May 15, 1956

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Betty A. Snyder and Frances E. Worrell entitled "A Study of the Adjustment of Children Removed from Buva College Rescue Home and Training School for Negro Children, Nashville, Tennessee." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit for each in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Social Work.

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Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

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Dean of the Graduate School

A STUDY OF THE ADJUSTMENT OF CHILDREN REMOVED FROM BUVA COLLEGE RESCUE HOME AND TRAINING SCHOOL FOR NEGRO CHILDREN, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

A THESIS

Submitted to
The Graduate Council
of
The University of Tennessee
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science
in
Social Work

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by

Betty A. Snyder
Frances E. Worrell

June 1956

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is general agreement among persons who work with children that the quality of care which a child receives from his parents, especially his mother, in his early years is of vital importance to his future personality development. Bowlby points out that "what is believed to be essential for mental health is that the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother-substitute) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment."[1] This relationship is best provided through the child's own family. While it is recognized that relationships between parents and their children vary widely in quality because of the needs of the various members, in most instances even the "bad" parents provide for the child that sense of security for which there can be no substitute. Even when the basic needs of the child are not met, if he is not totally rejected by his parents "he is secure in the knowledge that there is someone to whom he is of value and who will strive, even though inadequately, to provide for him until such time as he can fend for himself."[2]

While the full meaning a child's own family may have for him cannot be discounted, there are times when placement outside the child's own home is inevitable. As it becomes necessary for a child to be separated

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[1]John Bowlby, Maternal Care and Mental Health (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1952), p. 11.

[2]Ibid., p. 68.

from his parents, whether the plan for placement is made by the parents themselves or one of the child-placing agencies, the kind of placement will have far-reaching consequences for him. It is for this reason that any plan of substitute care must be used selectively for the individual child. Even as substitute care is provided, Bowlby points out the following principles:

(a) A clean cut cannot be made between a child and his own home.
(b) Neither foster homes nor institutions can provide children with the security and affection which they need; for the child they always have a makeshift quality.
(c) Day-to-day ad hoc arrangements create insecurity in the child and dissatisfaction in the foster mother; realistic long-term plans are essential from the beginning if the child is not to suffer.[3]

For most children needing substitute care outside of their own homes, foster home care is preferred. In this type of home the child experiences a setting similar to that of his own home. Foster home care is especially desirable for children under six since their future mental health is dependent on a warm, close interpersonal relationship during the formative years of their personality development. According to Bowlby, group care may serve best the child who because of serious maladjustment is unable to relate to foster parents until given treatment; the adolescent who is unable to establish a relationship with foster parents since he is independent enough to take care of his own needs or the fact that he maintains a relationship with his own parents; children over the age of six or seven who are in need of temporary care only; children whose parents cannot relinquish their hold on the child to the extent

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[3] Ibid., p.112.

that he could relate to foster parents; and, large groups of siblings who in other placements would have to be separated. An exception to the last principle is to be made when there are infants or toddlers among the siblings who need much more individualized care than can be provided through group care.[4]

There are many institutions today which are attempting to meet the highest standards of child care. There are others which are totally inadequate by modern standards of child care. Where institutional care is grossly inferior, it is difficult to measure the damage sustained by the child. To be sure, the child will bear some psychological scars which will affect his future mental health.

Some states, such as Tennessee, have developed standards and requirements which must be met by private child-caring institutions. The responsibility for visiting, inspecting, and licensing in Tennessee is carried by the State Department of Public Welfare. When a child-caring institution fails to meet the minimum standards, the State Department of Public Welfare makes every effort to help the institution improve its standards. Sometimes the efforts to help an institution improve standards are not accepted and the institution continues to operate in an inferior manner.

Until July 30, 1954, the twenty-three children in this study lived in an institution which was grossly inferior in many ways. This institution was not adequately equipped to give the children in its care the basic needs of life--food, clothing, and shelter. Many of these children

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[4]*Ibid.*, p. 129.

were placed by their parents, some as infants and others at ages ranging from early childhood to ten years of age. Some of these children had spent practically their entire lives in this institution. These children were totally isolated from the community except as they saw visitors come and go from the institution, or took part in a fund raising program. It was the writers' assumption that a child who suffered such physical and emotional deprivations would show some symptomatic behavior in his new placement.

The study included twenty-three children who were removed from Buva College Rescue Home and Training School for Negro Children.* On July 30, 1954, following the closing of the institution, the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare was authorized by the Chancery Court of Davidson County to provide a plan of care for the children until such time as they could be returned to their own parents or relatives.

The present study was made at the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare. Each child was studied primarily through the use of case records and interviews with staff members carrying responsibility for these children. A schedule was used as a guide for obtaining and recording data gained from these sources. The data related to the child's adjustment to his new situation, and subsequent interpersonal relationships. The history of Buva was obtained from unpublished material prepared by Mrs. Willye Alita Coleman, Institutional Consultant of the Child Welfare Division of the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare. Other written materials utilized were secured from the administrative

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*Hereafter the institution will be referred to as Buva.

records of the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare. These materials included letters from the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare's attorney, report from the Council of Community Agencies, report from the State Department of Education, and minutes of meetings with Council of Community Agencies' Representatives, State Department of Public Welfare Staff, and Davidson County Department of Public Welfare Staff.

Through a study of these children, the writers hoped to gain information which would be of value to the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare in evaluating the placements made for these children. It was also felt the study would point up interesting trends which might be considered in planning future placements of children for institutional care.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF BUVA

The National-Help-U-Association, more commonly known as Buva College Rescue Home and Training School for Negro Children, was a voluntary institution dedicated to the care of dependent and neglected children, which operated in Nashville, Tennessee, from June 1918 until it was closed in July 1954. At the time it was closed the institution was operating under a charter granted in 1932 in the name of the National-Help-U-Association, and under an amendment filed to this charter in 1944 which gave it the authority to care for dependent and neglected children.

The superintendent of Buva, Moses F. Mullins, came to Nashville in 1910. Prior to that time he was an insurance salesman in North Carolina and South Carolina, after having left Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, following three and one-half years of medical training. When a study of Buva was made in 1948 by the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare, Mr. Mullins said he was also a licensed minister of the Pentecostal Assembly of the World Incorporated, Indianapolis, Indiana. The D. C. after his name referred to Doctor of Christian Religion.[1]

The first establishment was known as Vole Buva, Incorporated. The purpose of this organization was the manufacture and sale of beauty products, and it was through the sale of these products that the institution was largely financed. In June 1918 the name was changed to Buva and

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[1]Willye Alita Coleman, "Report of a Study of the Buva College Rescue Home and Training School for Negro Children" (Unpublished report, Child Welfare Division, Tennessee Department of Public Welfare, June 1948), p. 11, (Mimeographed)

a new charter was granted. The original purpose of Buva, according to Mr. Mullins, was to care for children of all ages as well as to teach beauty culture and business courses.

