

Basic Educational Attainment of Foster Children in the Tamale Metropolis of the Northern Region of Ghana

Eliasu Alhassan, Grace Monto Bawa & Mahama S. Sayibu
University for Development Studies

Citation: Eliasu Alhassan, Grace Monto Bawa & Mahama S. Sayibu (2022) Basic Educational Attainment of Foster Children in the Tamale Metropolis of the Northern Region of Ghana, *International Journal of Education, Learning and Development*, Vol. 10, No.6, pp.54-78,

ABSTRACT: *Fostering is a common practice in many parts of the Northern Region of Ghana. It is a socio-cultural and economic barrier to many foster children in the Tamale Metropolis. The paper investigates the educational attainments of foster children, consequences, and challenges that are associated with the practice in the Tamale Metropolis of the Northern Region of Ghana. A cross-sectional design was used as well as probability and non-probability sampling techniques. Qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection were also used. In addition, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were used for the primary data while the secondary data were sourced from the internet, publish articles, and relevant textbooks. The results showed that foster children were enrolled in school against few who were not enrolled and also there were regular school attendances by foster children in the metropolis. Absenteeism was low therefore most foster children even though punctual to school many were always late to school. They were good in terms of class attendance but were not performing well in class as compared with non-foster children and the reasons were that they were overburdened with household chores, inadequate educational learning materials at home late payment of fees, discrimination against them in terms of wich child should be sent to school, abuse and also inadequate freedom to recreate and also socialize with their peers at home. Should this practice therefore be stop in the metropolis? Fostering remains inimical to educational attainments of children in terms of their performance in school in the Tamale Metropolis despite signs of good school enrollment and attendance, there is the need for effective policy implementation and sensitization against the engagement of foster children in many household chores that significantly affects their studies both in schools and at home.*

KEYWORDS: education, fostering, family, foster mothers, attendance, enrolment

INTRODUCTION

Different countries and regions use different terminologies to describe the status of children in foster care. It is known as 'out-of-home care' in the USA, Canada and Australia. In England it is referred to as 'children looked after'. Terminologies such as fosterage, fostering, adoption, child relocation and transfer, child circulation, child

migration are used among English speaking African countries (Nash, 2002). Terminologies such as 'children in care', foster children and children in foster care are also common among researchers. Foster children and fostering are used and are preferred in this paper.

Foster children are generally young people under the age of 18, for whom the state acquires some parental responsibility. According to Child Welfare Information Gateway ((CWIG), 2016), foster care refers to 24-hour substitute care for children outside their own homes and this may include but are not limited to nonrelative foster family homes, relative foster homes, group homes, emergency shelters, and preadoptive homes. Foster care is care for children outside the home that substitutes for parental care with the child placed with either a family, relatives or strangers, an institution or in a group home. In any form that it takes, foster care places the child in a situation that he/she must regularly adjust to different family, different location, different school, different peers, and different cultural environment all together. Their life decisions are taken by different people and institutions other than their biological parents. In many cases foster children come from family backgrounds that are underprivileged in society and therefore lack many basic needs and care.

In Africa, fostering is a traditional practice that seeks to strengthen family solidarity and traditional rights and obligations. It is estimated that about 20% or one in five households in some African countries have foster children or have fostered out their children. In West Africa, foster children are mostly between the ages of six and 14 which happens to be school enrolment age. About 20% of these children are between 6-9 and 25% between 10-14 years (Pilon, 2003).

In the context of Africa and West Africa, there appears to be an ambivalent relationship between foster care and schooling in that, some children are placed in foster care in order to attend school while others are also placed for purposes of helping the family in terms of labour which inhibits their schooling. That is, in as much as fostering negatively affects schooling of foster children, schooling is also in many instances the reason for fostering.

Foster children also perform a lot of household activities such as washing dishes and clothes, carrying water, helping out with the cooking and shopping etc. Engagement in these activities take up much of their study and resting times culminating in higher chances of repeating, failing and dropping out of school due to poor academic performance. This is mostly common with girls who frequently perform these activities. Ghana is one of the West African countries with approximately one child in four between the ages of 10 and 14 living with neither parent and almost one child in five having both parents live but reside elsewhere. Fosterage is an important cultural practice in Ghana and particularly in Northern Region among the Dagbon kingdom. Traditionally, it serves to

strengthen kinship solidarity and relationships among families including meeting needs for child labour. It is to promote kinship obligations and cultural rites. Fostering however serves as a barrier to children education in northern Ghana and Tamale in particular. It contributes to the low levels of educational access and progress in northern Ghana (Rolleston, 2011; Mahama, 2004). The paper therefore investigated the extent to which foster children attain basic education and the challenges that are associated with this attainment in the Tamale Metropolis of the Northern Region of Ghana.

Theoretical Bases

The Paper adopts the attachment and ecological theories of social development. The attachment theory posits that lack of a permanent emotional relationship of a child with a mother or mother substitute results in the children lacking affection and also unable to make permanent friends. They appear to be highly indifferent to what others thought of them (Cassidy, 1999; van Dijken, 1998). The theory also draws on the observational studies to individual differences in attachment.

The Attachment Theory further suggests that the earliest years of a child's life are critical for later development. Infants are born biologically predisposed to form relationships from which they can experience security and comfort (Golding, 2007). Bowlby, who proposed the theory believes that children are influenced by the multi-disciplinary environment of the child guidance and so children are part of a dynamic relationship of society. He therefore took interest in the family and real-life experience of the children. As a result, Bowlby viewed the problem of maternal deprivation as a social problem, the impact of which would be felt through successive generations (Bowlby, 2004). The Attachment Theory therefore seeks to provide a framework for understanding child development and especially its origins in early relationships. Much attention has been placed on infant attachment, individual differences and ways to improve sensitivity of care-giving. This makes the theory a multi-level theory and relevant to fostering of any kind. The theory has been explored as interventions for children who have been maltreated by foster mothers and further traumatised by separation as they move into foster and adoptive homes.

Another theory that explains fostering is the ecological theory. In this regard, the environment is conceptualised as a set of four embedded regions namely the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. The microsystem, according to Bronfenbrenner (1992) is a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical and material features and containing other persons with distinctive characteristics of temperament, personality, and systems of belief. It is the individual's immediate environment in which he or she directly participates and interacts with family, friends, neighborhood and school. The mesosystem comprises the interrelation among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates

(Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Thus, it comprises the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings containing the developing person.

