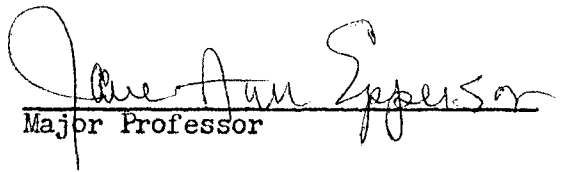


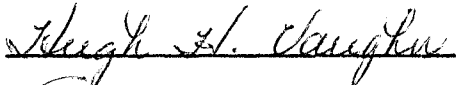
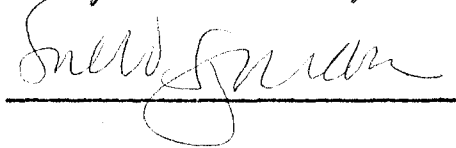
May 22, 1964

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Louis O'Conner, Jr., entitled "The Adjustment of a Group of Korean and Korean-American Children Adopted by Couples in the United States." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Social Work.


Major Professor

We have read this thesis and
recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:


Dean of the Graduate School

THE ADJUSTMENT OF A GROUP OF KOREAN AND
KOREAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN ADOPTED BY
COUPLES IN THE UNITED STATES

A Thesis
Presented to
The Graduate Council of
The University of Tennessee

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in Social Work

by
Louis O'Conner, Jr.

June 1964

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To the families who, by their willingness and enthusiastic cooperation, made this study possible.

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To the memory of

Harry Holt

a consecrated Christian

a dedicated humanitarian

and a lover of children

this volume is respectfully

dedicated

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the past fifteen years more than eighteen thousand orphaned or abandoned children from foreign countries have been placed in the homes of thousands of couples living in the United States.¹ These children were left without parents in the wake of World War II, the Korean conflict, and the unsettled world conditions.

Since 1957 there has been particular interest in adopting a child of mixed Oriental and American parentage from the Far East. By April, 1962, 3,746 children from Korea had been placed in American homes.² These children did not come to families of the same mixed background. The Korean-Caucasian children went to Caucasian families and the Korean-Negro children to Negro families. The full Korean children were placed only in Caucasian families. Margaret Valk, in her pamphlet, the "Korean-American Children in American Adoptive Homes," reported an understandable question that had been raised by professional social workers:

Is it sound to uproot children from so far away and of so different a cultural background and racial composition; wouldn't such drastic transplantation, in addition to the painful deprivations experienced by the child be too great a burden for him? Wouldn't

¹Helen F. Eckerson and Gertrude D. Krichefsky, "Principles of Immigration Law--Part 2," I and N Reporter, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice (Washington: Government Printing Office, April, 1962), p. 49.

²Ibid.

it be wiser, or a happier solution, to seek some way of caring for these children in their country of birth?"³

Mrs. Valk said the answer to this question has become very clear. Since Korea has more than fifty thousand homeless children of purely Korean parentage in more than five hundred orphanages and an unknown number roaming the streets, without homes; and since children of mixed racial parentage are completely ostracized socially and culturally, the only solution for these children is placement outside of their own country in good homes.⁴

Although Mrs. Valk's report states clearly that within Korea there is no solution to the problem, there remains the question as to the adjustment a child already suffering from deprivation can make when he is moved to an entirely different cultural setting. The adjustment of the forty-nine children on which Mrs. Valk based her report were placed through International Social Service. The 179 children reported in this study were placed in American homes by Holt Adoption Program, Crestwell, Oregon.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. It was the purpose of this study (1) to examine the initial adjustment of a selected group of children placed in a home and community with a culture different from their own;

³Margaret A. Valk, Korean-American Children in American Adoptive Homes (New York: Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 1957), p. 4.

⁴Ibid.

(2) to attempt to determine if there were initial problems in adjustment and if so, the nature of these problems and whether or not they have continued; (3) to identify the problems encountered and the methods used by the adoptive parents in handling them.

Importance of the study. Approximately four thousand Korean and Korean-American children, all born in Korea, have been adopted by couples in the United States. Of this number, 1,897 children had been placed in 1,389 American homes by the Holt Adoption Program, Crestwell, Oregon, as of December, 1962.

Only one study has been made that indicated how well any of the children from Korea have adjusted to a different culture. If these children are to continue to immigrate, and it seems likely that they will, additional information is needed in order to minimize problems of adjustment in future adoptive placements of Korean and Korean-American children in American homes.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

Korean child. A child born in Korea of a Korean mother and a Korean father.

Korean-American child. A child born in Korea of a Korean mother and an American father.

Mixed-blood child. A child of mixed racial parentage, in this case, Korean-American. This term is in general use when reference is made to these children.

III. METHOD AND SCOPE

This study was made possible to a great extent through the cooperation of Mr. Harry Holt,⁵ founder and director of Holt Adoption Program, a child-placing agency in Crestwell, Oregon. Mr. Holt was kind enough to write a letter which was sent out to all participants in this study along with the questionnaire, encouraging the adoptive parents to cooperate in every way possible.

The program of placing Korean children in American homes was begun by Mr. Holt. It was in 1954 that he and his family learned of the Korean orphans left by the war and the Korean-American children left by the foreign soldiers occupying Korea. For a number of months they sponsored several of these children through World Vision, Inc., an organization that supported orphanage work in a number of different countries. Out of this experience grew the desire to go to Korea to find some children that they could adopt as their own. Mr. Holt was overwhelmed by what he saw upon arriving in Korea and he soon found eight starving children whom he adopted by a special act of Congress.

When Mr. Holt made the situation known to friends in the United States and eventually to people across the nation through the various news media, requests for children poured in at an almost unbelievable rate. As a result, Holt Adoption Program was hastily established to meet the growing demand for orphans from Korea. By 1962, the agency had received more than ten thousand requests for children.

⁵Mr. Holt died suddenly on April 28, 1964, in Korea.

Mr. Holt has been severely criticized by many professional social workers for his failure to follow established adoption methods and procedures, but his dedication and his sacrifice of health, means, and time cannot be questioned. This project, begun and operated on very little money and a vast amount of faith, has stirred many American families to open their homes to nearly four thousand of these children. Up to 1962, the Holt Adoption Program had placed more Korean and Korean-American children in American homes than all other placement organizations combined.

A table of random digits was used in selecting a sample from a total of 1,389 adoptive families in which 1,897 children had been placed by Holt Adoption Program. The sample included thirty-four of the 233 Negro families, 171 of the 1,143 white families and all of the thirteen Oriental families, making a total sample of 218 families. The ratio of the Negro-white sampling was approximately 15 per cent Negro and 85 per cent white, comparable to the ratio of the two races in the total number of families receiving children through the agency.

Questionnaires were sent to the 218 families and of this number forty were returned because of incorrect addresses, fifty-two were not returned at all, and five were returned but information given was inadequate for the purposes of this study.

The 121 families that did return useable questionnaires were located in twenty-eight states and represented more than 70 per cent of the possible returns. Many of these parents went to great lengths to answer the questions and give detailed reports of their children's

problems and the ways in which they had handled them. A number of them were quite enthusiastic in their responses and offered to answer any further questions that might be needed to complete the study. One mother wrote that she had offered, a few years ago, to make a study similar to the present one. Pictures, newspaper clippings, and long letters describing family activities helped to make this study an intensely interesting one.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

I. THE CHILDREN

South Korea is a very small country, smaller than the State of Tennessee but with a population of almost thirty million. Only 20 per cent of the land is flat enough to be farmed, while the population per square mile is 345. The cities are overcrowded, with more people moving to the urban areas every year.

The history of the children orphaned in Korea is two-fold. The story of the full Korean orphan is as old as the country itself; the Korean-American child is a product of modern day occupation of Korea by foreign troops.

Of the 179 children with whom this study was concerned who were adopted by American families, one-third were full Korean or of questionable heritage, while two-thirds or more were of mixed racial background. "By far the largest number of these were the children of American-Korean parentage."¹

The earliest account recorded in the history books of Korea regarding orphan children dates back to the Samgkok era of the Silla dynasty in about 28 A.D. King Yuri, the third king of the Silla

¹Paul Cherney, "Report of Visit to Korea" (New York: International Social Service, American Branch, 1963), p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

dynasty, ordered that those who had no means of self-support among widowers, widows, orphans, bachelors, and aged be fed and looked after.²

It also recorded that the first king of the Silla married an orphan girl, who had been a foster daughter of an old woman. The fourth king was himself an orphan. In the later Koryo dynasty, about 994 A.D., a law was passed making it a governmental responsibility to provide food and care for orphan children who had no one to look after them until they reached the age of ten years. After the age of ten, they were allowed to live where they might choose.³

As the feudal caste system prevailed in the Koryo dynasty, the foster care of orphans was easily used by the people of higher class as a means of acquiring cheap servants. This led to the traffic and sale of children as well as to kidnapping. The Buddhist monks and others carried on foster care of abandoned children and orphans, many of whom were the results of constant wars and famines. These children became monks, or were servants in Buddhist temples or in private homes.

In 1783 A.D., a law was enacted for the protection of abandoned and homeless children. It was made from many royal ordinances and regulations practiced during many centuries preceding this law. It provided procedures for government subsidies and permitted foster care of homeless children.

²Cha Hun Koo, "History of Welfare Services for Handicapped Children," Handicapped Children's Survey Report (Seoul, Korea: The Korea Child Welfare Committee, 1961), p. 21.

³Ibid.

While the extended family system instilled a strong sense of responsibility for even distant relatives, there were children that were not cared for by their families. Some of these were helped by the Korean Government but it was not until the coming of foreign missionaries to Korea in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century that orphanages were established to care for abandoned children. During the Japanese occupation from 1907 to 1945, as was the case before the Japanese came, there was little awareness of the need for an organized approach to the care of orphaned children.

The partition of the country after its liberation from Japan in 1945 caused a major social upheaval characterized by the movement of masses of people from one part of the country to another. This upheaval was greatly aggravated by the ensuing Korean War, which left thousands of children homeless and separated from their families by death, the confusion of sudden flight, or the family's inability to feed them.⁴

After the Korean War ended in 1953, mass emergency needs in Korea were partially met by the U. N. Command which imported large quantities of relief goods. These were distributed by the Korean Government, which lacked appropriate organizations, trained personnel, administrative funds and a tradition of public welfare. Help to families was limited to rice rations, while children's institutions, hospitals and refugee centers received more adequate aid. This in a sense led to a breakdown

⁴Rose Alvernaz and Helen Tieszen, "Technical Assistance for Child Welfare in Korea," Children (Washington: July and August, 1958), p. 134.

of the family system. Needy people flocked to the institutions with relatives, young and old, for whom they could get help no other way. Institutions suddenly sprang up all over the land as need dictated, not in accordance with any overall plan.

There were only thirty-eight orphanages in 1945 and by 1953, there were 440. Today the number has jumped to more than six hundred caring for fifty-five thousand to sixty thousand children. All of the evidence indicates that the orphanage population today is almost 100 per cent pure Korean except in the areas heavily populated by American servicemen.⁵ There a number of mixed-blood children were seen.

In regard to the conditions of the orphanages in Korea, Paul Cherney, Director of International Social Service, New York, reporting on his trip to Korea said:

There are "Baby Homes" in every community, most are overcrowded and the mortality rate is high. The municipal Baby Home in Seoul, for example, which cares for an average of 180 babies at a time has had a mortality rate of as much as 80 per cent per month. . . .⁶

Now, (1962) it is reported to have been brought down to 20 per cent. At the Holt Baby Home in Seoul overcrowding is at least double that which would be permitted in the U. S., but it has higher standards of care than any Korean baby home and mortality rate is reported to be 10 per cent per month. In all these facilities a high proportion are suffering severe malnutrition and three diseases are endemic: dysentery, pneumonia, and measles, (which is very severe in Korean children and frequently fatal).⁷

⁵Cherney, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

⁶Ibid., p. 6.

