The citizen's advisory committee operated with many difficulties, but was effective in mobilizing community interest. Overall, the philosophy of Project staff was to consider alternative ways of doing a task and to experiment with any way that seemed promising. This is probably a highly satisfactory way to accomplish a large, difficult, repetitious, and often frustrating piece of work.

Successful in articulating the concept of subsidy, and in implementing permanent plans for older black children, the work of the Project also identified other aspects of the child placement process needing further exploration. Most notable, more successful techniques for the recruitment and study of adoptive homes are needed. The experience in East St. Louis demonstrated enthusiastic and intensive recruitment efforts to locate homes, but the expenditure of effort was enormous for the number of homes located. The high rates of withdrawal of recruited adoptive applicants and the approval of some homes that did not really want adopted children, are both indicators of inadequacies in the home study process. These difficulties are reported by many adoptive agencies and further work would be useful.

In sum, the Project seems to have succeeded in its goal of articulating the concept of subsidy and exploring its uses. We identified large numbers of children needing permanent homes and with hard and enthusiastic work, and small caseloads, were successful in creating permanent homes for 70 percent of the children served directly by the project. We demonstrated the utility of foster homes as adoptive resources. We were less successful in meeting our goal of continuing emphasis on the adoption of black children in the ongoing program of the Department. The Project had some impact, we think, but conscious planning for children can become part of agency services only with strong administrative commitment and adequate financial resources.

Work of the project in Chicago demonstrated that there are indeed children in foster care needing adoptive placement and that with intensive effort, homes can be found for these children. In East St. Louis the possibility of a continuing high quality service effecting permanent plans for children was demonstrated. In both, the key ingredients seemed to be knowledge of the children and belief that homes could be found for them.

When our Project began, most caseworkers and administrators felt that the only realistic plan for older black children was long term foster care. It was assumed that adoptive homes could not be found for these children. Our work contradicts these ideas and therefore invalidates the social work practice based on them. We found that adoptive homes could be located, developed, and recruited for almost any normal black child and for many handicapped children as well.

Other excuses are also insufficient. An overwhelming majority of black foster children are healthy. Subsidized adoptions have eliminated most financial barriers. Difficulties in terminating parental rights do occur, but these problems are hardly insurmountable.

The reality is that most children who need adoptive homes can be placed. Not overnight or without difficulty—but they can be placed. The black community is ready to receive these children and the casework tools exist. Only the willingness and commitment of our child welfare agencies is in doubt. We hope and believe that they will seize the opportunity before them to achieve a great and lasting good.

APPENDIX A

Casefinding Schedule

CASE ANALYST _____ DATE COMPLETED _____

CASEFINDING SCHEDULE

INSTRUCTIONS

This schedule will be completed on all black children who are or might be available for adoption. Include all black children living in foster homes at the time the schedule is completed. Do not include those children currently in adoptive placement. For the purpose of this schedule, adoptive placement is defined as placement of a child in an approved adoptive home. This includes foster parents who have been approved for adoption.

If additional comments are needed to provide further clarification, please circle the numbered category and write comments on the back of the page.

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION

Name _____ I.D. No. _____

Other siblings under care: Yes No

If Yes, list names and birthdates of siblings:

Names	Birthdates

THE CHILD

1. Birthdate _____ 2. Sex: M F

3. Legal Status

_____a. Request and Consent for Temporary Custody: date _____

b. Surrender signed: date _____

_____c. Court order (dependency)—no right to consent to adoption: date _____

_____d. Court order (dependency) with right to consent to adoption: date _____

4. Planning for permanent home for child

_____a. Child is to return home.

_____b. Parents cannot take the child home but they maintain meaningful contact of positive value to the child.

_____c. Parents ambivalent or there has been little discussion with them about permanent plans for the child. Further casework service is needed.

_____d. Child is legally free or parents are ready to surrender at the request of the agency.

e. Court action initiated to terminate parental rights. Decision pending.

f. Parents opposed to adoption. They have no or almost no contact with the child. Case has never been referred to court.

g. Parents opposed to adoption; court has refused to terminate parental rights.

h. Adoption inappropriate; child cannot benefit now or in the future from family life.

i. Insufficient evidence. Specify what is known.

