

# Title Permanent Family Placement During Middle Childhood: Outcomes and Support

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# PERMANENT FAMILY PLACEMENT DURING MIDDLE CHILDHOOD: OUTCOMES AND SUPPORT

by

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# PERMANENT FAMILY PLACEMENT DURING MIDDLE CHILDHOOD: OUTCOMES AND SUPPORT

#### CHERILYN DANCE

#### ABSTRACT

Appropriate long-term care arrangements for children whose birth families are unable or unwilling to raise them is one of the most critical issues confronting providers of children's social services. Knowing something of the longer term outcomes of different types of provision, the factors associated with differential outcomes and requirements for additional services will all assist in the development of practice and policy in this field. This document reports on a decade of publications arising from just such an applied programme of research, to which I have made a significant contribution in terms of research design, data collection, analysis of data and dissemination through both publication and other means. These publications represent a unique and original contribution to the field in terms of methodology and the analysis approach, the samples studied and the relevance of the findings to the policy and practice world.

The majority of the publications focus on a sample of children placed for permanence during their middle childhoods, that is children placed between the ages of five and eleven years. This cohort was followed-up at one- and six-years after placement. Some of the findings from the early works were then explored in more depth in subsequent publications. The contribution to knowledge that is evidenced by these publications is reinforced by the use of longitudinal and prospective methods to address some of the weaknesses of previous work in this area. By focussing particularly on children placed during middle childhood, the works have added considerably to the knowledge base concerning permanent family placement for children. This is true not only in looking at disruption rates but also in terms of the factors associated with poorer outcomes among continuing placements in the short- and medium-term.

In particular, several of the papers draw attention to the identification of what may prove to be a very important experience in the backgrounds of some looked after children - preferential rejection. This term has been

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coined to describe children who have been 'singled-out', within a sibling group, for negative attention from birth parents and who are alone in entering the care system. Although numbers were relatively small, the association between this experience and poor outcome in the later permanent placement was found to be highly significant, and held across time, within the samples studied.

The papers, taken together, have also substantially informed the debate on likely support and intervention requirements of placed children and their new families and at least one of the selected publications has contributed specifically and significantly to government policy making.

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# Permanent placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

## 1 Introduction

This report is concerned with the arrangements made for children and young people whose parents are unable to care for them. In doing so it touches on the reasons that children require long-term alternative care, the outcomes of permanence options and support needs for new families. The research publications deal primarily with children who were placed for permanence in their middle childhood – defined as 5-11 years of age - who often presented particular developmental and behavioural difficulties associated with adversity in their earlier childhood. Despite changes in national policy and practice concerning the protection and care of children aimed at earlier decision making regarding the appropriate placement of children, it seems likely that there will always be a proportion of children who will enter the care system at slightly older ages and require long-term alternative care. These areas of applied social research are, therefore, of critical importance in children's social services.

The paper is intended to illustrate the calibre, the scope and the applied nature of more than a decade of research as well as the applicant's contribution to the outputs of those research programmes. It is also intended to demonstrate how the discrete and individual research projects each contribute to cohesive argument and will outline the contribution that each has made to knowledge in the field.

# 1.1 About the applicant

The selected publications represent some of the output from a programme of research conducted by a team based at The Institute of Psychiatry, King's College, London. This programme was possible as a result of sequential funding from the Department of Health and The Nuffield Foundation. Initially employed in 1989, to conduct research interviews, my role rapidly developed to include much of the data management and analysis along with a substantial contribution to the production of published materials from that study. Since the mid-1990s I have been very involved in the whole research process, from funding applications, through all aspects of design and management to analysis and writing-up. My role has also entailed involvement in the recruitment, training and supervision of junior research colleagues. I see the dissemination of research findings to participants, service users and providers and policy makers as a fundamental responsibility for social care researchers. As such I have, in collaboration with colleagues, developed a series of workshops and presentations, newsletters and a website. In addition to continued work on active projects, I am a member of the BAAF (British Agencies for Adoption and Fostering) research group, I have frequently been invited to sit on advisory groups and have supervised MSc, and more recently undergraduate, students in the research elements of their courses as well as undertaking some teaching. Assisting practitioner researchers has also been a part of my role, as has peer reviewing for both journals and funding applications. The majority of my research career to date has been spent in one team with a particular focus on adoption and fostering specifically and child welfare more generally.

## 1.2 The selected works

The selected publications represent some of the output of the studies with which I have been involved but, in themselves, form only a part of the dissemination of the research findings. The field of study involved here is very much 'applied' and for research findings to be incorporated into practice it is essential that they are reported in a manner and in places accessible to social care policy makers and practitioners. Some of the selected publications are therefore in book form.

In total 11 works are selected for submission for the award of PhD by Publication, including eight articles which appear in peer-reviewed journals that are well regarded in the field. In addition three books are chosen, these provide a comprehensive account of the context for the majority of the work as well as a discussion of some issues not addressed in the more focused research papers. Most of the selected titles represent some of the output of two major longitudinal studies of children placed from local authority care with unrelated families during middle childhood: middle childhood being defined as the period between the ages of five and eleven years. Other selected papers report on research that has further explored some of the main findings of the earlier publications. The papers have been selected to best illustrate particular themes of interest rather than describing the work as a whole. Those appearing on the list (see appendix I) but not selected are either less relevant to the particular themes that will be addressed by this report, serve a review or discussion function rather than presenting fresh research findings, or are papers that owe a greater part of their development to colleagues.

The sequence of publications is important here since they tell a coherent and chronological story. Therefore, before embarking on a discussion of the main themes it is worth taking a few paragraphs to describe the ways in which each made a specific contribution. Quinton, Rushton, Dance and Maves (1998<sup>11</sup>) is a book entitled 'Joining New Families' and represents the major source for the findings of the first of the series of studies mentioned earlier. It produced detailed information about the experience of adoptive and foster families through to the first anniversary of placement. Alongside the descriptive and illustrative material, this publication provided detailed statistical analysis employing where appropriate, multivariate techniques. This type of analysis is relatively unusual in this child welfare research. Rushton, Dance and Quinton (2000<sup>8</sup>) is a précised report of the major findings from Joining New Families that was accepted for publication by the United States based journal 'Adoption Quarterly'. This was followed by 'Siblings in Permanent Placement' (Rushton, Dance, Quinton and Mayes, 2001<sup>10</sup>) which used a similar design to track a second group of children, this time focusing on sibling aspects of placing for permanence. Both of these publications presented data on outcome a year after placement; being based on a representative and relatively homogenous sample of children this was important new information for UK practice.

One of the major findings of the 1998 analysis was the identification of a small group of children for whom poorer outcomes were more common: these children had all experienced a phenomenon that was termed 'preferential rejection'. Further analyses focusing on this feature were published in **Dance, Rushton and Quinton (2002a<sup>7</sup>)** in a paper titled

'Emotional abuse in early childhood: Relationships with progress in subsequent family placements'. This paper put forward a technical analysis, the findings were additionally published with more focus on policy and practice implications in 'Preferentially rejected children and their development in permanent family placements' (**Rushton and Dance, 2003a**<sup>5</sup>). 'Negative parental treatment of the singled-out child' (**Rushton and Dance, 2005c**<sup>3</sup>) explored professional understanding of, and reactions to, the phenomenon of preferential rejection.

The other important message from 'Joining new families' concerned the relatively high levels of difficulty experienced by adoptive parents and carers and this prompted a closer examination of the development of adoption support services. 'Adoption support services for families in difficulty: a literature review and survey of UK practice' (**Rushton and Dance**<sup>9</sup>) was published in 2002. 'Parenting late-placed children: the development of new relationships and the challenge of behaviour problems' (**Rushton, Dance and Mayes**<sup>6</sup>) was published in 2003. This article introduced a new measure that focused on the ways in which children expressed their feelings. It was developed as part of the instrument arsenal used with the first group of permanent placements and was designed to examine parent-child interaction in the days before recognised means of measuring children's attachment styles was generally available.

In 2004 the first analysis of 'The outcomes of late permanent placements: the adolescent years' (**Rushton and Dance**<sup>4</sup>) was published. This was a largely qualitative analysis that explored not only disrupted and continuing placements but attempted to group continuing placements according to their character six years after placement. 'Predictors of outcome for unrelated adoptive placements made during middle childhood' (**Dance and Rushton, 2005a**<sup>1</sup>) tested the outcome groupings against a selection of preplacement and in-placement characteristics of both children and families in a multi-variate analysis, in order to establish factors associated with higher likelihood of poor outcome.