The exosystem is one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect or are affected by, what happens in the setting containing the developing person. It encompasses the linkage and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not ordinarily contain the developing person, but in which events occur that influence processes within the immediate setting that does contain that person (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). Lastly but not least is the macrosystem which “consists of the overarching pattern of micro, meso, and exosystems characteristic of a given culture, subculture, or other broader social context, with particular reference to the developmentally instigative belief systems, resources hazards, lifestyles, opportunity structures, life course options, and patterns of social interchange that are embedded in each of these systems” (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). It reflects the larger cultural institutions that include the economic, social, political, educational and legal systems of the society (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

These four systems operate as one system both within themselves and in relation to each other. This conceptualisation provides significant insights for scholars to understand and research the dynamic multilevel environment in which a person is embedded (Lerner 2005). Bronfenbrenner then opines that the ecology of human development involves the scientific study of progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is embedded (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The microsystem represents the child’s immediate social and physical environment and emphasises the role of proximal processes in development. According to Bronfenbrenner (2001:6) “human development takes place through processes of progressively more complex reciprocal interaction between an active, evolving biopsychological human organism and the persons, objects and symbols in its immediate external environment. To be effective, the interaction must occur on a fairly regular basis over extended periods of time. Children of four years and above usually have interactions with their teachers in school, parents, their colleagues and other groups.

These proximal processes are not only limited to interactions with people, but include objects and symbols in the child’s immediate environment which invites reciprocal interaction in the form of attention, exploration, manipulation, elaboration and imagination (Stivaros, 2007). Children may also engage in solitary play, reading, problem solving, making plans, learning new skills and studying. Participating in any of these activities over a considerable period of time exposes children to better practice and understandings of these activities. This improves the children competence and

development since they serve as primary reciprocal actions within the child's immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner 2001).

The theory emphasises that, multiple factors influence and shape the course of development of a child. It is therefore important to take into account how different environments or systems affect the educational achievement of foster children because they spend a significant amount of time in a variety of systems, including their family, homes, schools, peer groups, and neighborhoods. Academic challenges among children do not occur in isolation but are usually caused or are exacerbated by the prevailing environmental conditions around them. For instance, in the microsystem which is the immediate environment of the child, factors such as family structure for example living in a single-parent family, low parental involvement, child maltreatment, parental substance abuse, neighborhood social disorganization and low family socio-economic status can negatively affect the educational achievement or performance of the child.

The practice of fostering therefore turns to introduce new factors into the microsystem of children which negatively affect their educational achievement. Fostering does not only results in the separation from family of origin and friends, but it also results in multiple placement settings and school transfers. This process disrupts the degree of attachment (foster) children have with their foster parents, peers, social workers, and teachers which can significantly also affect their educational achievement (Emerson and Lovitt, 2003; Robertson, 2005).

The theory is of the view that, lack of regular contact with foster care children by teachers, foster parents, and social workers within the mesosystem of foster children may negatively affect their educational attainments (Stone et al., 2007). Also, factors such as structural inequality and racially/tribally biased decision-making within the exosystems of foster children may also significantly affect the educational achievement of these children (Chipunga and Bent-Goodley, 2004). Within the macrosystem of (foster) children, factors such as belief systems and cultural institutions such as economic, social, political, educational, and legal systems and the pattern of social interchange of these institutions in society determines/influences their educational attainments (Stone et al, 2007). For instance, effective educational policies and legal frameworks can call for public attention and premium placed on education and welfare of foster and other underprivileged children to better the educational outcomes of these children. Where this is lacking, it will negatively affect the educational achievements of foster children.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a cross-sectional design which allowed for triangulation. This design allowed for the use of various/different data collection instruments such as questionnaires, interview guides or checklists as well as using both probability and non-

probability sampling techniques. This approach was found suitable for this study because of the social, economic and cultural issues involved in this research (Babbie, 2007). It was also relevant because the study attempted to explore, describe and explain the phenomenon of fostering and the effects of it on the educational attainment of foster children in the Tamale Metropolis (see Babbie, 2007). This approach also draws on diverse strategies of inquiry as well as methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009).

Thus, the study employed the mixed method approach where quantitative and qualitative data were collected and analysed to supplement each other. The mixed method uses both qualitative and quantitative approaches in sampling, data collection and analysis procedures (see Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007). As noted earlier, the study design was cross-sectional, and therefore also relied much on qualitative methods. The study adopted purposive and snowball sampling techniques for the selection of respondents for the study. Asamoah, 2012 explained that sampling describes the process of selecting a portion of the population to accurately represent the entire population with which to conduct a study .

Purposive sampling allows for the picking of interview objects that fit the focus of the study based on the judgement of the investigator (Osuala, 2001; Sarantakos, 2005). In the judgement of the researcher, the selected individuals were usually those that could provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study. They were people with the required knowledge and experience on the subject matter of the study and were willing to share it with the researcher (Kumar, 2011).

According to Kumar, purposive sampling is more common in qualitative research and it is “extremely useful when you want to construct a historical reality, describe a phenomenon or develop something about which only a little is known” (Kumar, 2011:167). This was particularly why this technique was most appropriate for this study, because, to the best knowledge of the researcher, little is known about the educational attainment of foster children in the Tamale Metropolis. Studies have turned to look at fostering and education of foster children in generality of Dagbon kingdom and Northern Region which only turns to include Tamale Metropolis and not the Metropolis as a stand-alone study area (see Abukari, 2008; Rolleston, 2009; CREATE, 2010; Rolleston, 2011, Abubakari and Yahaya, 2013). Therefore, Metropolitan Directors of Education and Social Welfare, school teachers and Plan Ghana were purposively selected for in-depth or key informant interviews.

On the other hand, snowball sampling technique was employed in sampling foster household heads and foster children for the study. Thus, since the researcher did not readily know foster children and households, the researcher relied on the first few identified foster children and households for referrals or identify other foster children and

households after interview with each response. This process continued until the researcher gets the required number of respondents or reaches a saturation point in terms of the information being sought. This sampling technique was useful because the researcher knew little about who was a foster child or foster household in the Tamale Metropolis (Kumar, 2011). The sample size included Metropolitan Director of Education, Metropolitan Director of Social Welfare, Metropolitan Director of Department of Children, foster household heads, NGOs, head/teachers, and pupils (foster and non-foster). The table below presents the sample sizes of the various study population in clusters.