5. Emotional health

a. Unknown

b. Described as having none, minor or transient problems; is reacting to a specific situation or has the type of minor problem common in normal development.

c. Has serious problems. Describe.

(Physical handicaps and physical health are supplementary in nature and differ from each other. Physical handicap is construed as dealing with structural defects which are crippling in nature and which are largely irreversible, although they may be controlled or ameliorated. Physical health focuses upon functional disorders; most of these conditions are amenable to change through medical treatment. Some conditions may be classified under both categories, such as cardiac defect requiring medical treatment, whereas other types of physical handicaps, such as loss of hearing may not result in any impairment of physical health.)

6. Physical handicap

a. Unknown

b. None

c. Slight or moderate defect affecting physical appearance primarily.

d. Moderately serious defect affecting physical and social functioning.

e. Serious defect markedly reducing physical and social functioning.

f. Extremely serious defect which will require institutionalization.

If c, d, e, or f, specify nature of handicap.

7. Physical health
   _____a. Unknown
   _____b. Good—has had no more than usual childhood illness during past year.
   _____c. Below average—frequent illnesses, or need of surgery for remediable condition.
   _____d. Poor—serious illness requiring continued medical control, or hazardous surgical interference required.
   _____e. Extremely poor—major illness markedly impairing normal living activities or leading to progressive deterioration.
   If c, d, or e, specify nature of problem.

8. Intelligence (Utilize most recent test ratings. If no rating available, make estimate on basis of recorded observations and direct questioning of caseworker. If rating based on estimate, write "est" after check mark.)
   _____a. Unknown
   _____b. Above Average (above 110 I.Q.)
   _____c. Average (90-110 I.Q.)
   _____d. Below average (70-90 I.Q.)
   _____e. Subnormal (below 70 I.Q.)
   If category "e" is used, describe degree of retardation and plans for child's future: _____

THE FAMILY

9. Age of child when last lived with parents _____

10. Crisis precipitating separation from parents. Describe: _____

11. Meaningful family ties at present:

With Whom	Nature of Contacts	Comment

12. Frequency of contacts with meaningful adult family members
    a. Date of last face-to-face contact between child and Mother _____ Father _____ Other important adult relative _____
    b. Estimated frequency of contacts with meaningful adult family members _____

13. Contact with siblings
    _____a. Unknown
    _____b. No siblings
    _____c. No contacts
    _____d. Visits, letters, calls, etc. provide regular and frequent contact with siblings.
    _____e. Sporadic contact or infrequent
    _____f. In same foster home as siblings.

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14. Current goal of parents regarding plans for child:

AGENCY SERVICE

15. Chronological list of child's placements since leaving parent's home (If child lived in the hospital for over two weeks following his birth, indicate the hospital as the first placement.)

Date of placement	Type of placement

16. Worker's current plan for child—describe in detail:

17. Adequacy of current foster home for child
    - ___a. Excellent
    - ___b. Good
    - ___c. Adequate
    - ___d. Unacceptable

    If c or d, describe problems ___

18. Foster parents' interest in adoption (regardless of adequacy of home or child's legal status)
    - ___a. None
    - ___b. Undetermined (never mentioned or explored only in part)
    - ___c. Conditional (mild or qualified expression of interest)
    - ___d. Definite wish to adopt if possible

19. Agency service to parents
    - ___a. Casework services and relationship provided to parent(s) prior to time child taken under care, and continued to present, or to time of surrender of child for adoption. (Such service may have been supplied through present agency or through other appropriate agency in community.) For inclusion in this category, agency will have (1) drawn family into active participation in planning for placement, (2) made an evaluation of family potentiality for being reunited, (3) worked planfully with family toward appropriate goal of reunification, maintenance of placement, or surrender of child. Contact with the family is maintained on a planned basis, rather than as a sporadic response to emergency situations.
    - ___b. Casework services provided subsequent to placement only, and maintained to present or time of surrender. (Utilize same standards as category a, with exception of item [1].)
    - ___c. Casework services and relationship were not continued until present or time of surrender, but were provided at an earlier period.