**Dance and Rushton (2005b**<sup>2</sup>) is a paper titled 'Joining a new family: the views and experiences of young people placed with permanent families during middle childhood'. It appeared in a special edition of the journal

'Adoption and Fostering' which focused on young people's views. It is relatively rare to hear directly from young people in permanent placement, especially when it is possible to estimate bias. This paper, although focusing on a small proportion of the original sample was able to examine the representativeness of those participating and to present the young people's views on moving to, and becoming a part of, a new family.

I have made a major contribution to the production of all the papers submitted for examination, particularly to the analysis and interpretation of data, which formed a significant part of my responsibilities, as well as the writing-up. The extent of my contribution has been endorsed by relevant colleagues (see appendix III).

The remainder of this paper provides some essential background and goes on to further explore the specific aspects of permanent family placement that form the focus of the submission. These are:

- the concept of permanency, and the equivalence or otherwise of permanent foster care and adoption
- the implications of placing children in their middle childhood, with special attention to the two themes of
  - o 'preferential rejection' and
  - the support needed to manage ongoing difficulties.

# 2 Background to the research

One of the notable characteristics of child welfare research within the United Kingdom is the relative closeness that has been fostered between the research community and the policy and practice development arm of government. Research findings have often found their way into such development – albeit not always as swiftly as researchers might like. To appreciate fully the context of the research reported here, it is necessary to sketch in a little of the history and to emphasise the dynamic and developing nature of child-welfare policy and practice.

#### 2.1 The importance of stability and permanence

Prior to the 1970s adoption had generally been reserved for infants, usually relinguished voluntarily by single, unsupported mothers. Changing social attitudes and arrangements during that decade, along with the introduction of the Abortion Act (1967) resulted in a sharp reduction in the numbers of such infants needing new homes - although there was no reduction in the number of people wishing to parent children. At the same time both research and individual testimony were beginning to show just how poorly the system was serving many of the children and young people in public care. A number of studies reported on the alarming care careers that were experienced by some children. Of particular note is the classic study 'Children who Wait' (Rowe and Lambert, 1973) following which the term 'drift' entered the social care vocabulary. This painted a picture of large numbers of children moving 'aimlessly' between a variety of residential and family placements in the course of their childhoods. Subsequent studies began to show how the resulting instability and uncertainty were associated with poor social and educational outcomes in adulthood (Dept of Health, 1991; Jackson, 1989; Parker, 1998; Rowe, et al., 1989; Triseliotis, 1989). In addition there have been numerous studies that have shown that young people who stay long in public care have often experienced significant adversity prior to their becoming 'looked after' (Bebbington and Miles, 1989). Given both of these factors it is not surprising that research focussing on young adults often finds that those who have been 'in care' are over-represented in disengaged or socially excluded groups, namely the prison population, those using mental health services, the unemployed and users of social care services.

There is, however, recognition that many of those who experience problems in young adulthood may well have entered care late in childhood. Minty (Minty, 1999), for example, argues for earlier decision making regarding both removal from home and permanence options once in care. His review concludes that most young adults who have experienced **longterm** substitute care do relatively well on most indices of outcome. Increasingly it has been recognised that for most young people to achieve their potential, it is necessary to aim for stability throughout childhood. The recognition of the importance of stability is enshrined in the concepts of what has become known in child welfare as the 'permanency movement'. One of the strongest proponents of this practice has been Maluccio and colleagues who, along with others, have written widely on the subject (Maluccio, et al., 1986). Although originating in an American context, this movement was very influential in the child welfare field in the UK also during the 1980s.

As far as possible such stability should be planned for, be in a safe and nurturing environment and preferably be in a family context (Dept of Health, 1999). 'Permanence' as originally conceived could mean stability in a variety of living environments, including the birth family home, but there has been a tendency for it to be equated with adoption or a quasi-adoption arrangement by plans for 'permanent fostering'.

#### 2.2 Relevant developments in policy and practice

The last two decades have seen a period of rapid practice and policy development, both moving, ever more strongly, towards securing stability for looked after children. This has been particularly true since the election of the Labour government in 1997 and is evidenced by even a brief perusal of the abundance of legislation and government guidance for children's social services in the last five or so years; culminating in The Children Act (1989), the Adoption and Children Act (2002), and - driven by the recommendations of 'Every Child Matters' (2003) - The Children Act (2004).

Indeed 'ensuring placement stability' is the first principle of the Government's Objectives for Children's Social Services (Dept of Health, 1999). Although there is widespread sympathy with the broad aims of government policy, the current emphasis on increasing the proportion of children adopted from care (PIU, 2000) and the speed with which agencies are required to make and implement child care plans (National Adoption Standards (Dept of Health, 2001)) has been questioned from some perspectives (Rushton and Dance, 2002). Of particular concern was, firstly, an anxiety that adoption may be encouraged because of a perception among policy makers that it may offer a cheaper alternative to long-term public care; and secondly there were worries that imposing strict timescales may result in rushed assessments and poor decisions. In the immediate aftermath of the introduction of these measures, there was a rise in the number of adoptive placements made and indeed adoptions from care, although in recent years this seems to be levelling off (DfES, 2005b). It seems likely that there is a relatively fixed proportion of children for whom adoption will be the preferred plan, what is encouraging however is that the average age at placement for adoption is falling. This suggests that imperatives about timely decision-making are having an effect although it will require further research to ascertain whether the decisions are always appropriate.

With one or two notable exceptions (Schofield, 2000), *long-term* foster care has received somewhat less attention from the research community and there has been less in the way of policy and practice development in this regard. It is clear that the government would prefer to see fewer children served by this sort of provision and alternatives such as residence orders and special guardianship have been developed. Historically there has been some resistance to such measures because of a perception of a reduced entitlement to financial and other forms of support. Although all forms of support are provided for in the legislation, it remains to be seen whether the newly developed provision will be more equitably resourced.

#### 2.3 Overview of outcomes of permanent placements

Adoption of infants is usually found to be successful on many indicators, although there is now an acknowledgement that adopted people, particularly those adopted within the traditional 'secretive' paradigm, may experience difficulties in adolescence or adulthood due to lack of knowledge about, or contact with, birth relatives. Until the 1980s adoption of children beyond infancy was relatively rare, however, studies which focus on adoption that have been undertaken since, have found that a proportion will be likely to experience disruption (that is end prematurely). The proportion of placements disrupting varies depending on the precise characteristics of the sample, but tends to average at around 20% (Rushton, 2003). Some studies which look at long-term foster care find disruption rates to be substantially higher although the disparity between the two placement types appears to be decreasing (Triseliotis, 2002).

Caution is necessary in comparing outcomes for adoption and permanent placement with foster carers since the characteristics of the two groups of children are unlikely to be equivalent. Overall, it is a child's age at placement that has been found to be the strongest predictor of placement disruption, usually closely followed by the existence of high levels of behavioural problems. There is a much greater risk of poor outcome for placements of older children. In a careful comparison of adoption and longterm foster care outcome studies, Triseliotis (2002) presents an analysis which suggests, for placements made after 1990, that breakdown in either type of placement is rare for children placed before six years of age. It is clearly important to learn how to reduce the likelihood of failed placements since such an experience will represent yet another rejection and another move for a child. On the other hand, placements can work well for many, even when older, and it is equally important to learn how to maximise the chances of success.

#### 3 Methodological and design issues

In the past 25 years there have been many important research studies exploring the experiences of children cared for by others. These are extensively reviewed in the opening chapters of **Quinton, Rushton, Dance and Mayes (1998<sup>11</sup>)** and **Rushton, Dance, Quinton and Mayes (2001<sup>10</sup>)**. While these earlier studies produced much valuable knowledge, several employed sampling strategies or methodologies that presented some difficulties with interpretation. For example, some studies included children adopted by existing foster carers as well as those moving to new families, others sampled adoptions made rather than placement with an intention to adopt. Several studies had to rely on retrospective recall. Evidently it was important to endeavour to explore further the messages from such research with a more tightly defined sample and method.

The design of research reported in full in **Quinton et al (1998<sup>11</sup>) and Rushton et al (2001<sup>10</sup>)** was constructed in such a way as to shed new light on old questions. First, they focused on outcomes of *permanence plans*, rather than on adoption alone. Second, the sampling was quite structured, aiming for homogeneity as far as possible, with both publications being concerned with children moving to join *new* and *unrelated* families in their

middle childhood. ('Middle childhood' being defined as children of primary school age, that is five to eleven years old.) This approach to sampling obviously complicates the task of amassing a cohort to study but, while it continues to focus on individuals, it does lead to benefits in reducing variability in important dimensions. A third important feature of the methodology was that at least minimal data were gathered on all placements that met the inclusion criteria, thus allowing for a judgement of representativeness to be made. Fourth, the design employed a prospective 'follow-up' methodology, largely based on face to face interviews from multiple sources. The information obtained about the children's earlier experiences and about the families that they were joining was considerably more detailed than was generally available in previous studies. Collecting data contemporaneously at each follow-up, afforded the opportunity to address many of the weaknesses of retrospective studies: a data set based on a prospective design allows for a more confident analysis and examination of the interactions between child factors and new family characteristics and outcome. Finally outcome was measured by parental reports of the quality of parent-child relationship and parental satisfaction with the placement, rather than the simple continuity of placement.

