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A study of non-adoptive plans made by unmarried mothers for their babies

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
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A STUDY OF NON - ADOPTIVE PLANS MADE BY UNMARRIED MOTHERS FOR THEIR BABIES

A Thesis

Submitted By

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CHAPTER I

THE PRESENT STUDY

A. Case Work with Unmarried Mothers

A central concept of case work is that of the right of the client to make his own decisions and solve his own problems.[1] As all individuals are not equally capable of making decisions which provide for both their own self-development and the development of a healthy society, the concept of self-determination must remain a flexible one for the protection of the client and the community. When the client transgresses the mores of his society, he must be helped to examine and evaluate his present position and the possible attitudes of the community toward his future actions if he is not to forfeit his right to self-determination. It is the case worker's responsibility to assist the client to experience the fullest measure of self-determination by helping him to a fuller realization of self and a greater awareness of the various alternatives possible to him in making a decision or plan. In case work with unmarried mothers this responsibility becomes paramount, for the unmarried mother's decision about her baby has far-reaching psychological and social consequences.

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1 Gordon Hamilton, Theory and Practice of Social Case Work, p. 29.

Case work with unmarried mothers has undergone transitions through the years in accord with changing emphases in social case work practice. In the 1890's mothers and babies were kept together by wholesale placement of mothers in domestic service positions.[2] Even then, the emphasis was upon the mother as an individual capable of change and growth. In the period between 1910 and 1920 efforts were directed toward attempts to standardize methods of treatment, and studies were made of large groups of unmarried mothers.[3] Later, such writers as Ruth F. Brenner[4] and Leontine Young[5] expressed the opinion that it is the more neurotic mother who keeps her child and that case workers must help free the mother from her neurotic conflict so that she may give up her child. Treatment is now based on the belief that unmarried motherhood presents a complex social and psychological problem that must be understood in terms of the total life pattern of the individual unmarried mother.[6]

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2 Mary Frances Smith, "Changing Emphases in Case Work with Unmarried Mothers," The Family, 15:312, January, 1934.

3 Ibid., p. 313.

4 Ruth F. Brenner, "Case Work Service for Unmarried Mothers," a reprint from The Family, p. 8.

5 Leontine Young, "The Unmarried Mother's Decision About Her Baby," Understanding the Psychology of the Unmarried Mother, a reprint from The Family, p. 19.

6 Helene Deutsch, M.D., The Psychology of Women, Vol. 2, p. 392.

The unmarried mother's decision about her baby is considered a reflection of her total personality, and a study of her decision may reveal important factors in her personality which must be considered in case work treatment of the mother.[7] Frequently, the case worker is called upon to assist the unmarried mother in formulating or carrying out her plan, and it is important that the case worker understand the factors which enter into the mother's decision. It is the case worker's responsibility to provide the best in skill and knowledge when helping the unmarried mother to make her decision about the baby, for the results of that decision will be reflected in the health of the community as the mother and child take their places in its life. In the case of the unmarried mother who decides to keep her baby, it is doubly important that her plan be one which will provide for her emotional and physical security, because she becomes responsible for the child's future development. The difficulties which occur when an unmarried mother keeps her baby and the frequent failure of her plan to do so have been noted by social agencies for some time.[8] As a result, the necessity for further study of those mothers who keep their babies has been recognized by social workers[9] and by those working in related fields.[10]

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7 Young, op. cit., p. 20.

8 Brenner, op. cit., p. 1.

9 Ibid., p. 3.

10 J. Kasanin and Sieglinde Handschin, "Psychodynamic Factors in Illegitimacy," The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 11:66.

B. Purpose of the Present Study

The present study is concerned with unmarried mothers who make non-adoptive plans for their babies. It is focused upon the plan made by the mother for her child, to determine what factors in the mother's life led to the formulation of the plan. There are few such studies in the literature, although the need for them has been indicated.[11] In general, the literature in the field is focused upon the psychodynamic factors in the personality of unmarried mothers; maternity home care; types of case work service; and, recently, work with unmarried fathers. Several studies have been made of the plans made by unmarried mothers for their babies, but these have been more general than the present study, as they included adoptive and non-adoptive plans.[12, 13]

C. Scope of the Study

The cases considered for the study were those in the files of the Children's Aid Association of Boston which were closed in the years 1947 and 1948. All cases in which

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11 Supra.

12 Ruth Rome, "A Method of Predicting the Probable Disposition of Their Children by Unmarried Mothers," Smith College Studies in Social Work, Vol. X, pp. 167-201.

13 Anne Deborah Podalsky, A Study of the Plans Made by Unmarried Mothers for their Babies, Unpublished Thesis, Boston University School of Social Work, 1945.

non-adoptive[14] plans were worked out for illegitimate children were considered. There were, in all, thirty-two such cases closed in the two years selected for study. Three of these cases were eliminated because they involved planning for children over one year in age, and it was felt that factors in the child's own development would influence the planning. One case was eliminated as it involved a request for placement of an illegitimate baby with a serious health problem which necessitated convalescent care. One case was eliminated because the mother requested adoption for her baby and made plans to keep the baby only after the child was found to be non-adoptable according to the standards of the agency.

In the total of twenty-seven cases actually used for the study, one was an adoption made through the agency by the husband of the child's mother, and three were cases in which adoption by relatives was to be carried through later. These cases were considered non-adoptive[15] by the writer because they were arranged so that the child could remain in the family, and the child would remain easily accessible to the mother.

In two cases in which the mothers had two illegitimate children during their contact with the agency, the plan made for the first illegitimate child is the plan considered for

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14 For the purposes of this study, non-adoptive is defined to include all cases which do not result in the legal release of the child to the agency for adoption by adoptive parents selected by the agency.

15 Supra.

this study. The writer felt the plan for the second child would be influenced to a large extent by the plan for the first child.

In all cases used in the study the agency placed the baby in agency foster homes until the mothers arrived at their decisions regarding plans for the babies.

The data collected for the study include social, economic, physical and psychological factors in the lives of the mothers. These factors are discussed as to their significance in regard to the plan made by the mother. Pertinent data with regard to the alleged father were included wherever such information was available. The study consists of case summaries, classified according to the type of plan made by the mother, discussion and tabulation of significant data. As the sample was too small for valid conclusions to be based on statistics, the tabulations in Chapter IV are used to illustrate certain trends which appear significant.

D. Sources of Data

The data used for this study came from the case records of the Children's Aid Association of Boston. These records included the case work contact between the mother and the worker, records of the child's progress in the foster home, correspondence on the case, and reports of psychological and physical tests where these had been made on the mother and child.

E. Method of Procedure

In order to study the cases selected, a schedule was prepared to cover significant factors.[16] General information, such as age at birth of the child, length of contact with the agency and method of application, were included in one section. Social, economic and emotional factors were gathered for the mother and alleged father. A section was devoted to the type of plan made, and the cases were classified according to the plan and studied for significant data as outlined in the section, "Scope of the Study."

There was considerable variation in the material included in the case studies, but the summaries were planned to include the data pertinent to the factors outlined above as well as any other information applicable to the study.

F. Intake Policy of the Agency as Regards Unmarried Mothers

The Children's Aid Association of Boston accepts for placement the babies of unmarried mothers who need placement of their babies while the mothers receive case work help in order to make their decisions about their futures. Babies are accepted for placement when the mothers have decided to keep their babies and request placement for the babies until plans can be made to make homes for the children. The Children's Aid places the adolescent unmarried mother who is in need of a

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16 Appendix 1.

home and case work help. Unmarried mothers who at intake have definitely decided on placement of their babies for adoption are referred to Children's Friend. If, as a result of case work help the mother makes an adoption decision about a baby in care, the adoption plan is completed by Children's Aid, and case work help to the mother is continued as long as necessary. Catholic unmarried mothers are referred to the Catholic Charitable Bureau except in those cases where inherent in the mother's problem is some factor which makes services of a non-sectarian agency advisable. Episcopal children are referred to the Church Home Society. Non-resident unmarried mothers are accepted or referred to their own state or town, according to the case work diagnosis.

CHAPTER II

THE UNMARRIED PARENT - A GENERAL DISCUSSION

A. General Discussion of Illegitimacy

Illegitimacy is a universally recognized social phenomenon.[1] Laws and custom everywhere take it into account. As it varies according to the customs of the country, it can be understood only in the light of its sociological framework in any given society.

In 1938 approximately 4 per cent of all children born in the United States were illegitimate, according to census figures.[2] It is likely that this per cent is inadequate, however, as the tendency is for illegitimate births to be under-registered rather than the reverse.

Illegitimacy has serious social consequences for the unmarried parents and for the child. The unmarried mother and her child represent an incomplete family not acceptable to the mores and subject to community stigma and ostracism. The mother receives the brunt of social displeasure, partly because it is difficult to place the responsibility on a particular man and partly because of our tradition of greater freedom for men

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1 F. H. Hankins, "Illegitimacy," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 7, p. 579.

2 Ruth Shonle Cavan, The Family, p. 353.

in sexual relations. In many states the low social status of the unmarried mother and her child is reflected in state laws regarding inheritance.[3]

The unmarried mother is frequently subjected to economic insecurity because of lack of support from the father, poor earning ability, and social disgrace. She may suffer severe personal disorganization, and her family relationships may become distorted. The child, also, suffers from an incomplete family constellation and becomes identified with the mother's disgrace. If he is not placed for adoption, he may be placed in foster homes or with various relatives throughout his formative years.[4] The insecurity suffered in his formative years may result in permanent emotional disturbances for the child.

Illegitimate pregnancy in our culture appears to be the result of the interaction of sociological and psychological factors. Gillen[5] has classified the factors leading to illegitimate parenthood under these headings: the economic, the social, and the personal. The economic and social factors have been studied extensively by sociologists. In recent years, social workers and psychiatrists have explored the psychological factors in the unmarried parents' personalities which may contribute to illegitimate pregnancies.[6]

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3 Ibid., p. 358.

4 John Lewis Gillen, Social Pathology, p. 312.

5 Ibid., p. 300.

6 See Sections B and C of Chapter II.

It is to be hoped that further study by workers in the social science field will result in a more thorough understanding of illegitimate parenthood. Such understanding may, in turn, result in prevention of illegitimacy and better methods of dealing with unmarried parents when illegitimacy does occur, as well as create a more healthy community attitude.