⁷Ibid., p. 7.

Since the Korean War, the abandoning of children has become a major problem in Korea. As recently as 1962, in Seoul, the capitol city of two and one-half million people, children under the age of five years were abandoned at the rate of five to seven a day. In Wonju, a Korean city of seventy-seven thousand people, from January, 1961, until June, 1962, there were fifty-eight infants and children under three years of age abandoned in that city. These children had been abandoned in every conceivable place, in train stations, shops, churches, public toilets, the market place, on doorsteps, and one infant had been buried alive except for his face.

The rate of abandonment was found to be greatly affected by the economic conditions of the country. In 1962, the year's barley and rice crops were almost a total failure. This raised the cost of living 300 to 400 per cent, and placed it far above the average Korean family's income. During the first six months of 1963, fifty-two infants and children were received by the Wonju Baby Center. This represented an increase of almost 300 per cent in the number of children abandoned. Ninety-eight per cent of those abandoned were girls. According to the teachings of Confucius, which are inherent in the culture of Korea, the woman is far below the man in status. When a male child is born, there is great rejoicing for the boy offers to his parents security in their old age, while a girl is often considered a liability for she will require a dowry and will leave home at the time of her marriage. Therefore, girl babies are often considered undesirable and abandoned during times of economic stress.

Paul Cherney, following his trip to Korea said, "more abandonments, probably, are for reasons of poverty than out-of-wedlock birth."⁸ Certainly in the past two years there could not have conceivably been a 300 to 400 per cent increase in out-of-wedlock births, but poverty intensified by crop failures, unemployment, and the high cost of living has caused the increase in the rate of child abandonment.

Out-of-wedlock births could not be discounted as a major cause in the abandonment of children. The presence of large standing armies, both Korean and United States, has created an abnormal situation. Along with this, Korean young people, both boys and girls, have broken away from their parents' control and moved to the larger cities seeking employment. Most of them were ill-prepared for such freedom, consequently they often were not able to resist the temptations of the big city and a chance to make more money than they had ever had before. The boys are drafted into the army at the age of twenty or twenty-one for three years, but only a small number of girls enter the army, since they are not drafted but must enlist. Many of the girls resort to prostitution which, for most of them, was the only occupation open. For some of the girls who gathered around the Korean Army camps as prostitutes, it meant a mere existence, but for those who ventured to break into the tight ring, who plyed their trade with the United States Forces, it was often a very lucrative business.

⁸Ibid., p. 5.

A girl's financial success as a prostitute for American servicemen depended on her beauty, her ability to speak English, and her good health. Incomes ranged from \$20.00 to \$200.00 per month depending on the rank and devotion of the serviceman involved. In addition, gifts of food and commodities from the American P.X. added profits from the local black market and luxury to her living.

There are 17,000 registered prostitutes and 300,000 estimated prostitutes. . . (includes prostitutes for Korean Army and civilians as well) policy stations a quota near every military gate.⁹

Out of this situation grew scores of communities or villages as they were called. Each village was different in many ways, such as size, population, etc., but exactly the same in two ways; they were located near an American military unit and existed almost totally for the purpose of providing prostitutes for the American servicemen.

The prostitute population of these villages ranged from 1,700 registered prostitutes in one village, (with usually as many unregistered prostitutes) down to one-half dozen in other villages, depending on the size of the local military installation.

There were tea houses and dance halls to assist the girls in their business. The food stores, beauty shops, bath houses and other small businesses were there to supply the girls with their needs. Industry was practically non-existent, since the labor forces of the

⁹V. J. Freeman, Jr., "An Analysis of the United Presbyterian Postitions on Orphans in Korea" (Seoul, Korea: Presbyterian Mission, Korea, 1961), p. 3. (Mimeographed.)

community were engaged almost exclusively in prostitution related employment.

Usually prostitute communities have some kind of organization. Many are loosely organized groups of girls who elect one of their number (whom the Americans have entitled the "madam") to negotiate for them with government officials, U. S. Army health officers, and M.P.'s. Some are tightly controlled by a landlord who employs a madam, strong-arm men, and takes a percentage from the earnings of each girl. In these more tightly controlled organizations, the madam does exert great influence over the girls, playing a mother role, in which she is turned to for comforting when the boy friend returns to the States, for advice in giving up the child for adoption. . . .¹⁰

The prostitute's living quarters varied according to her income and prostitute status. If she "went steady" she had a room or rooms of her own. These rooms were often in a large house with several other girls living in similar quarters. The high class houses had mud walls, cement floors and tile roof, instead of the customary mud walls, mud floors and straw-thatched roof. The rooms were usually six feet wide by eight feet long; if a girl could afford two rooms the dividing partition was often removed making one medium size room. Usually coffee, Western style snacks and liquor were kept for the soldiers. An American style double bed was almost always found in the room, in contrast to the cotton bedding that was customarily used in Korean homes.

In case the girl was not going steady she was often employed by the "madam" of the house who provided dormitory-type living quarters.

"The continuing presence of foreign troops and the prevalence of extra-marital relationships are producing children of mixed parentage

¹⁰Cherney, op. cit., p. 7.

at an estimated rate of 200 to 300 per year."¹¹ Nevertheless, the number of children born represent only a very small percentage of the total number of pregnancies. Abortions were freely performed both by doctors and midwives, even after the sixth month of pregnancy. One twenty-eight year old prostitute told of having been pregnant twelve times during her ten years of prostitution and having borne only two children. Each of the other pregnancies was terminated by induced abortion. Another prostitute told of having an induced abortion during her seventh month of pregnancy, the infant cried, but by previous agreement the attending abortionist made sure the infant did not survive. An added hazard to mother, father, and baby was the rise in venereal disease rate for in some outfits it reaches as high as 80 per cent of the muster.¹² "Six and three-tenths per cent of all babies born in Korea die before they are one year old."¹³ The mortality rate for mixed-racial children is believed to be even higher. In fact, it has been said that 90 per cent of the children of mixed parentage perish.¹⁴

For the child of mixed-race who survived the birth process, the future was still very uncertain. He had yet to face the possibility of

¹¹Charles G. Chakerian, Second Report on Korea (Chicago: Church World Service, 1963), p. 13.

¹²Freeman, op. cit., p. 3.

¹³Demographic Yearbook (New York: United Nations, 1960), p. 230.

¹⁴Margaret A. Valk, Korean-American Children in American Adoptive Homes (New York: Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 1957), p. 4.

having diptheria, whooping cough, and tetanus, typhoid, chickenpox, measles, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. He had no immunizations to prevent the disease or lighten the case if he contracted it.

The mixed-blood child, if kept by his mother, was usually fairly well cared for in infancy. He was usually breast fed for a few months and his chances for survival were thereby greatly increased. As the children became toddlers they were usually placed in someone else's care.

The working mother of a Korean child can make informal child-care arrangements with neighbors or relatives at little cost. But arrangements for the mixed-blood are more difficult and the charge is higher.¹⁵

The children saw their mothers only occasionally because she was busy in the evenings, slept in the morning and spent the afternoon getting ready for the next date. Seldom were there any facilities for the child in the mother's house. Because the mother's rooms were used for business, it was not possible for a child to stay "at home" in the evening. Few of the children ever saw their real fathers. He was usually back in the United States before or soon after the child was born.

Children four and five years old roamed the narrow streets in the "villages." American soldiers often stopped and picked at them, making remarks about their blonde hair and light brown eyes. The children both feared and liked the G.I. They had lost their mothers because of the soldiers and the women who cared for them often told the children if they misbehaved an American would come and take them away. Even so, as

¹⁵Cherney, op. cit., p. 7.

long as the children remained in the prostitute village they were somewhat protected from persecution.

By the time they reached school age the mixed-blood children knew in no uncertain terms that they were different from all the black-haired, slant and black-eyed children about them. From that time on they had to suffer the consequences of their mixed race. They were stoned, cursed, beaten, chased, and humiliated in every conceivable manner. The Korean children generally have no mercy for dogs, cats, beggars, or oddities of any kind. The brown-headed, blue and round-eyed mixed blood child is definitely an oddity among other Korean children.

The mixed-blood child's school progress was generally quite limited since few teachers showed understanding of his problems and there was no one at home to encourage him. Many prostitutes had very little education so were not nearly as interested in getting an education for their children as other Korean parents. Money was not always available for school fees and this caused the child to miss school and fall behind his age group.

School attendance of the mixed-blood child is shown in the following statistics. Out of 869 mixed racial children surveyed in 1961, one was attending high school (tenth to twelfth grades); two were attending middle school (seventh to ninth grades); eight had completed primary school (sixth grade); 134 were attending primary school; 158 above six

years of age were illiterate; twenty were in special schools; and none had completed high school.¹⁶

As pointed out in a recent study by the United Presbyterian

Mission of Korea:

Korean society massively rejects the mixed-blood. No previous experiences of identifiable mixed-blood children of past foreign armies; strong tradition of purity of Korean women in the face of foreign armies; rejection at every level of the mixed-blood individual; violent rejection of all identifiable mixed-blood children from school age upward is frequent. . . .

The individual mixed-blood orphan faces a radically impossible situation in Korea. . . the difficulties facing the mixed-blood orphan are so violent and so deep-seated in the heart of Korean society that no approach shows any signs of success in overcoming them in any reasonably immediate foreseeable future.¹⁷

Mr. Nak Choong Kim, Director of the Korea Child Welfare Research Center, in writing on the problems of children born outside of marriage stated that:

The problems of illegitimately born children who live with sorrows and hardship on one hand, and whose opportunities for personal development are externally restricted on the other hand, do not exist only in Korean society; but in any place where legal procedures are established for legitimate marriages. The question of how a country accepts or solves the problems of illegitimacy depends upon its respect for individual rights, and the expression of this in its laws.

The basis of Korean morals is rooted in Confucianism and all the values derived from it. Feudalistic it may be, but Korean reality is dependent on it. It regulates all areas of life, such as lineage and family status and has given moral strength to society through the centuries. The Confucian moral in a marital relationship

¹⁶The Korea Child Welfare Committee, Handicapped Children's Survey Report (Seoul, Korea: The Korea Child Welfare Committee, 1961), p. 164.

¹⁷Freeman, op. cit., p. 4.

established distinctive status and made rules for husband and wife to observe in their lives. . . . There existed strict rules that discriminated between children born of legitimate marriages and those of illegitimate relationships.

Discrimination and restriction extended into many areas of life including education, rituals of weddings, funerals, etc., because there existed strict rules that differentiated between children born of legitimate marriages and those of illegitimate relationships. . . . A child that is born out of marriage does not have a socially acceptable family registry. A child cannot be socially acceptable without a family register.¹⁸

The full Korean infant born out-of-wedlock was sometimes kept by the mother and added to her family's registry, the girl's family pretending the child was theirs. However, since the physical characteristics of the mixed-blood child were so different from that of the full Korean, it was impossible to hide the racial mixture or to add the child to the family registry.

The mother of the mixed-blood child who kept her child automatically became a member of the lowest group of society.

Of course the girl does not want to remain in that category, and she hopes constantly that he (the father) will marry her and take her away. If he is a white serviceman, he is the most desirable. If she lives with him and has his child, the baby may be used as a lever to try to press him into marriage. . . . If a Western marriage is registered, the Korean community accepts it, but if the Eastern custom is followed in a mixed marriage, the Western country may not recognize it legally. When there is a marriage by Korean custom, as long as her "husband" remains in Korea she is a respectable member of society, but when her "husband" leaves and returns to his own country, leaving her behind, everyone feels that he is a deserter. She is then thrust back into the community as an outcast and joins the group of cast-off wives and

¹⁸ Nak Choong Kim, "Children Born Outside of Marriage," Handicapped Children's Survey Report (Seoul, Korea: The Korea Child Welfare Committee, 1961), pp. 67-68.

other rejected people. . . . The children follow along and share the insecurity that their parents have made for them. They share the hope of the mother that the father will return and marry her and take them all away. . . or at least send money for debts, living expenses and school fees.¹⁹

Since most of the children of mixed racial parentage were not in orphanages but either with the mother or brothel keeper it might be considered why some such children were released for adoption and why others were not.