#### 3.1 Assessing outcomes

Much of the work presented in the selected published material has focused on 'outcomes'. This is an area in which caution is required from a number of perspectives: these issues were discussed at length in the opening paragraphs of **Rushton and Dance (2004**<sup>4</sup>) which presented a largely qualitative analysis of outcomes for 133 families, six years after placement.

Traditionally research has explored factors associated with placement outcome in terms of a fairly simple outcome categorisation, that is disrupted or continuing, with continuity of placement being assumed to be a successful outcome. The approach taken in the published material included in this report was somewhat different. Because the methodology often involved taped face-to-face interviews, some of which were very lengthy, it was possible to detect and discuss more subtle aspects of adopters' and carers' experiences and the ways in which these informed their views. The result of this was a researcher rating of outcome, based on a combination of the respondent's satisfaction with the child as a family member and their feelings about their relationship with the child. The exact way in which this was done is described fully in **Quinton et al (1998**<sup>11</sup>).

Applying this sort of outcome measure made it clear that disruption is as much to do with the parent's ability to continue to cope as it is to do with the level of specific behavioural problems. Furthermore, these analyses revealed that many families persisted with quite severe behavioural difficulties but felt these to be manageable because they detected the development of close relationships between themselves and the child (**Rushton, Dance and Mayes, 2003b**<sup>6</sup>).

The papers reporting on the six year follow-up again endeavoured to move beyond the simple dichotomous variable of disrupted versus continuing placement. In fact it proved quite feasible to divide the samples into three outcome groups: placements which were intact and happy, those that were intact but continued to be strained, and those which had disrupted. The findings reported in **Rushton and Dance (2004<sup>4</sup>)** drew attention to the fact that, although the majority of placements were continuing (80%), a substantial minority of parents and carers reported significant ongoing problems. This approach provided some very relevant information to the policy and practice world. Based on a prospective and representative sample, this analysis presented some of the first hard evidence of the extent and the degree of difficulties in established long-term placements. If further proof were needed that adopters and foster carers required access to ongoing support, this analysis provided it. Subsequently, Selwyn and Quinton (Selwyn and Quinton, 2004) have published very similar findings.

The analysis of adoptive outcomes at the six year follow-up revealed that, in line with other studies, the major predictor of poor outcome was older age at placement along with the presence of significant behavioural difficulties. However, by using multi-variate analysis, it was possible to show that these two factors each contribute independently to poor outcomes (**Dance and Rushton, 2005a**<sup>1</sup>). The paper also demonstrates the way in which adoptive parent perceptions of the child's attachment correlates with each of these characteristics.

#### 4 Focusing on 'middle childhood'

The preceding sections have set the stage in terms of the population of children requiring permanent placement and in relation to observed outcomes according to age at placement. At the time of the research reported in the selected papers 10 and 11, decision making about both parenting capacity and care planning for children was often a lengthy process. As a result, a substantial proportion of looked after children were of school age, that is over five years old, by the time that permanent alternatives were being sought for them. The use of kinship care, or placement with friends or relatives of the birth family, was yet to become popular in mainstream practice. A closer investigation of the experiences of children placed during middle childhood, and their new families, as presented in Quinton, Rushton, Dance and Mayes, 1998<sup>11</sup> and Rushton. Dance, Quinton and Mayes, 2001<sup>10</sup>) was therefore timely. Although policy and practice are changing in more recent years, in so far as plans for permanence must be addressed early in children's care careers, it seems likely that there will always be a proportion of children who enter care at older ages. The knowledge gleaned is therefore far from redundant.

As already mentioned there appears to be a sudden step function in terms of disruption rates according to age at placement, with disruption being rare for children placed before the age of six (Triseliotis, 2002). What might account for this is a vexing question. Evidently many of the publications address this group quite specifically but they focus on 'what are the problems that may lead to disruption and how might they be ameliorated' rather than 'why there might be more problems at this age'. This section of the report therefore takes a step back to consider what evidence is available to answer the latter question.

Taking a developmental perspective, placement in middle childhood can be seen potentially to pose specific difficulties for the children and, in turn, their new families, in comparison with infancy or early childhood adoptions. From a theoretical standpoint, a child of five or six years old will normally have reached certain milestones in cognitive and emotional development and will be reasonably equipped, with the continued support of stable parent figures, to face the further developmental tasks of the middle childhood

years. A child who has been looked after is likely to be disadvantaged on a number of fronts. This section will consider, briefly, normal development during this phase and then move on to consider the ways in which looked after children may be delayed or disadvantaged in terms of their developmental trajectories and the ways in which such delays may present particular challenges to parents or carers.

# 4.1 The developmental tasks of middle childhood

Middle childhood is usually thought of as being the period between the ages of five to 11 years. Although the approach to education is changing, in that there is a focus on more formalised provision at an earlier stage, (DfES, 2002) this period is consistent with the beginnings of formal education in the majority of countries and broadly coincides with the stage of primary education in the UK. Children's opportunities, and indeed their obligations, to experience a wider range of environments and stimuli expand greatly at this age.

Fahlberg (Fahlberg, 1991) emphasises that more subtlety emerges in children's understanding of their worlds. For example, 'the issue of fairness, or lack of it,' becomes important to children at this stage, that family values are further incorporated and the development of conscience progresses. Importantly she stresses that 'it is a period during which children become increasingly aware of their own strengths and weaknesses.' (p90)

This period is normally a stage at which emotional, social and cognitive states develop rapidly and broader social relationships, that is those outside of the family, begin to become important. According to Herbert (Herbert, 1999) 'The years of middle childhood are notable as a period in which youngsters' interactions with the people in their home and school environments help them to shape their personality.' (p125).

However, the ability to succeed in these age-appropriate tasks, which are so critical to later development, relies on children having already attained the goals of earlier phases of development. Erikson (Erikson, 1980), for example, suggests that trust is developed in the first two years of life and that autonomy and pride emerge between 2 and 4 years of age. Modern interpretations of attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969; Bowlby, 1978; Cassidy and Shaver, 1999) suggest that the stability, reliability and responsiveness of a primary caregiver are essential to the development of these qualities.

#### 4.2 Prior adversity and emotional and cognitive development

Children who find themselves in need of alternative placement at five years or older will, typically, not have experienced ideal nurturing and may well not have had the opportunities for these very basic building blocks to character and personality to develop normally. The majority will have experienced adversity of one sort or another in their early lives. Quinton et al, 1998<sup>11</sup> reported high levels of social and economic disadvantage among the sample children's families and high levels of abusive or inappropriate caregiving by birth parents. Alongside the easily recognised problems of physical injury as a result of abuse, children had often experienced lack of adequate supervision or stimulation where parents mis-used drugs or alcohol. Frequently older siblings had learned to take too much responsibility for younger children where parents were frequently physically or emotionally unavailable. As the work of Crittendon (Crittendon, 1999) and others has illustrated, the strategies that children often adopt to deal with these sorts of experiences may lead to potentially persistent behaviours which are likely to be carried forward into new environments and circumstances.

Howe (Howe, 1996) along with many others has drawn on modern interpretations of attachment theory to consider how histories of abuse and neglect and 'frightened or frightening' carers are associated with a variety of developmental delay and maladaptation. The sorts of difficulties that children frequently experience are problems with social relationships with adults and peers, difficulties in learning resulting from poor concentration and over-activity and high levels of emotional and behavioural problems, particularly oppositional behaviour and defiance. Senseless lying, stealing and hoarding are also common. Many of these inappropriate behaviour patterns can be viewed as defence strategies that have been learned in an effort to exert some control over an unpredictable environment. However, these behaviours, which may be very appropriate in adverse environments, are likely to be viewed as maladaptive in others. These behaviours will be outside the experience of the majority of prospective adopters and some foster carers and may lead to strain in not only the parent-child dyad, but also between pre-existing family members and sometimes the wider social support network (**Quinton, Rushton, Dance and Mayes, 1998**<sup>11</sup>).