B. Some Characteristics of Unmarried Mothers

Although it is necessary to study all factors contributing to an illegitimate pregnancy, in order to understand the reason for it, certain general characteristics in the personalities of unmarried mothers have been noted by those who have made studies of them. In a study of one hundred unmarried mothers,[7] Leontine Young found certain common elements in their backgrounds. None of them had happy healthy relationships with their parents. Most of the girls came from a home dominated by one parent, and the girl was in a continual struggle with that parent. All of the girls had trouble in their relationships with other people. Difficulties occurred with both men and women, frequently affecting their work adjustment. A tendency toward self-punishment was often manifested. Few of these girls had really cared for or been happy with the fathers of their babies.

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7 "Personality Patterns in Unmarried Mothers," Understanding the Psychology of the Unmarried Mother, a reprint from The Family, pp. 12-13.

Similar problems in the personal relationships of unmarried mothers were noted in a study of unmarried mothers made by Ruth F. Brenner.[8] She found that few unmarried mothers came from homes in which they received the love and understanding commonly thought of as essential for growth. Many of the mothers regarded their babies as tools with which they could defy their parents or as their possessions for whom they could make unreal demands from those in the environment. From the above characteristics it would seem that the unmarried mother is a disturbed girl who brings to the experiences of motherhood unresolved conflicts from early life experiences. Florence Clothier expressed the belief that:

> Illegitimate motherhood, like all motherhood, has as its psychological background an urge to solve old conflicts and fulfill deep personality needs. Unmarried motherhood in our culture represents a distorted and unrealistic way out of inner difficulties and is thus comparable to neurotic symptoms on the one hand and delinquent behavior on the other.[9]

Helene Deutsch[10] points out that the unmarried mother is fighting a battle on two fronts. She is involved in the act of motherhood which brings to the fore biologic, psychologic and psychopathologic problems, and at the same time is faced with the problem of social prejudice. Any good solution

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8 Ruth F. Brenner, Case Work Service for Unmarried Mothers, pp. 6-13.

9 Florence Clothier, "Psychological Implications of Unmarried Motherhood," American Journal of the Orthopsychiatry., 13:548, 1943.

10 Helene Deutsch, op. cit., p. 375.

to her problem must take into consideration both aspects--her psychic adjustment and her social adjustment. Both aspects must be studied by the case worker if good case work treatment is to be effected.

C. Some Characteristics of Unmarried Fathers

The biological difference between man and woman is strikingly demonstrated in the social implication of unmarried parenthood.[11] The biologic burden is entirely upon the unmarried mother, as it is on the married mother, and in addition the social burden is frequently entirely on the unmarried mother. The father often escapes responsibility for his illegitimate child, and the reasons for this are varied. In many instances it is the result of the attitude of the unmarried mother who does not name the father of her child. She sometimes becomes indifferent to the father after she becomes pregnant or, in some instances, does not know who he actually is. Fear of publicity and subsequent social ostracism prevent her from taking court action against the alleged father in cases where he denies paternity or refuses financial support. The man's own shame and fear of possible social consequences may keep him from acknowledging paternity.

The fact of parenthood often is merely biological for

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11 Norman Reider, "The Unmarried Father," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 18:236, 1949.

the father,[12] for he does not become involved in the social act of parenthood in which he would assume partial responsibility for the care and training of the child. He may be looked upon by the mother and the community as a source of financial support for the child, with no legal rights as to plans for the child's future.

It is this tendency to look at the father in terms of financial support that has in many cases prevented social agencies from obtaining information about unmarried fathers which might provide insight into the reason for this illegitimate fatherhood. The implications of his individuality have not been accepted in the same way as have the differences in unmarried mothers.[13]

Some studies have been made of unmarried fathers who have been seen in social agencies, and the authors have found indications that the psychology of the unmarried father is similar to that of the unmarried mother. Norman Reider in his article on unmarried fathers[14] found in their fatherhood "the acting out of an unresolved oedipal situation with all the well-known diverse derivatives."

A study made by Samuel Futterman and Jean Livermore revealed:

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12 Clothier, op. cit., p. 534.

13 Marguerite Marsh, "Attitudes Toward the Unmarried Father as Evidenced in Casework," The Unmarried Father, p. 10.

14 Reider, op. cit., p. 233.

> . . . the psychology of the putative father is similar to that of the unmarried mother. There is suspicion and distrust of the unloving parent of the same sex and an impulsive identification with that parent which involves an acting out of oedipal fantasies.[15]

Further study of the unmarried father seems essential if the phenomenon of unmarried parenthood is to be understood in all of its ramifications. In work with the unmarried father, the case worker has the opportunity to gain knowledge and understanding which will further the effectiveness of case work service to unmarried mothers and their children.

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15 Samuel Futterman and Jean Livermore, "Putative Fathers," Journal of Social Casework, 28:678, May, 1947.

CHAPTER THREE

THE VARIOUS PLANS MADE BY THE MOTHERS

A. Private Placement

In seven of the cases studied, the mothers placed their babies privately. In five of these cases, insofar as was known, the placements were in private boarding homes. The case of Daisy is an example from this group.[1]

> Daisy was a twenty-three year old married woman who asked for placement for her legitimate daughter, five, and her illegitimate baby four months old. Her husband was a serviceman who was overseas when she had the illegitimate child. Daisy was living with a married sister whose husband was also in the service. As the sister's husband was returning home, it was necessary for Daisy to find another place to live.
>
> Daisy had been married at eighteen to a boy with whom she grew up. She described him as a fine person but said he had always been more like a brother than a husband to her. Daisy's father was dead when she married, and Daisy and her husband lived with her mother and two sisters for two years. Their marital difficulty began when Daisy decided they should move away. He wished to remain near his family, and Daisy separated from him for six months, after which he went into the service. During the separation, each lived with his respective family, although they continued to see each other every night. Daisy's mother urged her to get a divorce, but the daughter would not consider this until she became involved with the alleged father of her baby.

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1 For cases referred to but not quoted directly in this chapter, see appendix, pp. 57-67.

The alleged father was a student apprentice in the factory where Daisy went to work after her husband went into the service. Daisy knew the alleged father for a year and half before she became pregnant. He was interested in the baby and contributed to its support. Daisy hoped to marry him when she could get a divorce. The alleged father wanted her to keep the baby, and she said she would never give it up for adoption.

Daisy expressed her ambivalence toward her children when the worker suggested that she remain with the children rather than work. Although she could have managed financially on her allotment, plus the alleged father's contribution, she went to work as a waitress. The baby was not placed by the agency until after Daisy had obtained a divorce. This resulted in her husband's obtaining custody of their little girl. The illegitimate baby was then placed by the agency and the worker started to help Daisy to plan for the baby. However, Daisy broke her appointments with the worker, would not visit the baby, and became involved with another man. She broke with this man, expressing her disillusionment with men in general. She recognized that she could not offer her baby security, but she refused to consider adoption. After the baby had been in placement for twenty-one months, Daisy decided to move to another state to work, and took the baby with her to be placed there. She was an immature girl who seemed uncertain of what she wanted and was not able to accept help with her problems.

It is interesting to note that Daisy who could have remained at home to care for her baby, preferred to place the child with a foster mother and return to work. This fact, coupled with her failure to visit the child, seems to point to a lack of real interest on her part in the child's development. A disregard by the mother for the needs of the child seems to be a common feature in this group of cases. As in Daisy's case, the mothers refused to give up their babies for adoption but were interested in maintaining control of the children without any particular interest in caring for the babies or in planning for their future.

Daisy's immaturity, as demonstrated in her poor regard for the child's welfare, is seen also in her failure to have satisfying relationships with other people. All of the mothers in this group had difficulties in their relationships with their families or friends. These difficulties appear to have some bearing on their decisions to keep their babies.

Agnes, the only adolescent in this group, with a family history of desertion by the father and neglect by the mother, offers an extreme example of a girl who has experienced unfavorable interpersonal relationships.

> Agnes was sixteen when a probation officer asked the agency for foster home placement of Agnes and her two-week old baby. Her mother had brought Agnes to court because Agnes was running around nights, and her mother was unable to control her. A family history of desertion by the father and neglect by the mother seemed to contribute to Agnes' delinquent behavior.
>
> Agnes's mother had left home at the age of fifteen and a few months later had gotten married. Agnes was born within nine months, and her mother was paralyzed for a year after the birth. The father was unfaithful, and Agnes' mother soon separated from him, eventually getting a divorce. Although she worked to support Agnes, she seemed to have little affection or understanding for her. At the time that Agnes was referred to the agency, her mother was working as a waitress and living in a room with another woman. She had nothing to offer her daughter and felt the baby was Agnes' problem.
>
> The agency arranged separate forster home placements for Agnes and the baby. Agnes said she did not want to give the baby up. She stated she would never marry the alleged father just to give the baby a name. She met the alleged father, a married man, while visiting her own father at holiday times. Agnes appeared indifferent to making plans for either herself or the baby, and ran away from the foster home after three days.
>
> Agnes' mother, who had agreed to assume responsibility for Agnes' board, was uninterested in the worker's attempts to get Agnes back to the foster home.

> Within three months, Agnes had been picked on a vagrancy charge and committed to the girls' training school. She told the worker that she felt her mother should take care of her baby and she seemed to want her mother to suffer by having full responsibility for the baby. Her mother refused to pay for Agnes' baby but when plans were made to transfer the case to a public agency, the mother took the baby and placed it privately after nine months' contact with the agency.
>
> Agnes was an immature, unstable girl uninterested in, and incapable of, planning for either herself or the baby. Her mother, equally insecure, was indifferent to Agnes' problems. Agnes' pregnancy seemed to be part of a rebellious acting-out stemming from unhappy childhood experiences, and she never regarded the baby as a person with needs of its own.

The factors of insecurity, unhappiness, and conflict with her mother which appear to be important as the causes of Agnes' illegitimate pregnancy also seem to be factors in her decision to keep her baby. She shares, with the other mothers in this group, a disregard for her child's future.

