

Research Plan

Introduction

Objective--In response to a growing realization of the need to combat population growth within this country, many observers have suggested adoption as an alternative to biological child bearing. However, at the same time the pool of infants available for adoption in the United States has been decreasing so that fewer infants of the same ethnic-racial background as the potential parents are available for placement in adoptive homes. This has led to an increase in recent years of transracial and transcultural adoptions. That is, white parents, who make up the largest group of adoptive parents, are increasingly adopting children of racial and cultural backgrounds other than their own. (Anderson, 1971) These may be children from minority groups within this country or children left homeless in other lands, especially in Asian countries recovering from the ravages of war.

Little, however, is known about the nature of these adoptions, either in the field of social work or in sociology. The purpose of the proposed study is to examine how transracially adopting families handle the multi-ethnic and racial make-up of their families, and how different approaches to this situation affect the development of the children (both biological and adopted) and family life.

Background--Some previous studies have tried to understand the motives of a couple choosing to adopt transracially or to accept "hard-to-place" children (this category includes handicapped and older children). (See Kadushin, 1962; Maas and Engler, 1959; Chambers, 1970; Roskies, 1963; Jenkins, 1961; Falk, 1970; Fricke, 1965; Gallay, 1963.) There have also been some attempts to evaluate adjustment of children adopted transracially. Most of these attempts have been relatively small with limited resources and thus limited results (Divingilia, 1956; Rathburn et al, 1958, 1964; Welter, 1966; Pettiss, 1962; ISS, 1960; O'Conner, 1964; Keltie, 1969; Kim and Reed, 1970; Stockard, 1972). One project that was adequately financed and included interviews with families over a period of time is David Fanshel's Study of Anglo families adopting Native American Children (1972). Two other studies are also near completion: one directed by Dr. Joan Shireman of Chicago Child Care Society and a second directed by Dr. Lucille Grow of Child Welfare League of America in New York City. Both of these studies concentrate on black children placed with white parents. However, they deal with adjustment over time, have interviews with the families, and, in the Chicago study, use adequate controls for non-transracial adopting and placement in single parent homes and take the age of the child at placement into account.

Perhaps because the aim of these studies is finding the best policies and procedures for successful placements for family and child, they have not usually explicitly examined how relations within the family and relations between the family and the community influence the child's and family's development.¹ Two exceptions to this situation are Kim's (1974) attempt to

1 In having this emphasis the studies are following the tradition of "follow-up" studies of adoptive placement. See, for example, Theis, 1924; Parker, 1927; Morrison, 1960; Edwards, 1954; Witmer, et al, 1963; Brenner, 1951; Jaffee and Fanshel, 1970; Nieden, 1951; McWhinnie, 1967; Shaw, 1953; Lawder, et al, 1969; Lutheran Social Service, 1968; Kadushin, 1970.

conceptualize the process of identity development in the transracial adoptive situation and Shireman's inclusion of identity development as an important variable in the second phase of the Chicago study.

There has been some attention given to this issue in studies of adoptions that were not transracial or transcultural. Much of this work seems to have arisen from a concern with the relatively large number of adopted children in psychiatric care (Schechter, 1964; Oumsted and Humphrey, 1963, 1964), although Kadushin (1966) has shown that these differences may be explained by the upper and middle class status of adoptive families and the absence of siblings. Paul Toussieng returned to this issue in 1971, suggesting that the way to approach many problems in adoptive families that find their way to clinics is to view adoption as fundamentally different from having biological families. Such a stance would be a starting point for acceptance of adoption by the parents and thus by the child, which would eventually aid family adjustment.

David Kirk, the only sociologist to do extensive work in the area of adoptive family relations, has made a similar suggestion. He concentrates on role handicaps faced by non-fecund couples who turn to adoption as their alternative to biological child bearing and suggests that there are two conceivable ways of facing the role handicaps inherent in this situation: "acknowledgment of differences" or "rejection of differences." These approaches are seen as "conflicting orientations toward the adoptive situation" (Kirk, 1964:58). One of the ways Kirk suggests that couples may show "acknowledgement of differences" is through the adoption of a child of a different racial background. In this proposal we use Kirk's work in developing a conceptual model of ways families may approach the cross-racial adoptive situation and the implications of these approaches. We then propose methods of testing this model.

Rationale--Following Kirk we suggest that within the transracial and transcultural adoptive situation there exist certain inherent "role handicaps." That is, the actual situation of a family of one racial heritage having children who are obviously of another racial background is one that is out of the ordinary and could produce instances not commonly found in the biological family situation or even in the non-transracial adoptive situation. Thus we suggest that the attitude that a child's family takes toward, not only the adoptive situation as Kirk has suggested, but also within this special situation toward the cultural and racial background of the child, will influence both the adjustment of the child and of the family.

Some support for this position comes from a work published in 1964. Interested in the identification problems of adopted children, Betty Ball (1964:41-42) hypothesized that adopted children under psychiatric care would tend to identify with a fantasized image of their natural parents. This fantasy of their biological parents would lead to a negative image of their adopted parents, and, eventually, the problems necessitating professional care. Instead, Ball found that the adoptive parents tended to view the natural parents of the child in a negative manner and transferred this image to their perception of the child. This led eventually to the child's negative identification with the adoptive parents. Such a result illustrates not only the influence of the parents upon the identification process of the child, but also the possibility of negative as well as positive results emanating from parental attitudes.