> The word 'Buva' is secret and is said to be a 'family heritage.' 'College' takes its name from the medley of enterprises that were undertaken by the school when it was first established. 'Rescue Home and Training School' was later added because of the interest in and care given to pregnant girls, mothers, old people, and illegitimate infants.[2]

Although the care of children was not set forth in the original charter, it was learned from Mr. Mullins, during the study in 1948, that child care had been a function of the organization from the beginning. Since Mr. Mullins' mother used to keep neglected children in their home, he had always been interested in their welfare. Mr. Mullins and his sister originally kept the children of his employees on a day care basis. Soon he observed that there were neglected children in the community, and took them into his home where his sister assumed responsibility for their care. In the original plan, the parents were to pay for their children's board, but the institution had never refused to accept children from parents who were not able to pay for their care.[3] It has also been noted that the institution not only cared for children, but for several years it cared for a number of unmarried mothers and some old people.[4]

In the beginning Mr. Mullins' brother, Leonard Mullins, and his two sisters were members of the corporation. Later his sisters left, but Leonard Mullins remained with his brother and assisted him in the care of

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[2] Ibid., p. 4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 6.

the children as well as helping him with the manufacture and sale of the beauty products.

The location of the original Buva was on Seventh Avenue. It was believed that children were living in the institution, but Mr. Mullins carefully arranged it so that it was not really known if he were caring for children. The chief concern was supposedly the manufacture and sale of his beauty products.[5] In 1937 the institution was moved to 1201 Laurel Street. The building, a two story brick and stone combination, was in need of repairs and was not adequate for a children's institution.

During the many years that Buva had been caring for children, there had been a concern among groups in the community about the kind of care which the children were receiving. The institution averaged caring for thirty to fifty children each year, and there were evidences of neglect, inadequate medical care, and improper supervision.[6] Included in the organizations concerned over the inadequate care being given to these children was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Mullins had a host of friends and supporters who believed that the job he was doing was exceptional.

In addition to the concern of these individuals and organizations, the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare and the Family and Child Care Section of the Council of Community Agencies had studied Buva for several years to determine the adequacy of care and the need for institutional and foster home care for Negro children who needed placement outside

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[5] Ibid., p. 5.

[6] Ibid., p. 1.

their own homes. Buva requested a beneficiary membership in the Community Chest in 1939. Membership in the Community Chest was denied because:

> (1) Leadership of the agency did not have the training and experience necessary to carry on a child welfare program; (2) the equipment was in such a state of disorder and repair that it could not meet the minimum standards; (3) the plans of the organization were opportunistic and not based on any study of the needs or developed in cooperation with any recognized child welfare organization; and (4) the institution did not have a license from the State Department of Public Welfare.[7]

Throughout the years from 1939 to 1947 the Council of Community Agencies and the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare continued their efforts to secure community interest in Buva, with the hope of helping the institution raise its standards and become more adequate.

It was not until July 1947 that the Advisory Committee of Buva College requested that the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare make a study of this institution to determine the kind of care these children were receiving. This request was made because of the increasing reports that the care was not adequate. This study was made and its findings and recommendations were made available in October 1948. It was found that the children were not receiving adequate care. The study recognized that the responsibility for the care of these children should not be assumed by one individual but should be a community responsibility. It was recommended by this study that another study be made to determine the need for

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[7]"A Report--Some of the Background and Reasons for a Denial of a License to Buva College Rescue Home and Training Mission" (The Council of Community Agencies of Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee, August 1953), p. 3. (Mimeographed)

facilities for the care of dependent Negro children, and to determine whether institutional or foster home care was needed.[8]

The study in 1948 also made other recommendations. It was found that institutional care was needed for only three of the children then at Buva. Boarding home care was recommended for twenty of the children, and it was felt that twenty-five of them could have been returned to their own families. It was also recommended that should Buva not accept this proposed plan of care, court action would be obtained to determine the legal custody and guardianship of the children.

The recommendations of the 1948 study were not carried out, and very little was accomplished either by social agencies or individuals until 1951, when the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare again made an effort to improve the standards of this institution by issuing temporary licenses. These licenses were issued for the years 1951 and 1952 on the basis of the licensing standards developed by the State Department of Public Welfare of Tennessee, which carries legal responsibility for setting standards and issuing licenses. Prior to the issuance of each of these licenses a study was made by the Department of Public Welfare and copies of the reports were sent to the superintendent of Buva and to the chairman of the board of Buva. These reports pointed up the areas in which the institution failed to meet the minimum requirements of the standards.

In 1953 the institutional consultant of the Department of Public Welfare again studied the organization and operation of the institution in

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[8]Coleman, op. cit., p. 79.

relation to the existing standards, and found that the minimum requirements still were not being met. In carrying out its legal function the Department of Public Welfare could not reissue a temporary license, as the maximum number of temporary licenses had been issued.

The report of the Department of Public Welfare pointed out that Buva failed to meet the minimum requirements in several areas. It was found that the governing board of Buva was not functioning according to its constitution and by-laws. Instead of the board's carrying out its responsibility of raising funds the institution was totally supported by Mr. Mullins' private funds and voluntary contributions. It was also found that Mr. Mullins had not submitted a financial statement on a form approved by the Department of Public Welfare, nor had he clearly defined the source of income. Since Mr. Mullins had used his own private funds to finance the institution, he refused to allow the accounts to be audited by a public accountant. Neither did he recognize the advantages of being bonded since he was handling his own money.

There were no records available to show that the staff members had physical examinations each year, as required by the minimum standards. Another area in which the institution failed to meet the minimum requirements with regard to the staff was the failure to employ relief staff.

With regard to standards relating to plant and equipment, the institution failed to meet the following minimum requirements: inspections were not made by the Department of Health and the Department of Insurance and Banking; indoor and outdoor play space was insufficient; sleeping quarters were inadequate due to improper ventilation, poor lighting, overcrowded conditions, and type of beds; individual lockers or storage space

were lacking; space for study was inadequate; physical set-up in school plant was deficient; space for isolation of sick children was not available; children were admitted in excess of the number for which the home was licensed; personal records, health records, and school records on each child were inadequate; monthly reports were not submitted to the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare; and, it was not possible to determine whether the children were receiving adequate physical and dental care, and adequate educational training.[9]

It became necessary, following the 1953 study, for the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare to obtain an injunction in August 1953 against Buva for operating without a license. The institution was denied a license because it failed to meet the minimum standards required by the Department. The injunction was entered to prohibit the institution from receiving any additional children pending the outcome of the case, and asked that the institution be permanently prohibited from operating without a license. The temporary injunction was granted prohibiting Buva from receiving any additional children pending the outcome of the case.