Table 3.1 Distribution of Sample Size

Category of Respondents	Sample Size
Metropolitan Director of Education	1
Metropolitan Director of Social Welfare	1
Metropolitan Director of Dept. of Children	1
Foster Household Heads	25
Non-Governmental Organisations	1
Foster children	25
Head/teachers	5
Non-foster children	25
TOTAL	84

Source: Field survey, 2020

The data were collected from two sources, namely primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected principally through interviews and focus group discussions and where necessary direct observations. The secondary data on the other hand was gathered from journal articles, published and unpublished documents such as theses, dissertations, reports, class registers, terminal examinations scores, etc, from the internet especially websites, and relevant textbooks. Attendance registers and terminal examination scores sheets were used to validate responses on school attendance and academic performance respectively.

Interviews were conducted in different forms to suit the kind of data or information been solicited for from respondents. This mostly involved a face-face interaction between the researcher and the interviewee (s). In-depth interviews were conducted with some key informants such as school teachers, Metropolitan Director of the Department of Social Welfare, Area Manager of Plan Ghana, foster children and some household heads of foster children. In all, 23 in-depth interviews were held; comprising five interviews with teachers, seven interviews with foster children, nine interviews with foster household heads, one interview each with Directors of Department of Social Welfare and Education and one interview with Plan Ghana.

These key informant interviews were conducted through the use of interview schedule/guide. The (in-depth) interviews took the form of 'repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words' (Arthur & Nazroo 2003). In-depth interviews provided in-depth and accurate information because of the enhanced rapport between the researcher and informant as result of the extended face to face contact and interactions the two individuals engage in. It also strengthened the corresponding understanding and confidence between the researcher and the informant.

In-depth interviews were also appropriate for the study because they sought to "explore in detailed the respondents 'own perceptions and accounts'" (Brikci and Green, 2007: 11) of the subject matter of the study. They afforded the researcher the opportunity for in-depth probing and questioning that was responsive to participants and their individual experiences and context (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted using semi-structured questionnaires in 75 respondents; comprising 25 foster children, 25 non-foster children and 25 foster household heads who were sampled using the snowball sampling technique. A field research assistant was engaged after he was orientated by the researcher. He assisted in identifying and administering questionnaires to foster household heads, foster children and non-foster children in each household identified to have foster children.

FGDs were held with some foster household parents and some foster children after they were identified. The researcher conducted three separate FGDs; one with foster children and two foster parents. Participants were drawn across the three suburbs due to the difficulty in identifying foster households and foster children. So, the researcher purposively selected few participants in each category for discussions after they been identified through the snowball technique. Participants for each group for discussion ranged between 6-8 individuals. Both males and females were mixed in a group. These FGDs were appropriate because they helped the researcher to explore the perceptions, experiences and understandings of a group of people who have some experience in common with regard to the subject matter of the study (Kumar, 2011). They were also flexible and responsive and thus, allowed the researcher to make further probing and clarifications on issues during discussions (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003). FGDs enabled participants to explore into detail their understanding, experiences and account of the issues put forward for discussions. Emerging issues were further discussed and corrections, verifications and confirmations were made.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The population comprised 25 males representing 33.3% and 50 females also representing 66.7% there is very significant difference between male and female population. This shows a kind of association of fostering with females in the area. That is, girls were more preferred to be fostered than boys and also, women or female heads of households were more likely to keep foster children. The dominance of females also means that women and girls have been vulnerable in many respects in society including access to quality education.

The age of respondents ranges from 6 to 61 and above. The results here are presented based on category of respondents and so the ranges vary; thus, the ages of foster and non-foster children were ranged from 6-25 while the ages of foster household heads were ranged from 21-61+. Majority of the foster children were between the ages of six and 15 years.

This relates to the findings of Pilon (2003). Pilon found that foster children in many households in many West African countries including Ghana were between the ages of 6 to 14 years and the author therefore concluded that an estimated one out of four children between the ages of 10 and 14 were in foster in three West African countries namely, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Togo.

The ethnic backgrounds of foster children respondents of the study. The results show that majority of the foster children were of Dagomba ethnic background, accounting for 44%, with 24% and 16% from Mamprusi and Gonja ethnic backgrounds respectively. Other ethnic groups collectively accounted for 16%, that is, eight percent each for Bimoba and four percent each for Ewe and Dagaaba ethnic backgrounds.

This gives a picture of reference to the study area which is the capital of Northern Region and dominated largely by the Dagomba people at the capital and then Mamprusi and Gonja people. The results indicate that fostering out children as a tradition in Dagbon is still practiced. This corroborates other findings of scholars that fostering was a common phenomenon in Dagomba, Gonja and Mamprusi settlements (Rolleston, 2011; Abukari, 2000; Mahama, 2004). Earlier studies by Goody (1973) also found fostering as a common traditional practice in Dagbon and Gonja ethnic groups of northern Ghana.

Factors Affecting Basic Educational Attainment of Foster Children

The age of children at the time of fostering determines whether to send him/her to school or not. When the child is less than 10 years at the time of fostering, then he/she can be enrolled in school but where she/he is more than 10 years, then she/he may not be enrolled. This is because the child will be considered as an overgrown child to be

admitted into class one. One foster parent (a female) noted that, such overgrown children are usually mocked at by their classmates and other pupils in the school.

“...when the child is a female, she is usually nicknamed ‘P1 (primary one) madam’ in the school by the pupils and even some of the teachers. If a boy, he is popularly called ‘P1 master’ by the pupils in the school. These names and mockeries make them feel shy and embarrassed, and will not even want to go to school if even you enroll them”. (Female key informant, in-depth interview)

This narrative confirms why some foster children were not enrolled because they were thought to be overgrown. This confirms the finding of Rolleston (2011) that over-age girls usually drop out of school, if even they are enrolled.