Closely tied to the question of familial attitudes and reactions is the question of the child's self-identity, the attitude which young people take toward themselves. George Herbert Mead is perhaps the most familiar formulator

in sociology of this process of the individual's self-recognition, seeing the individual's self-concept as coming from his social situation. The individual comes to view himself, through his interactions with others, as these others see him (Mead, 1964: 40-42).

Other writers have also commented upon the process of identity formation. Erich Fromm has emphasized the importance of developing an

identity based on one's experience of self as the subject and agent of one's powers, by the grasp of reality inside and outside of ourselves, that is, by the development of objectivity and reason. (1967:68)

Thus Fromm sees an adequate and healthy sense of identity as related to a realization and actualization of self-worth.

Erik Erikson has commented on the problems faced by minority children (and those distinguished from their peers in some other way) in the process of identity formation. Erikson infers the existence of problems faced by a black growing to maturity in a white dominated society like the United States. He suggests that the fragments with which a black child must deal in building an identity combine to create intense problems in developing an integrated final product (Erikson, 1959a: 37-38; see also Clark, 1967: 64-65).

In a second context seeing the early years of childhood in America as being fairly smooth with American children being "remarkably free of prejudice and apprehension," Erikson discusses the ramifications of this relatively smooth childhood period.

(The lack of "prejudice and apprehension"), to forestall the sense of individual inferiority, must lead to a hope for "industrial association," for equality with all those who apply themselves wholeheartedly to the same skills and adventures in learning. Many individual successes, on the other hand, only expose the now overly encouraged children of mixed backgrounds and somewhat deviant endowments to the shock of American adolescence: the standardization of individuality and the intolerance of "differences." (1959b:91)

The danger of this adolescent period, suggests Erikson, is "identity diffusion," the lack of a full development of identity, the diffusion of one's self-concepts.

When such a dilemma is based on a strong previous doubt of one's ethnic and sexual identity, delinquent and outright psychotic incidents are not uncommon. (1959b:91)

In line with this literature we suggest that the extent to which a child's family and thus the child himself accepts his ethnic-racial and cultural background and views it as favorable, as something worthy of pride, the child will develop a healthy self-image and identity and thus better social and cultural adjustment. This self-view is not isolated but is influenced by life-history and environmental conditions, and in turn acts upon or influences subsequent events and occurrences. In addition, we suggest that the approach taken by the family toward the transracial family situation will influence relationships among all family members and thus the development of all the children and parents in the family unit.

Our theoretical formulation, briefly stated above, is shown graphically in Figure One. We suggest that within the transracial and transcultural adoptive situation there are certain tension producing factors, for example,

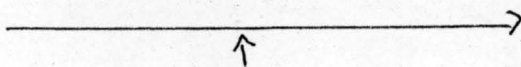
Figure 1
The Theoretical Model

4

Stockard, Jean

Tension Producing Factors in the Transracial Adoptive Situation:

- a. Reactions of family members to the adoption.
- b. Reactions of community to the adoption.
- c. Instances of discrimination



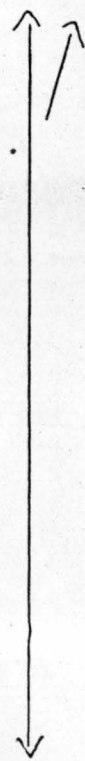
Intervening Variables affecting the attitude taken toward the adoptive situation:

- 1. Characteristics of the family
- 2. Characteristics of the child
- 3. Characteristics of the community

Coping Mechanisms: (Overall attitude toward the transracial adoptive situation)

Accepting, positive attitude toward the child's background

Negative Attitude toward the child's background



Better overall adjustment of children
Clearer sense of self-identity
Closer family ties
Greater acknowledgment of difficulties

10

Perceived reaction to the adoption by neighbors, friends and relatives or instances of discrimination directed at either the child(ren) or the family as a whole. The way in which the family will cope with these factors is hypothesized as being influenced by numerous intervening factors: 1) Characteristics of the family including factors such as family social status, age of the parents, the total number of children (biological, adopted and transracially adopted), and styles of family interaction; 2) personal characteristics of the child(ren) such as age at adoption, racial background, and personality; and 3) Contextual variables within the community including the size and heterogeneity of the community and the presence of other transracially adopted children.

The coping reactions or mechanisms with which we are concerned are quite apart from the intense and immediate emotional response to an instance of discrimination or the discovery or rediscovery of racism in one's friends and neighbors.² Instead, we are referring to the family's overall approach to the transracial adoptive situation, the decision by the family, whether conscious or not, to explicitly recognize and acknowledge the child's background as something worthy of pride and interest, to ignore and try to disregard this background, or to actually (usually not explicitly) see this background as problematic or deserving only of shame. Neither are we suggesting that these reactions are constant and unchanging over time. A processual or developmental analysis is essential in understanding dynamics within the family (e.g. Rodgers, 1973). Thus it seems entirely conceivable that at one point in time a family could quite consciously discuss the cultural background of their children while at another time period be unable to maintain such communication. A family's approach to the adoptive situation, their chosen "coping mechanisms," could conceivably range from accepting, positive and open attitudes toward the child's background to negative and rejecting feelings and behaviors.