In one case the mother placed her baby with a friend rather than in a private boarding home:

> Selma was a thirty-six year old woman who was referred to the agency by the hospital where she applied for prenatal care. The alleged father and his wife had requested that Selma have an abortion, and when they learned that this was not possible, they said that they wished to adopt the baby.
>
> Selma was a quiet, withdrawn girl who was extremely ambivalent in her attitude toward the baby. Her baby was placed in one of the agency foster homes while Selma was seen by the worker in weekly interviews for a period of two years, but she was never able to think clearly in terms of the child's future. She decided several times to give the child up for adoption only to change her mind. Her final plan was to place the child with a married friend who already had two children of her own. Selma intended to remain in the picture as the child's aunt. The possible complications of such a plan were discussed with her, but she felt it was the only way she could

provide a home for the baby and still maintain contact with it.

Selma appeared to be an immature girl who had been shy and retiring in her childhood. She had a younger brother who was feeble-minded and she had been sensitive about his condition. Her appearance in high school had bothered her as she was much taller and fatter than the other girls. She never went out on dates and had little social life. She described her father, a college professor, as a shy person but a strict disciplinarian. Her mother had been energetic, and ran the family. Selma's father had died four years before she became pregnant. Selma had had a college education and taught school for several years, but never liked it. She went to work in a factory during the war, and it was there that she met the alleged father.

The alleged father was a thirty-six year old married man with two children. He had never gotten along well with his wife and said the only reason he would not obtain a divorce was because both had been devoted to the children. He had been married when he was twenty, but they had no children for twelve years. His wife had been periodically unwell with a back injury. She had expressed an interest in adopting Selma's baby, but Selma would not agree to this.

The worker saw the alleged father three times at Selma's request to discuss plans for the baby. He told the worker that he had never felt close to either of his parents. He was an only child. His mother had been in poor health since his birth and developed a heart condition when he was in his teens.

He stated that he would never divorce his wife but that he would marry Selma when his wife died. He agreed to pay the baby's board, but did so only a few times. He had a shaky work history, and his wife's poor health necessitated continual medical expense. He was unwilling to give up his relationship with Selma and felt adoption was the best plan for the baby. Both Selma and the alleged father appeared to be immature people unable to resolve their relationship or agree on a plan for the child. Although Selma was seen for two years, she was not able to gain insight about her conflicts.

Although Selma indicated some understanding of her child's need for family life, her desire to remain known as the child's aunt may have been in part a desire to maintain some control of the child without the responsibility for its care. In this case, the mother's immaturity prevented her from

resolving her relationship with the alleged father, who appeared equally unable to meet his problems realistically. Although the worker attempted to help Selma and the alleged father work out a plan for their baby, they were unable to agree, and the final decision was made by Selma. The mothers in the other cases of this group also made their decisions without the active participation of the alleged fathers.

In only one case was the baby placed in a home known to the agency:

> Janet was twenty-seven when her baby was born. She was a college graduate, capable of supporting herself and the child, but at first she felt she wished adoption. She was living with her married sister. Her parents, who lived in another state, knew about her pregnancy and had been sympathetic toward her. They had offered to help her financially until she could go back to work. All Janet's family were college graduates. Her father owned a mill. Janet's mother had been in poor health for some time.
>
> The alleged father, a thirty-four old Marine, felt adoption was the only plan for the baby. He was a married man whose wife had two children by a previous marriage. Janet met him at a dance and knew him ten months before she learned that he was married. She was infatuated with him and could not break off her relationship with him. They had no educational interest in common as he had had to leave school in the first year of high school in order to help support his sister and two brothers after their mother's death.
>
> As the alleged father had been transferred to another state before the baby's birth, he was contacted through another social agency for adoptive information. At first, he denied paternity, but, after a lengthy correspondence, gave the necessary information.
>
> After the baby was placed by the agency, Janet asked the worker not to place it for adoption for six months as she wanted to be sure that adoption was what she really wanted. Janet went home for several months to care for her mother whose health was poor. When she returned, she spoke of marrying and keeping her baby. Her parents talked with the worker because they were concerned about Janet's indecision with regard to a permanent plan for the baby. They described Janet as a

fine, affectionate girl who did not have as many boy friends as her sister. They said Janet's brother and sister had urged her to place the baby for adoption but they said Janet could be like the "Rock of Gibralter" when she made up her mind. Her parents appeared to have some guilt about Janet's relationship with the alleged father as they had not approved of him. They felt he was inferior because he did not have a college education. Janet had become secretive about her activities after they had expressed their feeling about the alleged father.

Janet's baby was in placement a year, and Janet was seen by the worker almost every month. She remained in conflict over her decision and appeared to be resisting pressure from the family for her to give up the baby. She decided to leave the baby in private placement with the foster parents who had had him while he was in agency care. A later contact with Janet by the agency occurred when the foster parents decided to adopt Janet's baby. Janet appeared to be an unstable girl whose decision to keep the baby was in some part a rebellion against her family's wishes for the baby to be adopted.

The willingness of the foster parents to withdraw from the agency and continue to board Janet's child actually allowed Janet to postpone making a decision at the time the case was closed. Evidently she was later able to resolve her conflict over the child and release it for adoption. It is probable that her parents' sympathy and understanding, in addition to the foster parents' interest in the child helped to reinforce Janet's original desire to release the child for adoption.

Although there were a variety of factors involved in their decisions to place their babies privately, the seven mothers in this group had certain features in common. They all were indecisive with regard to the child's future. They did not show an understanding of the child's needs, and none

appeared genuinely fond of the children. They showed immaturity in their relationships with people in their environment. There were no indications that economic considerations were important factors in the final decisions. In no case did the alleged father actively participate in the plan for the child.

B. Independent Homes Made

Eleven of the mothers made plans for independent homes for themselves and their babies. Four mothers planned marriage to men other than the alleged fathers. These were men who were willing to provide homes for the children and, in two cases, willing to adopt them. Gladys is representative of one type of mother who married:

> Gladys was a well-adjusted girl who was fond of her family and told of her close relationship with her sisters. Her family stood behind her in her decision to keep her baby.
>
> The alleged father was a high school graduate, regularly employed by an oil company. He had known Gladys for three years, and they had planned to marry. However, he was dominated by his mother, who told Gladys that he was too young to marry and settle down. Gladys' mother and father took the alleged father to court, and he was ordered to pay her confinement expense and the baby's board.
>
> Gladys went home to live after her baby was born. A high school graduate, she worked as a clerk and appeared to like her job. She visited her baby every week at the agency foster home and talked of possibly getting married and taking the baby home. She became interested in a fellow who belonged to her church; her family liked him, and he liked her baby when he visited it. Gladys decided to marry him, and he agreed to adopt her baby. His family accepted the baby and suggested it be named after a member of the family. The adoption was arranged by the agency, and Gladys took her baby home, after it had been in placement nine months.

Gladys wanted to keep her baby from the first, and married a boy who appeared to want the baby. She worked out some of her ambivalent feelings toward the alleged father, and made a good adjustment to her situation.

Acceptance by her family was a factor in Gladys' decision to keep her baby, and such acceptance occurs as a factor in the case of Helen whose situation was somewhat different.

This twenty-eight year old colored girl came from a family which had been financially insecure during most of her childhood. They had a long history of contact with social agencies and were somewhat resistant to them, but Helen formed a good relationship with the worker and utilized case work help in planning for her baby.

She was referred to the agency by a maternity home and was at first very indefinite in her planning. She had been living with her mother, and they both had been employed as factory workers. Her father had been dead for some time and after her older brother's marriage, Helen had left high school to go to work. Her mother knew of her pregnancy and visited every week at the maternity home.

Helen hoped her baby would be a boy, because she always had wanted to be a boy herself. She described herself as a tomboy when young. She talked of adoption for the baby and discussed the advantages and disadvantages of adoption at great length. After her son was born, Helen began to talk of keeping him. She initiated paternity proceedings in order to get financial help so that she might keep the baby. She wanted the money paid directly to the agency, inasmuch as she wanted no further contact with the alleged father because he had disappeared after they had had a discussion as to whether they should marry. She had gone with him for five years and had always expected to marry him.

Helen was willing to have the worker contact the alleged father to discuss board payments for the baby. The alleged father came to the agency in response to the written request of the worker. He acknowledged paternity and signed a board agreement. He was not interested in marrying Helen, but expressed concern for the baby's future. He himself had been an adopted child as his parents had been divorced when he was an infant. He learned that he was adopted when he was fifteen, at which time he saw his real father. He

hated his father for letting him be adopted.

The alleged father was seen four times by the worker and help was given to him to express his own feelings about the baby. He verbalized to the worker that he had never grown up until this experience and he used his contact with the worker to help face some of his unresolved feeling about being an adopted child.

Helen's baby was in placement with the agency for a year, during which time Helen visited him regularly. She came to accept her femininity and to enjoy expressing her motherliness toward her baby. Her family accepted her baby and enabled her to leave work so that she could take the baby, pending her marriage to a man she met after the baby was born. This man was getting a divorce from his wife, who had had an illegitimate child while he was overseas. Helen brought him to the office to meet the worker. He planned to adopt Helen's baby after their marriage. Helen's family approved of this marriage and encouraged Helen to keep her baby.

Both Helen and Gladys utilized the help of the agency to work out their problems. In Helen's case, this help was extended to include the alleged father. Both Helen and Gladys had planned marriage to the alleged fathers of their babies, but the fathers refused to marry them. In each case the alleged father was involved in an unstable family relationship which prevented him from assuming his responsibility toward the mother and child.

The only case in the study in which the mother married the alleged father is that of Jane.

Jane, twenty-nine, came to this country from Canada when she was twenty. An aunt helped her to come here and acted as her guardian. Jane lived with the aunt and worked as a domestic.

An unhappy engagement, which was terminated because of the fellow's excessive drinking left Jane feeling bitter and remorseful about men and marriage. When she met the alleged father of her baby, she felt sorry for him because his former wife had deserted him and their two children. Their common experience drew Jane and the alleged father together, and she gradually came to love

him. When Jane became pregnant, they took out a marriage license, but the alleged father became ill and was hospitalized for five weeks. The thirty-two year old veteran suffered from a psychosomatic stomach disorder which had been recurrent since his discharge from the service. This illness had prevented him from holding a steady job, and he worked sporadically at various laboring jobs.

When Jane was referred to the agency by the maternity home where she had her baby, she asked for temporary placement of the baby until she could establish a home. The alleged father's parents were willing to accept Jane and the baby, but, as they already had the alleged father and his two children living with them, they felt they could not take Jane at that time. The alleged father and his mother visited Jane regularly at the maternity home.

