

KINSHIP SERVICE ISSUES:

Resource Inequities, Field Realities in the 21st Century

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Abstract

Kinship service families confront resource inequities when compared to supports provided to traditional foster parent households. Kinship research has primarily occurred in the United States where a different contextual and socio-political framework exists. Children in kinship service placements have similar needs to those admitted to foster care yet kinship caregivers receive fewer financial resources, less training, and access fewer community supports, such as respite. Kinship families are more likely to confront poverty and possess less education than caregivers with a foster parent designation. Despite these barriers kinship service families appear to be providing similar caregiving capacity when compared to traditional foster parent services. Successful kinship programs exist in the United States yet are delivered in a piecemeal manner, with poor research replication, given the limited methodological evidence base. Ontario needs to better define and resource our kinship service families in addition to developing national baseline information and evidence based research for Canadian kinship families.

Question formulation and search strategy

Key Question:

When compared to non-kin foster parents do kinship families receive adequate resources to sustain placements for the children residing in their care?

A search was conducted utilizing University of Toronto library resources and Google search engine which yielded fifteen peer-related journal articles specific to the relationship between kinship service providers and resource allocation. One systematic review was located providing a critical appraisal on rese arch pertaining to the general population of kinship families in the United States. A second article provided a methodological and substantive synthesis on kinship research completed thus far. Provincial websites such as OACAS and MCYS were also ac cessed to obtain policy literature, legi slation, definitions and statistical baseline information essential the background for the literature review.

Definitions

In defining **kinship** "**resources**," the literature referred a variety of support services including community outreach, individual counselling, respite, parenting education, support groups, legal and public healt h c onsultation, and strengths-based case-management services. The terms "resource" or "s ervices" utilized in the review will refer to the above-indicated unless specifically indicated otherwise.

As defined by the Ministry of Children and Youth Services (MCYS) "**kinship care**" refers to the full time care and nurturing of a child or youth by a relative, community member, or other adult with whom there is a relationship significant to the child or youth." Human Resources and Social Development Canada (2006) has further defined the **difference between kinship services and kinship care.** *"Kinship service"* refers to full-time care by extended family or c ommunity member and the child is not in custody of the Children's Aid Societ y. *"Kinship care"* refers to kin caring for r a child residing in the custodial c are of CAS. Thes e two definitions delineate distinctions within Canad ian kinship demographic s given k inship care is loc ated within the parameters of licens ed foster care which provides monetary compensation, c ase management, and access to respite wit hin their resource structure. Given this lit erature review is focused in k in resource availability, kinship "care" givers and kinship "service" providers will be v iewed as two separate populations. This literature review is not inclusive of "customary care" arrangements between CAS and aboriginal communities.

Canadian and American terminology also differs in definitio n of "kinship" whic h is important to note given the va st majority of kinship liter ature has been cond ucted in the United States. The Child Welfare League of America distinguishes "informal" kinship care as extended family members providing full-time care for children. Child welfare is involved and may be providing assistance but no transfer of custody occurs. "Formal" kinship care involves transfer of custody to child welfare with kin members providing care of the child. "Private" kinship is a term utilized for familie s arranging kinship placements without child welfare involvement. Translating American definitions of kinship to the Cana dian context involv ed deciphering the was a complicated process that specific American kins hip populations within the literature and then int erpreting those results for Canadian kinship comparisons.

The current framework of Ontario kinship service

The current shifts in kinship polic y can be directly related to an amendment of the Child and Family Services Act in 2006. Bill 210 officially recognizes kinship c are and k inship services as the preferred placement options for children requiring separation from their parents due to child protection concerns. The Ministry of Children and Youth Services outlined policy guidelines within the Chil d Welfare Transformation Agenda (2005), officially recogniz ing kinship placements as the paramount consideration for children requiring interim substitute care or permanency considerations. Bill 210 itself generalizes "reasonable terms and conditions" that CAS will supervise kinship service placements, "but shall not require the society to provide financial assistance or to purchase any goods or services." The C hild Welfar e Transfo rmation agenda s upports "funding flexibilit y" considerations for kin providers with in creased needs. Through application, homestudy assessment and training k in relatives can pot entially obtain foster parent status and subsequently receive financial c ompensation, respite and cas e management supports. According to statistics compiled by Ontario Association of Child ren's Aid Societies, as of March 31, 2008 the province of Ontario current ly maintains 17, 945 children within either temporary or permanent custody of the 53 local Children's Aid Societies. Of that total, 57.4 % c urrently reside within foster ho me placements, 16.3% within group home arrangements, and 5.6% located within kins hip care arrangements. No Ontario statistics could be located that specific ally addressed the number of ch ildren currently residing in kinship service placements (i.e. outside the param eters of foster care status). However,

statistics obtained from the Ontario Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect (2003) indicates that of 10% of children (n=5,628) actua IIy admitted to an out-of-home placement following the results of a child abuse investigation, informal kinship placements were utilized on 4% of these occasions. This is in compariso n to place ment in kinship foster care (1%), non-kin foster care (4%) or group home (1%). These find ings suggest that kinship services are being utilized in equal pro portion to non-kin foster parent services. It could also be sugges ted that the ma jority of kin providing substitute care are doing so on an informal kinship service basis, at least during the initial phase following the child's admission to care.