As the final step in the model it is suggested that families with greater positive recognition of the child's background will have children with better overall adjustment and a clearer sense of self-identity, closer relations among family members, and will be more likely to acknowledge difficulties faced in community acceptance and with discrimination instances. The first three hypothesized results arise logically from the literature on identity formation. The final hypothesized association arises from the contention that a positive recognition of a child's background will involve not just blind pride in his heritage, but honesty in recognizing and admitting problems that the racial-ethnic differences in the family have created. It is then implied that a rejection of these differences and the child's heritage could be reflected by a failure to admit difficulties in the community and with discrimination.³

In an earlier paper (Stockard, 1973, see appendix) we attempted to test an earlier form of this model with data from a study originally designed as a follow-up study of adjustment in the transracial adoptive situation (Stockard, 1972). The results of this work were disappointing in that no clear-cut support for the model was obtained in a quantitative analysis. While there was a tendency for families who emphasized the importance of a child's cultural heritage to also report less than supportive reactions at some time from community members

² How a family reacts to these situations and views them over a period of time is, however, important in our formulation.

³ The recognition of these incidents is seen as analytically distinct from the frequency with which these events occur.

and relatives and to report more instances of discrimination, associations of these primary variables (measures of approaches to the transracial adoptive situation) with measures of adjustment were inconsistent. Associations of the primary variables with the hypothesized intervening variables were rarely in agreement with the model and were usually low in magnitude. A more subjective analysis of the data, however, did indicate that different ways of approaching the transracial adoptive situation with respect to considerations of racial-ethnic and cultural differences were perhaps associated with different family interaction patterns and different forms of child adjustment.

Several reasons were suggested for the disappointing results of this analysis involving problems in the original model, measurement of variables, nature of the data, and analysis procedures used. (See Stockard, 1973) We have attempted to deal with each of these problems in this paper as we propose to analyze the revised model.

Specific Aims

We propose to examine the utility of this model in different social settings. Both a cross-sectional and longitudinal study are planned, so we may examine the model at different points in the family and childhood life cycles. We will look at different ways families may approach the transracial adoptive situation; characteristics of the family, child(ren), and community that may influence the approach taken; and, finally, how the approach taken influences the adjustment of the child and family including both the parents and children (adopted and biological).

Methods

Sample--In order to have a sample that represents both transcultural and transracial adoptions we will focus on children coming from Asia and placed in homes in the United States in the last twenty years.

The unit of analysis in this study will be the family. Choosing the unit of analysis has been somewhat of a problem in other studies. A family may adopt more than one child, yet a study will often choose only one child for its sample while strikingly different results could have appeared using the other children. (See Jaffee and Fanshel, 1970) Because we are interested in family relations and because we feel these may vary with the number of biological, adopted, and transracially adopted children in a family, we have chosen to use the family as the primary unit of analysis and the unit for sampling. This does, however, introduce problems in the analysis. For example, when associating measures on the child(ren) with measures from the parents, we may be using some sets of parents more than once in the analysis. This problem will be kept in mind during the analysis so it may be handled with appropriate statistical techniques.

All families in the sample will have already adopted a child(ren) except for one group of parents who are at the point of considering adoption. Most of the older adopted children will likely be Korean; some of the younger ones may be Vietnamese. They may be of all Asian heritage or with one biological parent (the father) black, white, or a member of some other racial-ethnic group such as Hawaiian or Native American.

The families will be chosen, using a table of random numbers, from people applying to the cooperating agency and now living on the west coast of the United States.⁴ It is expected from previous work using this population that

⁴ Families included in our earlier study will be eliminated from the sampling population.

families in the Northwest will be overrepresented. This, too, will be taken into account in the analysis as we attempt to check for bias by region. The families may be fecund or non-fecund, they may have adopted non-Asian children, or they may just be adopting or have only adopted an Asian child(ren). Going through agency lists, we will select families for the sample in three different categories: 1) families whose oldest child adopted from the agency is at present 6 to 10 years of age; 2) families whose oldest child adopted from the agency is 16 to 20 years old; and 3) families who are in the process of adopting their first Asian child. One hundred fifty families in groups 1 and 2 and 200 families in group 3 will be chosen. One hundred families in groups 1 and 2 and 120 families in group 3 will be interviewed in the first stage of the study, twenty families will serve as alternates to replace families refusing to take part in the study, thirty families in the third group will also serve as a control group in stage II of the study, and the remaining thirty families in each group will be used as a control group in Stage III of the study. (See Table 1.) The extra twenty families in group 3 in stage I are included to allow for enough families to replace those who fail to complete adoptions to have a sample size comparable to that in groups 1 and 2 in the later stages. 7

Table 1

Sampling Plan

Families Chosen	A. Interviewed in Stage I	B. Alternates	C. Control Group for Stage II	D. Control Group for Stage III	Totals
1. Oldest child adopted from agency is 6-10 years old.	100	20		30	150
2. Oldest child adopted from agency is 16-20 years old.	100	20		30	150
3. Now considering adopting from the agency	120	20	30	30	200

The choice of using the age of the child rather than length of time since the adoption as a criterion for inclusion in the sample is a theoretical decision. It is felt that the child's chronological age is more important in influencing interactions with other family and community members than the length of time in this country. This is especially true when the child has been in this country for one year or more, for previous studies of adjustment suggest that most children are almost totally accustomed to their new cultural setting by that time. (See, for example, O'Conner, 1964.) The age of the child at placement, however, will be taken into account in the analysis.