___ d. Casework services and relationship have never been provided. (Cases may fall into this category, even though agency has contact with family, if these contacts are focused only around arrangements for finances or visiting, rather than a planful attempt to work with the family.)

___ e. Category unclear because of incomplete coverage of component elements of service. Specify omissions.

20. Agency service to child

___ a. Casework services and relationship have been provided child in manner appropriate to his needs, his age level, and goals of placement. For inclusion in this category, caseworker will have (1) evaluated goals of placement, and basic social, physical, and emotional needs of child; (2) tried to help child old enough to function on a verbal level to clarify his self identity, reasons for placement, and plans for his future; (3) helped child deal with his conflicts around separation from his natural family. This type of service implies individual and continuing contacts with child, as well as with foster family.

___ b. Caseworker has had regular and continuing contact with foster home for purposes of planning for child's physical, social, and emotional needs, but direct contact with the child has been only intermittent and sporadic.

___ c. Casework service and relationship are not being given at present, but were provided at some period.

___ d. Caseworker has not had regular continuing contacts with either the child or his foster care setting, and contacts have been largely in response to emergency situations. There is a paucity of information about the child and his adjustment.

___ e. Category unclear because of incomplete coverage of components of service. Specify omissions.

21. Usefulness of family life to child

___ a. Child will need institutionalization in near future.

___ b. Group care, at least temporarily, appropriate for child.

___ c. Child can benefit from "low intensity" family life; could not at this time form close ties with parent figures.

___ d. Child could benefit from close and permanent family ties.

22. Costs for care:

Present board rate
Personal allowance
Medical expenses during past year
Anticipated medical expenses
Other (specify)

23. In your opinion, what should the next steps be?

APPENDIX B

An Estimate of Accuracy of the Casefinding Schedule

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An Estimate of Accuracy of the Casefinding Schedule

About 100 children were transferred from regular Department service to the Project, in order that a demonstration could be made of the feasibility of finding homes for these children. These were all children indentified by the casefinding instrument as ready or potentially available for adoption. Comparison, for a randomly selected sample of 20 cases, of the descriptive material from the casefinding instrument with descriptive material recorded after Project workers had opportunity to know the children and their situations is designed to provide some index of the accuracy of the data. Whether discrepancies are due to faults in the instruments or data collection procedures, or to the Department caseworkers' lack of knowledge about the children is not, of course ascertainable.

Descriptive material about the child himself seems to be reasonably accurate in 50 percent of the sample, no changes being made after the worker knew the child. In the other 50 percent, the most common discrepancy was in estimating intelligence; changes were made in eight cases, but without definite pattern. For three children, an unknown IQ was found to be average, for two, a below average IQ found average, and for three the estimate of intelligence was lowered (two of these three children had other problems which made estimates of intelligence difficult). Emotional problems were re-classified for four children, two children being found to be more severely disturbed than indicated on the case finding schedule, and two less disturbed. Physical health status was found to be better for one child and worse for another. There were no changes in information about handicaps.

In all but two of these cases, there had been no family involvement with the child in years, and after getting to know the situation workers made no changes in the information.

Information about the foster family was changed after the situation was known in 10 cases. Evaluation of the quality of care being given the child was shifted in six cases, and the foster parents' interest in adoption reclassified in seven; in five of these, a previously undetermined interest being clarified. In half of the cases where the quality of care was reevaluated, the interest in adoption was also determined; and in all three, a high evaluation went with interest and a lower with lack of interest. This may not be a good test of the casefinding instrument, for it is possible that quality of care really does shift as the child's status is determined.

From this small test, it appears that the casefinding instrument reflects information quite accurately about the child's own family, legal status and physical condition. It is also accurate about the foster family, the frequent use of "undetermined interest in adoption" reflecting the caseworker's lack of planning with the families. The casefinding instrument is more questionable in reflecting the child's emotional health, and recorded intellectual capacity correctly in only half the cases.