A male discussant during a FGD also noted that *“a child is best educated when she/he is enrolled in school at the infant stage; thus, she/he starts with early childhood education and then primary”*. This goes to affirm children in their early stages have better abilities to develop smart relationships with their instructors and peers in schools (Seyfried et al, 2000). It also affirms the suggestion by Abubakari and Yahaya (2013) that children fostered at tender ages were easy to control and properly brought up including better education.

From interactions during FGDs, it also emerged that it was not also always the case that foster children come to take care of the biological children of foster parents but rather some of them come as age mates to keep each other company in the household. In this regard, both children start their early childhood education (from nursery to kindergarten) together and are likely to continue their primary school together in the same school without separation. This is because *“they are seen as brothers and sisters and putting them in different schools may negatively affect their academic performance”* (a discussant concluded).

A female respondent also reveals during an in-depth interview that;

“In my household, I have two boys, both aged nine years and are in primary four. One is my biological son and the other is my husband’s nephew who was brought when he was less than four years. We wanted a company for our son; and back at the village my husband realised that his brother was not serious with the education of the children. He brought him and now they are like real twins. They attended the same kindergarten and now primary. They will continue to attend the same schools up to even the university level. There is no discrimination against any of them and both of them are free to do anything in the house. The presence of the boy has helped our son a lot; they have a good company by learning, eating and playing together. They perform the same household chores together” (Female informant, in-depth interview).

From the above narrative, it is revealed that children can be fostered at a tender ages of less than four years as noticed Abubakari and Yahaya (2013). The CWIG (2016) also noted that children in foster care were fostered in their infant stages. The narrative also indicates that fostering might also be practiced for reasons of keeping children in company or togetherness for enhancement of child-to-child socialisation within and outside of the household. The narrative reveals the zeal of other relatives within the family system that are concerned with education and wellbeing of the children of other relatives. It as well, demonstrates the need for keeping ties between and among children within the extended family in our traditional homes without discrimination in any form.

Willingness of foster children to attend and learned in school was a factor that is taken into consideration before enrolment or otherwise of foster children in school. Some children after they were brought to their foster homes were not be willing to go to school. This is mostly the case when they were already enrolled back at their communities before fostering. They may not be willing to continue because in most cases they come from deprived rural communities and find it difficult to mix with their colleagues in the new environment. It is even much particular with children who have to be demoted or repeated in their new schools due to their level of performance. In this case, foster children were found to prefer learning a trade to schooling as contained in the above findings. This relates to Scherr (2007) who opined that repetition and change of schools among foster children are factors that affect the education of foster children.

An important factor that affected children enrolment was the ability of both the foster family and biological family to pay for the education of the child. The findings show that, foster children in wealthy foster households mostly stand the chance of been enrolled and catered for in their education even up to even the tertiary level, on one hand. On the other hand, when the biological parents are also economically well to do, it could result in the enrolment of the child while under the care of other relatives somewhere. In this regard, the family will have the ability of providing the educational needs of the child. The foregoing shows that, enrolment and for that matter the education of foster children depends largely on the financial ability of both the biological and foster parents of the children. Situations where foster parents' resources are inadequate enough to cater for educational needs of extra children in the household and biological parents cannot also help due to the same constraint, the child will not be enrolled. In this regard if even the child is enrolled, little attention may be given to his/her education as noted by studies (Abukari 2008; Al-Hassan and Abubakari, 2015).

The point is further confirmed in this study by the overwhelming majority of foster children found to be enrolled in school. This was because majority of the foster parents were full-time workers or traders who could earn money to cater for their household needs including educational needs of the children living with them. 96% of the foster parents were solely responsible for the provision of the educational needs of their foster

children. Only one respondent, representing four percent of the foster parents said, the biological parents of the child were responsible for providing the educational needs of the foster child.

Table 1. Payment of educational cost of foster children

Who pays	Frequency	Percent
Foster parents	22	96
Biological parents	1	4
Others	0	0
Total	23	100

Source: Field survey, 2020

The will or passion for education of children will make sure that children, be they foster or biological children, are enrolled in school. The few foster children were not enrolled because they were considered over-age could have been enrolled if their guardians had the passion for education. So parents who have passion will also make sure they enroll and provide all educational needs for the children including foster children, without discrimination. A female informant remarked that;

“We are in an era where education is the key to everything. Your generation will be doomed if you fail to educate your children and siblings. As advocate in ‘child education’ particularly the girl-child, I cannot limit education in my family and household to my biological children only. I have three children living with me, of which only one is my biological child, and he is in primary six while the other two (foster) are in JHS one. They are all attending the same school and do the same work at home”.

This remark indicates the level of seriousness some parents attach to children’s education. The foregoing results also indicate that many people have become aware of the need to enroll children in school and this was evident when almost every respondent mentioned education as the main reason for fostering of the children. It thus, appears that many parents will not willing to foster out their children if the potential foster parents are not willing to educate them. This confirms the suggestion of Marazyan (2009) that, sending and receiving households will typically differ not only in their resources and liquidity constraints but also in their preferences for education. Shepler, 2005 also found that fostering could be done in order for children to have access to education. The foregoing findings therefore reflect a situation where foster parents have some amount of attention for their foster children as their biological children.

83% of respondents (foster parents) said the pay equal attention to the educational needs of both foster and biological children while about 17% pay more attention to the education of their biological children than foster education. This finding indicates that many foster parents have become enlightened about the negative consequences of

discrimination against foster children especially in the provision of educational needs. Hence, an overwhelming majority of foster parents had attention for the education of foster children as their biological children.

From the foregoing above, there were no major challenges inhibiting the enrollment of foster children in the metropolis. This was evident when an overwhelming majority of foster were found to be enrolled in school. This was attributed to some policies and programmes by government and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), though not specifically targeted at foster children. An interaction with school teachers revealed that the government policy of providing free school uniforms and exercise books has helped and encouraged parents to enroll their children. This provided a lot of uniform and exercise to a lot pupil who would have otherwise been without uniform and exercise books.

The school feeding programme by the government was also important policy that has promoted enrollment of children including foster children in the metropolis. The provision of free meals to pupils was a good factor that encouraged foster parents to enroll foster children too in school because it takes the burden of providing children meals by giving them money every day to go to school. A teacher noted that

“The school feeding programme since its introduction by the government has attracted and increased school enrollment especially among less privileged households. Parents particularly the less privileged ones will chase their children to school because of the free meals the children will enjoy” (teacher, in-depth interview, 2018).