The two age groups of children were chosen to provide, with the repeated interviews in Stages II and III knowledge of the applicability of the model when the oldest adopted child in the family is an infant to the time when he or she is an adult. The control groups are added to control, at Stages II and III, for the effects of the interviewing process on those seen at Stage I.



When the subjects are selected each family in group A will be sent a letter explaining the nature of the study and asking their cooperation. A consent card to return indicating their desire to participate will be enclosed. Follow-up telephone calls will also be used. Families in group B will be added to the sample until a preliminary N of 100 families is attained. Shortly after receiving the consent cards a researcher will phone the family asking for a time for an interview.

All of the families in group A (plus the alternates added from Group B) will be interviewed in Stage I of the study. Those in groups 1 and 2 will be asked to participate in a second interview in five years; while those in group 3 will be asked to permit return visits both one and five years hence.

Measures--The measures to be used in the analysis will come from several sources: 1) a review of agency files regarding the family and the adoption; 2) an interview with the parents; and, if the parents consent, 3) interviews with the child(ren) in the family and 4) information from the child(ren)'s teacher(s) or other adult(s) outside the immediate family. In addition, the observations of interviewers will be used as measures of some variables. A summary of the measures for each variable in the model from the various sources is given in Table 2. Each of the sources and measures of important variables is discussed in more detail below.

Table 2

Summary of Measures from Various Sources

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Source -- Agency Files</u>
Tension producing factors	Any written reports of adverse family or community reactions noted in case studies or follow-up information. Include date of incident(s), source of information, nature of incident, reaction of those involved
Intervening Variables:	
Family Characteristics	Age, occupation, education, income of parents at time of adoption, motivation for adoption, number of children and adoptive status, their reaction to adoption, time of the adoption, caseworker notes of family interaction patterns, community participation, leisure activities of the family
Child's Characteristics	(Children adopted from agency only) Health, sex, race, age at placement, foster care reports, other pre-adoptive reports, any post-adoptive follow-ups on special achievements and/or problems
Community Characteristics	Size, location, heterogeneity of community and immediate neighborhood at time of adoption, family moves noted in file with reason, if given
Coping Mechanisms	Frequency and nature of post-adoptive contacts with agency
Child's adjustment	Notations of post-adoptive problems and/or special achievements
Child's identification	Nature and frequency of correspondence of child with agency

DONOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE BINDING MARCH



Family Ties	Any notations of post-adoptive information
Acknowledging Difficulties	Any notations of post-adoptive information from the parents or child, nature of that information
Other information	Year of Placement
Tension Producing Factors	Source -- Parent Interviews Reports of reactions of friends, relatives, other community members to adoption; changes in reactions over the years; parental reports of frequency of various kinds of incidents (e.g. name calling, exclusion), their and child(ren)'s actual and/or projected responses; reasons for responses
Intervening Variables	
Family Characteristics	Current age, sex, occupation, health, interests and activities of all family members; Adoptive status and racial-ethnic background of family members; Family interaction patterns, division of labor, parental roles, family decision making processes; Community activities, leisure activities frequency and nature of contacts with relatives and friends
Child characteristics	Developmental history of each child including physical social, psychological and academic adjustment, relationships with other family members and people outside the family, achievements, joys, problems
Community Characteristics	Reports of moves, reasons for, nature of Heterogeneity of community, size, feelings about
Coping Mechanisms	Attitude toward, felt importance of Asian culture, frequency and nature of discussions of, who initiates such conversations, contacts with other transracially adoptive families, contacts with ethnic groups in community; views on transracial adoption, why entered, recommendations to others; actual and/or projected reactions to tension situations
Child's adjustment	Report of child's problems, achievements, development
Self Identity	Parents' view of child's reaction to Asian heritage
Family ties	Nature of family interactions, reactions to hypothetical situations
Acknowledgement of difficulties	Degree information about difficulties is volunteered

Variable	Source -- Children	
	to 10 years (play)	older children(interviews)
Tension producing factors	Inclusion of such incidents in session	Reports of incidents and responses to hypothetical situations
Family characteristics	Child's description of family members and interaction patterns	Description of each family member, activities, interests, relationships
Child's characteristics	Child's personality, self-description, relations with others	Description of self, relation with peers, plans, activities, interests
Community characteristics	Mention of and reaction to those outside the family	Feelings about community, description of nature of community, felt place in community
Coping mechanisms	Using dolls of different colors, mentioning differences	Feelings about transracial adoptions, about Asia, interest in, contacts with other Asians, report of family's reaction to transracial nature of family
Child's adjustment	presence of pathological behavior or indicators	Self-assessment, joys, problems
Self-identity	Nature of self-references	Importance of Asian background in self-view
Family ties	Nature of family interaction	Report of closeness of family ties, activities, interactions
Acknowledgment of difficulties	Mentioning difficulties	Mention of and reaction to difficulties
Other		Advice for transracially adopting families
	Source -- Teacher or other adult outside family	
Tension producing factors	Reports of discriminatory incidents, nature, frequency, responses	
Family characteristics	Report of family interactions	
Child characteristics	Child's functioning in school, relationships with others, problems, achievements	
Community characteristics	Community's reaction to the transracial adoption, problems and advantages coming to community	
Child's adjustment	Assessment of child's functioning outside the home, relations with others, academic, social and psychological adjustment	
Other	Relationship to the child, length of acquaintance	