A more general test of reliability, using the computer, has shown that our analysts were very "close" on most items. Problem items included foster home adequacy, where one analyst was slightly more likely to judge homes "good" or "excellent" and intelligence, in which the same analyst was much more likely to judge children "above average" or "unknown" than her colleague. This analyst was also much more likely to indicate "unknown" under the emotional health item, reflecting a somewhat different approach to the analysis of data under uncertainty.

For the most part, there was little evidence of bias between our two case analysts. Inaccuracies are more likely related to the problems of data collection in a public agency and/or possible shortcomings in our casefinding instrument.

APPENDIX C

Detailed Data on 1,962 Children in Foster Care in Chicago

Table C-1—Distribution by Sex

	Frequency	*Percent*
Female	909	46.3
Male	1053	53.7
Total	1962	100.0

Table C-2—Number of Other Siblings in Care

No. of Siblings	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percent*
0	690	35.2	35.2
1	367	18.7	53.9
2	308	15.7	69.6
3	244	12.4	82.0
4	135	6.9	88.9
5	99	5.0	93.9
6	66	3.4	97.3
7	35	1.8	99.1
8	18	0.9	100.0
Total	1962	100.0	100.0

Table C-3—Emotional Health

	Frequency	*Percent*
Unknown	50	2.5
None or Minor	1685	85.9
Major Problems	227	11.6
Total	1962	100.0

Table C-4—Physical Handicaps

Type of Handicap	*Frequency*	*Percent*
Unknown	10	0.5
None	1843	93.9
Slight, Primarily affecting appearance	46	2.3
Moderate	38	1.9
Serious	25	1.3
Total	1962	100.0

Table C-5—Physical Health

	Frequency	*Percent*
Unknown	25	1.3
Good	1829	93.2
Below Average	89	4.5
Poor	16	0.8
Extremely Poor	3	0.2
Total	1962	100.0

Table C-6—Intelligence

	Frequency	*Percent*
Unknown	120	6.1
Above Average	39	2.0
Average	1423	72.5
Below Average	278	14.2
Subnormal	102	5.2
Total	1962	100.0

Table C-7—Adequacy of Foster Home

	Frequency	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percent*
Excellent	170	8.7	8.7
Good	1526	77.8	86.4
Adequate	219	11.2	97.6
Unacceptable	18	0.9	98.5
Not Applicable or Unknown	29	1.5	100.0
Total	1962	100.0	100.0

Table C-8—Foster Parent Interest in Adoption

	Frequency	*Percent*
None	228	11.6
Undetermined	1235	62.9
Some	180	9.2
Definite	306	15.6
Not Applicable	13	0.7
Total	1962	100.0

Table C-9—Agency Service to Parents

	Frequency	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percent*
Comprehensive	165	8.4	8.4
Post-Placement	367	18.7	27.1
At One Time	446	22.7	49.8
Never	896	45.7	95.5
Unclear	88	4.5	100.0
Total	1962	100.0	100.0

Table C-10—Agency Service to Child

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Comprehensive	239	12.2	12.2
Foster Parent Oriented	1571	80.1	92.3
At One Time	79	4.0	96.3
Emergencies Only	8	0.4	96.7
Unclear	65	3.3	100.0
Total	1962	100.0	100.0

Table C-11—Usefulness of Family Life

	Frequency	Percent
Needs Institutionalization	19	1.0
Group Care	10	0.5
Low Intensity	138	7.1
Close and Permanent	1795	91.5
Total	1962	100.0

Table C-12—Physical Handicaps

Intelligence	Serious	Percent	Moderate or Slight	Percent	None or Unknown	Percent
Subnormal	10	40.0	10	11.9	82	4.4
Below Average	7	28.0	20	23.8	251	13.5
Average	5	20.0	45	53.6	1373	74.0
Above Average	0	0.0	1	1.2	38	2.1
Unknown	3	12.0	8	9.5	109	6.0
Total	25	100.0	84	100.0	1853	100.0