According to Miss Anne Davidson, former Director of International Social Service, Korea, the decision to release a child for foreign adoption is reached in various ways:

1. It may be complete economic inability to support that is the deciding factor. Having a child is costly, and the mother has become deeply indebted to the brothel keeper. Legally she cannot be made to meet debts of this nature, but she knows that she has a social obligation that will weigh heavily on her until it is met.
2. A release for adoption may be given by a girl who has reached the end of her hope that the father will return as he promised he would do. By this time the child may be ten years old.
3. She may release her baby because he hampers her movement, is costly, and may remind her of a man no longer around. An

¹⁹ Anne M. Davidson, "The Mixed Racial Child," Handicapped Children's Survey Report (Seoul, Korea: The Korea Child Welfare Committee, 1961), pp. 71-73.

Oriental girl finds it hard to accept the fact that a foreign man is not interested in what happens to his child, especially if the child is a boy, and she constantly wants to have the father consulted about plans for their child. This may delay an adoption for years.

4. Some girls realize that foreign adoption in the long view will give more opportunity to the child than anything she can give, and unselfishly they face the separation and make plans together with the adoption agency for his emigration.

Girls who make a success of prostitution financially are in a position where they can hire an older woman or friend to care for the child. The mother can then write directly to the father, ask for support, or better still from her point of view, beg him to divorce his wife and come back and marry her. The children are held for blackmail purposes, and not loved by the mother or given the security of a home environment. These are the children who suffer the most and the longest. They are usually living in the middle of a prostitute community, and they must face each day the fact that they are consequences that have made no one happy, and often no one wants.²⁰

The actual number of mixed blood children in Korea is uncertain but estimates vary from three hundred to three thousand or more.²¹ The

²⁰Ibid.

²¹ Charles G. Chakerian, First Report on Korea (Chicago: Church World Service, 1962), p. 10.

established fact is that "mixed-blood orphans will be born in quantity in Korea as long as the American Armed Forces are stationed in strength in Korea."²² He cannot be absorbed into the Korean society unless and until there is a change in the basic Confucian family culture. Without a family, the orphan has no way to obtain a spouse, or a job; no source of support when unemployed; no place to go when sick; and no one to bury him when he dies.²³

The only solution for these children, said Mrs. Margaret A. Valk, is placement outside their own country in good Caucasian and Negro homes. In the absence of such placements, they will not live and if they do, will have nothing to live for.²⁴

II. THE INTERCOUNTRY ADOPTION PROGRAM

Of the thousands of orphaned children left homeless in the wake of recent wars, over eighteen thousand children found homes in the United States during the past fifteen years. Five times since 1948 the Congress has provided for non-quota admission of orphans.

The tragic plight of these children left in war torn countries, plagued by economic and over-population problems, prompted these laws. At the same time, many childless couples and other families in the United States were eagerly looking for children to adopt because the demand for adoptable children at home far exceeded the supply. American servicemen and civilians stationed abroad also adopted many orphans.

²²Freeman, op. cit., p. 4.

²³Ibid., p. 3.

²⁴Valk, op. cit., p. 4.

Even before the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, some 1,600 alien children had come to this country from Poland. Following the passage of this Act, the issuance of five thousand visas was authorized to United Nations and Greek orphans, and five thousand to orphans residing in Western Europe, however, only 4,065 orphans were admitted in the seven years this law was in effect. All were from seven European countries.

The Act of July 29, 1953, extended the issuance of five hundred non-quota visas for children adopted by Americans abroad. It added a provision allowing the adoption of Japanese children as well. Under this law, 466 children were admitted to the United States.

Within the same year the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was passed authorizing four thousand special non-quota immigrant visas to eligible orphans, under ten years of age. An orphan could be adopted abroad or in the United States if assurances were given by a citizen couple that they would adopt the child and give him good care. A couple was allowed to adopt only two children unless this limit meant separating siblings.

About 90 per cent of the orphan visas issued in Japan and a large proportion of those issued in Germany, Korea, Austria and Greece were to children adopted by United States citizens stationed in those countries.

It was under this Act that the first Korean children were adopted by American families. They numbered 455 children by June 30, 1958.

Since all of the four thousand authorized visas had been issued by September 26, 1956, the other children who had been adopted were

paroled into this country to their adoptive or prospective adoptive parents.

The fourth orphan program was then initiated by the Act of September 11, 1957. There were several important terms of this law.

1. An orphan previously paroled into the United States was, after adoption, adjusted to the status of permanent resident.
2. An unlimited number of visas, until June 30, 1959, were authorized to orphans under fourteen years of age lawfully adopted by citizen parents.
3. Orphan adoption by proxy, in accordance with the laws of the foreign country involved, were held to be valid both under the Refugee Relief Act and the Act of September 11, 1957.
4. Upon petition by a United States citizen couple, it was possible to bring an orphan to the United States for adoption. Prospective adoptive parents had to provide assurance that they would adopt and give proper care to the child and that the "pre-adoption requirements, if any, of the child's proposed state of residence have been met."²⁵

Under the Act of 1957 parents who wished to bring children to the United States for adoption had to consult with a recognized child-placing agency which would agree to furnish a statement indicating approval of

²⁵Gertrude D. Krichesky, "Immigrant Orphans," I and N Reporter, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice (Washington: Government Printing Office, October, 1958), pp. 19-21.

the adoption. When the couple was approved, following a home study, information was sought through an international agency regarding a suitable or perhaps an already selected child. This agency did a study on the child and reported to the local agency regarding the legal status of the child as well as to its mental and physical condition. When all arrangements were completed, the local child-placing agency issued a certified statement to the Immigration and Naturalization Service that the home had met the state's pre-adoption requirements. A petition to adopt, signed by the parents, was also sent along with this statement.

After investigation and approval by the Immigration Service, the petition was forwarded to the American consul nearest the child and a visa issued. The adoptive parents then arranged transportation to the United States. Adoption was usually not completed for a year, depending on the state law. The child did not become a United States citizen upon adoption, but gained citizenship through naturalization.²⁶

The orphan provisions of the Act of September 11, 1957, expired on June 30, 1961. Eligible orphans were paroled into the United States until passage of the Act of September 26, 1961. This act was significant since, for the first time, refugee legislation was incorporated into permanent law as a part of the Immigration and Nationality Act. Under this provision, eligible orphans adopted abroad or coming to the United

²⁶Helen F. Eckerson and Gertrude D. Krichesky, "Principles of Immigration Law--Part 2," I and N Reporter, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice (Washington: Government Printing Office, April, 1962), p. 49.

States for adoption by a United States citizen and spouse were admitted for permanent residence as children of such citizens. Two provisions were set forth that for all practical purposes did away with proxy adoptions.

(i) in the case of a child adopted abroad, that the petitioner and spouse personally saw and observed the child prior to or during the adoption proceedings, and

(ii) in the case of a child coming to the United States for adoption, that the petitioner and spouse have complied with the pre-adoption requirements, if any, of the state of such child's proposed residence.²⁷

Since the passage of the Refugee Act of 1953, six different agencies have placed approximately four thousand Korean children in the United States. These are the Holt Adoption Program, Child Placement Service, Seventh Day Adventist, Welcome House, National Catholic Welfare Conference--Catholic Relief Service, and International Social Service. By far the largest number of children have been placed by Holt Adoption Program through proxy adoption procedures. Two of these organizations, International Social Service and National Catholic Welfare Conference, were social agencies operating with professional staffs and made their placements through established adoption agencies in the United States. Unfortunately, they accounted for the smallest number of placements.

Since [the September 1961 legislation] there has been some increase in placements through established agencies and a sharp

²⁷Laws Applicable to Immigration and Nationality, Edition of 1953, Supplement IV, January 1, 1960, through December 31, 1962 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 81.

curtailment in the number of adoptions made by the other agencies. However, Holt Adoption Program still continued to place the largest number of children.²⁸

²⁸Cherney, op. cit., p. 3.

CHAPTER III

DATA ON THE GROUP STUDIED

I. THE ADOPTIVE PARENTS

Characteristic of many of the families included in this study was their by-passing the adoptable children of this country and choosing a Korean child. A strong humanitarian and Christian concern for an unwanted child stands out in the answers and comments of so many of the adoptive parents. In most cases these parents took a child having had nothing more than a picture and a brief description to tell them what he looked like. The extent of their knowledge was usually that the child was homeless, hungry and very often ill and that he needed food, parents, and love.

Almost all of the parents had strong church affiliations and through their church had learned of the sad plight of these children. In addition, their church friends as a rule gave them support in their plans to adopt an abandoned foreign child. In response to the presented need of these children one parent said:

Being physically unable to have children of our own, we felt our home was incomplete without them. That somewhere there were children who needed us as we needed them. We could not understand why it was not God's will that we adopt a child until we met some people who had a little Korean baby. We immediately knew our prayers had been answered. Who could need us more than these children?

Forty families reported that their interest in Korean children was stirred by various news media. One parent reported:

Seeing a T.V. series concerning adoption of foreign-born children, reading many articles and stories . . . in newspapers and magazines, and seeing pictures of . . . plane loads of children . . . we all had a strong feeling that to live as professing Christians, we had to do something to help relieve the misery of malnutrition and death for at least one person--individually--not just sending monies through churches and other agencies for World Service. Korea seemed like a logical place at that time, since Mr. N. was crippled and not in his country's service, we felt these illegitimate children, abandoned by our brother Americans, was our area of service.

Some couples learned of the Korean children from friends, neighbors or family members, many of whom had adopted a Korean child themselves. A few servicemen who had served a tour of duty in Korea returned with a deep longing to do something for the children of Korea. Adoption was for them a fulfillment of their dreams and aspirations. One Chaplain while still in Korea decided to do something about the situation. He wrote:

[I] was stationed in Korea and became interested in Korean orphans. [My] family agreed that I should look for a four or five year old boy for adoption, but decided upon Tom, who was ten, when a Sergeant who was processing adoption papers on him was called home on an emergency.

We had six children of our own at the time but felt that we had the means to support another and enough love to share with him. (We have since adopted an infant girl, are expecting "Number 9"--of our own--in May, and I am returning to Korea shortly . . . [and] hope to bring "Number 10" home with me about a year hence.)

Not all parents wrote as enthusiastically as the Chaplain but not one of the 121 couples reporting said they were unhappy with their child or children. Perhaps one couple expresses in one sentence what so many

of the others said in different words: "She our child has done more for us than we have done for her."

Residence of parents. All the adoptive parents involved were residents of the United States and resided in twenty-eight different states. Table I shows the distribution by states, with the largest number of families, twenty-eight, or 24.8 per cent, located in the State of California. Oregon was second with fifteen, or 12.4 per cent, of the families and Michigan was third with ten, or 8.2 per cent. Of the thirteen Negro families, eight, or 61.5 per cent, were located in California. Four, or 57 per cent, of the Oriental families that reported were also living in California.