Jane had been surprised at her pregnancy, as a year previous to it she had been told by a doctor that she could not have children. She said she was glad she had had a boy, however, as she always had wanted a boy. Jane responded to the case worker's interest in her and was able to express her ambivalence toward marriage and having a family. She was helped to visit her own family and tell them about the baby. Their acceptance of Jane gave her further support in working out her conflicts. Part of Jane's conflict over marriage seemed to relate to her aunt, with whom she lived. This aunt had had an illegitimate child when a girl. When the alleged father of the aunt's child had refused to marry her, she had given up the child and later married Jane's uncle. The worker helped Jane to see that her aunt's opposition to Jane's marriage was related to the aunt's own unresolved conflicts. Eventually the aunt gave approval for the marriage.

After her marriage to the alleged father, Jane lived at his parents' home and worked as a domestic to supplement her husband's irregular earnings. She brought her husband to the office for an interview, and he saw the worker. He appeared indifferent to the child and engrossed in his own problems. Jane was still ambivalent about the child, although she visited weekly and paid board regularly. She took the child home with her after he had been in placement fifteen months. The grandmother cared for the baby while Jane continued to work.

Jane continued to see the worker every three weeks for twenty months, during which time she had many financial difficulties. Her husband's stomach trouble prevented his working, and eventually his referral to a psychiatrist was arranged by the worker. Jane withdrew

from the agency when she reached an adjustment which seemed adequate to her situation.

Jane was ambivalent toward marriage and her child, but had the strength to utilize case work help and to work out her problems. She was helped to recognize and work out some of the conflicts and she continued to have contact with the agency until she felt able to separate.

The alleged father in this instance was too involved in his own problems to take an active part in planning for the child, and Jane made the decision to keep the baby. She received the support of his family as well as of her own and also made use of her case work contact.

In three cases in this group, the girls were fond of their babies and made arrangements so that they could live with their babies and work to support them. One girl arranged to live with an aunt, and one with a girl friend. A third mother obtained a house keeping job at which she was permitted to have her baby with her.

Daphne presents a picture similar to that of Daisy[2] in her history of disturbed relationships and ambivalence toward the child.

This twenty-four year old married woman requested placement of her two month old illegitimate daughter. Her husband had come home from service, and when he found out about the child, he asked for a divorce. She and her husband already had a little boy, two, and she hoped to reconcile her husband to accept the new baby. Daphne was quite ambivalent about the baby and could not decide whether to keep it or have it adopted.

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2 See Chapter III, p. 16.

The alleged father did not know of the baby's existence. Daphne had become drunk at a christening party and had had relations with one of the men. She had known this man for about a year. As her husband had been home on leave a month after the party, Daphne had been able to tell people that the baby was his.

When her husband left her, Daphne took the children to her father's home. However, this did not work out well as her father worked nights and slept days, and he objected to the children's noise. She described her father as a difficult person to understand, and almost impossible to get along with. Daphne's mother had died of heart disease when Daphne was twelve. She, her brother, and two sisters were cared for by a paternal aunt. Daphne had repressed most memories of her mother and spoke of her father as a stern, unloving person. The general atmosphere in the home was one of conflict.

Daphne was married at nineteen. During the first three and one half years, her husband was in the country only five months. Daphne lived for a time with her family and then with her husband's family. Her father said she had lived for a while with a man, and that she was generally promiscuous.

The worker talked with Daphne's husband. He said that Daphne was "like a child." She had never taken care of the children properly, and had left them in boarding homes. She appeared unable to accept responsibility. The husband placed the baby until a more permanent plan could be worked out. Daphne visited in the foster home but was very aggressive toward the foster mother. She failed to keep her appointments with the worker. After three months, she said she and her husband were reconciled and she took the baby home. Actually, she appeared to have ambivalent feelings toward the husband and child and an unresolved conflict with her father.

Because of her history of marital conflict and unhappy home life, it is doubtful if Daphne's plan to take her baby home would prove to be permanent. She appeared too involved in the emotional conflicts which apparently led to her illegitimate pregnancy to think constructively about her own or her child's future.

Emma is another example of a mother who took her baby home without having thought through a plan for its future.

> Emma was twenty-one when she was referred by a family agency for help in planning for her baby. She came from a poor family background with a history of neglect. Emma's mother deserted Emma and her sister when they were very small. The girls had been so badly neglected that they were under a doctor's care for a year thereafter. Their paternal grandmother raised the girls after the mother had deserted. The mother was known to be promiscuous and was divorced by Emma's father. He turned the girls over to his mother, who was very strict with them.
>
> The grandmother claimed Emma had always been a stubborn girl. She left school after completing the ninth grade and refused to work. She slept all day and would run out all night with soldiers and sailors. Emma never got along with her younger sister who made life miserable for her by telling stories about her and interfering when Emma became interested in a fellow who she felt was about to propose marriage.
>
> Emma's father and grandmother did not want her to return home after she had the baby and they both felt the baby should be placed for adoption. Emma said she wished to keep the baby, but there was some indication that her sister, who had visited her regularly at the maternity home, had convinced her that she should keep the baby.
>
> The alleged father was a married man with three children. He earned a marginal income as a factory worker. The worker at the referring agency talked with him about contributing to Emma's confinement expenses. His wife, who learned about the baby, went to work to help pay the expenses as she wanted to keep the family together. Because of the alleged father's illness a short time later, this plan broke down, and his family became dependent upon aid from the referring agency.
>
> The alleged father described Emma as a fundamentally good girl and attributed her pregnancy to the unhappy home life that she had experienced. He seemed to be an unstable person, unable successfully to meet his family responsibilities.
>
> After the baby was placed by the agency, Emma disappeared, and it was only after several months that she was located living with a friend. She constantly broke her appointments with the worker and gave excuses for not paying the baby's board. She did not visit the baby, but insisted that she wanted to keep it. She felt that since she had no family who were interested

in her she would keep the baby, who would be interested in her in later years. She drifted on, unable to make any plans and working irregularly. She said she was considering marriage, and after a year took the baby to the apartment where she was living with a girl friend. She had visited the baby only once during its placement of a year, and did not want the responsibility of it, but refused to consider giving it up.

Emma appeared to be a disturbed girl whose personal relationships were insecure and superficial, and who was incapable of planning with intelligence for herself or her baby.

Emma's motivation for keeping her baby was not related to any real fondness for the baby for she did not visit it and said she wished to keep it so that she would have someone interested in her in later years. Her disregard for the immediate economic and social problems involved in keeping her child was consistent with her irresponsible attitude toward paying the baby's board and with her irregular work record.

In contrast to Emma, Stella, who had an equally unhappy family history, was fond of her baby and worked regularly to support it.

This twenty-four year old colored girl came from a poor family situation which she described with bitterness. Her father and mother never got along. Stella blamed this on her mother, who never wanted to stay home and care for the children, but preferred to go out to nightclubs. Stella described her father as a cruel man, saying that he would never give the children anything. She said she had nothing but hatred for him. He was killed a few years before by a woman with whom he was living. Stella was raised by a maternal aunt from the time she was five years old, and said she felt closer to her aunt and uncle than to her mother. Her mother was still living, and was employed as a domestic in a hotel in a southern state, from which Stella came.

Stella came north to work after graduating from high school, where she took domestic science courses.

She had been employed cleaning Pullman cars prior to her pregnancy. She lived with five other girls in an apartment. She did not know that the alleged father was married at the time they became friends. He was a twenty-four year old sailor stationed in this area. He signed a statement acknowledging paternity and contributed regularly to the baby's board. Although his wife came here to live, he continued to see Stella.

When Stella came to the agency from the maternity home, she stated that she would never give her child away because her mother had given her and her brothers away when they were small. She said she knew how it felt to be not wanted. After the baby was placed by the agency, Stella visited him every week and paid his board regularly. For the first year, she saw the worker at frequent intervals, and her situation remained relatively unchanged. She enjoyed her work in a factory, joined a church group, and seemed to be making a good adjustment. She was attentive to the baby, but could see little chance of taking him. She stopped coming to the agency for a period of seven months, although she sent the board money regularly. The worker's efforts to reach Stella were unsuccessful. Finally, the worker received a letter from Stella saying that she was ill and had been unable to visit the baby. At the same time, the maternity home, which had referred Stella to the agency, reported Stella had been admitted to have her second illegitimate baby. Stella had been afraid to contact her worker for fear the agency would not continue to board the baby.

The alleged father of the twins which Stella had was also a sailor who subsequently left town. Stella wrote him about the children and he sent some money to help pay for the confinement.

As Stella was determined to keep the twins as well as the first baby, she decided to set up a home for them and care for them herself. As she had no means of supporting such a household, the worker assisted her in obtaining help from a private agency until public aid could be obtained. She refused to consider boarding the children or releasing them for adoption. She took her baby out of agency care after three years.

Stella was cooperative with the agency until her second pregnancy when she became frightened and worried about her inability to meet her financial obligations. She refused to see the worker until the birth of her twins necessitated a permanent plan for the children. She appeared genuinely fond of the children, and was determined to keep them. Her decision to keep the children seemed to the worker to be related to her having been rejected by her mother and father. Stella was conscious of the part played by her childhood

> experiences in contributing to her illegitimate pregnancies and to her decision to keep the children. She took the children with the knowledge that she would be dependent upon public aid for their support.

Stella's decision to make a home for her babies was related to her early life experiences as is true in the case of Emma, but Stella was able to recognize and accept the necessity for a plan which would provide security for herself and her children. Her plan for her first child was directly influenced by the birth of the twins, but it is probable, in view of her original attitude toward the first child, that she would have worked out a way to keep it in any event.

The eleven mothers who made independent homes for their babies appeared to be divided into two general types--girls like Gladys, Helen and Stella who were fond of their babies, and girls like Emma and Daphne, who were ambivalent toward their babies. The plans made by the mothers varied, but in general, there was more regard for the child's welfare in this group than there was among the mothers who chose private placement. The attitudes of their families toward the mothers influenced the mothers' plans for the babies. None of the alleged fathers participated actively in the formulation of the plans, although in several cases the alleged father was still in contact with the mother. The mothers appeared to be motivated by emotional rather than economic considerations in making their plans.

C. Living With Family

Six mothers returned with their babies to live with their families. Three of these returned to live with their parents, and one to live with her brother and his wife. Victoria is an example of a girl who decided to live with her parents.