Table C-13—Length of Time in Last Placement (Years)

Years	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0-1	159	8.1	8.1
1-2	218	11.1	19.2
2-3	279	14.2	33.4
3-4	268	13.7	47.1
4-5	235	11.8	58.9
5-6	185	9.4	68.3
6-7	116	5.9	74.3
7-8	160	8.2	82.4
8-9	58	3.0	85.4
9-10	98	4.5	89.9
10-11	59	3.0	92.9
11 +	139	7.1	100.0
Total	1962	100.0	100.0

Table C-14—Entry into Foster Care by Mean Number of Siblings in Care by Mean Age at Entry into Care

Reason	*Mean Age*	*Mean # of Other Siblings*
Parents initiate placement		
Request for adoptive placement	.1	.1
Request for foster care	1.3	.5
Father unable to cope	4.4	2.8
Child's behavior problems	9.4	1.2
Parent passive or absent		
Child "given" to friends/relatives	3.4	1.3
Child abanoned with friends/relatives	3.7	1.7
Child abandoned in hospital	.1	.6
Child abandoned, no provisions	4.5	2.6
Child born to agency ward	.3	.4
"Dependency" petition	4.2	1.8
Parents resist placement		
Abused child	3.1	.7
Sibling of abused child	6.4	2.1
Severely neglected	4.5	3.4
Neglected child	5.1	1.5
Reason unknown	3.6	1.5
All children	3.7	1.8

Table C-15—Entry into Foster Care by Frequency of Contact with Parents

Reason	*Frequency of Contacts*							
	1+/yr. Mo.		*4+/yr. Mo.*		*1+/yr. Fa.*		*4+/yr. Fa.*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Parents initiate placement								
Request for adoptive placement	2	2.2	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Request for foster care	16	13.2	13	10.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Father unable to cope	13	17.6	13	17.6	12	16.2	12	16.2
Child's behavior problems	14	13.1	7	15.6	3	4.7	2	4.4
Total	45	13.7	34	10.3	15	4.6	14	4.3
Parent passive or absent								
Child "given" with friends/relatives	3	3.8	1	1.3	8	10.1	7	8.8
Child abandoned with friends/relatives	32	16.3	16	8.2	21	10.7	10	4.8
Child abandoned in hospital	3	4.1	2	2.7	1	1.4	1	1.4
Child abandoned, no provisions	22	16.2	10	7.4	3	2.2	0	0.0
Child born to agency ward	36	30.8	**28	20.6	2	1.5	1	.8
"Dependency" petition	67	16.5	42	10.3	25	6.1	12	2.9
Total	163	16.3	99	9.9	60	6.0	31	3.1

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Parents resist placement								
Abused child	18	21.1	15	17.6	3	3.5	0	0.0
Sibling of abused child	2	28.5	2	28.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Severely neglected	32	27.4	18	15.4	13	11.1	*9	7.7
Neglected child	124	33.8	75	20.5	50	13.7	31	8.5
Total	176	30.6	110	19.1	66	11.5	40	7.0
Reason Unknown	10	20.0	4	8.0	7	14.0	2	4.0
Grand Total	394	20.1	247	12.6	148	7.5	87	4.4

*4 children living with father in foster home not included.
**6 children living with father in foster home not included.

Table C-16—Age When Last with Parents

Intelligence	*0-2 yrs.*	*Percent*	*3-7 yrs.*	*Percent*	*8+ yrs.*	*Percent*
Subnormal	51	4.6	24	4.3	27	9.2
Below Average	131	11.8	100	17.7	47	16.0
Average	831	75.1	406	72.2	186	63.3
Above Average	25	2.3	9	1.7	5	1.7
Unknown	68	6.2	23	4.1	29	9.8
Total	1106	100.0	562	100.0	294	100.0