#### 4.3 Psycho-biological explanations

Recent research, originating in America and Europe, suggests that many of these difficulties so common among children in care may be to do with emotional dysregulation and be underpinned by inappropriate levels of arousal and associated biochemical changes. These physiological changes effect the child's ability to perceive, process and appropriately respond to internal or external stimuli, (Perry, et al., 1995; van der Kolk and Fisler, 1994). This work is gaining support in this country too (Glaser, 2000) and the results concerning neuro-endocrine activity reported by Fisher and colleagues (Fisher, et al., 2000) suggest that this may be a very promising line of enquiry for future research. As with much social care research, it is important that investigation into enhancing outcomes for children should develop to reflect multi-disciplinary perspectives.

#### 4.4 Other considerations important in middle childhood

Alongside the potential effects of adversity on a child's emotional and cognitive development, many children in care have experienced disruption in their schooling as well as their care environments. Even where schooling has been relatively stable, frequently their emotional development may leave them poorly placed to exploit learning environments. The fact that many children in these circumstances have learning difficulties or delays is not therefore surprising, but it is another hurdle for both the child and the new family.

Such children will also have very real memories of their pasts, some memories will be frightening but, even if they are, they will also have developed attachments to family members and/or previous carers. As a result of their experiences children may have representations of carer figures as unreliable or unapproachable. These aspects also are likely to pose problems for children in settling with and making a commitment to a new family.

Finally, children of this age will usually have siblings; whether they are placed together or not, children's sibling bonds tend to be strong and this again introduces another complication for new families. **Rushton, Dance, Quinton and Mayes, 2001**<sup>10</sup> added substantially to knowledge about relationships between siblings placed together, about the interaction between placed children and their 'new' siblings and about the level of problems that could be generated when siblings had been separated from each other.

Which experiences are associated with which problems and the extent to which such problems persist in a new care-giving environment is of critical importance to social work practice since it is only with such knowledge that practitioners and policy makers can make the best arrangements for children with regard to both type of placement and the support required. Quinton, Rushton, Dance and Mayes (1998<sup>11</sup>) highlighted the high levels of behavioural problems reported by adoptive parents and foster carers on standard measures. In particular, there were many difficulties around overactivity and oppositional behaviour. However, these texts also presented much detail on what families found difficult to cope with: on what they found worrying and how these difficulties impacted on family functioning. The publications drew attention to the fact that many of the problems that children presented, which seriously concerned their carers, were not considered in standard measures of behaviour: problems such as a lack of trust; persistent and nonsensical lying; hoarding behaviours; overfriendliness with strangers; promiscuous and overtly sexualised behaviour; a 'phoniness' in interaction with parent figures. Other researchers were reporting similar messages from samples of adoptive parents at a similar time (O'Conner, et al., 1999) and these findings together have fed into the search for a more appropriate measure of problems among children who have experienced adversity. The piloting of one such measure 'The Expression of Feelings questionnaire' was described in Quinton, Rushton, Dance and Mayes (1998<sup>11</sup>) and Rushton, Dance and Mayes (2003b<sup>6</sup>). The former publication reported large differences between sample children and comparison children, matched for age and social class of the new family, in the way that children expressed positive and negative feelings. The latter explored differences in expression between children considered

to be attached to the new parent or carer and those who had not formed an attachment. The potential of this avenue of enquiry is currently being further explored by a team led from Bristol University (Quinton, Selwyn, Rushton and Dance: The development of the Expression of Feelings in Relationships Questionnaire) and modified versions of the original instrument have been used by other academics (Sinclair et al, 2005). The description of this measure in the 1998 publication led to a number of enquiries by practitioners and managers in family placement field about its potential use in case work, which implies there is a need for a sensitive and reliable practice tool to help social workers to describe children's attachment behaviour and conceptualise their problems with social relationships.

#### 5 Family integration and bonding

Successful family placement requires that prospective parents or carers and the child or children placed with them are able to form a new family unit. With older children, each party brings their own expectations, experiences and interactional styles to the union. Sometimes this immediately works well for everyone but not necessarily so.

Most people who wish to foster or adopt do so to fulfil particular needs in themselves as well as for the more altruistic motives. The 'success' of any placement is therefore likely to depend on the extent to which the child that is placed is able to meet those needs or alternatively the extent to which the adults are able to re-frame their wishes. Until recently, efforts to understand why some placements do not endure have focused largely, although not exclusively, on difficulties presented by the child. The analysis put forward in the earliest of the selected publications (**Quinton, Rushton, Dance and Mayes, 1998**<sup>11</sup>) showed that for most new parents the most important factor in determining their confidence in the stability of the placement, after one year, was a sense of mutual attachment and regard developing between themselves and the child. This remained true at the six-year follow-up and furthermore it was possible to show that behavioural difficulties and parent-child relationships were each associated with outcome independently (**Dance and Rushton, 2005a**<sup>1</sup>). As already discussed although a minority of children who need new families beyond infancy may have experienced good, stable care-giving but lost a parent through bereavement, most will have experienced some degree of adversity in their earlier lives. These adversities are likely to effect the way that young people interact with the world and these effects may be lasting. Recent theory development has drawn on research into the sequelae of abuse and helped to explain why some children exhibit styles of interaction and behaviour that are difficult to manage and difficult to change. Some of these approaches are considered below with reference to the selected publications.

#### 5.1 Explanations from attachment theory

The major theoretical approach to be found in child welfare literature, and one that underpins much practice, builds on Bowlby's attachment theory (1969). The original theory has evolved as a result of substantial research and development by many authors concerned with child development and the theory has many applications. Crittendon (Crittenden, 1992; Crittenden, 1995) and others have particularly explored and developed this theory in relation to children who have experienced adversity in early childhood. These authors present ways of understanding why and how early experiences may result in children relying on maladaptive mechanisms to maintain control of their environments. The theory is persuasive in understanding the behaviours often exhibited by children who are or who have been looked after, and explains why many of these learned reactions may prove to be very persistent as well as very difficult to manage (Howe, 1995; Howe, 1996). Certainly, some types of behavioural problems, particularly aggression and over-activity, proved very persistent for a proportion of the samples discussed in the selected publications (Rushton, Dance and Mayes, 2003b<sup>6</sup>).

#### 5.2 Variation in children's experience and resilience

Despite the commonality of adversity in children's backgrounds, there is variation in the behaviours shown, which does not appear consistently to be linked to the specific type of adversity experienced. It is apparent that the effects of a given experience are likely to depend on the context in which it

occurs, the frequency and severity of its occurrence and on the way in which the aftermath is managed. Although some community- and clinicbased studies of the effects of abuse, for example, have been able to deal with variation in experience (Claussen and Crittenden, 1991), typically the sample sizes in studies of children in public care are not large enough to deal with such detail in the analysis. Another area that must be considered in relation to children's reactions is that of resilience. Certainly the statistical outcome results at both one year and six years after placement reported in Quinton et al (1998<sup>11</sup>) and Dance & Rushton (2005a<sup>1</sup>) made it clear that although certain experiences raised the risk of poorer outcome the statistical associations were by no means perfect. A proportion of those at risk nevertheless settled well with their new families. Much has been written about resilience in children in recent years, it would seem particularly important to learn more about ways of helping to promote resilience and to incorporate these into agency practice (Gilligan, 1999; Rutter, 1993). Recent work on theory of mind development and emotional understanding is also adding to our understanding of critical aspects of children's development (Pears and Fisher, 2005).

#### 5.3 Parent characteristics and parenting style

A further possibility is to look to the responses of other parties involved – particularly the new parents or carers. Studies have again been unable consistently to isolate particular physical, social or economic characteristics of families that are associated with outcomes, but more recently researchers have attempted to look at more subtle characteristics. The analysis presented in **Quinton, Rushton, Dance and Mayes (1998**<sup>11</sup>) attempted to group parents according to the degree of aggression, sensitivity/responsiveness, warmth and efficiency in their parenting style (pp189-203). This followed a well developed coding structure, originally used with carers of individuals with mental health problems (Vaughn, 1989), and subsequently applied to parenting (Vostanis, et al., 1994). This analysis was able to show that maternal sensitivity was associated with outcome, particularly for some sub-groups of young people. This coding continued to feature in the logistic regression analysis presented in **Dance and Rushton (2005a**<sup>1</sup>).

More recently research is beginning to explore variation in the responses of adults according to their attachment status by using the Adult Attachment Interview (Steele, et al., 1999) and one recently completed study has employed this method with a group of adoptive parents. This interview seeks evidence of unresolved attachment issues in adopters' own histories. The authors suggest that where these exist adoptive parents may well encounter difficulties in dealing with their own emotional responses and they are likely to find it hard to help a child to alter his or her reactions to events or perceptions (Kaniuk, 2004).