Following the granting of the temporary injunction, the institution through its attorney filed demurrers questioning the constitutionality of the bill. In the Chancery Court of Davidson County the demurrers were overruled and the Act was held constitutional. A decree was entered on January 4, 1954, permanently prohibiting the institution from operating as a child-caring institution and directing that all

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[9]Report from Patty Roe Buchanan, Institutional Consultant, Tennessee Department of Public Welfare, to Board and Superintendent, Buva College Rescue Home and Training School, 1953.

children in their care be turned over to the State Department of Public Welfare on or before March 1, 1954. It was further ordered that the institution identify each child by name and age as nearly as possible, and to turn over to the Department of Public Welfare all available records pertaining to each child. It further gave the Department of Public Welfare the right of entry into the institution to get the children and records on and after March 1, 1954. The institution took an appeal to the Tennessee Supreme Court, and on July 23, 1954, its opinion was handed down affirming the action of the Chancery Court of Davidson County. On July 30, 1954, the decree of the Supreme Court was entered in the Chancery Court, and was made the decree of the Chancery Court.

After litigation was started and during the time it was in process, representatives of the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare and the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare met with members of the Council of Community Agencies several times to discuss the most effective ways of handling the situation when the institution was closed. In these discussions emphasis was placed on the need to develop temporary facilities for placement of these children, as well as other Negro children who might need care in the future.

There was much interpretation of the foster home program to interested citizens. Consideration was also given to the need for some group care facility to be used on a temporary basis until a determination could be made of the number of children involved, their ages and sex, and their emotional and physical conditions. Through an agreement entered into between the Department of Education and the Department of Public Welfare, the children over six years of age were placed at the Tennessee School

for the Blind. This school was used since their regular students were away during the summer, and the facilities of the school were available. Provisions were made for the children under six years of age to be placed immediately in foster homes. Following the court order on July 30, 1954, twenty-three children were removed from Buva. There were fourteen girls and nine boys between the ages of eighteen months and seventeen years. By August 20, 1954, all of these children had been moved to the homes of parents or relatives, or to foster homes.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN REMOVED FROM BUVA

In studying the children, emphasis was placed on information that would aid in determining what effects the physical and emotional deprivation which was experienced at Buva would have on their adjustment in new situations. In evaluating the quality of their adjustment, it seemed significant to consider the age of each child when placed at Buva, the age of each child when removed, and the length of placement at Buva. A general description of the children will be given first and followed by more specific evaluations.

When Buva was closed on July 30, 1954, twenty-three children were removed by the Department of Public Welfare. Of the twenty-three children removed from Buva fourteen were girls ranging in age from one and one-half to sixteen years, while nine were boys ranging in age from three to thirteen and one-half years. Six of these children were under six years of age. The twenty-three children removed from Buva belonged to fourteen families which included one family of four siblings, one family of three, four families of two, and eight families of one. A tabulation of the birth status revealed that ten of the children were born out of wedlock while twelve were legitimate. The birth status of one child was not known.

Children under Six

Most professional workers today agree that children under six should not receive care in an institution. While all children, at

varying ages, need a close interpersonal relationship with a family, the child from birth to six years needs this experience most for his future mental health. Of the twenty-three children studied, fourteen were placed at Buva when they were less than six years of age. Seven of these children were less than one year of age at the time of placement. Especially during infancy the child needs to establish a relationship with a clearly identified person--his mother or mother substitute. As the child's dependency needs are met by a warm and loving person, gradually the child through his experiences with his family develops his own capacity to maintain relationships with other persons. Bowlby points out that maternal "deprivation occurring in the second half of the first year of life is agreed by all students of the subject to be of great significance and that many believe this to be true also of deprivation occurring in the first half, especially from three to six months."[1] The degree to which the child's personality will be affected at any given age will, of course, depend on the nature of the experiences which he has. Not only is it impossible for a group care facility to provide the type of "mothering" which young children need, but it is also impossible to give the toddler the opportunity he needs for social and intellectual development through active participation in the daily life of the group. Since Buva was so grossly inadequate from the standpoint of program, staff, and facilities, it is inconceivable that the group of children

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[1]John Bowlby, Maternal Care and Mental Health (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1952), pp. 48-49.

under six received even a semblance of adequate emotional or physical care.

Older Children

Eight of the twenty-three children removed from Buva were within the age range of twelve and one-half to sixteen and one-half years of age. For children of this age group care is often the most practical solution. Girls and boys of this age are, for the most part, no longer dependent on their parents for their daily personal care and can maintain an emotional relationship with their own parents even though separated from them. Because of their ability to maintain the relationship with their own parents, this group of boys and girls are often unaccepting of substitute parents.

The eight children of adolescent age who were removed from Buva had been in the institution for a period of seven to thirteen years. Two of these children were placed in Buva at the ages of ten and eight, respectively, with the remaining six being under six years of age at the time of placement.

In considering the varying age groups at the time of placement and removal, it was evident that Buva did not give consideration to the individual needs of the children. Even an institution which operates under the most favorable conditions will find it practically impossible to provide the type of care and program which children of varying ages will need. Institutions today which take cognizance of the importance of accepting groups of children from one family are becoming more

reluctant in accepting infants and young toddlers when older children are admitted. Through their own experiences and knowledge of the needs of infants and toddlers has come a recognition that children of these ages need more individual care than a group situation can provide. To meet this need, as well as the needs of older children who cannot adjust satisfactorily to group living, some institutions are developing foster home programs. A foster home which fits the needs of the individual child can have intrinsic social and emotional value for the child under six and other children who need and are capable of forming new family relationships. Placement of an emotionally starved child in an institution in most instances will only add to his feelings of rejection.

Grade Status

There were sixteen children of school age removed from Buva. Information regarding grade placements at the time of removal was available for all of these children with the exception of three. All of the children with the exception of two who were in the first grade were retarded in grade placement. The retardation in grade placement varied from one to six years. The children who had been in the institution longest were more retarded in grade placement than those who had been there for shorter periods of time.

The retardation in grade placement reflects in part the inadequacy of the educational program at Buva as well as the lack of consideration for the individual needs of the children who were accepted for care. In all probability all of these children were mentally retarded or

had emotional problems which had a direct bearing on their lack of progress either before placement, during placement, or both. The extent to which these factors impeded the progress of the children cannot be determined in a precise manner. It would seem likely, however, that the type of educational program would have unmitigated effects on their progress.

When a Committee of the Staff of the Tennessee Department of Education visited Buva in May 1954, to make an evaluation of the school in relation to the standards for accrediting private elementary schools, a number of deficiencies were found. The one room which was used for the school was inadequate with respect to furniture and other equipment. It was dark, overcrowded, and the furniture was not suitable for the size of the children who were occupying it. There was little outdoor play space as the buildings occupied most of the area and the space which was available was littered with building materials.