A wealth of information on each family and child adopted from the agency is available in the agency files. This material will be reviewed and coded by trained coders.⁵ Variables to be noted in this search of the files include background information of the family's socio-economic status, structure and interaction patterns; information on the child to the time of placement including age at placement, foster care reports, health, etc.; and the nature and frequency of post-adoptive contacts with the agency including both those initiated by the agency and those initiated by the family. Some of this material, notably information on foster home placements and pre-adoptive psychological, social, and physical adjustment, may be lacking in some of the cases of the older children. It will be attempted then to get this information from the parents. The data will be given numerical codes and placed on machine readable sources. The information will also be summarized and placed with the transcribed interviews and interviewer's notes on each family.

The interview with the parents will take place in the family home at the convenience of the family. We will not use a rigid formalized interview schedule. Instead, we will use a "focused interview" looking at several key areas that are of special importance to our project. This will include areas such as basic demographic information on the family members (age, sex, occupation, adoptive status), change in the family over the years, problems and special occurrences in the family with special attention given to the development of each child in the family, the parents' views on adoption in general and transracial adoption in particular, and their report on the incidence of and their actual and/or projected reaction to incidents common to transracially adopting families. We will encourage the parents to expand on these topics as much as they desire. We will also probe in areas where insufficient information is volunteered. Provided the parents do not object, the interviews will be tape recorded. Jaffe and Fanshel used this approach in their follow-up study (1970) and reported good results. From the results of other studies, it is anticipated that most families will be willing to cooperate and, in fact, will enjoy talking about their experiences in the hope of helping other families.

In a recent report of interviews with young adults adopted as children Benson Jaffee concluded

...(If approached sensitively and involved appropriately, many younger and older adopted persons would welcome the opportunity to share their perceptions of the adoption experience and their feelings about what it has meant to them. Creatively utilized by social agencies, such a resource could redound to the benefit of adoption practice. For then the adoptee's story would be able to make its contribution to a better understanding of the dynamics and outcome of the adoption enterprise. (1974: 223)

Our own experience (Stockard, 1972, 1973) would support Jaffee's conclusion.

Thus, if the parents consent, we will also interview all the children in the family.⁶ The decision to talk with all the children in the family is based on our overriding theoretical view that the family should be the unit

⁵ Precautions will be taken, however, to prevent interviewers from reading files of the family they will interview before the visit.

⁶ Jaffee's results (1974) would indicate that families who are more open about adoption with their children are more likely to give permission for their children to be interviewed. We will check for this tendency in the analysis.

of analysis. Transracial adoption affects not only the parents and the transracially adopted children, but all the children in the family. Thus understanding the position and experiences of all the children in the family is essential for seeing how approaches to the transracial situation develop, are reinforced, and affect family life.⁷

The nature of these sessions will, of course, vary with the age of the child. If possible, the sessions will take place in the family home. With the younger children (ten years and younger) we will use a play session to tap their views of family interaction along with a small amount of questioning. This will involve using a portable doll house and many available dolls of different ethnic-racial characteristics. Paper, crayons, and clay will also be used or available. Children will be asked to tell the interviewer about themselves and their families and friends while using these materials. With the older children, interviews will be used covering the young people's views of their lives and families, their interests and desires for the future, their views of the transracial adoptive situation and their actual and/or projected reactions to certain tension producing situations.

Also, with the permission of the parents, a standard questionnaire will be sent to each child's teacher, school counselor, or other responsible adult outside the family (e.g. pastor, employer, scout leader) to provide information on the child's functioning outside the family setting. This method was used in an earlier study (Stockard, 1972) and proved relatively successful. These people will be asked their assessment of the child's development, their knowledge of any discriminatory incidents directed toward the child, and their assessment of the impact of the community on the child and the child on the community. Measures of length of acquaintance and nature of their relationship with the child will also be gathered.

Finally, the interviewers will record their overall impression of the family, their interaction patterns, their handling of the transracial nature of the family, the adjustment of the child, the socio-economic and racial-ethnic characteristics of the community, and their assessment of the "atmosphere" of the interview (degree of rapport, confidence in results, etc.). These impressions will be recorded as soon after the interviews as possible.

All of the measures and procedures will be pretested with a sample of families drawn from the agency files and living in the local area. Results from the pretest will be used in altering the proposed instruments and procedures.

The data will be prepared for analysis in two different ways. Following Jaffee and Fanshel (1970) we will have the interviewers, shortly after the interview session, listen to the tapes of the sessions and code relevant variables. Some of the items will involve simple demographic information. Others will involve judgments of materials in the interviews. To provide a check on this coding, an interviewer not acquainted with the family will also listen to the recording of the interview and code the material. Any discrepancies will be reconciled. Secondly, all the material from the interviews will be transcribed and indexed. This will be added to the summary of information from the files and the interviewer's post-contact report.