#### 5.4 Interaction Models

Increasingly it is being realised that to understand the mechanisms by which an unrelated child and family create together a new family environment, an interactional approach is necessary. One such theoretical stance is that proposed by Pinderhughes and her colleagues (Pinderhughes, 1996). Accepting that early experience may result in a variety of psycho-social difficulties for the child, Pinderhughes emphasises that both the child and the new family embark on the process of establishing a new environment for themselves and for each other. Each party is seen as approaching this task with different experiences and different expectations, the challenge is therefore to negotiate, assimilate and reset goals until equilibrium, satisfactory for all parties, emerges.

This interactional approach is one that sits very well with the findings on outcome and relationship development reported in **Quinton et al (1998**<sup>11</sup>) and **Rushton et al (2003b**<sup>6</sup>) where the authors noted the gradual emotional withdrawal of some new parents in the face of continuing or escalating difficulties within the placement, a pattern which was associated with crises in the placement. The emotional withdrawal was associated with reductions in parental warmth and responsiveness and with an increase in aggression.

Anecdotal evidence, and some empirical research, has explored the concept of 'goodness of fit' or the 'click factor' between a child and their new family (Doelling and Johnson, 1990). The specific reference to this area in a recent invitation to tender for research funding from the DfES suggests that interest in this area may be increasing. Originally applied to

the study of child temperament and parent characteristics (Thomas and Chess, 1977) the theory has a certain attractiveness in understanding family placement outcomes. At first glance this view would suggest a mechanism very different from the painstaking process of negotiation proposed by Pinderhughes as discussed above. However it may be that the 'click' could occur rapidly because the needs and strengths in some important dimension are compatible thus making the negotiation less of a task. Sinclair, Wilson and Gibbs (Sinclair, et al., 2005) also discuss these issues in their study of foster placements. Certainly, data presented in **Quinton et al (1998<sup>11</sup>)** drew attention to fact that, although first impressions were not predictive, the relationship between parent and carer uncertainty in the early months of placement and outcome at one- and six-years was substantial. Thus it seems that to understand family placement for children placed during middle childhood there is a need to address the more subtle characteristics and interactions of family members.

#### 6 Studying 'permanence' rather than adoption alone

Much of the published material selected for inclusion in this report included both long-term foster and adoptive placements. There were two major reasons for this. One, to do with the work of Lahti (Lahti, 1982) who had identified a child's sense of permanence as being an important factor associated with placement outcome. The other reason was to ensure that all young people identified as needing a permanence solution were represented in the hope that differences in characteristics may be identified between plans for adoption and permanent fostering. In fact, because the foster care group was substantially smaller than the group of adoptive placements it was generally not possible to present much in the way of comparative analysis. The main differences between the two groups proved to be that those placed for fostering were somewhat older on average and more likely to have a plan for continuing face to face contact with birth relatives than was true for those placed for adoption (Quinton et al, 1998<sup>11</sup>). Schofield and her colleagues (Schofield, 2000) also found that these characteristics were relevant when social workers were planning for children's long term care. Rushton and Dance (2004<sup>4</sup>) reported that, when measured six years after placement, disruption was more frequent among

those placed for fostering, but concluded that this was likely to be because they were older at placement, with all that being older entails regarding longer exposure to adversity and different developmental stages, rather than because they were fostered per se.

However, the data presented in this paper did suggest that a small minority of 'permanent foster carers' did not necessarily see their task as being to provide a family through to independence or beyond - despite the nature of the plan at the outset. These carers frequently mentioned their continuing option to end the placement, which contrasts sharply with the attitudes of most adopters. One of the major strengths of this publication, because of its reliance on longitudinal design was the ability to be able to monitor bias. The description of sample attrition that was presented made it clear that the views of those involved in placement disruptions were only rarely available. Thus it remains a possibility that there are differences in the expectations of those offering a permanent foster placement compared with those pursuing an adoption course and that these differences may have a role in the differential outcomes for adoption and permanent fostering - independent of the characteristics of the child. Even within a group of long-term foster carers, differences in motivation and expectations have been identified by other researchers (Schofield et al. 2000).

More recently, Selwyn and colleagues have identified major differences between foster care and adoption both in terms of the pre-placement characteristics of the children and the outcomes for them (Selwyn and Quinton, 2004). However, the sample of children they were studying differed from the samples reported in the submitted papers in that their cohort was identified as a result of a decision being made that adoption was in their 'best interest'. The researchers were then able to track these children to find out what had happened subsequent to that decision being made. The findings of their study in relation to the children who were actually placed for adoption reaffirm many of the findings published in the selected papers but, in relation to those who remained in foster care, caution is needed in comparing their outcomes across studies: a plan for

adoption that did not come to fruition is somewhat different to being placed with permanent foster carers.

There has been much discussion about the concept of permanent fostering, indeed whether there can be any such thing. Typically, both long-term foster carers and the children complain about lack of security and lack of autonomy. What is sometimes seen as the perpetual 'intrusion' of social work reviews and oversight is also disliked by some. The families discussed in many of the selected papers who experienced these problems overcame them by applying to adopt - although this is not necessarily an appropriate route in all cases.

**Rushton and Dance (2004<sup>4</sup>)** presented follow-up material from some of the adoptive parents and foster carers who had participated in the first and second phases of the research reported in **Quinton et al (1998<sup>11</sup>) and Rushton et al (2001<sup>10</sup>)**. **Dance and Rushton (2005b<sup>2</sup>)** described the views of some of the young people who had been adopted or fostered by them some six years earlier. Both papers draw attention to a minority of respondents who were less than happy with the arrangements. In particular, there were a few cases in which the young people were quite adamant, when interviewed, that they had never wanted to be adopted and were not happy that it had happened.

This observation does raise an interesting conundrum. Is the government and current policy wise in encouraging adoption as widely as it does? Clearly there is a need for children and young people to have a stable and nurturing environment in which to grow up, but for some, for a variety of reasons, adoption may never be the appropriate choice (Bond, 1999; Triseliotis, 1984). Equally it seems likely that permanent fostering does not equate with adoption in terms of the sense of permanence and security. The extent to which proposals such as special guardianship are being used for looked after children (Adoption and Children Act 2002) is not clear, certainly statistical releases do not as yet list these data.

In discussing the views of young people who were not comfortable with their adoptive status **Dance and Rushton (2005b<sup>2</sup>)** stress the importance of the initial assessment and working with children to establish not only

their wishes but also their understanding of the options open to them and their expectations of themselves and others. In a recent article Schofield (Schofield, 2005) has also emphasised this point, stating that

> '...Increasing the accuracy of our understanding of the mind of the child, their thoughts, feelings and hopes for the future, will also contribute to a more accurate assessment of the likely outcomes of different care plan options.'

It seems clear, therefore, that to maximise the likelihood of a placement that proves to be permanent and beneficial to all involved, it is important for all parties to have an understanding of the needs and expectations of themselves and each other. This will require of the professionals involved an empathy with the circumstances of child and new family and an ability to employ the very important social work skills of engagement and assessment.

#### 7 Preferential rejection as a predictor of poor outcome

One of the major findings from the analysis presented in earlier publications (Quinton et al, 1998<sup>11</sup>) emerged from the analysis as something of a surprise. Within the sample there was a smaller group of children who had each experienced a particular type of negative parenting, which was associated with poorer outcome. The term that was chosen by the research team to describe this is 'preferential rejection'. The way in which this was defined has been described in detail in Quinton et al (1998<sup>11</sup>), Dance et al (2002a<sup>7</sup>) and Rushton and Dance (2003a<sup>5</sup>), but briefly it implies a situation in which one child in a sibling group has been the target of a birth parent's negativity. As conceptualised by the research team, this feature of children's backgrounds indicates a particular type of emotional abuse. It is not something that was specifically asked about in the first round of social work interviews, but rather a feature that became evident when analysing the social workers' verbal descriptions of children's experiences in their birth families. The sorts of experiences involved are discussed by Hart, Brassard and Carlson (Hart, et al., 1996) and others who have a special interest in emotional abuse, and are typified by such behaviours as

persistent denigration of the child, negative comparison with siblings and differential treatment.

In many families a degree of differential treatment of siblings will be evident, indeed it is probably healthy since it indicates an acknowledgement of different needs. However, this is usually balanced with at least some positive regard for the child. The experiences of the group that is the focus of these papers seemed very much more persistently negative. Perhaps most persuasive is that they were the only child in their family to be in care, many originally entered care at the request of their birth parents and often the birth parents refused any further contact with the child.