In regard to curriculum, the school had not submitted a schedule of classes to the State Department of Education for approval. There was no written schedule of classes or course of study. The teacher informed the Committee that Reading, Spelling, Arithmetic, English, Geography, History, Health and Arts were taught. Children from kindergarten age and grades one through six were being taught in the same room.

There was only one teacher and she held a valid certificate issued by the State Department of Education. The only school record available was the grade book kept by the teacher. No cumulative records showing the attendance, scholarship, deportment, and test results were kept.

It was the opinion of the Committee that the most serious deficiency was in relation to the school plant and grounds. This Committee further agreed that neither the program nor the facilities of Buva met the standards of the State Board of Education.[2]

As the inadequacy of the school program at Buva was considered in relation to the retardation in grade placement, it was evident that the educational needs of the children were not considered.

Today it is generally accepted that whenever possible institutions giving care to children should send children to the neighborhood schools. The child needs to feel and become a part of the community so that when he leaves the institution he will be able to take his place without additional trauma being added to his already deprived life. Attendance at schools in the community is only one way in which the child can be helped in bridging the gap between his institutional home and the community in which he will come to live.

Physical Condition of the Children

At the time the twenty-three children were removed from Buva each child was given a complete physical examination by physicians from Hubbard Hospital and the Davidson County Department of Health. Because of the emergent situation the children were examined routinely but all of the medical records were not completed in full detail. While this makes

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[2]Report of a Committee of the Staff of the State Department of Education to Department of Public Welfare, State of Tennessee, dated May 24, 1954.

comparison on a case by case basis impossible, some general statements can be made.

Most of the children showed evidences of malnutrition such as underweight, dry and scaly skin, and dental caries. It was further apparent that the children had never received proper health care. A large number of the children had enlarged tonsils and glands, and poor posture, and some were running a temperature. One child who appeared so grossly retarded in physical and mental growth was later diagnosed as having cerebral palsy.

At the time of the removal, Buva could not furnish any kind of records on the children to the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare. It is therefore questionable that the children received any type of medical services while at Buva. Adequate provision for medical services is one of the major standards which an institution should meet. Unless this service is provided so that physical defects can be detected and treated, the child may be retarded forever in his physical and emotional growth.

Within a few days after the children were placed at the Tennessee School for the Blind and in foster homes there was noticeable gain in their weights. They ate ravenously, took food from the table, and seemed unable to eat enough. Several of the children became ill from overeating. As the children became better adjusted to the routine of more adequate diet and better sleeping habits, they continued to show gains in weight.

Psychological Evaluation

As part of the admission requirements, most institutions today want a psychological test on each child. Such an evaluation, together with the other social information on a child, can be useful to the institution in its selection of children for whom its program is best adapted. When there are no limitations for admission and children are accepted for care in a haphazard fashion, in most instances the needs of the individual child will not be served. When laxity exists in intake policies, the child's parents in times of stress and strain may relinquish their responsibilities toward the child more readily, and without any assurance that the plan of care will meet their needs or those of the child. Only as a study of the child, of his family, and of his relationships to the family is made, can an evaluation be made as to what the plan should be for the child.

At Buva children were accepted for care without any consideration being given to the child and his family. None of the children were given psychological tests until the study was made in 1948 by the State Department of Public Welfare. Five of the children removed from Buva were given this service then as a step in placement planning. Since the children were removed from Buva four children had psychological evaluation. One of these children was six years of age when removed from Buva and was placed in the institution when he was two years of age. He was referred for psychological testing because he was tearing up his clothes, chewing on cuffs and bed covers, and seemed to become easily frustrated. The examination revealed a sad, unhappy child who spoke in monotones.

He seemed to be functioning at an average rate mentally and it was the examiner's opinion that his difficulties were emotional. Another child who was having difficulty adjusting in the foster home was given psychological examinations to determine his social and mental abilities. This girl had been at Buva for nine and one-half years, having been placed there at age six. It was the examiner's opinion that she was not mentally deficient but very emotionally insecure and maladjusted. It was felt that her experiences had not provided opportunities for normal mental, social, and emotional growth. A third child who was given a psychological examination had also lived in the institution for nine and one-half years. His adjustment in the foster home had been unsatisfactory. In this particular case it was also felt that his retardation was due to lack of stimulation and opportunities provided at Buva. The fourth child psychologically examined was four years of age at the time of placement at Buva and remained in the institution for four years. She likewise was retarded. Subsequent examinations, after a period of foster home care and attention to her physical needs, have revealed some improvement in her overall abilities.

It was initially the writers' intention to secure psychological examinations on each of the twenty-three children. Due to the fact that most of the children had been returned to their families who were living in other counties or states, it was felt that psychological tests could not be secured.

Reasons for Placement

From the information available about Buva's operations, there were no admission requirements. Children were accepted for care at the discretion of the superintendent. Consideration will be given to the stated or verbal reasons given by the parents as well as some of the underlying factors which seemed apparent from the family situation at the time of placement. The family situations of these children, like so many other dependent and neglected children, presented a pattern of emotional, economic, and social instability.

Placement of the ten children born out of wedlock was made, according to their mothers, because no other plan was available. Some effort had been made on the parents' part to place the children with relatives or friends. In all instances the mother was unemployed and one mother only had applied for Aid to Dependent Children. However, before the application was processed placement of the child had been made at Buva.

Of the ten children born out of wedlock, six were placed at the age of six months or under, one was two years of age, one four, and one six. The age of placement of the tenth child was not available, but he was three years old when removed. When the ages at placement are considered, it is understandable why it was difficult for the mothers to care for their children and be gainfully employed at the same time. It was probable, too, that these mothers could not assume the responsibilities of parenthood because of their own immaturity and personality

structure. The institution in accepting the children for care probably played into the mothers' own neurotic needs.

Usually in such placements, it is the child who suffers most. For this reason, it becomes important for a community to provide services for these unmarried mothers to help them face the reality situation of planning for themselves and their children. Economic factors alone should never be the means of separating a child from his parents. If the best interests of the child and his family are to be served, the total family situation together with the full meaning of family relationships should be considered. In view of this, it is important that an institution refine its intake policies and be familiar with existing community resources, so that appropriate referrals can be made to promote the best interests of the child and his family.

The families of the twelve children born in wedlock also presented the familiar pattern of instability found among institutional children. The parents of eight of the children were separated. One of these parents, a mother, placed her two children at Buva during an emergency when she was forced to move from her relatives' home. Another family of four children, in which the parents were separated and the father had custody, were living with paternal grandparents. When the grandparents could no longer care for the children, their mother placed them at Buva. Another situation is that of a fifteen year old girl who married the father of her child before her baby was born, and separated from her husband immediately after the child's birth. Custody of this child was later given to the father and he placed the child with his parents and they later placed the child at Buva. Two children in another family were placed at

Buva after their parents' separation and their father's imprisonment. In another family of three children the parents were separated. Prior to placement of these three children at Buva their mother applied for Aid to Dependent Children as her husband was in a county hospital with a diagnosis of dementia praecox. Before the Aid to Dependent Children application was processed, the father had been released from the hospital, was working part-time, and therefore the family was ineligible for financial assistance. Following the father's return to the home the parents separated and the father assumed responsibility for placing the children at Buva.