7 Interviewing both biological and adopted children is also an important control procedure when attempting to evaluate the "outcome" of the adoptive placement.

The interviewers in the study will be advanced graduate students in the social sciences. Only students with a substantive interest in studying the family and with good social and interpersonal skills will be selected. They will be required to do background reading in adoption studies and specifically in transracial adoption. They will attend a session with the agency staff where the details of transracial adoptive placements are explained, and, if possible, they will accompany a caseworker on a family visit. This will help them begin to understand the adoptive process both from the viewpoint of the agency and from that of the family.

Interviewer training will begin in small practice sessions with all the interviewers. Then the interviewers will question families in the pretest sessions to perfect their skills. Training in coding will be given until the interviewers, when coding the same material, develop high intercoder reliability. Although this process seems long and complex, it is essential in providing reliable data as free as possible from interviewer bias.

Stages of the Study--The first round of interviewing the families is referred to here as Stage I.⁸ About one year after the first round of interviews, when placements have been made with the families in Group 3, these families (Group 3 only) will be contacted and interviewed again.⁹ This series of interviews will be like those conducted in Stage I except that, with the permission of the parents, we will also interview the newly adopted children in these families. To control for the influence of the first round of interviews (Stage I) a control group of families with children placed at about the same time (Group 3-C) as those in Group 3-A will also be interviewed at this time.

Approximately five years from the starting point of this study all families interviewed in Stage I will be contacted for another series of interviews. At this point the pre-adoptive families in Stage I will have had children placed for a period of time in their families, and the oldest children in groups 1 and 2 will be from 11 to 15 years old and 21 to 25 years old respectively. Again, to control for the impact of previous contacts, control groups of families will be interviewed.

At this time no decision has been made as to whether a fourth or fifth stage should be added to the research design. The results obtained in the first three stages should help in making this decision. Obviously, while cross-sectional studies are helpful in providing, relatively quickly, information on stages in the family life cycle, we do know that historical and social events outside the realm of the family influence familial activities and the development of children and parents. This would seem especially true when we are dealing with areas related to race and ethnic relations. The degree to which such "generational" variables prove important in the analysis (from comparison of results with each age group and stage) will be the most important factor in our decision of whether or not to continue the study.

Analysis--The analysis is necessarily complex and will involve several steps. The qualitative data (the transcribed and indexed interviews and notes from the files and interviewers) will be examined first, followed by an analysis of the proposed model using the quantitative data. Within both parts of the

8 While we did consider spreading the interviews in Stage I over a period of years to make the data gathering process less complex, the desire to control social and historical factors that may vary from year to year and influence family relations led to the rejection of that option.

9 The slight overrepresentation of these families selected for Stage I will help make up for families not completing the adoptive process.

analysis the data from each group of families will be analyzed separately. Then the results within each of these age groups will be compared. With Stages II and III similar procedures will be used, although checking for the impact of the first interviews and comparing results with those of earlier stages will be necessary additional steps.

With the qualitative data a form of content analysis will be used. Within each group the response of the families, children, and others will be searched for indications of different ways families may approach the transracial adoptive situation. Second, we will look for ways respondents describe tension-producing factors in the adoptive situation and how they react to them. Then we will examine how the approaches to the transracial adoptive situation and reports of reactions to tension producing situations are interrelated. Third, family interaction patterns will be examined and the association of these patterns with the first two variables will be noted. Finally, the relative success of the adoptive placement of the children and family will be studied, looking at the interviews, the reported happiness of the parents and children, the evaluations of the interviewers, the reports of other adults, and other relevant material. Again these results will be compared with the results with the other variables. The results within each age group will then be compared.

In other words, through examining the responses of the interviewees and through the perceptions of the interviewers and coders we will attempt to see how families approach the transracial adoptive situation, what kinds of tension producing factors are in this situation, and how these are related to family interaction patterns and general outcome of the adoptive process. The results of this content analysis process will be used in adding to or modifying the quantitative coding that was previously done, if deemed necessary. Similarly, if suggested by the results of this analysis, alternative explanatory models will be developed to be tested in the quantitative analysis.

With the quantitative analysis the same general procedure will be used. Each family age-group will be examined separately. First, marginals of the relevant variables will be examined. Then correlations and cross-tabulations between these variables will be examined. As only a few of the measures will be interally measured, non-parametric measures of association appropriate for use with contingency tables (e.g. Goodman and Kruskal's (1954,1963) gamma, tau, and lambda and Kendall's (1970) tau-b and tau-c) will be generally used. To determine if there is indeed a direct relationship between the approach to the transracial adoptive situation and outcome of the adoptions, the family interaction, community, and child measures will be used as control variables.

When final models are developed for each age group, these models will be compared and the utility of a common explanatory model for the various groups of families will be assessed.

The various steps of the analysis are summarized below.

- I. Analysis of the transcribed and indexed interviews and file summaries. Each age group is analyzed separately.
 - A. What are ways that families and children approach the transracial adoptive situation?
 - B. What are ways that families and children describe tension producing factors in the family?
 - C. Are the variables in A and B associated with each other?
 - D. What are different patterns of family interaction?
 - E. How may the family and children's adjustment be evaluated? What are different patterns of adjustment? Which seem subjectively most healthy?