Age of adoptive parents. At the time their first Korean child was adopted one hundred eleven adoptive fathers, whose ages were reported, had an age range of twenty-eight to fifty-six years, with a mean age of 40.6 years. Of the one hundred eleven adoptive mothers, the age range was from twenty-four to fifty-six years, with a mean age of 38.3 years. Table II shows the age distribution of adoptive fathers and mothers. While the mean age given above was for all parents, there was a wide difference in the mean ages for the three different races. For the ninety-seven white adoptive fathers the mean age was 38.9 years and for the white adoptive mothers, 37.8 years. In contrast, the Negro adoptive fathers had a mean age of 46.4 and the Negro adoptive mothers a mean age of 42.7 years. The Oriental adoptive fathers reported a mean age of 45.5 years, the mothers 42.9 years. Another interesting difference was

TABLE I
LOCATION BY STATES OF THE ADOPTIVE FAMILIES STUDIED

State	Total	White	Negro	Oriental
Total	121	101	13	7
California	28	16	8	4
Oregon	15	13	0	2
Michigan	10	9	1	0
Washington	8	8	0	0
New York	7	5	1	1
Texas	5	4	1	0
Idaho	4	4	0	0
Iowa	4	4	0	0
Kansas	4	4	0	0
Minnesota	4	4	0	0
Indiana	3	3	0	0
Ohio	3	3	0	0
Oklahoma	3	3	0	0
Arizona	2	1	1	0
Florida	2	2	0	0
Illinois	2	2	0	0
Maryland	2	2	0	0
Missouri	2	1	1	0
New Jersey	2	2	0	0
Pennsylvania	2	2	0	0
Wisconsin	2	2	0	0
Alabama	1	1	0	0
Alaska	1	1	0	0
Arkansas	1	1	0	0
Kentucky	1	1	0	0
Nebraska	1	1	0	0
New Hampshire	1	1	0	0
New Mexico	1	1	0	0

TABLE II

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADOPTIVE PARENTS AT THE
TIME THE FIRST CHILD WAS ADOPTED

Ages	Total	Fathers	Mothers
Total	222 ^a	111	111
21 - 35	3	0	3
26 - 30	24	9	15
31 - 35	43	19	24
36 - 40	60	34	26
41 - 45	52	23	29
46 - 50	30	18	12
51 - 55	7	6	1
56 - 60	3	2	1

^aTen couples' ages not reported.

between the ages of the white fathers and mothers. Of the ninety-seven white families reporting, twenty-three, or 23.2 per cent, of the wives were older than their husbands, one as much as seventeen years older. Among the Orientals, only one wife was older than the husband, while among the Negroes there were none older.

Marital status. At the time the children were placed, every home in the study had both a father and a mother. Since that time, two of the fathers have died, and neither mother had remarried at the time of the study. In a third family the husband was killed in a plane accident and the wife subsequently married a man who adopted nine of the eleven children originally adopted during the first marriage. Among these eleven children two were Korean children. One father was missing from the home and was reported to have deserted.

In 113 of the 121 families the marriages had ranged from three to thirty-one years with thirteen years being the mean.

Educational achievements. Table III reveals that fifty-four, or 22 per cent, of the 242 parents had at least a college degree. Included in this number were twelve parents who held higher degrees. Considering all levels of college work, over 44 per cent of the parents had acquired some college education. The figures revealed that while fifty-seven women achieved college entrance level or above, only fifty men achieved the same level. This contrast was especially outstanding among the Negro parents where there was a ratio of eight women to three men who had had some college training. Only 51, or 20 per cent, of the parents

TABLE III
EDUCATION OF PARENTS

	Total	White		Negro		Oriental	
		Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
Total	238 ^a	101	100	10	13	7	7
Master's degree or higher	12	8	0	0	2	1	1
Some post graduate work	9	3	3	1	2	0	0
College graduate	33	11	15	1	2	2	2
Some college work	53	21	28	1	2	1	0
High school graduate	80	32	35	3	5	2	3
Some high school work	29	13	13	2	0	0	1
Eighth grade or less	22	13	6	2	0	1	0

^aEducation of four parents not reported.

had failed to complete high school. These data suggest that at the time of placement of these children the educational background of adoptive parents was not a criterion for accepting or rejecting an application.

Table IV points out in a different way the imbalance of education between the husband and wife in the adoptive families. Only 31.6 per cent of the husbands had more education than their wives. In contrast, 39.3 per cent of the wives had more education than their husbands. Not one Negro husband had more education than his wife while the Orientals were equal in their accomplishments.

Occupations. There was wide variation in the occupations of the adoptive parents, as revealed in Table V. Eight of the questionnaires did not show the occupation of one or both parents. It might be assumed that since seven of those not reporting were wives that they left the question blank because they were not working outside their homes. One man was deceased and one man's occupation was given although he had left the home. The table revealed that at the time of the study 61 per cent, or seventy-four, of the wives were not working outside the home. Several of the wives indicated that they were working at least part-time as teachers, nurses, clerical workers, nursery workers or in their husband's business.

Income, ownership, and location of home. In the questionnaire sent to each family, the parents were asked to check a bracket which would indicate the total family income. All but one family replied to this question. As reported in Table VI, the majority had an income of

TABLE IV
ADOPTIVE FATHERS' EDUCATION COMPARED WITH
ADOPTIVE MOTHERS' EDUCATION

	Total	More than	Equal to	Less than
Total	117 ^a	37	34	46
White	100	35	27	38
Negro	10	0	4	6
Oriental	7	2	3	2

^aEducation of four parents not reported.

TABLE V
REPORTED OCCUPATIONS OF 234^a PARENTS

Occupation	Respondents		
	Total	Male	Female
Total	234	120	114
Professional:			
Physician	3	2	1
Minister	8	7	1
Registered nurse	7	0	7
Research Etomologist	1	1	0
Psychiatric aide	1	1	0
Pharmacist	2	2	0
Mechanical engineer	2	2	0
School principal	1	1	0
Teacher	18	4	14
Proprietor:			
Owner of business	7	5	2
Businessmen:			
Manager or foreman	7	7	0
Executive	1	1	0
Salesman	7	7	0
White collar:			
Clerical worker	13	5	8
Government worker	7	6	1
Railroad	1	1	0
Beautician	2	0	2
Telephone operator	1	0	1
Clerk	1	0	1
Blue collar:			
Skilled laborer	29	29	0
Unskilled laborer	18	18	0
Military	3	3	0
Service:			
Policewoman	1	0	1
Farm people:			
Farmer and rancher	9	9	0
Other:			
Housewife	74	0	74
Retired	1	1	0
Deceased	1	1	0
Disabled veteran	1	1	0
Miscellaneous	7	6	1

^aOccupations of eight parents not reported.

TABLE VI
REPORTED INCOME OF ADOPTIVE PARENTS

	Total	White	Negro	Oriental
Total	118 ^a	99	12	7
Under \$ 3,000	5	5	0	0
\$ 3,000 - \$ 5,000	18	15	1	2
\$ 5,000 - \$10,000	74	65	8	1
\$10,000 - \$20,000	18	13	3	2
Over \$20,000	3	1	0	2

^aIncome not reported for three families.

\$5,000 to \$10,000 annually. Three families reported an income of over \$20,000 a year. In one of these families both parents were medical doctors. Five white families, but no Negro or Oriental families, reported an income of less than \$3,000. The occupations of these five families included one minister, one airman, two laborers and one occupation not clearly defined.

All but nine of the 121 families either owned or were buying their homes. Three of the remaining nine had homes furnished to them, as ministers, while the other six were renting. All of the Negro and oriental families owned their homes.

Sixty per cent of all the families lived in the suburbs but only 26 per cent lived in rural homes and all thirty-two of these were white. Eleven white and four Negro families lived in downtown homes while all seven Oriental families lived in the suburbs.

Church affiliation. The adoption agency that placed the children included in this study was not supported or controlled by a single religious denomination. Although church affiliation was a requirement at the time of application, no particular denomination appeared to have been given preference. Table VII does show that one denomination was outstanding in the number of applications filled but this picture might have been different if all of the more than 1,400 families had been studied.

In all cases, except four, in which the question was not answered, at least one parent was a member of a church. In most cases both parents

TABLE VII
CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILIES

	Total	White	Negro	Oriental
Total	121	99 ^a	13	5 ^a
Baptist	31	28	3	0
Presbyterian	16	12	1	3
Methodist	10	8	0	2
Lutheran	6	6	0	0
Christian	6	6	0	0
Assembly of God	5	5	0	0
Mennonite	4	4	0	0
Church of Christ	3	3	0	0
Seventh Day Adventist	3	3	0	0
Congregational	2	2	0	0
Unitarian	2	2	0	0
Church of God	2	2	0	0
Episcopal	2	2	0	0
Penecostal	2	2	0	0
Nazarene	2	2	0	0
Other Protestant	14	11	3	0
Catholic-Protestant	4	0	4	0
Catholic	2	0	2	0
Moslem-Methodist	1	1	0	0

^aFour families did not report church affiliation.

were members of the same denomination. If there was a difference in the two parents' church affiliation, the husband's church affiliation was recorded in the table. There were two Catholic and four Catholic-Protestant families reported, all of whom were Negro families. One white father was Moslem and the mother Methodist.

Community attitude toward plans for adoption. Table VIII reveals the parents' perception of the community's attitude toward their plans to adopt a Korean child. Twenty families failed to answer this question, but of the remaining 101 families only six couples reported their community as critical of their plans to adopt a Korean child. These included five white and one Negro family. The six families resided in six different states (Iowa, Florida, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Kansas, and California). The families also were almost equally divided as to the location of their residences (downtown, suburban, rural). One parent who did not answer the question directly, replied, "I do not know how they felt--I didn't discuss it with anyone."

Community acceptance of the child after adoption. Of the other 115 families indicated on Table IX, 87 per cent, or 100 families, reported that their neighbors were accepting of their adopted Korean child. Five families indicated indifference on the part of their community and one Negro couple felt their child was rejected. This was the same respondent that had answered in a previous question regarding the community's feeling toward plans for adoption--that she did not know how they felt since she did not discuss it with anyone. One couple

TABLE VIII

THE COMMUNITIES' ATTITUDE TOWARD PLANS FOR ADOPTION

	Total	White	Negro	Oriental
Total	121	101	13	7
Supportive	88	78	6	4
Indifferent	7	5	2	0
Critical	6	5	1	0
Not recorded	20	13	4	3

TABLE IX

COMMUNITY ACCEPTANCE OF THE ADOPTED KOREAN CHILD AFTER ADOPTION

	Total	White	Negro	Oriental
Total	121	101	13	7
Accepting	100	89	7	4
Indifferent	5	3	2	0
Rejecting	1	0	1	0
Not reported	15	9	3	3

marked the word "accepting" but added a note: "In present community (Kentucky) some rejection, though not great." This family lived in Missouri when the child was first placed. In contrast to the experience of the above-mentioned family, one family wrote: "We were given four showers when Mike came. We had clothes for both adopted boys for quite awhile. There was much friendly interest."

Participation in state or regional groups. In a number of states, organizations have been established by the adoptive parents of Korean children. These were generally for fellowship and sharing of problems and ideas. Of the 121 families, fifty-two were participating in state or regional group meetings, while fifty-two families revealed they were not participating. Seventeen failed to record an answer to this question. A number of respondents added brief comments regarding reasons for their participation or non-participation in these groups. One family in Iowa answered:

Yes, very definitely--We think this is a real help as parents, and will be a blessing to our children in developing socially. Our "Daddy" is treasurer for [our state group]. Our "Mommy" helps with annual picnic in developing a children's program.

Another from the State of Washington said:

No, our children are busy with community activities at this time. [They] do not need to have anything special--because of being Oriental. [We] live in a wonderful locality. Almost all the children on our road are adopted and feel "sorry" for [the] ones who aren't chosen.

A Texas family said:

We started to participate in picnics, etc., but found that the Korean-American children were so "set apart" by this means that we felt it wasn't too good. After all, our Laddie is American now,

and we feel that it is better to just "shuffle him in" with the other children and let him truly not be an oddity. By no means, keep his adoption a secret--from him or anyone else--but let's just let him be one of the kids. . . .