> Victoria was in the service when she became pregnant. The alleged father was an officer who had planned to marry her until he learned she was pregnant. She had learned from a doctor that she probably never would become pregnant and she told the alleged father this. When she became pregnant, the officer reminded her of what she had told him and accused her of having relations with other men. Victoria felt that his family might have influenced him against her after she had visited their home.
>
> The family doctor helped Victoria go to visit a brother in another state when she learned she was pregnant. This was done so that she would not have to tell her mother, who had high blood pressure. However, her sister-in-law was ashamed of Victoria and did not want her to stay with them, so Victoria returned to her parents' home where she had a nervous collapse. The family were accepting of Victoria's situation as they felt the alleged father had treated her badly. They urged her to keep the baby, although she had thought in terms of adoption.
>
> Victoria was thirty-five when her baby was born, and she asked for placement until she could make a permanent plan. The baby was born prematurely, and Victoria was in poor health for several months after its birth. When the baby was placed, Victoria went to work as a waitress. She visited the baby regularly, but never referred to it by name, always calling it "baby" and "it."
>
> She appeared reluctant to see the worker without her mother along. Her mother told the worker that she did not see how any parent could give up a child. Victoria held out for adoption for some time but she finally told the worker that she was not well enough to face the disapproval of her family if she should give up the baby. After the baby had been in placement with the agency eight months, Victoria gave in to family pressure and decided to take the baby home.

After she had made her decision there was a noticeable improvement in her health and physical appearance. She was seen almost weekly during her year's contact with the agency, and the worker's relationship was that of friendly support and interest as Victoria was too dominated by her mother to accept a deeper relationship.

Victoria's need for her family's approval of her plan led her to take her baby home. Although she appeared ambivalent toward her child, she was too immature to defy her family's wishes and release the child for adoption as she had originally planned to do.

A similar situation occurred in the case of Mildred.

Mildred was nineteen and a junior in high school when her baby was born. She would take no responsibility for the baby and was content to let her mother do all the planning. Her mother decided to take the baby home in spite of the risk of community talk. At first it appeared that Mildred's father approved of having the baby in the home, but within a month, her mother asked the agency for placement of the baby, stating that her husband did not want her taking care of it as it took too much time. They also feared Mildred's younger sister, six would learn that it was Mildred's baby.

Mildred appeared indifferent to the baby refusing to pick it up. Her mother saw no reason why Mildred should talk with the worker, but offered to see the worker herself. She said Mildred always had been jealous of her younger sister who was born when Mildred was twelve. The mother felt Mildred had always been too dependent, wanting her mother to do things for her. However, there seemed to be no attempt on the mother's part to help Mildred become independent. Her mother seemed to have a deep-seated rejection of Mildred and covered this by over-protection and domination of her daughter.

The alleged father, seventeen, was a schoolmate of Mildred's and he denied paternity of the child. His father was an alcoholic, and his mother had worked to support the family. Mildred's family were loathe to take him to court and were willing to pay the child's board, since Mildred refused to do so.

Mildred did not visit the baby while it was in placement with the agency, and the worker was unable

> to approach her with regard to her plans, inasmuch as her mother arranged all meetings so that she would be present. The family considered adoption, but, in the meantime, Mildred met and decided to marry a boy who had recently been divorced. His marriage had been forced because the girl was pregnant and he expressed an interest in Mildred's baby. Mildred's mother insisted that Mildred take the baby, although Mildred did not show any affection for it. The baby had been in placement eight months when Mildred took it home for her mother to care for until she got married.

Although Mildred was planning marriage, her plan to take the baby home was not considered under "independent homes made" as she had no real interest in the child, took it only at her mother's insistence, and as she and the baby went to live with her mother at the time the case was closed. In Mildred's case as in that of Victoria, the maternal grandmother's insistence that the mother keep her baby overruled any considerations with regard to the mother's wishes, or the baby's welfare.

In one case the mother was dominated by her sister, who was a mother-figure to her:

> Annette was an immature girl of twenty, dominated by an older sister who controlled the planning for the baby. Annette was referred to the agency by a maternity home for help in planning but it became apparent in early interviews that Annette's sister had planned right along to take the baby. Annette asked for placement until her sister could arrange to take the baby.
>
> Annette said her father died when she was very young, and she remembered little about him. She had always felt closer to her sister than to her mother, and felt it was easier to confide in her sister. Annette had other siblings whom she mentioned briefly, but it was obvious that her family tie was to her sister. The sister described Annette as a child of the menopause---spoiled, overprotected and unsophisticated.

After finishing her junior year of high school, Annette became employed as a clerk. The alleged father, twenty-three, was employed at the same company. He had talked of marrying Annette until the baby was born, when he said he could not marry without love. Annette said she did not know why she became pregnant and did not appear interested in contacting the alleged father or continuing the relationship.

Her sister arranged maternity home care and took care of paying for the confinement and the baby's board. The sister told the worker she would stand in back of Annette in everything and would adopt the baby if it were adoptable. Annette planned to go to work and to continue living with her sister. The sister accompanied Annette to the agency for her interviews, and although the worker saw Annette alone in order to discuss her problems and plans for the future, Annette said her sister's plan was what she wanted. Although the sister had spoken of waiting six months to see if the baby were adoptable, she decided to take the baby after it had been in placement with the agency for a month.

Annette was in contact with the agency for four months but was not receptive to case work help as she was dominated by her sister.

In those cases where the relatives of the mothers took an active part in making the plan, the mothers had little opportunity to benefit from case work contact. In one instance the planning was done by the alleged father:

Brenda was in a mental hospital when her brother applied for placement of her baby. Brenda's psychosis had been brought on by her illegitimate pregnancy. The doctors felt that she was not seriously ill, and that there was no reason why she should not be able to lead a normal life after treatment.

Brenda, thirty, was the only one of eight children who had not married. Her parents had died within a year of each other when Brenda was seventeen. After their deaths, she had tried living with a sister, but they did not get along, so she went to live with a friend. She had felt badly about not being married and her relationship with the alleged father, which was known to her family, had been a source of family conflict.

The alleged father, a taxi-driver, had met Brenda

six years before and they had been living together off and on during the six months previous to her pregnancy. He was a married man who wished to get a divorce and marry Brenda. He talked with the worker about plans for the baby and asked for foster home placement. He appeared fond of the baby and anxious to have it at home.

Brenda was in treatment while placement was being worked out, and was too confused to help in the planning. There was much conflict between the alleged father and Brenda's brother which appeared to be partly centered around payment for Brenda's hospitalization. The alleged father paid the baby's board while it was in the agency foster home, visited it regularly, and appeared devoted to it.

When Brenda was discharged from the hospital, she went to live with the alleged father's mother. His divorce was to go through in six months, after which they planned to marry. She took the baby to his mother's home after a three month placement. She was seen only a few times by the worker, most of the contact being with the alleged father. He appeared to be a rather immature person, but fond of the baby and unwilling to give it up. Brenda's illness prevented her from participating in the planning and there was obvious conflict between her family and the alleged father.

This is the only case in the study in which the alleged father took an active part in planning for the baby. As the mother had little to do with the plan and was dependent upon the alleged father and his mother, this plan was classified under "Living With Family" rather than as an "Independent Home Made."

The six mothers in this group were immature girls, dependent upon their families. Two of the girls were fond of their babies, but the rest were not particularly concerned with the babies' welfare, and allowed their families to influence their decisions.

D. Placement With Relatives

In three cases the babies were released to relatives with whom the mothers were not living at the time. One child, whose mother was considering adoption, was finally released to its maternal grandparents who planned to adopt it. One mother who had two illegitimate children during her contact with the agency released the first child to her sister. This was done as the alleged father of the second child was willing to provide a home for the mother and his child but not for the mother's first illegitimate baby. In the third case in this group the mother placed her baby with her older sister:

> Martha, thirty-seven, requested placement for her two month old son until she could work out suitable living arrangements to keep him with her. She did not want adoption unless there was no other resource. She had been living with a niece but felt she could not keep the baby and work.
>
> A college graduate, Martha had been working in a bank when she became pregnant. The alleged father was also employed at the bank. He was a married man with several grown children. He sent Martha to another state to have an abortion but she became frightened and decided to have the child. The alleged father paid all of her expenses. He felt adoption was the best plan, but was reluctant to give the necessary information to a social agency. Martha did not tell her parents about the baby as they were elderly and in poor health. She had several brothers and sisters, whom she told, but she led them to believe that she had placed the baby for adoption. She explained that she was very surprised when she became pregnant, as she had had an operation, which, she thought, had rendered her sterile.
>
> During the five months her baby was in placement with the agency, Martha remained extremely ambivalent toward it. She visited the foster home regularly, but spent most of the visits in discussing her problems with the foster mother. She spoke of the baby's need for a father and made numerous attempts to attract a

husband, discussing the possibilities of various men with the worker. She never really faced the possibility that she might not get married, but continued to say that things would work out. She continued to see the alleged father who urged her to place the child for adoption. It was the worker's impression that Martha's desire to keep the baby may have been related to her desire to continue her relationship with the alleged father.

Martha praised the agency and foster home with a a sweetness which appeared to hide much hostility. She made various social overtures to the worker such as inviting the worker to her apartment for a social visit, and essentially their relationship remained on a superficial level. When Martha revealed any deep feelings to the worker, she would immediately negate them.

Her attitude toward her family did not appear to be either affectionate or hostile. She said she felt closer to her father than to her mother and commented on her interest in older men. She indicated to some extent that an older married sister had been something of a mother figure to her. It was this sister with whom Martha placed her baby.

Martha was a disturbed woman unable to plan for her child's needs because of her own conflicts. The worker discussed psychiatric treatment with Martha, but she rejected this possibility. She continued to talk in vague and unrealistic terms about marriage, but her main interest seemed to be in maintaining a relationship with the alleged father.

Martha appears to have some features in common with the mothers who chose private placement for their babies. She wished to keep her child but did not appear really fond of it or interested in caring for it. Her relationships with people were on an immature level.

The three mothers in this group were motivated in their planning largely by emotional considerations although the financial situation of one mother was at least partially responsible for her decision.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION OF THE CASE MATERIAL

This chapter is devoted to the discussion and the tabulation of significant data obtained from the case summaries. As the number of cases used for the study was too small to permit valid conclusions to be drawn on a statistical basis, the tabulations are included for the purpose of illustrating major trends.