- F. What are the relationships between the variables in D and E? What are the relationships between the findings in D and E and those in A, B and C?
- G. Compare the results obtained with each age group.

II. Revision of codes and models

- A. If deemed necessary, add other codes to quantitative analysis based on analysis in I.
- B. If deemed necessary, modify and/or develop alternative explanatory models based on the work in I.

III. Quantitative analysis done separately within each age group

- A. Examine the marginals on variables in each of the categories in the model.
 - 1. Incidence of tension producing factors
 - 2. Intervening variables
 - a. family characteristics
 - b. characteristics of the child(ren)
 - c. community related variables
 - 3. Coping mechanisms or reactions to the adoptive situation
 - 4. Adjustment of the child(ren) and the family
- B. Crosstabulations between variables within each category to see what kinds of patterns appear in each hypothetical area of influence and determine the possibility of developing general indicators of the variables.
- C. Crosstabulations between different areas of the model.
 - 1. Between coping mechanisms and intervening variables.
What kinds of family, child and community variables are related to different patterns of coping?
 - 2. Between tension producing factors and coping mechanisms
 - a. control by intervening variables, i.e. how do the various family, community, and child characteristics influence the relationships between tension producing factors and coping mechanisms?
 - 3. Between coping mechanisms and adjustment
 - a. Control again for intervening variables and by tension producing factors to see if the relationships between the coping mechanisms and adjustment can be accounted for by family, community, and child characteristics or by the presence of tension.

Protection of Human Subjects-- In any study dealing with the family it is necessary to consider how the rights of privacy of the family may be preserved and yet have valid information to help other families in the future. Before participating in this study the parents will be told that it is a study of how people handle the transracial adoptive situation. We will be interested in how their family handles the situation and how this is reflected in their daily lives and in their relationships with the community. Their participation in the study will be totally voluntary and they will be allowed to stop anytime they wish. While it is necessary to keep track of the names of the participants for later use, only identifying numbers and initials will be used in transcripts for analysis. The list matching names with numbers will be kept in a locked file separate from the data.

Before talking with the child or with adults outside the family about the child, permission will be gained from the parents. The parents will be told what kinds of questions and measures will be used with the children and what questions will be asked the references. Only after their written consent is obtained will this part of the project be continued. Similarly, the parents must again consent before participating in Stages II and III. They will be told at the outset that we anticipate a return visit in one to five years, depending on the group involved.

As mentioned earlier, it is anticipated that the families will be happy to participate in the study. Our previous work in this area has indicated a very high interest on the part of both parents and children in talking about transracial adoption and in aiding other families.

Significance

Through this study we hope to come to know more about family interaction patterns that promote "successful" transracial adoptive placements. Such knowledge should help not only in choosing families for such placements but in helping adoptive families adjust to their new situations. Such information then should go far in promoting transracial adoption as a viable alternative to biological child bearing. In addition, if this study promotes adopting homeless children from war ravaged nations into homes in other countries, child mortality rates in the former countries could be cut and attainment of a more even worldwide population distribution could be assisted, however slightly.

Facilities Available

This research will be based in the Center for the Sociological Study of Women in the Department of Sociology at the University of Oregon. Thus we will have access to all regular center, departmental and university services including the IBM 360 computer. Punching and checking of computer cards will be carried out by the staff of the computer center as will the actual running of the machine. Consultation on computing problems is also available at the center. In addition, consultation on specific problems related to interviewing, family interaction, and analysis will be available in the university community. Consultants on issues in transracial adoption are available at the cooperating agency.

Collaborative Arrangements

The research will be carried out through the cooperation of the Holt Adoption Program, an agency pioneering in transracial adoption and based in Eugene. A letter indicating desire to cooperate with the project is attached. Our earlier work on transracial adoption was conducted with this agency. Following the pattern that proved profitable in that endeavor, close ties will be maintained with the professional staff of the agency through the planning and implementation phases of the project. In addition, the agency will send letters to members of the sample substantiating the legitimacy of the project.

References

Anderson, David C.

1971 Children of Special Value. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Ball, Betty J.

1964 "Identification Problems of Adopted Children," Smith College Studies in Social Work. 35: 41-42.

- Brenner, Ruth
1951 A Follow-up Study of Adoptive Families. New York: Child Adoption Research.
- Chambers, Donald E.
1970 "Unwillingness to Adopt Atypical Children," Child Welfare. 49: 275-279.
- Clark, Kenneth B.
1967 Dark Ghetto. New York: Harper.
- Divingilia, L.
1956 "Adjustment of Foreign Children in their Adoptive Homes," Child Welfare. 35: 15-16.
- Edwards, M.E.
1954 "Failure and Success in the Adoption of Toddlers," Case Conference 1: 3-8.
- Erikson, Erik.
1959a "Ego Development and Historical Change," Psychological Issues. 1: 25-64.
1959b "The Problem of Ego Identity," Psychological Issues. 1: 65-140.
- Falk, Lawrence.
1970 "A Comparative Study of Transracial and Inracial Adoptions," Child Welfare. 49: 82-88.
- Fricke, Harriet.
1965 "Inter-racial Adoption: The Little Revolution," Social Work. 10: 95-097.
- Fromm, Erich.
1967 The Sane Society. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett.
- Gallay, Grace.
1963 "Inter-Racial Adoptions," Canadian Welfare, 39: 248-250.
- Goodman, Leo A. and William H. Kruskal.
1954 "Measures of Association for Cross-Classifications," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 49: 732-764.
1963 "Measures of Association for Cross-Classifications, III," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 58: 310-364.
- Jaffee, Benson.
1974 "Adoption Outcome: A Two Generation View," Child Welfare. 53: 211-224.
- Jaffee, Benson and David Fanshel.
1970 How They Fared in Adoption: A Follow-up Study. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Fanshel, David.
1972 Far From the Reservation. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press.
- Jenkins, Alma.
1961 "Some Evaluative Factors in the Selection of Adoptive Homes for Indian Children," Child Welfare. 40: 16-20.