Table C-17—Emotional Health vs. Ties with Mother

	Major Problems		*None or Minor*		*Unknown*	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Strong	10.3	(13)	88.9	(112)	0.8	(1)
Some	8.7	(30)	88.2	(305)	3.2	(11)
None	12.5	(153)	85.4	(1045)	2.1	(26)
Deceased	14.5	(34)	88.0	(195)	2.6	(6)
Unknown	7.1	(2)	67.9	(19)	25.0	(7)
Living with mother in Foster Home	0.0	(0)	100.0	(10)	0.0	(0)

Table C-18—Emotional Health vs. Number of Siblings in Same Foster Home

	Major Problems		*None or Minor*		*Unknown*	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
None	14.9	(161)	82.1	(886)	3.0	(32)
1	8.9	(45)	88.7	(449)	2.4	(12)
2	7.8	(18)	89.2	(207)	3.0	(7)
3	7.0	(7)	93.0	(93)	0.0	(0)
4 +	1.9	(1)	98.1	(51)	0.0	(0)

Table C-19—Emotional Health

Intelligence	*Major Problems*	*Percent*	*None or Minor*	*Percent*	*Unknown*	*Percent*
Subnormal	28	12.3	73	4.3	1	2.0
Below Average	71	31.3	200	11.9	7	14.0
Average	111	48.9	1295	76.9	17	34.0
Above Average	4	1.8	34	2.0	1	2.0
Unknown	13	5.7	83	4.9	24	48.0
Total	227	100.0	1685	100.0	50	100.0

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Table C-20—Distribution by Age

Age	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percent*
19-20	4	0.2	0.2
18-19	43	2.2	2.4
17-18	104	5.2	7.7
16-17	108	5.5	13.2
15-16	111	5.7	18.9
14-15	123	6.3	25.1
13-14	150	7.6	32.8
12-13	116	5.9	38.7
11-12	115	5.9	44.5
10-11	123	6.3	50.8
9-10	132	6.7	57.5
8-9	115	5.9	63.4
7-8	156	8.0	71.4
6-7	142	7.2	78.6
5-6	126	6.4	85.0
4-5	111	5.7	90.7
3-4	100	5.1	95.8
2-3	55	2.8	98.6
1-2	23	1.2	99.7
0-1	5	0.3	100.0
Total	1962	100.0	100.0

Table C-21—Length of Time in Care

No. Years	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percent*
19-20	2	0.1	0.1
18-19	6	0.3	0.4
17-18	17	0.9	1.3
16-17	29	1.5	2.8
15-16	31	1.6	4.3
14-15	33	1.7	6.0
13-14	65	3.3	9.3
12-13	68	3.5	12.8
11-12	51	2.6	15.4
10-11	100	5.1	20.5
9-10	124	6.3	26.8
8-9	96	4.9	31.7
7-8	188	9.6	41.3
6-7	163	8.3	49.6
5-6	175	8.9	58.5
4-5	218	11.1	69.6
3-4	231	11.8	81.4
2-3	229	11.7	93.1
1-2	118	6.0	99.1
0-1	18	0.9	100.0
Total	1962	100.0	100.0

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Table C-22—Intellectual Functioning by Length of Time in Care

Years	Subnormal		Below Average		Average		Above Average		Unknown	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
0-1	0.0	(0)	1.3	(1)	93.8	(15)	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)
1-2	4.6	(7)	6.6	(10)	78.1	(118)	2.0	(3)	8.6	(13)
2-3	4.5	(11)	6.5	(16)	79.7	(196)	1.6	(4)	7.7	(19)
3-4	1.6	(4)	9.4	(23)	76.2	(186)	2.0	(5)	10.7	(26)
4-5	6.1	(14)	7.9	(18)	74.6	(170)	2.6	(6)	8.8	(20)
5-6	9.3	(15)	12.3	(20)	69.8	(113)	0.6	(1)	8.6	(13)
6-7	8.5	(12)	16.2	(23)	67.6	(96)	2.1	(3)	5.6	(8)
7-8	8.5	(10)	16.9	(29)	72.1	(124)	1.2	(2)	4.1	(7)
8-9	5.1	(6)	16.2	(19)	76.9	(90)	0.0	(0)	1.7	(2)
9-10	6.2	(6)	17.5	(17)	71.1	(69)	2.1	(2)	3.1	(3)
10-11	2.1	(2)	17.7	(17)	70.8	(68)	6.3	(6)	3.1	(3)
11-12	6.9	(4)	31.0	(18)	60.3	(35)	1.7	(1)	0.0	(0)
12-13	3.0	(2)	23.9	(16)	70.1	(47)	1.5	(1)	1.5	(1)
13-14	4.9	(3)	42.6	(26)	50.8	(31)	1.6	(1)	0.0	(0)
14-15	2.7	(1)	27.0	(10)	62.2	(23)	5.4	(2)	2.7	(1)
15-16	7.4	(2)	22.2	(6)	66.7	(18)	0.0	(0)	3.7	(1)
16-17	3.6	(1)	28.6	(8)	60.7	(17)	7.1	(2)	0.0	(0)
17-18	5.9	(1)	17.6	(3)	58.8	(10)	0.0	(0)	17.6	(3)
18-19	0.0	(0)	100.0	(1)	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)
19 +	50.0	(1)	.0	(0)	50.0	(1)	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)