A. General Comments

The length of time the mothers were in contact with the agency is presented in Table I.

TABLE I

LENGTH OF MOTHER'S CONTACT WITH AGENCY

Length of Contact	Plan A No.	Plan A Pct.	Plan B No.	Plan B Pct.	Plan C No.	Plan C Pct.	Plan D No.	Plan D Pct.
Under six months			2	18.1	3	50.0	2	66.7
Six months to one yr.	3	42.9	7	63.7	3	50.0		
13 months to two years	4	57.1	1	9.1			1	33.3
Over two yrs.			1	9.1				
Total	7	100.0	11	100.0	6	100.0	3	100.0

The majority, or 57.1 per cent, of the mothers in Plan A were in contact with the agency for a period of thirteen months to two years. Seven, or 63.7 per cent, of the mothers in Plan B made their decisions in a period of six months to a year. One mother was seen for a period of three years as she had two illegitimate children for whom she had to plan. All of the mothers who returned to live with their families made their decisions in less than a year, with half of them making the decisions in less than six months. Two, or 66.7 per cent, of the mothers in Plan D were in contact with the agency for less than six months.

Table II shows the ages of the parents at the time the child was born.

TABLE II

PARENTS' AGES AT BIRTH OF CHILD

Age	Mother		Father	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Under 18	1	3.7	1	3.7
18-24	15	55.5	5	18.5
25-30	6	22.2	1	3.7
Over 30	5	18.5	4	14.8
Unknown			16	59.2
Total	27	99.9	27	99.9

Most of the mothers were between eighteen and twenty-four years of age when the babies were born. The one girl who was under eighteen was a disturbed adolescent who was involved in delinquent behavior. It is interesting to note

that most of these girls were at the age when it is normal, in our culture, for a girl to think in terms of establishing a home and raising a family. Five of the mothers were married women who were in conflict with their husbands. The ages for over half of the alleged fathers were unknown.

B. Education and Employment

Tables III and IV show the education and employment of the mothers.

TABLE III

EDUCATION OF MOTHERS

	No.	Per cent
Did not graduate High School	7	25.9
High School Graduate	9	33.3
Vocational Training after High School	3	11.1
College Graduate	3	11.1
Unknown	5	18.5
Total	27	99.9

TABLE IV

EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS

	No.	Per cent
Domestic and Factory	11	40.7
Office	7	25.9
Unemployed	7	25.9
Professional	2	7.4
Total	27	99.9

Nine of the mothers, or 33.3 per cent, were high school graduates, with seven, or 25.9 per cent, who did not graduate. Three, or 11.1 per cent, were college graduates. The education of five, or 18.5 per cent, was not reported.

As Tables III and IV demonstrate, the mothers' employment was closely related to their education. Forty and seven tenths per cent worked as domestics or factory workers. One girl who had had a college education disliked her profession, which was teaching, and chose to work in a factory. Only two, or 7.4 per cent, of the mothers were employed in professions. Seven, or 25.9 per cent, were not employed during agency contact. Several of the girls left school in order to go to work to help support their families.

Information as to education and employment of the alleged fathers was too meager for tabulation.

C. Emotional Factors

Much of the case material dealt directly with the mothers' emotional situations---that is, their inter-personal relationships and their reactions to their pregnancies. The mothers' comments on their relationships and the workers' observations are subjective and cannot be considered conclusive in view of the limited number of cases used for the study. However, certain trends seem worth reviewing. Tables V and VI present the family situation of the mothers and the alleged fathers at the time the child was born.

TABLE V

FAMILY SITUATION OF MOTHER AT BIRTH OF CHILD

	Plan A		Plan B		Plan C		Plan D	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Family broken by death, divorce or desertion	4	57.1	6	54.6	3	50.0		
Family living together	3	42.9	5	45.4	3	50.0	2	66.7
Unknown							1	33.3
Total	7	100.0	11	100.0	6	100.0	3	100.0

TABLE VI

FAMILY SITUATION OF ALLEGED FATHER AT BIRTH OF CHILD

	Plan A		Plan B		Plan C		Plan D	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Family broken by death, divorce or desertion	2	28.6	3	27.3	3	50.0		
Family living together	1	14.3	3	27.3	1	16.7	1	33.3
Unknown	4	57.1	5	45.4	2	33.3	2	66.7
Total	7	100.0	11	100.0	6	100.0	3	100.0

There was a large percentage of families of both unmarried mothers and alleged fathers which had been broken by death, desertion or divorce. Under plans A, B and C half or more of the mothers' families had been broken. The status of a large percentage of the fathers' families under each plan was unknown, while in only one case was the status of a mother's family unknown.

Attitudes of the families toward the mothers are shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII

ATTITUDE OF MATERNAL FAMILY TOWARD MOTHER

	Plan A		Plan B		Plan C		Plan D	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Dominating	2	28.6	2	18.2	4	66.6		
Other Difficulties	2	28.6	1	9.1	2	33.3		
Understanding	1	14.2	5	45.4			1	33.3
Unknown							2	66.6
Rejecting	2	28.6	3	27.3				
Total	7	100.0	11	100.0	6	99.9	3	99.9

Plan B was the only plan in which the families of the mothers were predominantly understanding. Five, or 45.4 per cent, of the families in Plan B were understanding. Domination by one or both parents appeared in six cases, while one girl was dominated by a sister and another girl by an aunt. Five girls were dominated by their mothers and one by her father.

In five instances the families were rejecting of the girls. These factors were distributed widely throughout the plans. In five cases there was some other form of family difficulty. In two families, one parent was alcoholic. Several girls appeared to be involved in some unresolved conflict with their families, but the nature of the conflict was undetermined. In two cases the attitude of the family toward the mother was unknown. In general, it could be said that the mothers' relationships with their families were not normal or healthy.

The fathers' relationships to their families are shown in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII

FATHER'S RELATIONSHIP TO HIS FAMILY AT BIRTH OF CHILD

	Plan A		Plan B		Plan C		Plan D	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Unknown	3	42.9	5	45.4	4	66.6	1	33.3
Al. fa. married	4	57.1	3	27.3			1	33.3
Al. fa. dominated by parents			2	18.2	1	16.7	1	33.3
Al. fa. divorced or separated			1	9.0	1	16.7		
Total	7	100.0	11	99.9	6	100.0	3	99.9

In over thirty per cent of the cases the father's relationship to his family was unknown. In four cases the

father appeared to be dominated by his family. Under Plan A, four, or 57.1 per cent, of the fathers were married, and in Plan B, three, or 27.3 per cent, were married. Altogether eight of the alleged fathers were married, and four were divorced or separated. Their illegitimate parenthood might well be considered a symptom of marital difficulties.

The mothers' attitude toward the alleged fathers varied considerably during case work contact. Often the mothers' feelings would range from fondness to hostility during their contact with the agency, making it difficult to tabulate the feeling with any accuracy. In general, the attitude was characterized by ambivalence. Ambivalence was shown for the mothers by the five fathers who were seen in the agency. Certainly the circumstances of illegitimate parenthood, with its social and psychological implications, would make for ambivalent attitudes on the part of the mothers and fathers.

The mothers' attitudes toward their children are shown in Table IX.

TABLE IX

ATTITUDE OF MOTHER TO CHILD AFTER BIRTH

	Plan A		Plan B		Plan C		Plan D	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Fond			8	72.7	2	33.3	2	66.6
Ambivalent	5	71.4	2	18.2	3	50.0	1	33.3
Indifferent	1	14.3	1	9.0	1	16.7		
Hostile	1	14.3						
Total	7	100.0	11	99.9	6	100.0	3	99.9

In Plan A there were no mothers who were fond of their children, while there were five, or 71.4 per cent, who were ambivalent; one, or 14.3 per cent, who was indifferent, and one, or 14.3 per cent, who was hostile. In Plan B, eight, or 72.7 per cent of the mothers were fond of their children, a decided contrast to Plan A. There were only two, or 18.2 per cent, of the mothers in Plan B who were ambivalent, and one who was indifferent. Only one mother in the study was hostile toward her child, with the largest number being ambivalent or indifferent to the child.

D. Known Factors Influencing Plan

In most of the cases, there was some comment by the worker as to the reason for the plan made by the mother. Naturally, all the factors discussed above had some bearing on the plans, and must be considered in discussing them. However, the known factors could be grouped as shown in Table X.

TABLE X

KNOWN FACTORS INFLUENCING PLAN

	Plan A		Plan B		Plan C		Plan D	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Mother in neurotic conflict over decision	5	71.4	3	27.3	1	16.7	1	33.3
Mother married and established home			4	36.4				
Family encouraged mother to keep baby			1	9.0	3	50.0		
Other factors	2	28.6	3	27.3	2	33.3	2	66.6
Total	7	100.0	11	100.0	6	100.0	3	99.9

Neurotic conflict over the decision was the strongest factor in Plan A, involving five, or 71.4 per cent of the mothers. Only four girls in the study married and established homes, and these comprised 36.4 per cent of the cases in Plan B. Half of the girls in Plan C were encouraged by their families to keep their babies. This family approval often gave support to the girl's own desire to keep her baby. Under each of the plans there were other factors which seemed important. Two mothers were influenced in their planning by the birth of a second illegitimate child, which necessitated making plans for two children. One solved her problem by getting Aid to Dependent Children, and thereby establishing a

home for the children. The other mother released the first child to her sister and kept the second child in a home maintained by the alleged father. These two cases were the only ones in the study in which economic considerations were given particular attention in the formulation of the plans. One married woman was afraid to release her child for adoption because she did not want her husband to find out that the child was illegitimate. The maternal grandparents' desire for a son influenced one mother to give the child to them. In one case, the planning was done largely by the alleged father because the mother was in a mental hospital when the child was born. This was the only case in which the alleged father participated in the plans although five fathers were seen by workers at the agency. The placement status of the babies at the time the cases were closed by the agency was as follows: fifteen placed with their mothers; six in private boarding homes; and six placed with maternal relatives.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Twenty-seven cases from the files of the Children's Aid Association of Boston were selected for a study of factors in the lives of unmarried mothers which caused the mothers to make non-adoptive plans for their babies. The cases were classified according to the type of plan made by the mother and studied for significant data.