The provision of free registration and renewal of pupils under the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) was yet another government policy that was found to have motivated the enrollment of foster children in the metropolis. The fact that foster parents were not to spend money in providing these services, there was need to put foster children in school to enjoy them.

The role of NGOs in the metropolis was also noted to be instrumental for the enrollment of foster children, even though not in specific terms. The sensitization and education of parents as well as provision of educational needs by NGOs such as Plan Ghana came up as a motivating factor for child enrollment including foster children. The program manager of Plan Ghana, noted that, Plan Ghana has for several assisted a lot of schools in the metropolis and beyond in terms of building and renovation of classrooms (particularly deprived schools), provision of learning and teaching materials and promotion of children rights including right to education. According to the programme manager,

“Plan Ghana has done a lot in the educational sector particularly in northern Ghana. In the tamale metropolis, many schools have received assistance in terms of classroom

block and teaching and learning materials. Some schools especially the less privileged schools have been assisted either building a new classroom blocks or renovating dilapidated blocks. The organization has also provided both text and exercise books and other learning materials for schools. ...though we are not specific on foster children, I think our initiatives have been assistance to their in a perhaps indirect or general way” (Plan Ghana manager, in-depth interview, 2020).

He further noted that cultural practices have been obstacles to achieving quality education and it was affecting the efforts of Plan Ghana, as an advocate of child rights and quality education for children in the metropolis. Fosterage as a cultural practice, was noted as one of the major challenges to quality education of affected children in the metropolis. He said, they were collaborating with other NGOs and Department of Social Welfare in identifying some of such children and getting them enrolled in schools. There have been sensitisation programmes on the need to enroll every child of school-going age, which parents are complying with in the metropolis.

Collaborating the above, the Metropolitan Director of the Department of Social Welfare revealed they have been rescued a lot of foster children and enrolled them in school. They have also registered several of such children under the NHIS and they have met with foster parents and sensitized them. He noted that,

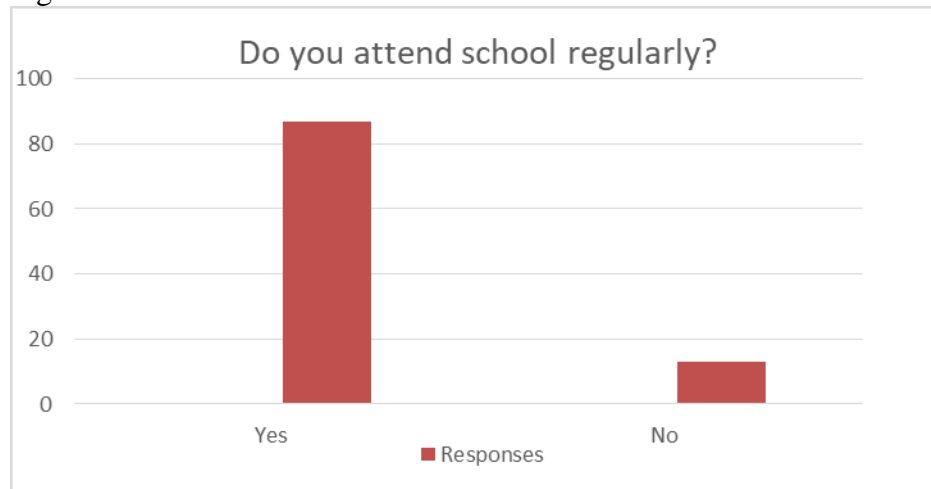
“Sometimes they (foster parents) need to be talked to. Many of them do not still know that access to education to a right of children. So we have been collaborating with some NGOs particularly those in the education sector to carry out sensitization programmes and as identify children who have been denied education and get them enrolled. We are making it clear to hosts of foster children that, it is an offence to deny them education. ...so far it has been good because many of such and similar children are enrolled for fear of been summoned by Department of Social Welfare and other organisations” (Social Welfare Director, in-depth interview, 2020).

The above were some indications and efforts that have contributed to the enrollment and school attendance of foster children in the Tamale Metropolis.

School attendance of enrolled foster children

Foster children who were enrolled in school had regular school attendance as presented in the figure (Figure 5) below. 87% of foster children, representing an overwhelming majority saying they attend school regularly and do not absent themselves from school for any reason. Only 13% of the respondents said they do not attend school on regular bases. These responses were validated or complemented by pupils’ attendance from school attendace registers.

Figure 1 Foster Children School Attendance



Source: Field Data, 2020

From the above figure, it is clear that an overwhelming majority of 87% of the respondents said their school attendance was regular. This shows that there were low cases of absenteeism associated with foster children in terms of school attendance, and therefore disagree with Rolleston (2011) and Scherr (2007) suggestions that majority foster children are mostly associated absenteeism in schools. The 13% of the respondents who said they were not regular at school attributed it to been overburden with household chores that make feel tired to go to school some days, as well as selling goods on market days, illness and others. This finding therefore represents an increasing awareness level among parents, especially the educated ones, of the need to provide quality education for all children irrespective of their status in society. Respondents attendance were cross-checked from their respective class attendance registers so as to confirm or otherwise of the responses. Records from the class registers confirmed low absenteeism of foster children from schools.

The results also show that few respondents made up of about 22% reported of going to school late, as indicated in table (Table 2) below. They attributed it to the fact that they have to perform a lot of household chores in the morning before preparing to go to school. These household chores include sweeping the compound, scrapping washrooms, mobbing living rooms, preparing breakfast and fetching water.

Table 2 Punctuality to school by foster children

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Lateness	5	21.7
Punctual	18	78.3
Total	23	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

Also, majority of the respondents, representing 78% from the above table, were found to be punctual to school. This reveals that many foster children were punctual to school as non-foster children. What this finding suggests is that, foster parents are conscious of the need for children to be punctual to school, despite some activities that some of these children perform. That is, foster parents acknowledge the negative impacts of children lateness to school since many of the household heads were educated people with some been teachers. They are aware of the effects of lateness on productivity in terms of both learning and teaching.