Situation of the Children at the Time of Study

After the twenty-three children were removed from Buva, the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare initiated immediately a case by case study of each child so that permanent plans could be made for them as soon as possible. At the time of the present study, seventeen children had been returned to their parents or other relatives, five children were in foster homes of the agency, and one child had been placed for adoption.

The family situation of the children who were returned to their parents or relatives showed much variation. Six of the children returned to live with their mothers who were unmarried. One of these mothers lived with her brother and his family and had a younger child born out of wedlock for whom she received Aid to Dependent Children. The child who was returned to her from Buva was not included in the Aid

to Dependent Children grant because the income of the relatives was considered in the budget despite the fact that the brother and his wife voiced strong objections to assuming any further responsibility. Another unmarried mother worked part-time and received Aid to Dependent Children. While she was employed the child received care in a group setting. A third unmarried mother had, in addition to the one child removed from Buva, two other children. There were four other children in the family, two of whom were placed for adoption and two who had been placed with relatives. The mother received Aid to Dependent Children for the three children who were living with her and had been encouraged by the agency to seek employment. A fourth child was living with his mother in another county where she was employed. The fifth child was living with his mother who was reported to be living in a common-law relationship. This family moved frequently and efforts by the agency to give continuing service have been to no avail. The sixth child lived with the mother who received Aid to Dependent Children for her five children, all of whom were born out of wedlock.

Two family groups, one with two siblings and one with three siblings, were returned to their mothers and stepfathers. In another family situation both parents had remarried and neither parent had assumed any responsibility for the children who were living with their paternal grandparents. Two other children, whose parents were separated, lived with their father.

The family situations of the five children who were in foster homes of the agency offer little possibilities for the eventual return of the children. In one situation, the parents had remarried, had other

children of their own and had shown no interest in assuming responsibility for their physically and mentally handicapped child. In another family situation of two siblings, the mother had remarried, verbalized interest in providing a home for her children, but was unable to carry through with plans. She visited the children in the foster home and occasionally bought clothing for them. The two other children receiving foster home care were also siblings. Their mother was unmarried and received Aid to Dependent Children for her two other children who were living with her. Though she had verbalized interested in having the children returned to her, she had made no attempt to do so, and had not visited the two children since they were removed from Buva.

CHAPTER IV

ADJUSTMENT OF THE CHILDREN

Having studied the characteristics of these children it is appropriate now to study the adjustment they have made following their removal from Buva. Although these children have not presented many overt behavior problems, there can be seen in the following sections indications of general unhappiness and frustration.

First, a look at some specific reactions of the children immediately following their removal, and then some symptoms they have presented according to Tables I and II, bears out the fact that anxiety may have been present.

Reactions to Buva

Very few of the children showed any desire to return to Buva even on the first day away from there. They were amazed at the clean beds and pretty furnishings at the Tennessee School for the Blind and compared them to Buva.

When Mr. Mullins visited the children at the Tennessee School for the Blind on the Sunday following their move on Friday, the children showed very little interest in him, except to show him their new "home." Several children seemed fearful of Mr. Mullins, and would not speak to him when he visited.

One eight year old girl who was mentally retarded shook her head violently each time Buva was mentioned. A six year old child told of

TABLE I

SYMPTOMS OF TWENTY-THREE CHILDREN ACCORDING TO AGES AT TIME OF REMOVAL FROM BUVA

Symptoms	Total	Ages in Years				
		Less Than 5	5 but Less Than 8	8 but Less Than 11	11 but Less Than 14	14 but Less Than 17
Total	33	5	6	7	6	9
Fearfulness	10	1	2	3	1	3
Aggressiveness	10	2	1	2	2	3
Enuresis and soiling difficulties	3	1		1	1	
Negativism	3					3
Food difficulties	3	1	1	1		
Inability to concentrate	2		1		1	
Destructiveness	1		1			
Delinquency	1				1	

TABLE II

SYMPTOMS OF TWENTY-THREE CHILDREN ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF TIME IN PLACEMENT IN BUVA

Symptoms	Total	Length of Placement in Years				
		Less Than 2	2 but Less Than 6	6 but Less Than 10	10 but Less Than 14	Unknown
Total	33	1	15	9	5	3
Fearfulness	10		6	2	1	1
Aggressiveness	10	1	2	4	2	1
Enuresis and soiling difficulties	3		3			
Negativism	3			1	2	
Food difficulties	3		2			1
Inability to concentrate	2		1	1		
Destructiveness	1		1			
Delinquency	1			1		

having been beaten while he lived at Buva. Several children seemed ambivalent in their attitudes toward Buva. The first day or two at the Tennessee School for the Blind a few children wanted to telephone Mr. Mullins to tell him about their new living arrangements. When some of the children began to leave to go to their parents or relatives, one or two of the children who were still at the Tennessee School for the Blind wanted to telephone Buva. This seemed to be centered around their anxiety about future plans for them, as one sixteen year old girl became upset because her mother had not visited her. She threatened to return to Buva. Later this same girl became nauseated when Mr. Mullins visited them at the Tennessee School for the Blind, and she was unable to sleep following his visit.

It would seem that if these children had formed close and positive relationships to the staff members at Buva, they might have shown more of a desire to continue contacts with the various staff members. Every child has to have some person who believes in him and to whom he can relate. It is especially important in institutional settings that the children have cottage parents, if possible, to meet this need of the child. Sybil Foster has pointed out this idea in the following way: "We must then see to it that the persons surrounding them in their daily living are the sort who can appreciate the situation and give them this fundamental quality of understanding affection."[1]

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[1]Sybil Foster, Mental Health Needs in Children's Institutions (New York: Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 1937), p. 2.

Reactions to Food

One of the most significant observations made of these children during their stay at the Tennessee School for the Blind was their reaction to food. Several children told that they usually had only cookies or fruit for supper at Buva. They seemed amazed at the amount of food which was given to them at the Tennessee School for the Blind, but they also seemed fearful that they would not get more food. While at the table they ate enormous amounts of food, and could be seen carrying food away from the table in their hands or pockets. One child, who was later diagnosed as having cerebral palsy, ate ravenously and simultaneously regurgitated her food. It was noted that most of these children did not chew their food properly, as they were too anxious to eat more.

Since they carried food away from the table, they could be seen eating constantly. After they had been at the Tennessee School for the Blind about two days, several children were ill from overeating and had to be seen by a doctor. It was necessary to hospitalize one child, and the diagnosis indicated malnutrition.

The children were given magazines from which they could cut pictures, and almost without exception the pictures chosen related to food or clothing.