There were four types of plans made by the twenty-seven mothers included in this study. These plans were private placement; placement with relatives; independent homes established; and living with families. The girls who chose private placement did not appear fond of their children and showed little understanding of their needs. They had poor relationships with their families. In general, there was more regard for the child's welfare among the mothers who made independent homes for their babies than there was among those who chose private placement, placement with relatives, or living with families. The mothers who returned to live with their families seemed to be immature, dependent, and allowed their families to influence their decision. Emotional considerations appeared to motivate the mothers who chose to place their babies with relatives.

Regardless of the plan chosen, there were certain

factors which appeared to have significance for the study as a whole. Many of the mothers came from homes broken by death, desertion or divorce. The mother's relationships to the alleged fathers were characterized by ambivalence. The alleged fathers did not participate in the formulation of the plans, although a number of them contributed financially to the child's support.

Although keeping the child involved financial responsibility for the mothers, economic factors were not important in the formulation of the plans.

Although the social and psychological factors contributing to the formulation of the plans were as various as the plans themselves, an important factor in all cases was the failure of the mother to have and/or maintain healthy and satisfactory interpersonal relationships. This finding is consistent with the findings made by such writers as Leontine Young and Ruth Brenner and emphasizes the necessity for an exploration by the case worker of the interpersonal relationships of every unmarried mother as a preliminary step in assisting the mother in making a plan which will provide for her own and her child's needs.

Information concerning the alleged fathers was not sufficient to provide a basis for conclusions. This study indicates a need for more extensive information on the subject of the alleged father before the part he plays in the total picture of illegitimate parenthood can be evaluated.

More detailed study would be necessary to determine exactly how the family relationships contributed to the various plans, and also to determine the relative weight of the various factors in the final decision. Because of the importance of family relationships in the formulation of plans as opposed to economic factors or considerations with regard to the future of the child, the relative permanence of the plans is open to speculation. It is for this reason that the writer recommends that follow-up studies of the mother be made after several years have elapsed since the last date of the agency contact, in order to see how the plan is working out.

APPENDIX

SCHEDULE

I. Mother

A. General Information

1. Case number
2. Application
   a. Applicant
   b. Time of application
3. Length of Contact
4. Age at child's birth

B. Social Factors

1. Marital status
2. Race
3. Education
4. Church influence
5. Home environment
6. Family Constellation
7. Occupation

C. Emotional Factors

1. Relationship to family group
2. Relationship to alleged father
3. Relationship to child

D. Plan Made

1. Type
   a. Private Placement
   b. Independent Home Established
   c. Living with Family

d. Other

2. Original Plan Carried Out

3. Plan Changed During Contact

II. Alleged Father

A. General Information

1. Residence

2. Age

B. Social Factors

1. Marital Status

2. Race

3. Education

4. Church Influences

5. Home Environment

6. Occupation

C. Emotional Factors

1. Relationship to family group

2. Relationship to mother

3. Relationship to child

D. Participation in Plan

1. Took part in plan

2. Did not take part in plan

A. Private Placement

Additional Case Histories

1. Doris

Doris, a twenty-eight year old married woman, was separated from her husband when she became illegitimately pregnant. She was living with her father, mother and five year old son. She feared that if her husband learned of her pregnancy he would take their son away from her. She requested adoption for the baby as she felt she was in no position to care for another child and also wanted nothing to stand in the way of her keeping her legitimate son.

She was resistant to giving the worker any information about herself. She said she had gone to business school evenings after graduating from high school and had worked as a secretary in a large firm. She expressed a desire for further vocational training in order to improve her financial position. She did not discuss her relationship with her husband or with the alleged father. She said the alleged father was still interested in her but was not interested in the child.

When the baby, a girl, was born, Doris began to be interested in keeping it and asked that it be placed by the agency until she could work out a plan. She visited the baby weekly in the foster hoem. She was quite ambivalent about releasing it for adoption. She feared her husband's possible retaliation if he were to learn about the baby. The baby was registered as legitimate, which meant that the husband would have to sign the adoption papers, and she refused to ask him to do this.

Doris broke her appointments with the worker consistently and saw the worker only a few times. She became very hostile toward social agencies because of the adoption procedures. Her contact with the agency extended over a period of nine months, but the worker never could get a clear picture of Doris' family or marital relationships. She was resistant to case work help and remained fearful that her husband would learn about the baby. She decided to board the baby privately and took her baby on this basis.

2. Nancy

Nancy regarded placement of her baby as an in-between step to marriage and taking the child home. She considered adoption out of the question. Although she could have had a natural abortion during the early months of her pregnancy, she took treatments to save the baby.

A high school graduate, Nancy had taken business courses and was trained as a bookkeeper. She had done waitress work during the war years, and at the time of her pregnancy was living alone in an apartment. She had saved money to pay for her confinement expenses and was quite independent in making her plans.

Her parents and an older brother lived some distance away. Nancy had let them believe she was married. She never visited her home and said her family were not interested in her. She was thirty when she applied to the agency. At this time she stated that when she was born her parents had been in their forties. She had always felt more congenial toward her father than toward her mother and commented that the alleged father was very like her father and she felt that was why she was attracted to him.

The alleged father, a man thirty-two, was in the process of getting a divorce from his wife when he came to the office at the worker's request to discuss the baby's board payment. He was a boyish appearing fellow who appeared embarrassed and on the defensive. He stated that he had never lived with his wife because they had been married just before he went into the service. She was a girl he had known for years, and his mother had encouraged the marriage. He was an only child and could not remember his father, who died when the alleged father was four. He discussed Nancy as a "queer duck" and said he felt adoption was the best plan for the baby. He was willing to pay part of the baby's board, but was unwilling to assume responsibilities of marriage. He was supporting his mother, who lived in another state, and was going to mortician's school when he met Nancy.

Nancy obtained a job as a practical nurse after the baby was placed by the agency. She and the alleged father visited the child every two weeks. The alleged father was seen in only one interview, but Nancy was seen once a month. Although the alleged father appeared to be jealous of the baby and continued to suggest adoption for it, Nancy was unwilling to give up the baby or to break her relationship with the alleged father. She appeared to be an immature person, unable to gain much insight into her problems. After two years she took the baby to board it privately, pending her

marriage. A brief contact one year later revealed that Nancy and the alleged father had married, but had not taken the baby, who was still in private placement.

3. Gertrude

Gertrude, nineteen, was in conflict with her family over her plan to keep her baby. Her father died three years before her pregnancy, and Gertrude lived with her mother and her older brother. Both her mother and brother felt Gertrude should place the baby for adoption. Gertrude told them she would never give the baby up and that once she said anything she would stick to it to the bitter end. She felt she would like to place the baby for about a year until she could arrange to have it at home.

Gertrude had always felt that her brother was her mother's favorite, thus resenting him. However, Gertrude's mother spoke in hostile terms of the brother, describing him as superficial. He offered no financial help for Gertrude. Her mother felt that Gertrude would not want to keep the baby if it were a boy, as Gertrude had never liked boys. The worker felt the mother was over-protective of Gertrude, and influenced by Gertrude's wishes.

The alleged father, a twenty-two year old single man, was a member of the U.S. Navy. He would not acknowledge paternity of the baby in a conference with his chaplain and a legal advisor, but he was willing to help Gertrude financially as he felt sorry for her. Gertrude argued with him about his denial of paternity, and he refused financial help.

Gertrude's mother paid her confinement expenses and after the baby, a girl, was born, Gertrude went to work to support it. The baby was placed by the agency, and Gertrude visited the baby regularly for the first six months. Her mother and brother accompanied her and were critical of the foster home and inconsiderate with regard to visiting hours.

For a year Gertrude was undecided about her plans for the baby. She did not keep appointments with the worker, and her visits to the baby tapered off. Much of her feeling about her situation seemed to be directed toward her relationship with her mother. She felt her mother had been too strict with her and that her pregnancy had been the result of her mother's attitude. She said she did not feel responsible for the baby. She expressed hostility toward her mother because her mother had to work and could not care for the baby at home. She took her baby after twenty-two months to place it privately with the hope that she might be able to have it home some day.

Gertrude's plan for her baby seemed to be related directly to her conflict with her mother. She was uncooperative with the agency, and did not appear to be interested in her baby after the first six months, except as a weapon to be used against her mother.

B. Independent Homes Made

Additional Case Studies

1. Gloria

A private physician referred Gloria to the agency for help in planning for her second illegitimate child. Gloria, twenty-one, had told the physician she wanted adoption for the child as soon as possible and that she did not want to see it after birth.

Gloria's first child, a girl, thirteen months old, had been placed with Gloria's sister and brother-in-law in her home state. Gloria had refused help from a social agency in planning for this child and she boarded it privately in two foster homes before placing it with her sister.

An unpleasant family situation seems to have been a factor contributing to Gloria's illegitimate pregnancy. Her mother died when Gloria was seven years old. An aunt raised Gloria's sister, and Gloria remained at home with her father and four brothers. They were strict with her, seldom allowing her to go out. Gloria said she hated to be tied down and when her favorite brother came to this state to study, Gloria came with him. Here she met the father of her first child and married him, only to discover a few months later that the ceremony had been faked. It was revealed that her husband already had a wife and child. Gloria took this man to court, and he was ordered to pay toward the support of their child.

Gloria's second illegitimate child, born soon after her referral to the agency, was a boy. Gloria had experienced the hope that this child would be a girl, fearing that if it were a boy, it might be like the alleged father. She described the alleged father as an undependable person, who had refused to help her financially. He was a twenty-six year old undertaker, separated from his wife and two children. Gloria said his mother had died when he was young, and that he had been raised by an aunt. His father and two sisters were living, but Gloria knew little regarding his relationship to them.

After the agency placed her baby, Gloria went to work in a factory where she earned enough money to support herself and the child. She did not visit the baby in the foster home as she planned an adoption for it and feared she would grow fond of it if she visited it in the foster home. She was seen quite regularly by the worker for the next nine months, during which time she decided to tell her family about the second child. She also made plans to marry a young Italian building contractor whom she had recently met. She told him about her children, explaining that she was divorced from her husband. The youth was willing to adopt the children after his marriage to Gloria. At first she was going to continue her plan to have the boy adopted, but her family and boy friend encouraged her to keep the baby. As the boy friend's family opposed the marriage on religious ground, Gloria and her boy friend took the baby and went to her father's home where they were married.