Searches of bibliographic databases suggest that this is the first time a relationship between a specific type of emotional abuse and placement outcome has been identified. To some extent this is unsurprising as studies have rarely been able to test for associations with specific types of abuse. The publications have been cautious about drawing implications from these findings, because of the possibility that this grouping is based on some artefact rather than fact. Potential limitations in relation to the manner in which the factor was identified, the timing of the data collection and the possibility that these children were temperamentally difficult have all been discussed in the relevant papers and the need for further research acknowledged.

#### 7.1 Preferential rejection in the wider literature

A reading of the therapeutic literature concerning parental rejection and 'scapegoating' provides considerable information about the phenomenon termed here preferential rejection (Bowley, 1947; Brockington, 1996; Dare, 1993) and personal testimony is in the public domain (Pelzer, 2002). Although concentrating on children targeted for all types of abuse, Salzinger and her colleagues (Salzinger, et al., 1984) have shown that school teachers are able to identify children who are singled out for maltreatment at home. With regard to empirical research on parental rejection specifically, Rohner and various colleagues have identified its presence in a variety of different cultures and have found links to negative

outcomes in adolescence and to some extent in adulthood also (Rohner and Brothers, 1999; Rohner and Rohner, 1980). Reiss and colleagues (Reiss, et al., 1995), examining the effects of differential parenting, found a strong association between conflictual or negative parenting and anti-social behaviour, there was also some association with depressive symptoms. Similar findings have been reported by other researchers studying general population samples. Shaw and colleagues (Shaw, et al., 1998) exploring the antecedents of externalising problems in children, have found maternal rejection to be associated with child non-compliance. It would not be surprising therefore to discover that children who had been rejected in their family of origin and indeed ejected from that family may subsequently experience difficulties.

#### 7.2 Rejection and permanent placement for looked after children

Although rejection as a concept is frequently thought about in relation to looked after children, it tends to be considered in a rather general way. Practice wisdom suggests that there is broad consensus that 'all children in care are likely to feel rejected'. The phenomenon being discussed here is one that is rather more specific and has not routinely been considered in relation to child care practice. The term 'rejection' has appeared occasionally in papers to do with looked-after children and family placement (Aldridge and Cautley, 1976; Boer, et al., 1995) however, the mention has been brief and insufficient information has been provided to determine whether the phenomenon these authors refer to is similar to the conceptualisation outlined in the selected publications. Nevertheless, an exploration of the literature concerning the effects of emotional abuse and the application of attachment theory to social development suggest that there are grounds for examining the hypothesis that, being singled out for rejection is likely to be associated with greater difficulties in relationship development and less stable placement.

Although both rejected and non-rejected children in this sample started the placement with many behavioural problems, of particular interest is the manner in which these difficulties appeared to escalate for some of the rejected children, both in the home and the school environment. One feature which was more frequent among preferentially rejected children

was what appeared to new parents to be false displays of affection. This was discussed in some detail in **Dance, Rushton and Quinton (2002a<sup>7</sup>)**.

As noted previously, family placement is a complex task, involving each individual in negotiating a number of new and existing relationships (Pinderhughes, 1996). It is possible that the fact of permanence within a new family places extra pressure on young people who have been preferentially rejected: pressure which they may be ill equipped to deal with owing to both their chronological age and their emotional development. Development of such a relationship requires that placed children are emotionally prepared to accept new parent figures and have a means of understanding past experiences which allows them to move on. Where siblings remain with the birth family it is obviously difficult to explain the reason for care and placement in a way which removes the responsibility from the child. The new parents of rejected children were more likely to describe the children as still being attached to past figures in a way which was hampering the child settling and developing new relationships.

Accepting the possibility that emotionally abusive experiences may have lasting effects on children's behaviour and their ability to form new relationships does not require a tremendous leap of faith. But it is important that further attempts are made to replicate the findings that have emerged from these studies. The implications of the findings are important not just for planning for children in care but also for children growing up with their birth families.

#### 7.3 Identification and intervention in cases of preferential rejection

One attempt has been made to explore preferential rejection in community samples. The full description of the research and the findings are to be found in Rushton, Dance and O'Neill (2001). A shortened report of this three phase study (**Rushton and Dance, 2005c**<sup>3</sup>) is selected for submission. This paper presents the major findings concerning the perceptions of these problems among health visitors and among practitioners in child and adolescent mental health services (CAMHS) respectively and explored the response of social services to referrals of suspected emotional abuse. Both health visitors and CAMHS practitioners

recognised these problems on their case loads. Interviewees offered a range of views as to why such problems may occur within families. However, regardless of the underlying reason, many respondents felt that this sort of difficulty in a parent-child relationship was likely to be very difficult to ameliorate.

A major difficulty faced by social services, because of their statutory powers in relation to child protection, is the need to have 'evidence' that a child is at risk of significant harm before intervening. Many people have identified that emotional abuse is extremely difficult to quantify and to prove, and there have been several reports critical of social services response to allegations of emotional abuse (Glaser, 1997). Recent changes in the way in which child protection cases are categorised on official records have made it evident that not only is emotional abuse often present with other forms of abuse, it also appears more frequently as a sole category. However a second issue is also present: do social workers respond similarly to child protection referrals in respect of emotional abuse of individual children compared with referrals where there were concerns about more than one child in the family? It was this question that was the focus of the exploration of social services referral records. Some differences in the level of investigation and service offered were detected but the lack of detail on referral records, coupled with small numbers and potential confounders, made it very difficult to reach firm conclusions.

Many authors have made vigorous pleas for emotional abuse to be taken more seriously and the findings discussed here, although originating from a slightly different perspective, would add to that call.

# 7.4 Children's needs and families' strengths

Returning to the topic of children placed for permanence, would the findings reported here argue for different placement plans for children who have experienced preferential rejection? By no means should they be taken to imply that. Although the proportion of preferentially rejected children experiencing difficulties was far higher than in any other grouping, not all of them did poorly and neither did they account for all poorer outcomes. However, the findings do argue for, firstly, a more detailed consideration of

children's prior experiences and the effects these may have had in the course of making plans for them. Secondly, a more accurate assessment of children's perceptions of their past and their views about plans made for their future is needed. And thirdly, it is important that a full disclosure of those views and attitudes be made to the prospective new family. It is only with complete information that professionals and prospective parents can make an informed judgement as to whether the match is likely to meet the needs of the child and indeed the needs of the new family.

#### 8 The importance of providing appropriate support

The final area to be discussed in this paper is that of support for both children and the new families. Several of the selected publications have contributed significantly to knowledge in this area. **Quinton et al (1998**<sup>11</sup>) and **Rushton et al (2001**<sup>10</sup>) emphasised the levels of difficulty reported by adoptive parents and carers during the first year of placement. Of course these publications were not alone in identifying that support was an issue for adopters and foster carers (and importantly their children). Indeed, the literature at the time these papers were written included increasing numbers of practitioner reports and papers by individuals and groups with direct experience of family placement, which highlighted the level of unmet need in some cases (**Rushton and Dance, 2002b**<sup>9</sup>). However those selected papers were able to clarify the proportion of families that were struggling, and the degree and nature of difficulty that could be involved.

These difficulties included the practicalities of ensuring appropriate educational provision as well as problems posed by the behaviour of individual children, interaction between children and interaction between children and adults in the family. Problems with wider family and community were not unheard of either, as a result of some of the behavioural problems exhibited outside the home. This is a feature of critical importance in relation to support in that the adopters and foster carers often relied on informal support networks provided by extended family members and the wider community. However, in some cases these potential supports melted away when confronted by the reality of managing some of the behaviours

of the emotionally damaged children. At one year after placement there were some parents already receiving medication for stress induced illness.

Even after six years of placement, nearly half of continuing placements were still reporting significant difficulties and one in five placements had ended because the difficulties had exceeded the parents' ability to cope (Rushton and Dance, 2004<sup>4</sup>). In some of the more extreme cases children were cared for elsewhere in an effort not to actually disrupt the placement. There were examples of young people in remand foster care, at boarding school and in respite care.

At the time these placements were originally made the concept of postadoption support was in its infancy, particularly for placements arranged within social services departments. It was common-place for the children's worker to withdraw shortly after an adoptive placement was made – save for essential supervisory visits. The worker for the family may continue to visit on a more frequent basis but would very probably withdraw once the adoption order had been made. The exception to this was when children were placed with families recruited by voluntary adoption agencies. Most of these agencies already had an 'open door' policy for adoptive families and some were beginning to offer a more pro-active ongoing service. These developments were in response to voluntary agencies own experiences of keeping in touch with families and also a reaction to some of the practice literature initially emanating from the United States but rapidly followed in the UK (Hughes, 1995; Lightburn and Pine, 1996; Macaskill, 1985; Macaskill, 1986; McGee, 1995; Swaine and Gilson, 1998).