In contrast, another Texas family commented, "We correspond with several families. We would like very much to attend a reunion of the families of this area." It is evident that not everyone feels the same about these gatherings, but there was a fairly even division in opinions, which supported or failed to support them.

Adoptive parents' contacts with other agencies. There were fifty-three, or 43.8 per cent, of the families which stated that they had not applied to adopt a child from another agency in the United States. Thirty-eight per cent, or forty-six, of the families had applied to an agency prior to adopting a foreign child. Unfortunately, twenty-two couples did not reply to this question. The forty-six families had made a total of seventy-six requests to agencies to adopt a child. Nineteen had applied once, seven had applied twice, and ten had applied three or more times. "Several" and "many" were the answers given by a few other families that had applied to adopt a child in the United States.

Method of adoption. The methods of adoption included proxy, United States adoption, and both parents going to Korea to complete the adoption. One hundred three of the families said the adoption of their children had been by proxy. Ten had adopted in the United States while only two families had made the trip to Korea. Six families gave no answer to this question.

Agency handling adoption of Korean child. One hundred four families used Holt Adoption Agency exclusively. Three families indicated they had also worked through a public welfare agency while four couples said they had used other private agencies. Ten respondents failed to answer this question but it can probably be assumed that most of them had used Holt's, since all adoptions in this study at least originated in or were processed by Holt Adoption Agency.

Home study interviews. Fifty-nine, or almost one-half, of the families said they had been interviewed prior to the placement of their adoptive child. Forty-six replied that there had not been a personal interview with the family. Sixteen failed to answer this question. Both parents were included in forty-six of the fifty-nine interviews. In most cases there was only one interview, although a few indicated there had been two or more. The location of the interviews was not indicated except in a few cases where the interview took place at the airport just prior to the arrival of the adopted child. It was very difficult to determine who interviewed the parents and for what specific purpose. Mr. Holt, an immigration official, a Holt's representative, and an "investigator" were some that were mentioned. Some of the interviews were conducted by telephone and some by questionnaires. There may have been some confusion regarding the Immigration Service representative whose visit was not intended as a substitute for a pre-adoption interview, although it seemed likely from some answers that his was the only interview held with the family prior to the placement of the child.

Meeting the child. The first time most of the parents saw their prospective adopted child was in a picture sent from Korea, which was usually received along with some information about the child, such as sex, size, age, and physical condition. Except in a few cases, where the child had been seen by the father while a serviceman in Korea, the children were seen personally for the first time at the airport, either in Portland or at a nearby airport when the child was being delivered to the family.

Siblings in the adopting families. There were eighteen families who had adopted just one Korean child and had no other children. Thirty-two families had adopted other children prior to or following the adoption of their Korean child or children. A total of 103 families had natural and/or adopted children in their homes in addition to their Korean child or children, at the time of the study.

Seventy families had adopted only one child while forty-five families had adopted two children, five families had adopted three children and one had adopted six. In contrast to the one child family, two of the study group had eleven children. In one case all were adopted, and, in the other, nine of the eleven were adopted. Both families had a real international flavor. The first family had children of Irish, Jewish, Italian, Russian, Chinese, Korean, French, Aleut, Eskimo, Negro, and Athabasian Indian ancestry. Children of Korean, Polynesian, Negro, Caucasian, Puerto Ricans, Ecuadorian Indian, Spanish ancestry made up the second family.

II. THE ADOPTED CHILDREN

There were 125 girls and fifty-four boys among the 179 adopted children. While more than 69 per cent of all children adopted were girls there was a wider difference between the three races. The ratio was eight to one in favor of the girls among the Oriental families while the ratio between sexes of the children placed in white and Negro families was just a little more than two to one. It seemed evident that the Oriental families had been greatly influenced by Western culture since, in Korea, the adoption ratio of boys to girls would be near eight to one in favor of the boys. One thing that probably accounted for the larger number of girls being placed in the total group was that about 98 per cent of the children abandoned in Korea were girls.

As shown in Table X slightly less than one-third of the children were placed before they were one year old. Approximately one-third were placed at one and two years of age and a little more than one-third were between three years and twelve years when adopted. The youngest child placed was twenty days old while the oldest was twelve years. The average age at placement of the 164 children, whose ages were given, was 2.2 years. The white children placed had the lowest mean age, 1.9 years, while the Oriental families accepted children with an average age of three years. The children that went to Negro families averaged 4.2 years of age.

Health of children. Information was requested regarding the health of the children at the time of placement and at the time the

TABLE X
AGE OF CHILDREN AT TIME OF PLACEMENT

Age	Children			
	Total	White	Negro	Oriental
Total	164 ^a	143	15	6
Less than 3 months	6	6	0	0
3 to 6 months	22	21	1	0
6 to 9 months	17	17	0	0
9 to 12 months	7	7	0	0
1 to 2 years	36	33	1	2
2 to 3 years	15	14	1	0
3 to 4 years	18	15	2	1
4 to 5 years	19	13	4	2
5 to 6 years	5	3	2	0
6 to 7 years	8	5	2	1
7 to 8 years	5	4	1	0
8 to 9 years	3	2	1	0
9 to 10 years	1	1	0	0
10 to 11 years	0	0	0	0
11 to 12 years	1	1	0	0
12 to 13 years	1	1	0	0

^aFifteen ages not recorded.

questionnaire was completed. Further information was sought by asking if medical attention had been required for the child immediately following placement. Less than one-half (45.2 per cent) of the 179 adopted children were reported to have been in good health at the time of placement. It is shown also in Table XI that 20.7 per cent of the children were considered to be in poor health. With 97.2 per cent reported in good health at the time of the study, it was assumed that in the area of health a change in culture and country of residence was to the children's advantage. One hundred six children, or approximately 60 per cent of the total, required medical attention immediately or soon after being placed. Only 40 per cent, or seventy-two of the children did not need medical attention. One child's condition was not reported.

Some of the reports from parents indicated that the medical attention given had been no more than a physical examination, but others recorded health problems ranging from very mild to very severe. One medical examination revealed that one boy had "three kinds of worms," when placed at seven years of age. A parent from Minnesota wrote:

The first year [our six-year-old daughter] was treated for the following: measles (upon arrival); head lice (upon arrival); chicken pox; two large boils (attributed by the doctor to malnutrition); dental work (twelve teeth); very bad tonsils (required tonsillectomy); tape worms; whip worms; bleeding rectal polyps (required surgery).

"Diarrhea was our worst problem," reported one parent, and "resulted in our babies [twins] being hospitalized for three weeks immediately upon their arrival." A number of other parents listed

TABLE XI
HEALTH OF THE CHILDREN

	<u>At the Time of Placement</u>		<u>At the Time of the Study</u>	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	178 ^a	100	178 ^a	100
Good	81	45.2	173	97.2
Fair	61	34.1	4	2.2
Poor	37	20.7	1	.6

^aAnswer not recorded for one child.

diarrhea as a serious physical problem with the change of diet and rich foods, parasite infections and malnutrition given as the major causes.

Two of the children spent the first six months of their lives in the United States in the National Jewish Tuberculosis Hospital, Denver, Colorado. They continued on medication for one year after going to their adoptive homes and have continued to have periodic X-rays. It should be pointed out here, that the adoptive parents of these two children knew prior to placement that they had tuberculosis. Infected feet, ears, and eyes; impetigo and allergies to milk and other foods were some of the other diseases and illnesses reported among the children at the time of placement.

Age in relation to grade in school. As shown in Table XII the children's age and grade in school at the time of the study were in most cases within normal limits. Two notable exceptions were a child eight years old in kindergarten and a child ten years old in an ungraded class. According to medical specialists both of these children had contracted cerebral palsy or polio at a very early age, probably when less than a year old. Both children had sustained some brain and muscular damage, first thought to be temporary and from malnutrition.

There were five other children whose ages were at least two years above that usually considered normal for their grades in school. Three fifteen-year-olds were in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. One twelve-year-old was in the fifth grade, and an eleven-year-old in the third grade. The common denominator in four out of the five cases is

TABLE XII

AGE OF CHILDREN IN RELATION TO GRADE IN SCHOOL AT THE TIME OF THE STUDY

Age in Years	Children	Not in School	Kndg.	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade	Fourth Grade	Fifth Grade	Sixth Grade	Seventh Grade
Total	169 ^a									
Under 5	49	48	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 to 6	26	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 to 7	9	1	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
7 to 8	16	0	0	3	13	0	0	0	0	0
8 to 9	12	0	1 ^b	0	3	7	0	1	0	0
9 to 10	19	0	0	0	0	5	14	0	0	0
10 to 11	16	1 ^b	0	0	0	0	6	7	2	0
11 to 12	14	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	8	0
12 to 13	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
13 to 14	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
14 to 15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15 to 16	3 ^c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

^aTen children's ages not recorded.^bThese children had either cerebral palsy or polio before a year old (severe speech defects).^cThe three fifteen-year-olds were in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grade.

that the children were adopted between the ages of eight and twelve years. The one child who was the exception was adopted at four and one-half years, still an age when many cultural and social patterns would have already been established. There was no indication on the part of the parents of these five children that the children were retarded or even slow in their learning capacity. They all started to school late. Two were reported to have faced very difficult language problems while three moved into school very easily. All had reportedly adjusted well at the time of the study. Having an American brother or sister helped in at least one case. As a Chaplain father wrote regarding his son:

His sister, Karen, who is one year younger and is in the same grade at school, paved the way for his full acceptance at school. From the fifth grade to the present they have been bosom friends and share the same friends. Tom is one of the most popular boys in their school and never wants for "dates" for movies, parties, or dances. Tom became an American citizen in April, 1963, but he was thoroughly Americanized long before that.

CHAPTER IV

ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS

Out of a total of 179 children, seventy-four, or 41 per cent, were reported to have had no initial adjustment problems. The reasons for this large number of problem-free children was not completely clear but three possible reasons were suggestive.

1. The question was too threatening to some parents who had been unable to cope with their children's adjustment problems. They, therefore, denied having had any problems.
2. Too much time had elapsed for them to remember how difficult the initial problems had been.
3. Some children, because of age and good health as well as good stable adoptive parents, actually did not present initial adjustment problems of more than a transitory nature.

The first two statements were, of necessity, based on supposition, while the third had some solid factual basis. Of the seventy-four children who had had no problems, the average age was one and one-half years of age. Only nineteen of the children were above the average age, with the oldest being eleven years old. The youngest child placed was twenty days old. The ages of four children in this group were not reported.

While the above-mentioned children reportedly did not have initial adjustment problems, 115, or 59 per cent, of the children as revealed in Table XIII did have initial adjustment problems.

TABLE XIII
AREAS OF INITIAL ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS

Characteristics	Total	Per cent	White	Negro	Oriental
Total children	179	100.0	153	17	9
With problems	105	59.0	85	13	7
Without problems	74	41.0	68	4	2
Number of children by type of problem					
Crying	39	21.8	34	2	3
Sleeping	39	21.8	35	2	2
Nervousness	37	20.7	32	3	2
Eating	28	15.6	25	1	2
Language	25	14.0	18	4	3
Fretfulness	16	8.9	15	1	0
School	12	6.7	6	5	1
Relations with other children	10	5.6	5	5	0
Others	20	11.2	17	2	1

^aOthers included jealousy, tantrums, fear of people, fear of men, phobias, allergies, and health.