Gloria appeared to be a girl who was fairly independent in her planning but who responded to emotional support from her family and boy friend and was thus enabled to keep her baby and establish a home for it.

2. Ellen

Ellen asked for placement of her baby until she could work out a plan whereby she could keep it. Ellen was nineteen when her baby was born. She had left school at the end of her third year in high school and had since worked in factories and as a waitress. Her mother and father were separated, but were still on friendly terms and both visited Ellen at the maternity home. Her mother had a long court record for drunkenness and did not help Ellen with her planning for the baby.

The alleged father, twenty-one, had promised to help Ellen financially, but backed down when the baby was born. Ellen took him to court, and he was ordered to support the child. Ellen had been going with him for three years and had planned on marriage. His father and mother were divorced and both had remarried. Ellen was friendly with his mother, who could not understand why he refused to marry Ellen. He paid for her confinement and paid the baby's board, but refused to marry Ellen. He felt the baby should be placed for adoption. Ellen definitely did not want adoption. She arranged to live with a friend and went to work in a factory. She was fond of the baby, and after the baby had been in an agency foster home for ten months, took the child to the apartment of a girl friend, a

young married woman. Ellen was able to live with this friend who agreed to care for the baby during the day while Ellen was at work. Ellen appeared to be a well-adjusted, independent girl who showed a lot of affection for the baby and who worked out her own plan for keeping the baby.

3. Carol

Carol, twenty, was a stable, intelligent girl with ability to plan for herself and her baby. She had been in nurse's training when she became pregnant, and was considered excellent nursing material. Her family were sympathetic toward Carol but unable to help her financially because they were receiving Aid to Dependent Children. Her father was a cripple, and there were five siblings, all younger than Carol.

Carol had known the alleged father for years. They were members of the same church. He was twenty-one and employed as a dish-washer. They had talked of marriage, but when Carol became pregnant, he talked with his father, who advised him to deny paternity. Carol asked her minister to talk to the alleged father about possible financial help. The alleged father continued to deny paternity, and Carol did not wish to take him to court. She felt he had been influenced by his family, who always dominated.

Carol felt she would like to work out a way to keep the baby. She recognized the child's need for security and a home and said that she would consider adoption if she could not make a good plan to keep the baby. Her father died a month after the baby was born. It had been her father's wish that she bring the baby home.

Carol obtained work as a nursemaid and visited her baby regularly. The baby developed pneumonia while in placement with the agency, and Carol was concerned and attentive to it. When the baby was four months old, he was placed by Carol with her aunt, who was able to give a home to Carol and the baby. Carol planned to complete her nurse's training and work to support the baby. She had a sensible approach to her problems and appeared genuinely fond of the baby.

4. Mary

Mary came to the city to have her baby so that her family would not know of it. She had told her mother and one sister of her pregnancy, and they urged her to place the baby for adoption. She was referred to the agency by a worker at a maternity home a month before the baby's birth. At that time Mary, thirty-one, said she wished to keep the baby because she felt she might

never have another at her age. She said her own hope was to get married and if she were not married within a year she might consider adoption.

Mary was the oldest in a family of four. She had one married brother and two sisters who were single. She graduated from high school but expressed the feeling that she was always the slowest in the family in school. Her father, however, always said she was the best. She worked in a sweater concern and lived at home. The summer previous to her confinement she became distressed and went to the west coast where she met a man by whom she became pregnant. She did not tell the worker the reason for her distress and subsequent trip, but spoke of it in vague terms. She was equally vague about the alleged father, saying she knew nothing about him.

After the birth of her son, Mary continued to speak in terms of marriage, although she admitted to the worker that she knew no men at present. Her family urged her to place the baby for adoption, but Mary went ahead with foster home placement by the agency. She became very dependent upon the worker during the time that she was starting back to work. She visited the baby regularly and seemed fond of it. She seemed to gain confidence from her relationship to the worker and became more decisive in her planning. At the end of the year she obtained a position as a housekeeper for a family in the country and took her baby to live with her.

5. Betsey

Betsey was a nineteen year old high school graduate who was living with her parents when she became pregnant. She was an only child and her parents were sympathetic toward her plan to keep the baby. Betsey seemed to have a good relationship with her parents who helped her in her planning.

Betsey had planned to marry the alleged father, and the wedding date had been decided when he said that he just couldn't go through with the marriage. He had met Betsey at a Sunday School picnic several years before, and she was very fond of him. His refusal to marry Betsey seemed related to his unhappy family life. His parents had had a forced marriage. There were six children and much unhappiness in the family. One of the alleged father's sisters had had an illegitimate child.

Betsey's baby was placed by the agency for ten months, during which period Betsey worked in an office to support it. Her family encouraged her to resume a normal social life. She was fond of the baby and

visited it every week. She became interested in, and married, a boy whom she had known for some time. He and his family knew about the baby, and were willing to accept it. Betsey decided to have her mother care for the baby until she and her husband could get their home established and put through his adoption of the baby.

Betsey planned from the beginning to keep her baby and used the support of the case worker, and her parents, to resume a normal life until her marriage enabled her to plan to take the baby.

C. Living With Family

Additional Case Histories

1. Shirley

Shirley was thirty-four when her baby was born. She had been separated from her husband for three years. She had tried to secure a divorce, but her husband had refused to give her one. He was a conscientious objector and had served a year in prison. He had had an unhappy childhood because of the divorce and early death of his parents. Although he and Shirley had been married nine years, he did not want a home or children, but preferred to move about.

Shirley had always wanted a child, and was pleased about having a baby. She wanted placement by the agency until she could make a home for it. She thought she might eventually marry the alleged father, although he was a married man with children. He was a friend of her brothers, and she was reluctant to give any information about him. Shirley had been living with her brother, a school principal. His wife and child had not moved to the city, as he had not found a place for them to live. Shirley said her brother had always been protective of her and had accepted her pregnancy. Shirley's father was also a school principal in another state. She described her family as well established in the community but did not discuss the family relationships.

Shirley's mother came to take Shirley and the baby home with her. She appeared to be domineering and aggressive toward Shirley. She suggested to the worker that adoption might be the best for the baby, but Shirley would not give up the baby. Shirley had been pleased with the foster home and cooperated with the agency but was resistant to discussing her plans which she worked out independently. She decided not to marry

the alleged father when she took the baby after a six-month placement. She and the baby went to live with her mother.

2. Claire

Claire, twenty, was one of several children who became state wards after the death of their mother, when Claire was five. The father was an alcoholic and not interested in, or capable of, caring for the children.

Claire left high school in her third year and had worked as a nurse's aid for three years before she became pregnant. She met the alleged father on a blind date and went with him for three months. He denied paternity of the child, although he admitted knowing Claire. Under pressure from the maternity home, Claire took the case to court but the alleged father disappeared so no financial help was received.

Claire was seen by the worker only four times while the baby was in the agency foster home. She at first thought she wanted adoption, but after having the baby, she started to plan to keep it. Her brother and sister-in-law were willing to take her and the baby home with them. Claire also had a boy friend whom she had met after she became pregnant. He and his mother visited her regularly in the maternity home and offered her a home until she could go back to work. She planned to marry this boy in two years when he finished school.

Claire appeared to be fond of her baby, and after encouragement from her family and boy friend, she decided to take the baby to live with her brother and sister-in-law. Her sister-in-law would care for the baby while Claire worked as a nurse's aid. Her baby had been in placement only a month when Claire took it, confident that her plan would work out well.

D. Placement with Relatives

Additional Case Histories

1. Susan

Susan applied to the agency for adoption of her baby. She was a twenty-four year old dietician who had come from another state after the birth of her baby. She had left home when she learned she was pregnant and had gone to live with an aunt. She boarded the baby in a home secured through a social agency in the state

where he was born. She visited the baby and was fond of it, but felt adoption was the best plan for it. Her parents knew of her pregnancy and helped her financially but made no attempt to influence her decision about the baby. When the decision was made for Susan to place the baby for adoption, her parents accompanied her to make the placement and appeared loathe to part with the baby.

Susan had an older married sister. She said her parents had always wanted a boy, but had had no other children, after the two girls had been born. They were reluctant to part with Susan's child, which was a boy.

The alleged father was a medical student from a well-known family in Susan's home town. She described him as a possessive, domineering fellow. They had planned on marriage, but when Susan became pregnant, the alleged father joined the service and acting on the advice of his father, denied paternity of the boy.

Within a month after Susan placed the baby with the agency, she came in to take the baby, stating that her parents wished to adopt it. She said she did not mind if her friends learned about the baby, and felt there would be no problems in the future. She talked of marrying a fellow whom she had recently met. She said she felt her parents should take the baby as they had always wanted a boy. Her contact with the agency was so brief it was difficult to determine the reason for the plan, but it seemed that she wished to give her parents the son they had always wanted.

2. Eve

Eve was twenty when her first illegitimate baby was born. She had been separated from her husband for about a year. She had been married at eighteen, but her husband was cruel and shiftless so she left him, placing her year old daughter with its paternal grandparents. She then came north, where she worked as a cook until she became illegitimately pregnant.

Eve felt she had been deceived by the alleged father who had appeared to be seriously interested in her, but who later denied paternity of the child. He was a sailor who was transferred to another state before the baby was born.

When the baby was born, it was placed by the agency and Eve returned to work as a cook. Since she was supporting her daughter also, it was impractical for Eve to keep the baby, but she would not consider adoption. She was fond of the baby, visiting regularly. Her interest in her daughter seemed to be revived by

the birth of the baby, and she had the daughter brought to her by the paternal grandmother. She placed her daughter privately.

Working hard, Eve fulfilled her financial obligations until a goiter condition necessitated her hospitalization. After discharge from the hospital, she was able to work only part time, and had to obtain financial help from another agency. She expressed an interest in marrying again, but it was impossible for her to obtain a divorce until she had lived in the state for five years. The man who wished to marry her was the father of her second illegitimate baby, born a year and a half after the first illegitimate baby. The alleged father of the second illegitimate baby met her expenses, and set up a home for Eve and his baby. Eve decided to send her first illegitimate baby and her two year old legitimate daughter to live with her sister, who was eager to take them as she had no children of her own. Eve kept the second illegitimate baby as she planned to marry its father. She appeared to be a maternal person who was anxious to have her own home and keep her children with her. Poor health and her second illegitimate pregnancy made it financially impossible to keep her daughter and her first illegitimate son.

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