Since then, along with the other changes in policy and practice outlined earlier, both practitioners and policy makers have recognised the need to make ongoing support available to families when they need it. The works submitted here have been influential in achieving this. A number of practice papers and good practice guidance papers have been published in recent years and evidence of the government's commitment is to be found in the publication of the consultation document Providing Effective Adoption Support, which recognised explicitly that modern adoption is a life-long process and that support may be needed at any point (DH, 2002). Practice

guidance concerning assessment of support needs in line with the spirit of the 2002 Adoption and Children Act has recently been released (DfES, 2005a)

The key finding in relation to support, as presented in the selected papers was not that adopters and carers were critical of the emotional support offered by the social workers that they were involved with. Rather, that more intensive help, the sorts commonly associated with children's mental health services or education services, were not sufficiently available or appropriate to the needs of their children. Again these findings have since been endorsed by other researchers (Selwyn and Quinton, 2004).

In a survey of adoption support undertaken relatively recently, **Rushton and Dance (2002b<sup>9</sup>)** showed that the majority of local authorities in the UK were well aware of their responsibilities concerning post-placement and post-adoption support, however, their ability to provide for this was somewhat limited by resources. Perhaps most concerning was the fact that many respondents, mostly managers in adoption teams, were unable to quantify the proportion of families that may need help to manage difficult behaviour or to establish meaningful family relationships. Where families did need intensive help to deal with these problems, suitable facilities were still felt to be in very short supply and not evenly available across the country. Problems with the length of waiting lists and a lack of awareness of issues in adoption and family placement were frequently mentioned in relation to the more routinely available resources such as child and adolescent mental health services.

The findings of the survey (**Rushton and Dance, 2002b**<sup>9</sup>) were widely cited in the consultation documents produced by the government concerning adoption support.

Children's mental health services appear to have been slow to recognise that children who are, or have been, looked after may experience particular problems. There have been a number of difficulties reported over the years with securing appropriate intervention for such children. Frequently therapeutic intervention is considered inappropriate if children are in temporary care situations; adopters and foster carers often complain that

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the sort of intervention offered does not recognise that the difficulties are probably largely to do with past and not current experiences. As a result a number of dedicated services have been developed, some within the universal systems and some by voluntary or private organisations (Adoption UK, 2000; Burnell and Briggs, 1997; Hart, et al., 2001). There are also a variety of therapeutic approaches that are being practiced or proposed but to date there remains a dearth of evaluative evidence on their effectiveness with these populations.

# 9 Summary and conclusions

The preceding discussion has highlighted how the work in which I have been involved has contributed to the expansion of knowledge in the field of permanent family placement. Focusing specifically on middle childhood and with reference to permanence by both adoption and long-term fostering, two major threads have been identified. The first is the association between preferential rejection and poor outcome, which has major implications for practice in relation to individual cases and second is the issue of ongoing support which has implications for service development and delivery. These publications, focusing on social care practice in the UK have provided important material for practitioners and policy makers. Several of the publications have been cited in government reviews of literature and consultation documents and the two early books (Quinton et al, 1998<sup>11</sup> and Rushton et al, 2001<sup>10</sup>) were discussed in some depth in Adoption Now (Parker, 1999) and Fostering Now (Sinclair, 2005) which are major references for practitioners and policy makers. Together the works have had a definite impact on government policy regarding the legislative changes concerning support for adoptive placements and, anecdotally at least, have had a bearing on the imperative to strive for earlier decision making.

As outlined in the introduction, the research discussed in the selected publications has not taken place in a vacuum, social work practice as well as national and local policy have developed in the decade or more in which the research has taken place. The recent efforts of government to promote thorough assessment and timely decision-making with the Framework for

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the Assessment of Children in Need (Dept of Health, 2000) and the Integrated Children's System (DH, 2003), thereby reducing children's exposure to adversity, can be seen as an apposite response to research such as this, which clearly reveals the levels of ongoing difficulty. If working correctly the majority of children should also be less likely to experience the, sometimes, very high numbers of moves within the care system that was true for some of the young people whose experiences were reported in the selected publications. Repeated moves in care especially in combination with repeated returns home, were found to be a risk factor for poor outcome in the six-year analysis (Dance and Rushton, 2005a<sup>1</sup>). As long as the time-scales for decision making and planning do not preclude thorough and sensitive assessment and preparation, these developments should benefit looked after children in so far as they are likely to be younger when placed and have experienced less instability. In theory, therefore, these children are likely to be somewhat less needy in some ways than was true for the young people studied in the research reported in the selected publications.

On the other hand, it is also evident that the background characteristics of the population of looked after children are changing. In the survey mentioned earlier (**Rushton and Dance, 2002b**<sup>9</sup>) many respondents mentioned their concern about the number of children becoming looked after at very early ages because of parental substance misuse, where there were worries about prenatal exposure. However, the long-term effects of prenatal exposure to some of the newer and commonly used substances (e.g. MDMA, crack-cocaine) are not yet clear, this is likely to make it difficult to predict what sort of support and advice might be necessary in future. It is also the case that while placement at a younger age may reduce exposure to adversity and multiple care environments it will also mean, because of their developmental stage, that children may be less able to make sense of what is happening.

# 10 Future directions

The material presented in preceding sections, taken together suggests several potentially fruitful areas for further research. One may be to look

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more closely at work done with children both to assess their understanding of their situation and their views about future plans, and to help them make sense of their past. In recent years there has been relatively little literature that has focused on direct work with children and although children's participation in decision making is a fundamental aspect of government policy, Thomas and O'Kane (Thomas and O'Kane, 1999)have been critical in the past of the manner in which this has been generally achieved, although more recently Thomas (Thomas, 2005) has identified signs of improvement in children's participation.

In particular the findings regarding preferential rejection suggest that we need to find better methods for understanding the emotional state of the child and the impact that prior experiences may have had on the child's social interaction and expectations. Properly 'hearing' the voice of the child requires particular skills and understanding. From the findings discussed here it is also apposite to argue for more attention to the factors that are considered when matching children and prospective carers, in particular the needs and strengths that adults bring to a match. And finally, further investigation concerning the effectiveness of different mechanisms for providing support and intervention remains crucially important.

While there is still some way to go in order to fully understand the processes underlying successful outcomes of permanent placement, the publications selected for discussion in this paper have made a substantial contribution to understanding some of the needs of children who require permanent placement and the families who care for them.

# APPENDIX I SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- Dance, C. and Rushton, A. (2005a) "Predictors of outcome for unrelated adoptive placements made during middle childhood." *Child and Family Social Work* 10 (4) pp..269-280
- Dance, C. and Rushton, A. (2005b) "Joining a new family: the views and experiences of adopted and fostered young people." *Adoption and Fostering\_29* (2)\_pp 18-28
- 3. Rushton, A. and **Dance, C**. (2005c) "Negative parental treatment of the singled out child: Responses to the problem by Health Visitors, Social Services Departments and Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services". *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, **10** (3) pp.413-428.
- 4. Rushton, A. and **Dance, C**. (2004). "Outcomes of late permanent placement: The adolescent years." *Adoption & Fostering* **28** (1)\_49-58.
- 5. Rushton, A. and **Dance, C**. (2003a). "Preferentially rejected children and their development in permanent family placements." *Child and Family Social Work* **8**(4): 257-267.
- Rushton, A., Mayes, D. and Dance, C. (2003b). "Parenting late-placed children: The development of new relationships and the challenge of behavioural problems." *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 8(3): 389-400.
- Dance, C., Rushton, A. and Quinton, D. (2002a). "Emotional abuse in early childhood: Relationships with progress in subsequent family placement." *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry* 43(3): 395-407
- 8. Rushton, A., **Dance, C.** and Quinton, D. (2000). "Findings from a UK based study of late permanent placements." *Adoption Quarterly* **3**(3): 51-71.

# SELECTED BOOKS

- 9. Rushton, A. and **Dance, C**. (2002b). Adoption support services for families in difficulty: A literature review and survey of UK practice. London, BAAF.
- 10. Rushton, A., **Dance, C**., Quinton, D and Mayes, D. (2001). *Siblings in late permanent placement*. London, BAAF.
- 11. Quinton, D., Rushton, A., **Dance, C**. and Mayes, D. (1998). *Joining new families: A study of adoption and fostering in middle childhood.* Chichester, UK, John Wiley & Sons.