The data revealed that while some children had only one problem, which ranged from hour-long screaming tantrums to just being tired, other children had as many as five and six problems simultaneously. Table XIII lists the eight different areas of adjustment which were included in the questionnaire. The table reveals that sleeping and crying were reported as the most frequent problems, with a total of thirty-nine children troubled with each. In the total group, problems related to school and relations with other children were reported the fewest number of times. Yet, among the children placed in Negro homes, these problems were reported the greatest number of times and included approximately one-third of the Negro-Korean children in the study group. Among the children placed with Oriental families, one-third of the number had language problems. The fact that the adoptive parents were Oriental did not automatically remove the possibility of a language barrier. Five of these Oriental families were Chinese and only two were thought to have been Korean, while the children were all Korean. Two of the Oriental children with language problems were four years of age and six years of age when adopted. The several problems identified under others were: jealousy, tantrums, fear of people except adopting mothers, fear of men, allergies to food and milk and many minor health problems.

In spite of the fact that 105 children did have one or more problems, only fifteen out of the 121 couples sought help with them. Those that did consulted with physicians, both American and Korean, psychologists, Holt Adoption Agency, private schools, a minister, and public schools. Some mentioned frequent reference to Baby and Child Care by

Benjamin Spock, M.D. A few of those who answered "no" said they probably could have used some help, while one parent answered "no" but added, "I didn't know where to look for help."

Neither time nor space permitted the reporting of every child's separate problem, but one or more examples of each type of adjustment problem reported has been presented and the way or ways the parents handled the problem have been included when that information was available. The problems are listed in order of frequency with which they were reported: crying, sleeping, nervousness, eating, language, fretfulness, school, relations with other children and others.

Crying. Crying was reported in some children as a constant pattern from the time the child was received until he felt secure in his new home. In the case of two children placed in a Minnesota home, the parents saw the crying as evidence of sadness in one child and self-pity in the other.

When she first came . . . Dottie at eight months . . . cried a terribly sad cry; recognizing it, we didn't let her cry, so loved her a lot by holding her bottle and rocking her to sleep. I sang to her, then later read to her. She got along perfect. We never left her with outsiders until she was completely adjusted to our family--a year or more.

The second child was hospitalized for diarrhea the night he arrived, at fifteen months of age, and within a few weeks was hospitalized again for the same thing. He also cried, "then kept crying because he was crying (feeling sorry for himself), so I became firm with him--not allowing him to cry to the degree of pity for himself. He took two years to adjust completely. . . ."

Other children did their crying at bedtime or on waking during the night. It was difficult in the latter cases to separate the crying and the sleeping problems. Several of the parents interpreted the crying as meaning that their child was afraid, so they held and rocked him until he became calm or if he woke up frightened, they would let him sleep the remainder of the night with them. In most cases these expressions of love were enough, in time, for the child to begin sleeping through the night. In some cases, nothing seemed to work for a long time.

An Illinois parent wrote:

Our only big problem with . . . has been crying at bedtime or sometimes during the night. She did this from the very first night I saw her and she continued this each night (after being put into her crib) for six months. At first we tried rocking, giving another bottle, sitting by her bedside, sleeping by her bedside, leaving on a small light, leaving on the room light. Each time the results were the same. She cried until we came, stopped which we were present, and resumed crying upon separation. We never did take her in bed with us, fearing we would start another problem here.

This child was placed at one year of age and at four and one-half years of age was still having occasional crying spells, although the intervals between were longer. On the last occasion, the parents let her "cry it out" for two hours. They were not at all sure it had helped her, they only knew they felt worse from the experience.

The little girl who reportedly cried regularly at night was described as lovable, happy, active, and curious during the day. She was very affectionate and got along well with other children.

A little boy placed in Oregon "would fling himself down on the floor over everything and would scream and kick and act terrible

Bedtime nearly always was a mess. I spent lots of hours rocking," said his mother, "and trying to get him to sleep, when he was put in the crib, he would scream and cry. I did some crying, too, I must admit, but its all been worthwhile because today [he] is a fine, tall fifth grader."

Sleeping. It was quite evident that many of the children were extremely tired and upset because of the long airplane ride and change of environment. Also, because of the time change, they had their days and nights mixed up. A few days or weeks solved this problem but for many children sound sleep or sleep at all was slow to come.

One mother wrote, "Our daughter would not sleep alone for two or three months. At first she slept on my 'tummy,' then by my side, and eventually in her own bed."

Another couple, who put their sixteen months old baby's crib at the foot of their bed "slept upside down (at the foot of the bed) so that either my husband or I could hold her hand to reassure her we were there."

When her nine-month-old cried each time she was placed in her crib, one mother said, "I didn't have sense enough to realize that these little people were not used to beds. The crib frightened her. When we finally put her mattress on the floor, she slept."

"Through much love and patience," wrote a mother from California, "I tried to understand what a drastic change (and upheaval) was occurring in her life. So for three months we slept snuggled together on the floor. Later, she slept in bed with me, then graduated to her crib,

providing I held her hand all night, and finally to sleeping alone. She occasionally has a . . . nightmare yet of some man (she says) in Korea and she awakens in a cold sweat. But I try to never let it upset me, even if it means sleeping the rest of the night in her bed. . . . I think if we place ourselves in their 'mocassins' we'll understand and solve all problems with God's help."

Nervousness. As was often the case one adjustment problem led to another, as was the case with a little boy in Washington State. His nervousness caused him to be extremely active and progressively more nervous when confined. In his mother's own words:

Jim was and is extremely active. We are told that he always will have to contend with large amounts of nervous energy. He talks and moves constantly and becomes more nervous (and irritable) in confining situations (school, church, car, etc.). He is above average in intelligence and affectionate."

Feeling the need for counseling, these parents sought help and were referred to a psychologist. They recognized through counseling that their son felt rejected and they said:

(1) We were trying to help him remember Korea--which only reminded him that he was not really our son. The psychologist suggested that we speak of Korea as we would any other country and not with direct association to him.

(2) He grew resentful and angry and threatening until we learned that we were over-training, being too exacting, critical. His response to encouragement, and a minimum of correction and criticism is almost unbelievable.

These parents recognized that their greatest task was giving positive direction to their boy's "compulsive activity." "At present, we

are encouraging him in activities such as collecting butterflies, stamps, coins, etc. He loves to fish--loves the beach."

Adjustment was not only necessary in this boy's life but was also necessary for the rest of the family.

Actually, we are a quiet family and our adjustment to Jim is as difficult as his adjustment to us. As in any family with such differences in temperament, life is a series of compromises, rather than pleasant family unity. Work, vacations, eating, sleeping, social times, every phase of living requires an adjustment on our part because of his age and difference in temperament. By God's grace, we are learning to accept what we can't change. . . . It won't be easy, but I, for one, am a better person for having had to face the problems associated with his coming."

Eating. The problems related to eating ranged from the child's refusal to eat, to his being a glutton. Some were so malnourished they could not tolerate the rich American food while other children seemed to live only to eat.

From the day [Sue] arrived, (at age three) her chief and almost sole interest in life was food, plus acquiring other incidentals in life. She cared nothing for any human being, and for many months to come whenever either of us tried to show her affection she would tolerate it only as 'a means to an end,' as that would be the signal for her to immediately start demanding or begging for things.

At the time of this study, when this child was ten years of age, her Michigan mother wrote:

It still affords [Sue] an enormous amount of comfort and satisfaction when she is restless and cannot sleep at night if I slip some little morsel of food into her hands while she is in bed, such as a piece of celery, cucumber (she loves peeling and all!), or crackers. A chunk of meat or piece of sausage is almost certain to give her such a warm feeling of contentment that she'll fall to sleep almost immediately! I have also found that she can be unbelievably docile and obedient when I let her cook and bake. In other housework and school work she is lazy beyond belief, but she could cook from morning 'til night.

A Texas mother wrote:

At first, . . . we could not fill Pete up, as he would just eat and eat. When the saturation point was finally reached, he had grown accustomed to the adulation and attention and wanted it all the time. Now, he finds he gets more attention by not eating, just dawdling and having to be coaxed, etc. But, that too, is being worked out. We are managing to control ourselves and are making an attempt to try to ignore the fact that his plate isn't cleaned up. When we finish, he must be nearly finished too. And if he has dawdled along and he is cheated out of his special dessert--well, that is just too bad--although, we see that some of it (the dessert) is saved for his next meal. Our doctor has assured us for years that he is getting enough to eat and by the use of double doses of liquid vitamins every morning since we have had him, that he will suffer no ill consequences from a few scanty meals."

For the children who had difficulty eating rich American food, the parents used devious plans. For a nine month old infant, one couple began with a teaspoon of egg yolk a day with milk, crackers and bananas, and progressed to four eggs a day and a full line of baby foods except meat, which required several months for the baby to tolerate.

For two four-year-olds, one mother resorted to a Korean cookbook for familiar dishes which she included in the menu along with the usual diet. These two boys were literally afraid to eat the strange foods placed before them. Another mother said she kept a roast and a pan of rice in her refrigerator all the time.

Language. For the children placed as infants, language presented no problem. For the toddlers from two to four years of age, it reportedly took from a week to three or four months for the children to change to the English language. Then, they were not able to speak fluently, but they had stopped speaking Korean in most cases.

This problem was for the most part handled in the same general manner. An Alabama mother wrote:

Of course [Jean] was at an age (two years, four months) to learn fast, also she forgot the Korean language fast. The problem . . . lasted about three months. This took time and patience in sitting down and teaching by pictures, books and by going from one article to another. We would point to an object, i.e., chair, and tell her over and over that it was a chair. From this she learned to point to things when she wanted to know the name of it.

Where there were older siblings in the family, they were very often given credit for helping the adopted child learn to speak English.

An Arizona mother solved her five year old son's language problem in a rather unique way. She said:

Our oldest son was fourteen, so when I wanted [our adopted son] to do something, I simply had [the older son] do it with him. We also used a crude sign language. [He] was always patient with us and soon gained a workable English vocabulary.

The children who were of school age when placed, very often started into school at the beginning of the next school term. From all reports given, this early school enrollment speeded up their learning of the language. The school authorities and teachers were considered sympathetic to the children's language problem in most cases. Several parents reported as follows:

Regarding a twelve-year-old, "His fifth and sixth grade teachers were very helpful in assisting him over the language barrier."

Dennis came to us in August before he was seven in October. He could only say 'ice cream' in English, but he was a good actor and we knew what he wanted for he acted it out. When he started to school in September, he learned our language fast from the other children.

Our boy was eight years old when adopted and naturally language was a problem. We found little value in the use of language

dictionaries. He started to school in the fall (placed August 11th), enrolling in the first grade and learned to communicate as time went on.

Of the 164 children whose ages were known, 140 were placed at four years of age or younger. These children were young enough that they were still learning to talk. The youngest children simply learned the only language they heard. The two, three, and early four year olds, who had only a limited Korean vocabulary and speech patterns, easily replaced the Korean language with new words and speech patterns that were a part of their new environment. Their age and curiosity were very much in their favor. The older children had a more difficult time, but only four children reportedly had a language problem that continued over a period of years. The eight year old boy mentioned above had a language problem of long duration but he may have had other problems as well that contributed to language difficulties which were not reported or possibly not recognized. Of the other three children mentioned, one had an "accent" problem which was corrected by three years of speech therapy. The second child had a chronic ear infection which affected his or her hearing, and the third child had weakened throat muscles from (early) Cerebral Palsy.

Altogether, only 14 per cent of the 164 children, whose ages were reported, had language problems. More than one-half of these twenty-five children were four years of age or older, which could account for most of their problems in learning the English language.

Fretfulness. Although fretfulness was reported a total of sixteen times, no specific incidents or examples were recorded on the questionnaires. It was suspected that this was due to the difficulty in separating (and identifying) fretfulness from crying, nervousness, eating, and sleeping problems. Certainly the behavior of some of the children indicated that they were fretful at times.

School.

The first time we took her to school . . . she cried and cried, and wouldn't stay. Later, she told us she thought it was another orphanage. She couldn't speak English yet when we took her the first time. When we had our other children take her, she caught on to what it was, and has loved school ever since.