Table C-23—Emotional Health by Length of Time in Care

Years	Major Problems		None or Minor		Unknown	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
0-1	6.3	(1)	87.5	(14)	6.3	(1)
1-2	9.9	(15)	86.8	(131)	3.3	(5)
2-3	9.3	(23)	85.4	(210)	5.3	(13)
3-4	9.4	(23)	87.8	(214)	2.9	(7)
4-5	8.3	(19)	90.4	(206)	1.3	(3)
5-6	13.0	(21)	84.0	(136)	3.1	(5)
6-7	14.8	(21)	81.7	(116)	3.5	(5)
7-8	10.5	(18)	87.8	(151)	1.7	(3)
8-9	13.7	(18)	87.8	(151)	1.7	(3)
9-10	13.4	(13)	86.6	(84)	0.0	(0)
10-11	14.6	(14)	82.3	(79)	3.1	(3)
11-12	17.2	(10)	82.8	(48)	0.0	(0)
12-13	14.9	(10)	79.1	(53)	6.0	(4)
13-14	18.0	(11)	82.0	(50)	0.0	(0)
14-15	13.5	(5)	81.1	(30)	5.4	(2)
15-16	18.5	(5)	81.5	(22)	0.0	(0)
16-17	14.3	(4)	85.7	(24)	0.0	(0)
17 +	17.6	(3)	82.4	(17)	0.0	(0)

Table C-24—Emotional Health by Total Number of Placements

	Major Problems		*None or Minor*		*Unknown*	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
None	50.0	(1)	50.0	(1)	0.0	(0)
1	6.5	(27)	92.0	(380)	1.5	(6)
2	8.7	(63)	89.0	(646)	2.3	(17)
3	12.1	(54)	84.6	(378)	3.4	(15)
4	16.2	(32)	80.2	(158)	3.6	(7)
5	24.2	(24)	72.7	(72)	3.0	(3)
6	20.5	(9)	79.5	(35)	0.0	(0)
7	27.8	(5)	61.1	(11)	11.1	(2)
8	60.0	(6)	40.0	(4)	0.0	(0)
	84.6	(11)	7.7	(1)	7.7	(1)

Table C-25—Emotional Health vs. Crisis Precipitating Care

	Major Problems		*None or Minor*		*Unknown*	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Neglect	10.6	(39)	87.0	(320)	17.6	(9)
Delinquent or maladjustment	34.8	(16)	63.0	(29)	2.2	(1)
Request for care	13.2	(16)	83.5	(101)	3.3	(4)
Dependency	12.7	(52)	84.1	(343)	3.2	(13)
Father unable to cope	10.8	(8)	89.2	(66)	0.0	(0)
Surrendered, request adoption plan	5.6	(5)	89.9	(80)	4.5	(4)
Abandoned in hospital	6.8	(5)	87.7	(64)	5.5	(4)
Abandoned, no care	14.6	(20)	82.5	(113)	2.9	(4)
Abandoned with friends and relatives	11.7	(23)	84.7	(166)	3.6	(7)
"Given" for care	11.4	(9)	88.6	(70)	0.0	(0)
Born to agency ward	3.4	(4)	94.0	(110)	2.6	(3)
Abused child	15.1	(13)	83.7	(72)	1.2	(1)
Unknown	16.0	(8)	84.0	(42)	0.0	(0)
Severe neglect	11.0	(13)	88.1	(104)	0.8	(1)
Sibling of abused	14.3	(1)	85.7	(6)	0.0	(0)