After they had been at the school several days, they no longer carried the food away from the table, and the amount of food which they ate had decreased. This might be related to three things: (1) since they had three balanced meals a day, and had been sufficiently filled, they no longer needed food between meals; (2) after they were secure in their new

environment they no longer had the desire to eat constantly; and, (3) they learned that food was forthcoming at regular intervals.

Only three children had continued to have difficulty with food. One of these was the cerebral palsied child. Her problem was related to her inability to chew her food properly because of paralysis of the tongue. Another child, a three year old, also had a problem of chewing his food properly. The third child's problem was overeating, which persisted for several months after his placement in his foster home.

Play Activities and Recreation

Recreation is just as important to mental and physical development of the child as any other activity in his life. Howard W. Hopkirk states: "Life cannot be rich and wholesome unless it includes play. This can be said of the life children lead as individuals or in groups."[2] According to the Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions, every institution should provide various types of playground equipment and indoor games for the children. It is also recommended that children in institutions be given opportunities to join organized groups in the neighborhood because of the social advantages it offers to them.[3]

A television set, outdoor swings, seesaws, and a sliding board were available for play at the Tennessee School for the Blind. It was

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[2]Howard W. Hopkirk, Institutions Serving Children (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1944), p. 173.

[3]Standards of Foster Care for Children in Institutions (New York: Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 1937), p. 35.

difficult to get the children to go outside at the beginning of their stay at the Tennessee School for the Blind. Apparently they had a television set at Buva, as most of the children had favorite television programs. Interestingly enough, one brother and sister always wanted to sit together when they were looking at television. This same pattern was evident on the playground.

The most striking factor with regard to their play activities was their lack of knowledge of the simplest games, such as outdoor group games and indoor table games.

The younger children who were placed in foster homes were given some toys. They did not know how to play with these toys, and were very destructive with them. Later, they took more interest in examining the toys and in learning how to play with them.

It would appear from their lack of knowledge regarding play that these children had been denied any kind of organized recreation program either at Buva or in the community.

Community Contacts

"The usefulness of almost any kind of institution for children in the welfare program of a community may be measured by the institution's acceptance and use of the community as a whole, and particularly of its immediate neighborhood."[4] The children at Buva had very little contact with community resources. They had not attended public schools or churches.

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[4]Hopkirk, op. cit., p. 59.

The reactions of the children to public places seemed to indicate unfamiliarity with them. For example, it would seem that the two girls who were frightened by the elevators and thrilled at the sight of the escalators probably had not seen them before. The children who were taken to the airport told that it was their first trip there.

These children apparently had been deprived of one of the basic experiences in their social adaptation.

Relationships

Typical of many children who have been reared in institutions, the majority of the children from Buva seemed to be starved for affection, as was evident in their relationships to the staff and social workers at the Tennessee School for the Blind, and in their relationships to foster parents when they were moved into foster homes.

They gave little indication of having formed any close relationship to their natural parents or to any staff member at Buva. Many of them did not know their parents when they visited at the Tennessee School for the Blind. Although these children did not form a close attachment to anyone at the Tennessee School for the Blind, their hunger for attention was shown by their readiness to talk to anyone who came to the school. Each child knew the names of every caseworker who went out from the Department of Public Welfare. Not only did he know his own worker, but he knew which worker was assigned to each child. Apparently the children were expecting mistreatment from the caseworkers, as it seemed hard for them to comprehend that these people who were giving them so

much attention were from the Department of Public Welfare. As a new worker would go to the Tennessee School for the Blind, the children would gather around, ask the worker's name and then ask, "Is you a welfare worker?" This question would then be repeated by each child. Another indication of their desire for attention was shown in the way they claimed their own worker and clung to him when he visited.

Sybil Foster has said:

> We all know the love-starved child of the institution who clings upon and hangs to the visitor who shows the slightest response to him. By merely observing the behavior of children in an institution one may gain a fairly clear idea of whether their lives are adequately rounded in the field of general emotional satisfaction.[5]

The children did not seem to have any real conception of a home or parents. As some children began to leave the Tennessee School for the Blind to go to a foster home or to their parents and relatives, one child wanted to know if the people in his foster home would be black or white. Of course, some of this confusion may have been related to the fact that some of the caseworkers were white. One child asked her caseworker if she had a mother and if her mother were "good to colored folks." This particular child's mother had had closer contact with her child than most of the other parents. Her mother had worked as a maid, and apparently this child had some conception of racial prejudice.

Some of the children were very responsive when talking with other children from Buva, but became shy and withdrawn around the caseworkers and other staff members at the Tennessee School for the Blind. Two

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[5]Foster, op. cit., p. 2.

children who were moved into foster home care within two weeks were never able to form a very positive relationship with their caseworker. They never became responsive to the worker except to answer questions. In the foster home one girl gained attention by pouting. Later, as she became more secure and formed a more positive relationship with the foster mother, she was able to gain attention in an acceptable manner. She began cooperating and doing things which she knew the foster mother approved of, such as eating a variety of vegetables, and gained recognition for an acceptable achievement. As she began to form a more positive relationship with the foster parents, she also became friendlier and more outgoing in her relationships with her friends in school.

Since these children probably had not been prepared for their removal from Buva, it might be expected that they would show some anxiety about the move. One of the most significant indications of anxiety was evidenced in their relationships with their parents and relatives. Although most of the children had only had a very casual relationship with their parents while they were in Buva, they soon began asking when their parents were coming for them. The fact that a number of parents came to the institution immediately after it was closed, and took their children probably accounts for some of this anxiety shown by these children.

A sixteen year old girl who was placed in Buva when she was six years old had not seen her mother in nine years. She stayed at the Tennessee School for the Blind ten days before she was placed in a foster home. During those ten days she constantly wanted assurance from the caseworker that efforts were being made to contact her mother. When she was moved to the foster home she cried and said she wanted to live with

her mother. Her mother was contacted soon after the girl was in a foster home. Although she had bought the child's clothes and promised to take her soon, she had made no effort to establish a home for her. Once her mother went to Chicago for a short time to live, and this child became upset. She was fearful that her mother would not return. When her mother returned to Nashville her behavior improved and she seemed happier in the foster home. It would appear that even though this girl did not know her mother, she had a "mother ideal" which this mother represented. Apparently there was the craving and desire for her parents. Helen A. Day has pointed out the importance of a continuing relationship between parents and children during the period of institutionalization.