ISS

- 1960 Adoption of Oriental Children by American White Families. New York: Child Welfare League of America.
- Kadushin, Alfred.
1962 "A Study of Adoptive Parents of Hard-to-place Children," Social Casework. 43: 227-233.
1966 "Adoptive Parenthood: A Hazardous Adventure?" Social Work. 11: 29-39.
1970 Adopting Older Children. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Keltie, Patricia Emilie.
1969 The Adjustment of Korean Children Adopted by Couples in the Chicago Area. MSW Thesis, Jane Addams School of Social Work of the University of Illinois, Chicago.
- Kendall, Maurice G.
1970 Rank Correlation Methods, 5th edition. London: Griffen.
- Kim, Dong Soo.
1974 "Inter Country Adoptions; A Study of Adolescent Identity Formation of Korean Children who were adopted by American Families. Dissertation Proposal, University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration.
- Kim, Hi Taik and Elaine Reed.
1970 After a Long Journey: A Study on the Process of Initial Adjustment of the Half and Full Korean Children Adopted by American Families and the Family's Experiences with these children during the Transitional Period. School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Research Project.
- Kirk, David H.
1964 Shared Fate. Glencoe: Free Press.
- Lawder, Elizabeth A., et al
1969 A Follow-up Study of Adoptions: Post Placement Functioning of Adoption Families. New York: Child Welfare League of America.
- Lutheran Social Service of Minnesota
1968 The Adopted Adult Discusses Adoption as a Life Experience. Minneapolis.
- Maas, Henry and Richard Engler, Jr.
1959 Children in Need of Parents. New York: Columbia University Press.
- McWhinnie, E.M.
1967 Adopted Children: How They Grow Up. London: Routledge.
- Mead, G.H.
1964 "The Problem of Society--How We Become Selves," in Anselm Strauss, ed. George Herbert Mead on Social Psychology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Morrison, Hazel.

1960 "Research Study in an Adoption Program, Child Welfare. 29: 12-13.

Nieden

1951 "The Influences of Constitution and Environment upon the Adopted Children," Journal of Psychology. 31: 91-95.

O'Conner, Louis, Jr.

1964 The Adjustment of a Group of Korean and Korean-American Children Adopted by Couples in the United States. MSW Thesis, University of Tennessee.

Oumsted, Christopher and Michael Humphrey.

1963 "Adoptive Families Referred for Psychiatric Advice," The British Journal of Psychiatry. 109: 599-608 and 110: 549-555.

Parker, Ida R.

1927 "Fit and Proper," Boston: Research Bureau on Social Casework.

Pettiss, Susan T.

1962 "Cultural Factors in Adoption of Immigrant Children," Social Work. 7: 22-25.

Rathburn, Constance, et al.

1958 "Later Adjustments of Children Following Racial Separation from Family and Culture," paper presented at annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Chicago, 1964, paper on topic in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 28: 408-415.

Rodgers, R.H.

1973 Family Interaction and Transaction: The Developmental Approach. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Roskies, Ethel.

1963 "An Exploratory Study of the Characteristics of Adoptive Parents of Mixed Race Children in the Montreal Area," MA Thesis, University of Montreal.

Schechter, M.D.

1964 "Emotional Problems in the Adoptee," Archives of General Psychiatry. 10: 109-117.

Shaw, Lulie A.

1953 "Following up Adoptions," British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work. 8: 14-21.

Stockard, Jean.

1972 A Study of the Long-Term Adjustment of Children of Korean Heritage Adopted by American Families, unpublished paper.

1973 "Approaches to the Cross-Racial Adoptive Situation," unpublished paper, see Appendix.

Theis, Sophie Van Seden.

1924 How Foster Children Turn Out. Publication No. 165, State Charities Aid Association, New York.

Toussieng, Paul W.

1971 "Realizing the Potential in Adoptions," Child Welfare. 50: 322-327.

Welter, Marianne.

1966 Comparison of Adopted Older Foreign and American Children. New York: International Social Service.

Witmer, Helen, et al.

1963 Independent Adoptions: A Follow-up Study. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Principal Investigator Assurance

The undersigned agrees to accept responsibility for the scientific and technical conduct of the research project and for provision of required progress reports if a grant is awarded as the result of this application.

Jan. 25, 1975

Date



Principal Investigator

Appendix:

1. Letter confirming collaboration from Holt Adoption Program.
2. Stockard, 1973, "Approaches to the Cross-Racial Adoptive Situation."