Entering a school within a few weeks or months after arriving in the United States could conceivably be a very traumatic experience. Yet, without being able to speak more than a few words of English, many of these children made a successful adjustment to school and according to the opinion of numerous parents "their children" were "above average," "in the upper 5 per cent of their class," "a leader in every area of their school," and/or just "well-adjusted in school."

Our son arrived in Chicago on December 1, 1963. He entered public school the following Wednesday (December 4th) on the advice of the superintendent of schools. His teacher and principal have been most cooperative. We anticipated that he would, at ten years, have a terrific adjustment. Unless his studies at school prove difficult--his social adjustment has been excellent--we anticipate no problems.

Another mother said her child was lazy.

One of my girls is not doing too well in school, but then there is always something of that sort in families. She is too lazy to study. When she studies, her grades are good.

This same mother said: "My children are Negro-Korean. They know a good setup when they see one. They are happy to be in this environment such as they never had before." There may have been other parents who felt this way but none expressed this kind of attitude toward their children.

As could be expected from such a large group, a few children had learning problems in school. The parents of one child felt their son's learning problem showed up when he was first placed at age five.

He had a difficult time learning the language. [Now] he has trouble particularly with phonics, which in turn makes spelling and reading difficult for him. We had him repeat first grade to get a better basis in this, but he is still one of the bottom students in his class. He does much better in arithmetic. He requires considerable help at home with his school work. He will do arithmetic at home on his own, but he frequently balks about spelling. Then I have to explain the importance of extra study to him and sometimes I have to be quite firm with him. His teacher says that his interest has increased since the beginning of the school year and she tries to give him as much extra help as she can.

Relations with other children. Closely associated with the children's adjustment at school was their ability to relate to other children. Sometimes this difficulty was seen, with other siblings, in the form of rivalry and jealousy, but more serious problems were reported as well.

One mother wrote "terrible" beside the question regarding her six-year-old's relations with other children.

[He is] headstrong, determined, wants his own way. Other children don't take his "bossing" so he gets rough with them. [We were told that] his paternal ancestry was Swedish-American. With all due respect to Swedish people, we wonder if this is where he got this extremely hard head. He cannot be distracted or deterred when he has a thing in his head, this from the moment we got him at eleven

months. . . . We've felt we need help! We've tried everything. . . . We somehow can't bring ourselves to face someone else for it seems we are betraying him to tell his faults--we love him so much. Once I described his performance to the pediatrician and he said "You need help." He gave us a name of a specialist. . . . We keep thinking we can handle this and don't want to create a greater problem, so haven't as yet taken this step. It is when [Jim] is tired--probably exhausted, he commits "outrages" against his sister and other children. . . . The pediatrician tried medication, which helped for two or three days. . . . He fought sleep from a baby. We've sat by his bed by the hour . . . read to him, finally punished, nothing has had lasting effects. We've not had an evening with the children in bed since they came. His lack of long sleeping hours is partly responsible. This situation has been a real burden--but if we can only get him to be the kind of person he should be. . . .

Another family had a boy who was nine years old when placed.

He is very outgoing and friendly but gets "too rough" in playing with children his own age. . . . He has a tendency to overeat. He is powerfully built with short but thick bones and is about eight lbs. overweight.

This family had contacted the school social worker and asked for aid in evaluating their son's problems. He loves to wrestle and likes body contact sports. Various activities with the YMCA and scouts had been planned. The family felt that "another child, a sister, would be of immense help in his emotional growth."

Others. There were a number of adjustment problems which were reported in only a few children. They were manifested in various children in different ways. The first of these was fear.

"[Jean] a three year old was terribly afraid of everything, especially people."

"[Peggy] was afraid someone would take her away from me." wrote one Alaskan parent. "She wouldn't talk to anyone but clung tightly to me. I solved this by taking her places and holding her securely while .

talking to others. I acted as if nothing was different in her actions at all."

This mother of two adopted children had a similar problem with her other child.

When [Sue] was put to bed at night she constantly called to me. I was afraid it was a feeling of insecurity, of being afraid I wouldn't be there to come to her, so I went each time. When she was old enough to understand I explained that I was always near and that I would wake her to share any excitement that happened. This I did several times. Once it was two moose in the yard. Next a beautiful display of Northern Lights. She got up and watched an hour with me in the middle of the night. She has forgotten these times of her second year but it gave her a great confidence and feeling of security and of companionship with me.

Many of the children were afraid of their adoptive fathers. Most of the children who had lived in orphanages were oriented to a world made up mostly of women. They very seldom had the opportunity to relate to a man. This was sometimes difficult for the father but if he were patient the child eventually responded. One mother said:

We rocked her as much as possible. With much quiet love shown to her by her father she came to accept him gradually and now dearly loves him. He didn't force himself upon her, although it was very hard for him to be patient.

One child was fearful of noise and responded to this with tantrums. This disappeared in a few months.

Carol was afraid of dolls. It was later learned that someone in the orphanage had expressed hate for dolls because they looked like dead babies. Phyllis reacted the same way initially but it was only about five days before Phyllis went to the store and bought her own doll.

Another little girl reacted with hysterical screaming whenever water was placed on her face. According to the mother, this seemed to stem from some unhappy experience which the child had had in Korea.

Many children had diarrhea of the most serious nature. Some were hospitalized several times with this illness during the first few weeks in the United States. Rich food, malnutrition, nervousness, and worms were some of the causes listed. Diarrhea continued for some children for as long as a year and left some with dietary problems even to the present time.

A number of the parents reported their children could not tolerate milk. For most children this meant no milk at any time. But one mother said:

I had to learn not to give [Ellen] anything with milk on it for breakfast, because she would vomit it up everytime, and she would not eat oatmeal at all. So I fixed her bacon or sausage and eggs and fruit juice for breakfast. The rest of the day she could eat anything--milk too.

In two cases the problems that were believed to have been the result of malnutrition, turned out to be the result of Cerebral Palsy at a very early age. The symptoms were manifested in difficulties in chewing and swallowing, and in weakened speech muscles and motor muscles.

The parents wrote:

After six months of treatment for malnutrition it was learned she had Cerebral Palsy . . .; with attention to feet (night braces and wedges in shoe soles), including exercises, she learned to walk at two and one-half years, and ride a trike at four and one-half years, and to run at about five years. Exercises also assisted hands (thumbs more spastic), so that she could feed herself with spoon fairly well at five years, though her chewing difficulty still prevented proper eating . . . physical therapy and occupational therapy at CP Center; speech therapy from private therapist. Use of lips, tongue, breath control, eating, etc., improving slowly; speech "sounds" and effort increasing.

In no answer on the questionnaire did these two couples indicate that they regretted having adopted an afflicted child. The parents of the little boy with Cerebral Palsy said:

We've been asked how we feel about adopting a child with a handicap. Our answer is--it's very possible we could have produced a child of our own with a handicap, also. Mark needs us and in Korea he wouldn't have been able to receive the help we can give him. We're glad that he's here.

Another mother said her son had always been a well behaved and mature child but he often "withdraws" from the world around him.

He will live in a dream world, "peopled" with cowboys or soldiers. The only way I have found to bring him back to sufficient reality is to cut him off from TV and playmates until he finally begins to function as a person again.

One difficulty that arose for these Oriental looking children was prejudiced comments from other children. Parents reported a number of different things that their children were called. The parents reporting, discussed the situation quite frankly with their child. One parent used a most ingenious story to help her children understand why they were different and that there was nothing to be ashamed of. She said:

. . . I sat down and told my children the story of how God baked all of us. How He went in this large sandbox and formed us and then baked us, and that the first batch came out a dark brown and so called them Negroes, the second batch came out too white, that is us, and the third batch came out a nice golden brown, which are called Koreans. My little children accepted this and our little girl is very proud to be a Korean and my other children are proud to have her as their sister.

The temper tantrums mentioned were of short duration and with love and a growing feeling of security, they disappeared.

A very interesting readoption case was reported by a California family. They had taken an eight-year-old child who had been placed with

another family when she was three years old and was considered a problem child. At the time of the study, this girl was eight years of age. These parents had four natural children and one adopted Korean-American child. Their first adopted child had adjusted well, very easily in fact, according to the parents, after the first few weeks of getting accustomed to a new home. The second child came with many more problems. In the mother's own words:

As for our readopted child, who had been in another home for nearly four years, it was another situation entirely. The other family was rich and able to meet the financial needs of the child but they did not love her, as her little life indicated after she came to us. They had four children also of their own. Affection was foreign to her--she was also very nervous. She had plenty of clothes but her hair and physical appearance was unattractive. After a year, we have an entirely different little girl.

I'm afraid I'm not intelligent enough to give you the proper information on how this was accomplished. Only that she did have several real problems and they had to be met individually and with much love, prayer and letting her know what I expected of her and what God expected of her. She wanted to please us and also her teacher at C. School. Some of her problems were (1) extreme nervousness and insecurity, (2) sex play, (3) poutiness, (4) withdrawn in some ways and forward in others, (5) lying.

I failed to tell you she is unable to speak in a loud voice, only in a loud whisper. A scar at her throat indicates an operation which was performed in Korea. . . . This does not seem to be a hinderance to her, as she reads well and receives good grades at school and does not appear to embarrass her. She loves to sing (although the sound is not melodious but harsh). She now seems very well adjusted but does remember the other family, which is natural, but gives no indication she wishes to return.

Perhaps the adoptive parents of a five year old child summed up the feelings of most of the parents in handling the adjustment of problems of their children:

We didn't always handle the situation. Sometimes it handled us because we were never sure whether she was hearing, . . . Very often we feel like we've made every mistake there is and the wonder of it all is, "how can she be as sweet as she is?" That is God's grace. To Him be the glory.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis was designed to learn what initial adjustment problems were present in a group of Korean and Korean-American children placed in American adoptive homes by Holt Adoption Program.

The study sample was chosen from 1,389 families into which these children had been placed from 1957 until December, 1963. The names and addresses of these families were made available by the Holt Adoption Program located in Crestwell, Oregon.

Of the 218 questionnaires sent to the sample group, forty were returned due to incorrect addresses. Of the remaining 178 questionnaires, 121 were returned completed sufficiently to be used in the study. This amounted to a better than two-thirds response from the families who received the questionnaires.

Although this study was concerned primarily with the adjustment problems of the children placed, a vast amount of general family information was received as well. It was not possible to make the maximum use of this information in the brief time and space allotted for this thesis, but a summary of these data follows.

The adoptive parents resided in twenty-eight different states, with 24.8 per cent living in the State of California. Of the Negro families, 61.5 per cent lived in California, while 57 per cent of the Oriental families lived in the same state.

Almost all of the parents had strong church affiliations through which many of them had learned of the plight of the children in Korea. In addition to the churches, the various news media, such as T.V., newspapers, magazines, and radio, made known to many families the great need for families to adopt needy Korean children.

The analysis showed that the mean age for adoptive fathers was 40.6 years, and for adoptive mothers 38.3 years. The mean age for the Negro and Oriental fathers was considerably above the overall average at 46.4 years and 45.5 years respectively. The mothers in these two latter groups were four and one-half years older than the total average. Among the white couples, approximately one-fourth of the wives were older than their husbands. One wife was seventeen years older than her husband.

The education analysis revealed that over 44 per cent of the parents had some college education, with one-half of these having a college degree. The wives surpassed their husbands in educational achievements in all races, but especially so among the Negro parents where the ratio was eight women to three men who had had some college training. Only fifty-one, or 21 per cent, of the parents had failed to complete high school.

The largest occupational classification among the parents was "skilled laborer." Unskilled workers made up the next largest group. While these two groups accounted for 20 per cent of the parents, 14 per cent were classified as professionals. Family income ranged from less than \$3,000 to over \$20,000, with 61 per cent of the sample receiving between \$5,000 and \$10,000 annually.