The results show an encouraging situation of foster children attendance to school. No respondent rated his/her attendance as poor and very poor. From the table 3 about 52% of the respondents rated their attendance to school as very good, implying they attend school for all the five days per week without absenting themselves. Also eight respondents, representing 35% said their attendance was good, implying they may only occasionally be absent for a day in a week. Three respondents representing 13% rated their attendance as fair. They explained that they could absent themselves from school by two days during a particular week especially on market days when they go to assist their foster parents to sell on the market days.

This finding was consistent with the findings of Rolleston (2011). The author found that about two thirds of fostered girls assisting in their foster parents' businesses, with most of those being involved in selling wares. They may also be overwhelmed by some chores that they have to absent themselves from school to complete the work. These interfere with their schooling by affecting performance due to irregular attendance and lack of study time at home as noted by Abukari (2008).

Table 3 Rating of foster children school attendance

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Very Good	12	52.2
Good	8	34.8
Fair	3	13.0
Poor	0	0
Very poor	0	0
Total	23	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

Regarding academic performance in school (class and terminal examinations), foster children were asked the question "do you perform well in terminal examinations as compared to your non-foster children? About 57% of foster children respondents believed that non-foster children were performing better than them in class and in terminal examinations. They believed their performances were below expectations as

compared to the biological children of their foster parents. Meanwhile, about 44% also believed that their performances in school were better or the same as their non-foster colleagues, as presented in the table (Table 4) below.

Table 4 Academic performance of foster children

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	10	43.5
No	13	56.5
Total	23	100

Source: Field Data, 2020

The above results therefore indicate that the performance of majority of foster children was lower than the performance of non-foster children. This is in conformity with the findings of other studies that concluded that foster children generally perform poorly as compared to non-foster children, which consequently results in educational achievement gap among foster children (DfE, 2014b; Dill et al, 2012; Rees, 2013; Rolleston, 2011).

Reasons for poor performance of foster children in school

Foster children mostly perform much of the chores in the house and hence have little time for studies at home. . Some of the foster respondents noted that they were mostly overburdened with household chores to the detriment of their studies both at home and school. As a result, they have less time home to learn. This finding confirms the finding of Abubakari and Yahaya (2013), who noted that foster children mostly have little time to study or do their home works at home.

Foster children perform a lot of household chores before going to school every morning which make them feel tired and weak during classes. As a result, some of them sleep in class during lessons and are unable to learn. A teacher corroborates this in the following narrative:

“Some of them (foster children) may sometimes come to school late and when you ask them, they will tell you they were cleaning the house, washing dishes and many other household activities. Performing all these activities before going to school will definitely make one late.... In such instances, you as a teacher will have to empathise with that child and leave him/her (unpunished). The most disturbing issue has to do with the fact that some of them mostly sleep during lessons. It is because they feel tired and weak due to the activities they perform at home before they come to school. ...and they end up learning little if not nothing in class. So it is not surprising to see them perform poorly during examinations”.

This narrative also confirms the responses of foster children that they do not have adequate time for their studies at home, as shown in the figure below. It was found that many foster children have little time for learning or studying at home due to household

work. It was revealed during interactions that many foster children usually may also sleep late but may be the first to wake up in the morning to perform some household chores before going to school.

Foster children did not have adequate time to do their homework and study when they go home due to performance of household chores and other activities. It thus, presents a concern for public sensitization on the need for foster parents to limit household chores for children in order to afford them adequate time for study and relaxation at home. This will refresh brains of foster children and provide them adequate time to study at home. Many of the schools' foster children attend were the age-long local authority and English/Arabic schools that are usually clustered at some locations. Many of these schools are usually over populated and also do not perform well in Basic education certificate Examination (BECE) due to inadequate learning and teaching materials. This confirms the findings of Abukari (2008) who found in his study that foster children were mostly enrolled in English-Arabic schools. This was common in situations where foster children were not attending the same school with the biological children of their foster parents.

Many foster children were not included in extra tuition at homes organized by foster parents for their biological children. Many parents acquired the services of private individuals that come to teach their wards at homes after classes and over weekends. Some parents did not include their foster children in the classes. As their biological children are taught at homes, foster children are engaged in performing various household chores. Some foster parents do not want to spend much on the education of children who are not their biological children. However, some foster parents were found to be non-discriminatory in organising private classes for the children (both biological and foster). One parent noted that;

"I have paid for two teachers who come to the house to teach them. Every child in this house is attending school and is part of this extra classes. Why should I discriminate against those children who are not my biological children? In fact, in our tradition, your brothers and sisters' children are equally your children and you have a duty to take care of them. If they are not my children, why should I bring them to stay with me? All of them are attending the same school and they perform the same household chores. I go through their exercise books every weekend and this helps me to identify the weaknesses of each of them in the various subjects. I think, so far, their academic performances are encouraging" (Male informant, In-depth interview).

The above narrative shows the passion and seriousness some parents attach to the education of children irrespective of whether the children are fostered or biological children. It shows the level of importance that is attached to providing quality education for all manner of children in one's household.

Inadequate learning material affect the academic performance of foster children was inadequate learning and teaching materials in most of the schools that foster children attend. Many of the schools do not have adequate teaching and learning materials such as textbooks, computers and conducive classrooms to provide effective learning and teaching. In addition, many foster children do not have the full set of learning materials such as books as compared to non-foster/biological children of foster parents.

Foster children were found have been suffering some form of abuse and discrimination at their foster homes in terms of provision of educational and other needs. These did not however include physical abuse such as beating. It was found that majority of foster children, representing 78% said they suffer abuse and discrimination such as in terms of provision of learning materials, uniforms, footwear and others including been overburdened with household chores, too many insults when they go wrong, provision of clothes, and freedom to move around and play with friends (recreation). One male foster child noted this;

“Can you imagine a girl, that we are all in JHS, has to sit down while I am working at home? She eats and leaves the plates for me to wash whiles she goes for extra classes. I am the one who will wash all dishes, fetch water, set fire and prepare food and many other things in the house. I am in JHS 2 just as she is...but I do not have all the books I need. I do not even get time to study at home. I do my homework late in the night. She has all the books and has enough time for studies...meanwhile we are all going to write the same examination (BECE). She also gets extra tuition at home which I am part” (Male respondent, 2020, in-depth interview).

The discrimination against foster children in terms of performing household chores, provision of educational needs such as books and extra tuition at home. They are usually overburdened with household chores that they do not have adequate time to study and do their home works in their foster homes. This confirms Rolleston (2011) finding that fostered children are engaged in many domestic chores that turn to affect their educational advancement in Dagbon.