Table C-26—Emotional Health by Age When Last Lived with Parents

	Major Problems		*None or Minor*		*Unknown*	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Unknown	4.5	(1)	95.5	(21)	0.0	(0)
Never	8.1	(37)	88.6	(405)	3.3	(15)
0	11.2	(27)	85.9	(207)	2.9	(7)
1	10.6	(22)	87.4	(181)	1.9	(4)
2	13.4	(24)	83.8	(150)	2.8	(5)
3	9.7	(14)	88.3	(128)	2.1	(3)
4	11.7	(15)	86.7	(111)	1.6	(2)
5	17.0	(18)	79.2	(84)	3.8	(4)
6	10.0	(10)	89.0	(89)	1.0	(1)
7	12.9	(11)	84.7	(72)	2.4	(2)
8	9.0	(6)	89.6	(60)	1.5	(1)
9	16.5	(13)	79.7	(63)	3.8	(3)
10	23.1	(12)	76.9	(40)	0.0	(0)
11	17.1	(6)	80.0	(28)	2.9	(1)
12	33.3	(3)	66.7	(18)	0.0	(0)
13	28.6	(4)	64.3	(9)	7.1	(1)
14	6.7	(1)	80.0	(12)	13.3	(2)
15	22.2	(2)	77.8	(7)	0.0	(0)
16	0.0	(0)	100.0	(1)	0.0	(0)

Table C-27—Number of Placements

Emotional Health	*One*	*Percent*	*Two*	*Percent*	*Three*	*Percent*	*Four +*	*Percent*
Major problems	28	6.5	63	8.7	54	21.1	82	21.9
None or minor	381	92.0	646	89.0	377	84.5	281	74.9
Unknown	6	1.5	17	2.3	15	3.4	12	3.2
Total	415	100.0	726	100.0	446	100.0	375	100.0

APPENDIX D

Data on East St. Louis Children

Table D-1—Age at Time of Original Casefinding (Years)

Age	*No.*	*Percent*	*Cumulative %*
0-1	8	3.4	3.4
1-2	5	2.1	5.5
2-3	13	5.5	11.0
3-4	9	3.8	14.8
4-5	9	3.8	18.6
5-6	8	3.4	21.9
6-7	12	5.1	27.0
7-8	12	5.1	32.1
8-9	11	4.6	36.7
9-10	19	8.0	44.7
10-11	20	8.4	53.2
11-12	10	4.2	57.4
12-13	13	5.5	62.9
13-14	13	5.5	68.4
14-15	17	7.2	75.5
15-16	11	4.6	80.2
16-17	13	5.5	85.7
17-18	13	5.5	91.1
18 +	21	8.9	100.0

Table D-2—Intelligence

	Frequency	*Percent*
Unknown	20	8.4
Above average	6	2.5
Average	125	52.7
Below average	60	25.3
Subnormal	26	11.0
Total	237	100.0

Table D-3—Physical Health

	Absolute Frequency	*Relative Frequency (Percent)*
Unknown	4	1.7
Good	213	89.9
Sub-average	16	6.8
Poor	3	1.3
Extremely poor	1	0.4
Total	237	100.0

Table D-4—Physical Handicaps

	Frequency	*Percent*
Unknown	10	4.2
None	207	87.3
Slight	4	1.7
Moderate	14	5.9
Serious	2	0.8
Total	237	100.0

Table D-5—Emotional Health

	Frequency	*Percent*
Unknown	12	5.1
None or minor	182	76.8
Major problems	43	18.1
Total	237	100.0

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