Community opposition to a family adopting a Korean child was insignificant, with only six out of the 101 families answering this question reporting critical attitudes among their neighbors. Only one parent reported that her adopted child was rejected in her community.

Fewer families had applied to other adoption agencies prior to adopting a Korean child than had been expected. Only forty-six families had made a total of seventy-six requests to other agencies to adopt a child. Some had succeeded in securing a child but most had not. Ten of these families had applied three or more times.

About one-half of the families reported that they had been interviewed prior to the placement of their adopted child. There appeared to be considerable confusion as to the purpose of these interviews. Some were conducted by Mr. Holt, an immigration official, a Holt's agency representative, and an "investigator" of unreported origin. It was not possible to determine how extensive any of the home studies had been.

A total of 103 families had natural and/or adopted children in their homes in addition to their Korean child or children at the time of the study. Eighteen families had only their adopted Korean child. Seventy families had adopted only one Korean child, while forty-eight families had adopted from two to six children.

Among the children adopted the girls outnumbered the boys more than two to one overall, but eight to one among the Negro families. Approximately one-third of the children were placed before they were one year old, one-third at one and two years of age, and approximately one-third between the ages of three and twelve years. The youngest child

was twenty days old at the time of placement and the oldest twelve years old. The average age was 2.2 years for all races, with the mean age ranging from 1.9 years for white children to 4.2 years for the Negro children.

One hundred six children, approximately 60 per cent of the total 179 children, required medical attention immediately or soon after being placed. At the time of the study, 97.2 per cent of the children were reported in good health. The health problems initially encountered included worms, impetigo, allergies to milk and other foods, infected feet, ears and eyes, diarrhea, boils, lice, extreme malnutrition, Cerebral Palsy, and numerous other minor ailments.

In summarizing the adjustment problems of the 179 children included in the study, seventy-four, or 41 per cent, reportedly had no initial adjustment problems. Among the remaining 115 children, sleeping and crying were reported the greatest number of times, a total of thirty-nine for each. Nervousness was reported thirty-seven times, while eating and language were reported twenty-eight and twenty-five times respectively. Fretfulness was a problem in sixteen children, school in twelve, and relations with other children was reported only ten times. The problems listed under the category "others" included such as jealousy, tantrums, fears, phobias, allergies, and health.

Of the three hypotheses initially formulated one could not be tested because the data proved inadequate. It was:

Children who are placed in certain geographical locations in the United States will be more readily accepted by the community and will face fewer problems of adjustment in the community.

In no state or community from which reports were received was the sample large enough to offer conclusive evidence that this hypothesis was either true or false. In most instances, the number of children in the sample ranged from one to four per state and were scattered across the state. Also, six families reporting acceptance problems in their community were from six different states. Further information was needed for any consideration of this problem.

The second hypothesis was validated by the study.

Children placed for adoption in the homes of parents whose language, culture, and customs are different from their own, experience initial difficulties which are related to cultural differences

The study indicated that particularly in the areas of sleeping, eating, and language many of the problems were directly related to cultural changes and differences. The frequency with which these problems were reported was indicative of the high incidence of problems caused by cultural changes. Sleeping problems, for example, were reported thirty-nine times, or for 21.8 per cent of the 179 children in the study. Fifteen and six-tenths per cent of these children had problems with their eating, while language problems were reported in 14 per cent of the children.

The transition from sleeping on the floor in a crowded room, to sleeping on a big bed in a strange private room, the change from their rice diet to rich American food, and from the Korean to the English language was accomplished through the patience and concern of the adoptive parents who were remarkably sensitive to the needs of their lonely, hungry, and love starved children. What could be more sensitive than

a mother waking her small insecure child during the night in order to share with her a display of the Northern Lights or the sight of a moose walking in the moonlit yard. This homespun method of giving a child a sense of security and belonging was spawned in the mind and heart of a mother who had not had a natural child and who lived in the homestead wilds of Alaska. Her method was unusual but not her sensitivity, which was surprisingly typical of the many other parents who helped their children through difficult adjustment periods.

The third hypothesis was also validated: children who are placed at an early age have fewer initial problems related to culture.

Of the seventy-four children who reportedly had no initial adjustment problems, only five were placed above four years of age. Their mean age was only 1.8 years. In contrast, the mean age of the 105 children with adjustment problems was 3.6 years, or twice that of those without problems.

The problems particularly related to culture were seen less often in the younger children. Language was more often a problem for a child four years old or older. Eating for the infant and toddler was usually a continuation of a milk and cereal diet, which they had received in the Korean orphanage.

The younger children's sleeping problems very often appeared to be due to fatigue, mixing of days and nights while en route to the United States and dietary problems. When these were corrected they usually began sleeping quite normally. Older children had to deal with problems of insecurity, fear, rejection, language barriers as well as hunger,

fatigue and dietary problems. Sleeping difficulties reportedly stemmed from these and other problems.

The determination of motivation on the part of adoptive applicants constitutes the most difficult single task of workers in adoption agencies, and the motives of those seeking to take another's child as their own is generally suspect at first. It is impossible even to make an intelligent guess as to what subtle motives prompted more than ten thousand couples to apply to the Holt Adoption Program to adopt children culturally different, often physically ill, and about whom they knew little or nothing except that the child was in need.

It is impossible to arrive at any objective measure of the degree of success which these couples have demonstrated as parents. It is significant, however, that 121 of the 178 adoptive parents who received the four page questionnaire completed and returned it and in many instances sent pictures, newspaper clippings, etc., which were related to their families or their children. It also seemed significant that the great majority of responses were enthusiastically written and by their length and content indicated that a great deal of time and thought had been given to their preparation.

Perhaps the mean age of the parents was a little higher than that of the usual adoptive parents in the United States, but a large number of the children placed in these homes were older than children who are considered good adoption risks by agencies in this country.

From the 121 families chosen at random, with few exceptions, there was a simple and sincere expression of their pleasure in their new

child. Since almost one-half of these parents had never applied to a local agency for children, the following questions arise:

1. Is there a resource of nationwide scope for the placement of the older and hard to place child that has not yet been tapped?
2. Are there ways of reaching this group which, on the basis of this study, would appear to have made a substantial contribution to the care of children, most of whom would not have been considered good adoption risks?

Further research is needed to find the answers to these questions.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

"The Children whom the Lord hath given."
--Isa. 8:18

ORPHAN'S FOUNDATION FUND, INC.

Holt Adoption Program

P. O. Box 95 Creswell, Oregon

Phone TWilight 5-3736

18 October 1963

This is to introduce to those of you who do not know him already, a dear brother in Christ, Louis O'Connor. It is my pleasure to write a letter of introduction for brother O'Connor; he has been a missionary in Korea for some time and has worked very closely with the Holt Adoption Program. In fact they operated a branch of their own in Won Ju, Korea, and we often exchanged children back and forth; we helped him adopt children and he helped us adopt children. I can say with all my heart that brother O'Connor and his wife have been instrumental in putting children in many homes in America, as well as in Korea. I know that many of you know him personally already.

This thesis that he is writing is very important, about the children, and any cooperation you could give him would be greatly appreciated by me and the rest of the staff of the Holt Adoption Program.

Yours in the service of our Lord,

/s/ Harry Holt

Harry Holt
Holt Adoption Program
ORPHAN'S FOUNDATION FUND, INC.

HH:jt

January 1, 1964

Dear Fellow Adoptive Parents:

I am taking the liberty of addressing you this way because my wife and I have adopted a little Korean-American boy, just like many of you. His name is Randy and because of him and the hundreds more like him still in Korea, I am very interested in helping more Randys, Marys, Johnnys, and Susies to have happy homes in the United States.

Because of our common interest, and our common concern, I am soliciting your help in a study of the problems that you have faced with your adopted child. Out of your successes and failures in handling these problems can come many suggestions that will help prepare future parents and their children to make an easier adjustment.

Enclosed you will find a questionnaire. I hope you will take the time to fill it out as carefully and completely as possible. Only one question will require very much time, but I believe you will agree that it is one of the most important questions. Please complete one white form for each family and one yellow form for each adopted child.

Because of the deadlines set for me by the school, I urge you to return the forms by January 15th. Enclosed for your convenience is a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

A very Happy New Year and my sincerest thanks to all 218 families who are helping in this study.

Sincerely,

/s/ Louis O'Conner, Jr.

Rev. Louis O'Conner, Jr.

FAMILY

1. FAMILY SITUATION:

Age	Date of Mar- riage	Church Member- ship	Highest Grade Completed	Occupation	Residence City & State
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FATHER

MOTHER

CHILDREN (ALL) (Oldest first)	Sex	Birth- date	If Adopted Date Rec'd	Korean or Korean- American	Other Nation- ality	Grade in School
(1)						
(2)						
(3)						
(4)						
(5)						
(6)						
(7)						
(8)						

2. Is your home downtown (), in the suburbs (), or rural ()?

3. Do you rent (), own (), or have a house furnished to you ()?

4. Financial status: Under \$3,000 a year ()
 Between \$3,000 - \$5,000 a year ()
 Between \$5,000 - \$10,000 a year ()
 Between \$10,000 - \$20,000 a year ()
 Over \$20,000 a year ()

5. How did you become interested in adopting a Korean or a Korean-American child?

6. Did you apply to other agencies in the United States for a child?
Yes () No (). If So, how many agencies? ().
7. How did you adopt your child or children? By proxy (), in the United States (), or by going to Korea?
8. What agency or agencies took part in the adoption process?
Holt's (), A Public Welfare Agency (), or others _____?
9. Did someone come to your home to interview you prior to your approval as adoptive parents? yes () no (). Did they interview both husband and wife? yes () no (). How many times did they come? ().
10. Where did you see your adopted child the first time?
If you had an older child, was he included in your plans to adopt a foreign child? yes () no (). How did he react? Favorably (), indifferent (), unfavorably ().
11. At the time you received your first child, did you have any knowledge of Korean culture? yes () no ().
- If yes, where did you learn about the culture?
12. Did you feel that your immediate community was supportive (), indifferent (), or critical () regarding your plans to adopt a child from Korea?
13. Were the adults in your immediate community or through their children accepting (), indifferent (), or rejecting (), toward your child after his arrival in your home?
14. Are you participating in a state or regional group of parents who have adopted Korean or Korean-American children? yes () no ().

CHILD'S DEVELOPMENT

1. Was the child's health, at the time you received him (her) good (), fair (), or poor ().
2. Did he (she) require medical attention very soon after arriving? yes () no ().
3. Is his (her) health now good (), fair (), poor ().
4. Was the child's body weight and size comparable to an average American child of the same age? Smaller (), same (), larger ().
5. At what age did he learn he was adopted? (), from whom? Parents (), brothers or sisters (), or others, who _____.
- ✓ 6. Has he asked questions about his cultural background?
Did you feel that your knowledge of Korean culture, customs, etc., was adequate to answer his questions?
- ✓ 7. Did you find it necessary to get some help with your child's adjustment problems? yes () no ().
- ✓ 8. If so, where did you find help? Public welfare agency (), private social agency (), minister (), a Korean national (), others ().
9. Check the areas in which your child had initial difficulties.
Eating _____ Sleeping _____ Nervousness _____
Fretfulness _____ Crying _____ Language _____
School _____ Relationships with other children _____
Others _____
10. Would counseling and knowledge about the problems you were to face with your child have been helpful before he came into your home? yes () no ().

11. In what particular areas of adjustment do you think this would have been most helpful?

Eating_____ Sleeping_____ Nervousness_____

Fretfulness_____ Crying_____ Language_____

School_____ Relationships with other children_____

Others_____

12. How did you handle these situations in order to help the child adjust? (Please describe in as detailed a manner as you possibly can and on as many problems as you will, since the purpose is to make it possible for future adoptive parents to profit by your experience. Please use the space below and attach sheets if needed.)