However, 22% of the respondents said there were not suffering any form of abuse and discrimination in the hands of their foster parents. They said their foster parents treat them the same way they treat their biological children in the house. They provide all their needs including study materials. Also, household chores are divided among all of them to perform.

Among the challenges foster children face under foster parenting were identified under two categories; namely school and home challenges. The school challenges include: The payment of school fees of foster children as compared to their non-foster colleagues. There were instances where children have to be returned homes for non-payment of fees

to compel foster parents/guardians to pay. This usually causes embarrassment and emotional discomfort to affected children and would not have free mind to study.

The schools, particularly public/government schools that some foster attend usually lack adequate teaching and learning materials to enhance effective learning of pupils. Some of the children were not also provided with adequate school needs such as exercise books, uniform, school sandals, drawing boards and other learning materials. This does not promote effective learning among children both in school and at home. Many foster children were found to have one pair of uniform and sandals as compared to their non-foster colleagues who could have about two or three pairs of school uniform and sandals. Additionally, foster who were usually overburdened with household chores turn to sleep in class during lessons. This was attributed to tiredness in those children as result of performing chores before and after school. Children perform these chores in the morning before going to school and this sometimes result in late attendance to school. Some of the chores they perform include sweeping, washing utensils, scrapping washrooms, and fetching.

The home based challeges that foster children was that they were overburdened with a lot of household chores at home. They performed such activities as sweeping the compound, washing dishes and clothes, preparing food, cleaning washrooms, going to market to buy and sell, among other activities, sometimes to the detriment of their studies at home. As a result, they have very limited at home to learn, which significantly affects their performance academically. Meanwhile some non-foster children were found to perform less of these household activities and have adequate time to do their exercises (homework) and study at home. Thus, nuch of the household chores were performed by foster children.

Another challenge that confronted some foster children was the inability of foster children to socialise with their peers after school. Unlike non-foster children, some foster children had little time or leisure to play with friends at home after school and during weekends. They perform activities one after the other and they were particularly overwhelmed by activities over weekends and have no time to join their peers to play around. This restricts their relationship, not only with their peers but also other people that could be their role models.

Abuse and discrimination: Some foster parents were found to have discriminated against their foster children in terms of provision of educational and other needs, access to recreation and performing household activities. Some foster children were also abused in the form of verbal insults from foster parents for the least mistakes they made in the household. These made affected children to lack the necessary affection from their foster parents.

CONCLUSIONS RECOMMENDATIONS

Children education is an important issue that every parent takes seriously, and as such majority of foster children were found to have enrolled in school. The policies of free compulsory basic education and free senior high school education by the Government of Ghana must be advantageous to every Ghanaian child to get educated. There has been rising advocacy for child education by NGOs in the metropolis and as result parents have also become aware of the need to enroll children including foster children in school.

School attendance among foster children was good and there were lateness and absenteeism among foster children in school. The school feeding programme and capitation grants by government have tremendously generally improved enrollment and attendance of foster children in schools in the Tamale metropolis therefore Also, policies such as the provision of free school uniforms and exercise books have also encouraged and improved both enrollment and school attendance of foster children and other deprived children in the metropolis.

The challenges confronting the educational attainment of foster children are both school and home-based. However, the homes challenges mostly and seriously affect foster children education achievement. These challenges are attributed to over engagement of in the performance of domestic chores that affect foster children ability to study both in school and at home. The overburdening of foster children with household chores is a major challenge which effects foster children in school.

There have been transformations in the practice of fostering with improved attention to the education of foster children by their foster parents in the Tamale Metropolis. Even though the practice has been bedeviled with challenges the practice should continue for the continuity of the extended family. There is more access to education by foster children than in the past and has suggested a promising future where the practice will be weaned off the negatives that affect foster children at their foster homes.

Some Key Recommendations

- The practice of fostering in the metropolis was seen not only in a traditional dimension of strengthening family ties but a phenomenon that is becoming much associated with the need for source of labour for household chores, particularly educated households. There is the need for regular monitoring by the Department of Social Welfare, Department of Children and other stakeholders in order to identify households that overburden children with household chore to the detriment of education and child welfare.
- There is a form of abuse and discrimination against foster children by their foster parents in terms of provision of educational needs. Foster children are not usually given

the same attention as the biological children of foster parents which turns to affect their learning. Therefore, NGOs and other stakeholders need to intensify public education and sensitisation against child discrimination. Foster parents should be made to understand that child discrimination is an unhealthy practice and it is a form of child right abuse, which is a crime. Foster parents identified in these acts should be dealt with in accordance with the appropriate statutory and legal provisions.

- Schools particularly public schools of which many foster children attend usually lack adequate teaching and learning materials and facilities to provide a conducive atmosphere for effective teaching and learning. Therefore, government and NGOs in the educational sector should equipped these schools with the needed teaching and learning materials to enhance effective teaching and learning among pupils.

- There are no statistics on foster children by schools, Department of Children and Social welfare, and NGOs and so, this makes it difficult in identifying and tracking the educational progress of children who are living with people other than their biological parents. Therefore, institutions particularly the Department of Children and Social Welfare should collaborate and consider establishing a data base on children that spell out their status as foster, orphan, among others. This will provide data not only on foster children but also other deprived children that development interventions can be appropriately channeled to.

- Foster parents should limit household chores for foster children to provide foster children ample time for studies and rest. Household chores should be equally shared with all children to perform as in Dagomba practice.

- Foster parents should provide adequate needs for foster children as done to their biological children. There should no be discrimination in the provision of household needs that include educational needs for foster and non-foster children.

References

- Abubakari, A. etal (2013). Fosterage and Educational Inequality in Rural Dagbon, Northern Region of Ghana. *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No.3 (p.64-74)
- Abukari, M. (2008). Master's Thesis. University of Education, Winneba, Ghana. Unpublished
- Al-Hassan, S. & Abubakari, A. (2015). Child Rights, Child Labour and Islam: The Case of Muslims in the Tamale Metropolis, Ghana. *International Journal of Research In Social Sciences*, Vol. 5, No. 02 (p, 27-36)
- Arthur, S. and Nazroo, J. (2003). Designing Fieldworks Strategies and Materials. In: Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers. Ritche and Lewis (ed) 2003. SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Asamoah, M.K. (2012). *Research Methodology Made Very Simple*. The Advent Press, Accra.

- Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research (11th Edition)*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson
- Bowlby, R. (2004). *Fifty years of attachment theory*. The Donald Winnicott Memorial Lecture. London: Karnac.
- Brikci, N. & Green, J. (2007). *A Guide to Using Qualitative Research Methodology*. UK, Medecins Sans Frontieres
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human behavior: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1992). Ecological systems theory. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.). (2005). *Making Human Beings Human: Bioecological Perspectives on Human Development*. 106-173. London: Sage Publications.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2001). The bioecological theory of human development. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.). (2005). *Making Human Beings Human: Bioecological Perspectives on Human Development*. 3-15. London: Sage Publications.
- Calix, A. (2009). The Effect of Foster Care Experience and Characteristics on Academic Achievement. A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Social Work.
- Cassidy, J. (1999). The nature of the child's ties. In J. Cassidy & P.R. Shaver, (Eds.) *Handbook of attachment. Theory, research and clinical applications* (chapter 1, p.3–20).
- Child Welfare Information Gateway. (2016). Foster care statistics 2014. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Children's Bureau.
- Chipunga, S.S. & Bent-Goodley, T.B. (2004). Meeting the challenges of contemporary foster care. *The Future of Children*, 14(1). Retrieved on May 30, 2017 from http://www.futureofchildren.org/information3862/information_show.htm?doc_id=211285
- Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) (2010). Fosterage and Educational Access Among the Dagomba of Savelugu-Nanton, Ghana. Create Ghana Policy Brief 4, September 2010. Available at www.create-rpc.org.
- Creswell, J. W (2009). *Research Design (3rd Edition)*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications
- Department for Education (2014b). Statistical Release: Outcomes for Children Looked After by Local Authorities in England, as at 31 March 2014. London. Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/191969/SFR32_2012Text.pdf on 13 April, 2017
- Dill, K., etal. (2012). Improving the educational achievement of young people in out-of-home care. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 34(6), 1081–1083. doi:10.1016/j.chilyouth.2012.01.031

- Emerson, J., and Lovitt, T. (2003). The educational plight of children in foster care in schools and what can be done about it. *Remedial and Special Education*, 24, 199–203.
- File, Dramani J. M. (2015). Local Perceptions of Climate Variability and Adaptation Strategies in the Sissala East District, Northwestern Ghana. A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Planning and Management, Faculty of Planning and Land Management, University for Development Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of a Master of Philosophy Degree in Development Management
- Golding, K. S. (ed) (2007). Attachment theory into practice. Briefing Paper No. 26. The British Psychological Society, St Andrews House, 48 Princess Road East, Leicester LE1 7DR.
- Goody, J. (1973) *Contexts of Kinship: An Essay in the Family Sociology of the Gonja of Northern Ghana*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK.
- Harker, R. M., Dobel-Ober, D., Lawrence, J., Berridge, D., & Sinclair, R. (2003). Who takes care of education? Looked after children's perceptions of support for educational progress. *Child and Family Social Work*, Vol. 8, 89-100.
- Isiugo-Abanihe, U. (1985) Child Fosterage in West Africa. *Population and Development Review* 11(1) 53-74
- Kumar, R. (2011) *Research Methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners*. 3rd edition, SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd, New Delhi 110 044
- Mahama, I. (2004) *History and Traditions of Dagbon*. GILLBT Printing Press, Tamale, Ghana
- Marazyan, K. (2009) Assessing the Effect of Foster-Children Supply on Biological Children Education Demand: Some Evidence from Cameroon. Documents de Travail du Centre d'Economie de la Sorbonne 2009.49. Maison des Sciences Économiques, Paris.
- Moffit, T. E. & Caspi, A. (2001). Childhood predictors differentiate life-course persistent and adolescence-limited antisocial pathways among males and females. *Development and Psychopathology*, 13, 355-375.
- Nash, J. K. (2002). Neighborhood effects on sense of school coherence and educational behavior in students at risk of school failure. *Children and Schools*, 24, 73-89.
- Osuala, E. C. (2001) *Introduction to Research methodology*. Onitsha: AFRICANA-FEP Publishers Ltd (Africa Academic Books).
- Pilon, M. (2003) Foster Care and Schooling in West Africa: The State of Knowledge. Background Paper for the UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003. UNESCO, Paris.
- Rees, P. (2013). The mental health, emotional literacy, cognitive ability, literacy attainment and “resilience” of “looked after children”: A multidimensional, multiple-rater population based study. *The British Journal of Clinical Psychology/ the British Psychological Society*, 52(2), 183–98. doi:10.1111/bjc.12008

- Robertson, A. S. (2005). Including parents, foster parents and parenting caregivers in the assessments and interventions of young children placed in the foster care system. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 28, 180-192.
- Rolleston, C. (2009) *Human Capital, Poverty, Educational Access and Exclusion: The Case of Ghana 1991-2006* CREATE Pathways to Access, Research Monograph No 22. Brighton: University of Sussex.
- Rolleston, C. (2011). Fosterage and Access to Schooling in Savelugu-Nanton, Ghana. CREATE pathways to Access, Research Monograph No. 59. Brighton: University of Sussex.
- Sarantakos s. (2005). *Social Research* (3rd ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Scherr, T. G. (2007). Educational Experiences of Children in Foster Care: Meta-Analyses of Special Education, Retention and Discipline Rates. *School Psychology International*, 28(4), 419–436. doi:10.1177/0143034307084133
- Shepler, S. (2005). Transnational Fosterage of War-affected Children in West Africa: Immediate Coping Capacities across Borders. A report on field research carried out for UNICEF, WCARO, October-December 2005.
- Stone, S., D’Andrade, A., & Austin, M. (2007). Educational services for children in foster care: Common and contrasting perspectives of child welfare and education stakeholders. *Journal of Public Child Welfare*, 2, 53-70.
- Tashakkori, A., & Creswell, J. W. (2007). *The new era of mixed methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications
- Van-Dijken, S. (1998). *John Bowlby, his early life. A biographical journey into the roots of Attachment Theory*. London/New York: Free Association Books.