# APPENDIX II UNSELECTED PUBLICATIONS

- Rushton, A. and **Dance, C**. (2003). "Preferential rejection: research findings and practice implications." <u>Adoption & Fostering</u> **27**(1): 68-70.
- Simon, J. and **Dance, C**. (2000). "Disabled children in long-term fostering and adoption (Research for practice)." *Adoption & Fostering* **24**(4): 57-59.
- Rushton, A. and **Dance, C.** (2002). "Quality Protects: a commentary on the government's agenda and the evidence base." *Child and Adolescent Mental Health.* 7 (2) 60-65
- **Dance, C**. (1999). Sibling separation and contact in permanent placement. In *We are family: Sibling relationships in placement and beyond*. A. Mullender. (ed) London, BAAF.
- Rushton, A., Quinton, D., **Dance, C**. and Mayes, D. (1998). "Preparation for permanent placement: Evaluating direct work with older children." *Adoption and Fostering* **21**(4): 41-48.
- Quinton, D., J. Selwyn, Rushton, A. and **Dance, C**. (1998). "Contact with birth parents in adoption a response to Ryburn." *Family Law Quarterly* **10**(4): 349-361.
- Quinton, D., J. Selwyn, Rushton, A. and Dance, C. (1999). "Contact between children placed away from home and their birth parents: Ryburn's 'reanalysis' analysed." *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 4(4): 519-531.
- Quinton, D., A. Rushton, Dance, C. and Mayes, D. (1997). "Contact between children placed away from home and their birth parents: Research issues and evidence." *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 2(3): 393-413.
- **Dance, C**., with F. Collier, et al. (1997). *Focus on adoption: A snapshot of adoption patterns*. London, BAAF.

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# APPENDIX IV CO-AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

# **Co-author declaration**

Note: This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

### 1. The Applicant

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: Cherilyn Dance and Alan Rushton

Title and details of publication: "Predictors of outcome for unrelated adoptive placements made during middle childhood." <u>Child and Family Social Work</u> **10** (4) pp. (2005) (PUBLICATION 1)

### 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

This paper presents a quantitive analyis, employing multi-variate techniques to determine the relative importance of a variety of potential explanatory factors in relation to the outcome of permanent placements. The analytic approach, the analyses themselves and the writing up were undertaken almost entirely by the candidate. (Specialist statistical advice was sought where necessary).

Overall contribution

90%

## 4 Declaration

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

A.B. Kigho Date Signed (Co-author)

21 Oct '05

# UNIVERSITY OF LUTON

FORM RSPP2

# **Co-author declaration**

Note: This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

### 1. The Applicant

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: Cherilyn Dance and Alan Rushton

Title and details of publication: "Joining a new family: the views and experiences of adopted and fostered young people." <u>Adoption and Fostering</u> **29** (2) pp 18-28 (2005) (PUBLICATION 2)

### 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

This paper provided a qualitative analysis of young people's perceptions of having been permanently placed with new families. The candidate was responsible for the majority of the analysis and writing up.

Overall contribution

85%

## 4 Declaration

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed (Co-author)

B. Kash

Date

21 Oct '05

# Co-author declaration

This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications Note: involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

#### The Applicant 1.

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

#### The Publication 2

Names of all authors: Alan Rushton and Cherilyn Dance

Title and details of publication: "Negative parental treatment of the singled out child: Responses to the problem by Health Visitors, Social Services Departments and Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services". Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 10 (3) pp.413-428 (2005) (PUBLICATION 3)

#### Contribution 3

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

The candidate made a very significant contribution to around two-thirds of the analyses and writing up presented in this paper.

Overall contribution

60%

#### Δ Declaration

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed (Co-author) , R. Ruth Date

21 Oct '05

# Co-author declaration

This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications Note: involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

#### 1. The Applicant

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

#### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: Alan Rushton and Cherilyn Dance

Title and details of publication: "Outcomes of late permanent placement: The adolescent years." Adoption & Fostering 28 (1) 49-58 (2004) (PUBLICATION 4)

#### 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitiative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

This major contribution of this paper was to present a thematic analysis of respondents' views elicited from interviews and questionnaires. Both authors contributed to the qualitative analysis and although the more quantitative aspects of the paper were largely produced by the candidate.

Overall contribution

60%

#### 4 Declaration

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed (Co-author) , A.P. Kizh

Date

21 Oct 05

# **Co-author declaration**

Note: This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

### 1. The Applicant

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: Cherilyn Dance and Alan Rushton

Title and details of publication: "Preferentially rejected children and their development in permanent family placements." <u>Child and Family Social Work</u> 8(4): 257-267 (2003). (PUBLICATION 5)

## 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

This paper built upon the analyses presented in paper 7 with particular attention given to making the findings acceptable and accessible to a professional audience and drawing implications for practice.

Overall contribution

75%

### 4 Declaration

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed (Co-author)

A. B. Olasta

Date

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# UNIVERSITY OF LUTON

FORM RSPP2

# Co-author declaration

This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications Note: involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

#### 1. The Applicant

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

#### The Publication 2

Names of all authors: Alan Rushton, Cherilyn Dance and Deborah Mayes

Title and details of publication: "Parenting late-placed children: The development of new relationships and the challenge of behavioural problems." Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry 8(3): 389-400. (PUBLICATION 6)

#### 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitiative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

This publication built upon the analyses published in Joining New Families (1998) with regard to relationship development. I had a good deal of input into the original and the new analyses although colleagues contributed a good deal to the development of the paper as a whole. 50% Overall contribution

#### Declaration 4

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed (Co-author)

HR. Krathe

Date

24/ Od '05

# UNIVERSITY OF LUTON

FORM RSPP2

# Co-author declaration

This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications Note: involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

#### 1. The Applicant

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: Cherilyn Dance, Alan Rushton and David Quinton

Title and details of publication: "Emotional abuse in early childhood: Relationships with progress in subsequent family placement." Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry 43(3): 395-407. (PUBLICATION 7)

### 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitiative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

This publication represents further exploration of one of the major findings reported in Joining New Families (1998). It utilised a different sampling structure, more stringent definitional criteria and indepth quantitative analyses. It was almost entirely my own work although colleagues were very helpful in commenting on analyses and assisting with the drawing implications.

Overall contribution

90%

#### 4 Declaration

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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FORM RSPP2

# **Co-author declaration**

Note: This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

## 1. The Applicant

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

## 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: Cherilyn Dance, Alan Rushton and David Quinton

Title and details of publication: "Emotional abuse in early childhood: Relationships with progress in subsequent family placement." <u>Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry</u> **43**(3): 395-407. (PUBLICATION 7)

## 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

This publication represents further exploration of one of the major findings reported in Joining New Families (1998). It utilised a different sampling structure, more stringent definitional criteria and indepth quantitative analyses. It was almost entirely my own work although colleagues were very helpful in commenting on analyses and assisting with the drawing implications.

Overall contribution

90%

### 4 Declaration

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Signed Jon d Centro (Co-autho

Date 13 Av 2005

# UNIVERSITY OF LUTON

FORM RSPP2

# **Co-author declaration**

Note: This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

## 1. The Applicant

Name: CHERILYN DANCE

Title of research area of submission: Permanent family placement during middle childhood: outcomes and support

### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: Alan Rushton, Cherilyn Dance, David Quinton and Deborah Mayes

Title and details of publication: Rushton, A., Dance, C. and Quinton, D. (2000). "Findings from a UK based study of late permanent placements." <u>Adoption Quarterly</u> **3**(3): 51-71. (PUBLICATION 8)

## 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

This peer reviewed article drew on the book 'Joining New Families' to present findings on the outcome of placements with reference to an international audience and explored similarities and differences between the UK and US contexts.

Overall contribution to the production of this paper

50%

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Signed (Co-author)

A.B. Wisto

Date

2\$/10/05

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Title and details of publication: <u>Adoption support services for families in difficulty: A literature</u> review and survey of UK practice. London, BAAF. (2002) (PUBLICATION 9)

### 3 Contribution

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This book comprises a literature review and the results of a national survey of current practice. The candidates contribution to the former was modest but was substantial in the latter. The design of the survey, the analysis and the writing were primarily the candidate's responsibility.

Contribution to literature review	10%
Contribution to the report of survey findings	90%

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Title and details of publication: Siblings in late permanent placement. London, BAAF (2001) (PUBLICATION 10)

### 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

The production of this book was very much a team effort. However, because I was employed full time on this project I was responsible, with supervision, for a good deal of the work. Estimates of a percentage contribution to the writing of various parts of the book are given below. The background and methodology chapters 25% Analysis and presentation of findings (on average) 80% 25% Discussion and implications

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Date

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Signed Jon & Cultz (Co-author)

Date 23 QJ 2005

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Signed Jend Gunta (Co-author)

Date 23 Oct 2005