> . . . These parents are a most vital part of any plan we may have for the child's progress. They are so bound up with the child's emotional life that the child is never really separated from them. Even in situations where the parents have abused and deserted their children, so great is their need for this tie that they create ideal parents for themselves. Under normal conditions one expects children to grow more and more independent until, as they approach adulthood, they think and act for themselves. Imaginary parents seem to hinder their normal progress. It follows, then, that the real parents should be included and used as much as possible by the institution.[6]

In talking with the parents and relatives about plans for these children, the caseworkers at the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare learned that most of these children had been denied any close contact with their families. One mother who had not seen her two children in nine years told that Mr. Mullins would not allow her to enter the building, and according to her he had threatened to call the police. When she later

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[6]Helen A. Day, "Evaluation of a Child's Progress in an Institution," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 566.

wrote to him inquiring about the children, she said Mr. Mullins did not answer her letters. Several parents told that Mr. Mullins refused to release their children until they paid a large sum of money in cash for their care, which they said ranged in amounts from $150 to $1,000. Most of these parents told that they had bought clothing for their children, and some said that they had sent milk and food to them. These parents had known no way to have their children returned, since they felt they had not been financially able to hire the services of an attorney.

Another mother told that she had been waiting for the Department of Public Welfare to gain custody of her two children, so that she could take them. The mother of one boy, who had been given the name Moses Mullins, Jr., said she was told by Mr. Mullins that he was so attached to the boy, and had spent so much money on him, he would not return him unless he was paid $1,000 in cash. According to this mother, she had frequently made efforts to have her child returned to her.

Fearfulness

Fear in children may indicate various problems or it may be normal, depending on how frequently it occurs and the circumstances surrounding it. Ridenour and Johnson tell us there are two kinds of fears. "The first is the normal fear any person feels when face to face with real danger. The second kind of fear is called 'anxiety.' The person who suffers from this kind of fear feels upset but often does not know why."[7]

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[7]Nina Ridenour and Isabel Johnson, Some Special Problems of Children (Philadelphia: The National Mental Health Foundation, Inc., 1947), p. 62.

It was found that ten of the twenty-three children presented some evidence of fear. All of this group had been in the institution over two years. Fear in these children was expressed in different ways. A number seemed fearful and apprehensive toward any new situation, while others expressed their fear by withdrawal from people and showed an inability to relate to them. A few cried excessively and were provoked to tears easily, while one child expressed his fear through poor sleep.

Two children, ages fifteen and seventeen, were frightened by the elevators in a department store, and clung to the caseworker who was with them. These children had lived in the institution seven years. It seemed unusual for children these ages to be frightened by something as familiar as an elevator. The logical explanation would seem to be that this had not been a part of their previous experience.

Over one-half of the ten children who were fearful seemed to be resistant to new situations. Sometimes this resistance was related to anxiety around the kind of plan that had been made for them. If this plan was to be foster home care they frequently placed emphasis on the material possessions in the home. Apparently their ideas of happiness were associated with material possessions.

A five year old boy who had lived in the institution since he was six months old seemed fearful of any new situation. Since this child was under six years of age when he was moved from Buva, he was immediately placed in a foster home. He became "attached" to the caseworker during the ride from the institution to the foster home, and found it difficult to accept the foster mother. Once he became settled in the foster home he quickly clung to the foster mother, and later found it difficult to

move from the foster home to his mother's home. Pre-placement visits were planned, and he appeared eager to visit his mother. When he saw her he became quiet and withdrawn, and began to cry. As the caseworker tried to console him, he showed no response except fear of his mother and wanted to return to his foster home immediately. After this child had been returned to his mother he followed her constantly. It was possible that this child might have been suffering from a fear of desertion, as a result of his early separation from his mother and his more recent changes.

Another six year old boy who was placed in Buva when he was two years old was a fearful child. He was placed in a foster home at the time of his removal from Buva, and he remained there fourteen months before he was returned to his mother. It was observed that this child was fearful of new people. He seemed to have little confidence in people, and when he was seen at the behavior clinic he trembled with fear. When another child left the foster home he began to have nightmares, which persisted over a period of approximately four months. It was possible that this child was fearful that he, like the other foster child, would be removed from the foster home. This child also showed his fear through excessive crying. Not only did he cry at the clinic, but was easily provoked to tears at home. When he was given a psychological examination he was found to have average intelligence but appeared to be insecure.

A sixteen year old girl who had been at Buva for ten years manifested her fear in numerous ways. The psychological examination given to this girl found her seriously retarded, but not mentally deficient. She reacted to the move from Buva to the Tennessee School for the Blind through withdrawal. She became very quiet. When she was moved to a

foster home she became upset and cried, saying she wanted to live with her mother. After she had been in the foster home several months it was necessary to change caseworkers, and again she showed resistance toward a new caseworker and refused to talk with her. Part of this resistance to the caseworker and to the foster parents seemed to be related to her desire to live with her own mother who had promised to take her, but had never been able to make any definite plans.

This same girl was fearful of the doctors in the clinic, and cried when she was given a shot.

Aggressiveness

It was found that ten of these children were aggressive or sought attention through their behavior. This aggression was manifested in several ways. Some of the children bit other children when they became angry. One girl showed her aggressiveness by her authoritative attitude toward the younger children. An eight year old child wanted attention when she visited the clinic and she managed to get it by waving frantically at other people. A six year old child demanded attention through temper tantrums.

Two older girls sought attention when they were first placed in a foster home. The first few days they were in the foster home they wanted to help their foster mother by making beds and cleaning the house. Apparently they were seeking approval, as they later showed less interest in such activities. This behavior may have indicated that they felt more

secure in their relationship with their foster mother, and no longer had the need to gain her approval.

W. Goldfarb, in his study of institutional children, has said, "Briefly the institution children present a history of aggressive, distractible, uncontrolled behavior. Normal patterns of anxiety and self-inhibition are not developed. Human identifications are limited, and relationships are weak and easily broken."[8]

Enuresis and Soiling

Only three children reverted to bed wetting or to soiling themselves. Two of these children, ages eight and eleven, were siblings who were in a foster home for a year following their removal from Buva. The bed wetting and soiling began at the time the caseworker and the foster mother began preparing these children to return to their relatives.

J. Bowlby tells in his work concerning maternal deprivation of a study of refugee children done by Szondi in Switzerland in which he said the children showed symptoms such as bedwetting, and explained it as representing a repression of the need to cling.[9]

Negativism

As shown in the tables the three children who showed some negativism were all in the group over fourteen years of age. These children

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[8]William Goldfarb, "Rorschach Test Differences between Family-Reared, Institition-Reared, and Schizophrenic Children," The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 19:625, October 1949.

[9]Bowlby, op. cit., p. 44.

had been in the institution over six years and one child had been there thirteen years. It was not known whether their behavior was related to the length of stay at Buva, or whether the negativism was related more to the normal adolescent conflicts. One girl expressed her negativism in the foster home by pouting, sullenness, and talking back to the foster parents. Another girl had a negative attitude toward her temporary placement at the Tennessee School for the Blind. She expressed her negativism when she said she would not like any place except home with her mother. A third girl rebelled against authority, both at the Tennessee School for the Blind and in her foster home. This behavior has been related to her desire to be with her mother who she had not seen in nine years.

Other Symptoms

Other symptoms which were shown by two children were inability to concentrate, destructiveness, and delinquency.

A six year old boy, who had been seen at behavior clinic, was not able to concentrate on his school work. Learning was difficult for him, and he had to have his work repeated many times. After many months in the foster home, and with treatment at the behavior clinic, he began to make some improvement. He was later returned to his mother, and his adjustment in school improved. This same child was destructive with his clothes, bed covers, and toys.

The other child who had difficulty with concentration was seriously mentally retarded, due to lack of stimulation. He was thirteen and one-half years of age at the time he was removed from Buva, and was the

only child in the group who had shown any indication of delinquent behavior. He was dismissed from a part-time job for stealing small items. He had been associating with a group of boys who had stolen drink bottles, and had given the bottles to him to get the deposit from a grocery store.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study was focused around twenty-three children who were removed from Buva, a grossly inferior institution, to their new placements by the Davidson County Department of Public Welfare on July 30, 1954. It was felt that children whose physical and emotional needs had been so deprived, because of their experiences in such an inadequate institution, would show symptomatic behavior which would affect their adjustment in new situations. Consideration will be given to some of the major characteristics and symptoms presented by these children as well as the future implications.

The group of twenty-three children consisted of fourteen girls ranging in age from one and one-half years to sixteen years and nine boys ranging in age from three years to thirteen and one-half years. At the removal, six children were under six years of age. Fourteen of the children were placed at Buva when they were less than six years of age, with seven of this number being placed with they were less than one year old. Group care for children under the age of six is highly undesirable, because no institution is equipped to give infants and toddlers the opportunities which are needed for social, emotional, and intellectual development. When children under six must be removed from their own parents, foster home care is preferable to group care. While all children need the experiences which can be had only through a family, the child under six needs an experience in a family situation most during the formative years of his personality development. Unless the infant and

young child have this experience, far reaching effects will be had on their future mental health.

Usually children who fall within the adolescent age range find it easier to adjust in a group care situation. These boys and girls are no longer dependent on their parents for their day to day needs, can continue an emotional relationship with their parents though separated from them, are less accepting of substitute parents, and can derive intrinsic value through associations with their peers. Of the twenty-three children eight were of adolescent age when they were removed from Buva. Two of these children were placed in Buva at the ages of ten and eight, respectively, with the remaining six being under six years of age at the time of placement. From this information, it was evident that Buva did not give consideration to the individual needs of the children nor was its program geared toward any particular age group.

All of the children included in the study, with the exception of two who were in the first grade, were retarded in grade placement. The retardation in grade placement varied from one to six years. While all of the factors related to their educational retardation were not known, the inadequacy of the educational program and facilities would seem to have had a direct bearing on their grade retardation. In all probability the gross grade retardation will have its effects on their continuing in school as they become older. Their lack of educational opportunities will in turn affect their future potentialities for gainful employment and impede their chances for becoming more responsible citizens.

One of the most outstanding observable characteristics at the time the children were removed from Buva was the lack of physical care. Most

of the children showed evidences of malnutrition such as underweight, dry and scaly skin, and dental caries. As they were given adequate and proper diets weight increases were immediately observable. The extent to which the deprivation in physical care will bear upon their future physical condition is questionable. However, it is conceivable that their physical and mental growth may be impaired.

The family situation of these children, like so many other dependent and neglected children, presented a pattern of emotional, economic, and social instability. The birth status of these children revealed that ten were born out of wedlock, twelve were legitimate, and the birth status of one child was unknown. In most instances the stated reason for placement of the children at Buva was that no other resources were available to the parents. Since the parents made these placements under stress and strain, the institution in accepting the children for care actually played into their real and/or neurotic needs. If in the institutional intake policies and procedures consideration had been given to the total needs of the child and his family, placement probably could have been averted. The seventeen children who had been returned to their parents or relatives lend support to this observation.

When the children were removed from Buva many of them presented the familiar picture characteristic of children who have lived in an institution their entire lives. These characteristics were observed in their eagerness to cling to adult strangers, shyness in talking and eating, general appearance of unhappiness, and the superficiality of their relationships. For these children material possessions, such as clothes and foster home furnishings, seemed to be the equivalent of love. As they

thought about their plans to return to their own homes or to go to foster homes, questions were raised about the furnishings in the home rather than the people with whom they were going to live. In all probability this reflects in part their unsatisfactory experiences with people in which there was little or no opportunity for a close interpersonal relationship.

Fear and attention-seeking behavior were symptoms which were common to most all of these children. Expressions of fear were noted in their withdrawal from people, excess crying, poor sleep habits, and resistance to new situations. Many of the children sought attention primarily through aggressive behavior such as temper tantrums, biting, and defiance of substitute parental authority. Other symptoms presented by some of the children were enuresis and destructiveness.

Nearly two years have elapsed since the closing of the institution. Superficially, the children appear to have made satisfactory adjustments. One child only has presented behavioral reactions which might fall into the category of the so called "delinquent." Since so many of the children are no longer receiving casework service the total picture might be obscure. Only time will reveal the actual effects of such emotional and physical deprivation. Unquestionably, these deprived experiences have left their psychological scars which will have a bearing on their future mental health.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN REMOVED FROM BUVA

Child	Sex	Birth Status	Age at Placement	Age at Removal	Years in Placement	Grade Placement (1954)
A1*	M	L	6 yrs	9 yrs	3	2
A2	F	L	3 yrs	6 yrs	3	1
B1	F	L	9 yrs	11 yrs	2	5
B2	F	L	8 yrs	10 yrs	2	3
B3	M	L	6 yrs	8 yrs	2	2
B4	F	L	3 yrs	5 yrs	2	Not of school age
C	M	I	3 mths	4 yrs	4	Not of school age
D	F	L	4 yrs	8 yrs	4	Not attending
E	F	I	1 mth	1½ yrs	1½	Not attending
F	M	I	6 mths	5 yrs	4½	Not attending
G	M	I	2 yrs	6 yrs	4	1
H	M	I	16 days	12½ yrs	12	3
I1	F	L	10 yrs	16½ yrs	7	5
I2	F	L	8 yrs	14½ yrs	7	7
J	M	I	Not available	3 yrs	Not available	Not of school age
K	M	Not verified	Not available	4 yrs	Not available	Not of school age
L1	F	L	11 days	13 yrs	13	Not available
L2	F	L	1½ yrs	14 yrs	13	Not available
L3	F	L	2½ yrs	15 yrs	13	Not available
M1	F	I	6 yrs	16½ yrs	9½	5
M2	M	I	4 yrs	13½ yrs	9½	3
N1	F	I	1 mth	11 yrs	11	3
N2	F	I	4 mths	8 yrs	8	2

*Letters denote family groups; figures denote siblings.