Review of the literature

Within the Scholars Portal and Google search strategies utilized it is apparent that there has only been a limit ed amount of academic research complet ed thus far specific t o relationships between kinship families an d resource allocation. Of the 17 articles utilize d in this literature review the majority employed cross-sectional data, small sample sizes with no experimental and limited comparison group designs utilized. A significant number of the studies used single group survey design and measurement tools to address kinship needs were similar to those that may be utilized with non-kin popul ations even though they are dissimilar in their family composition and experiences. Some Canadian research has occurred regarding the exper iences of Aboriginal gr andparents (Fuller-Thomson, 2005) who also identified a 20% increase in the number of Can adian children receiving primary care from grandparents obtained through Census stat istics. Callahan, Brown, MacKenzie, & Whittington (2004) conducted a gua litative study with 22 ab original and non-aboriginal grandmother s in the province of British Columbia utilizing a grounded theory approach. These authors concluded t hat grandparents are expected to carry out the functions of a public fost er system without the s ame resources. The findings were connected to conservative/neo-liberal politi cal ideology, whic h desires to minimize expenditures and maintain substitute care within the private domain of families.

The majority of scholarly studies of kinship care recognize certain theoretical advantages to kinship provision which has been adopted as basic tenets for substitute care service s provided t o Ontario's children within the *Bill 210* amendment to the *Child and Family Services Act (2006)*. These theoretical adv antages, outlined by Gough (2002) Schwartz (2002) and Cuddeback (2004), include the view that extended family members are better able to ass ist a child in main taining biological relations hips while also promoting greater permanency options within a conti nuum of care that also main tains cultural and sp iritual affiliations. Placement in a kin home is p otentially less disrupt ive and de crease risk of psychological trauma given the child's pre-existing familiarity with the kin c aregiver. It is also important to view the kinship family's need for service based on the unique dynamics of each biologic al family, which is not a holis tic aspect of consideration within traditional foster care models.

It is largely been agreed in the literature that kinship service providers are of an older age, single-parent household, with lower socioe conomic status, possessing less education than traditional foster parent s, and primarily female (O wens-Kane, 2007; Cuddeback ,

2004; Sc annapieco & He gar, 2002; Coakley, Cuddeback, Buehler & Cox, 200 7; Cuddeback & Orme, 2002).

The majority of academic research pertaining to kinship family populations has centered on African-American grandmothers residing in the United Stat es. Within that cohort , caregivers report more limitations in their da ily activities, increased depression, social isolation, financial stressors, and poorer health (Cuddeback, 2004; Cohon & Cooper, 1999; Sands & Goldberg-Glen, 2000, Goodman, Potts & Pasztor, 2007; Grant, Gordon & Cohen, 1997).

The limitations all of the above-indicated st udies include small s ample sizes and crosssectional designs that did not employ simi lar measurement tools with known reliability and/or validity. Replic ating the research may be difficult. The sample is also culturally specific so that generalizing to a Canadian kinship population may be difficult.

When discussing resource allocation to kinship families it is also important to understand that the children plac ed in their home have similar needs to those children admitted to non-kin fos ter care (Scannapieco & Hegar Marks, 2004; Strozier, McGrew, Krisman & Smith, 2005; Cud deback & Orme, 2002; Kelley, Yor ker, Whitley & Sipe, 2001). These children and youth confront exceptional challenges as they have experienced abuse or neglected or were at imminent risk of such treatment at the time of removal. Such children often present with emotional, behavioural, and/or dev elopmental needs t hat require advanced parentin g skills and access to specialized community resources (Kelley , Yorker, Whitley & Sipe, 2001; Strozier, McGrew, Krisman & Smith, 2005; Cuddeback & Orme, 2002).

Cuddeback (2004) reports t here is relative certainty that kinship caregivers have fewer resources, receive les s training, limited fi nancial compensation, and less social s upport when com pared with non-kinship caregiv ers which is also supported by Coakley, Cuddeback, Buehler, & Cox (2 007), Cuddeback & Or me (2002), and Goodman, Potts & Pasztor (2007). Other research supports that kinship care families do not have fewer needs but rather their needs are different.

Goodman, Potts, & Pasztor (2007) completed a quasi-experimental study comparing 73 caregiving grandmothers with equal numbers obt ained of African American, Latina and Caucasian races utilizing a caregiver burden m easurement that attempted to iden tify interrelations betw een kin caregi vers' ex pressed needs, formal services, and infor mal support and how those aspects impacted caregiver burden. In both groups informal social support was related to lower levels of caregiver burden and higher expressed need resulted in higher e xpressed b urden. Formal service utilization was found to incre ase burden for low need caregivers. The implic ations suggested include enhancing formal service and accessibility to such interventions for grandmothers in need, without involving any linkage to pre-existing relationships in the child welfare system.

Within this literature review a majority of (Callahan et. al., 2004; Sands & Goldber g, 2000; Kelley et. al, 2001; Grant, Gordon &

Cohen, 1997; Goodman et. al., 2007) whic h may be reflected of t he general population where grandmothers are the primary family member prov iding kinship care. However no studies could be located that specifically studied family members such as aunts, uncles, grandfathers, and involved caregivers from the kith or "fictive kin" community.

Sands & Goldberg (2000) conducted interview with 129 kinship grandparents utilizing quota sampling to study the relationship between social supports and caregiver stress based upon the stress theory perspective. Using hierarchical regression analysis a lack of caregiver resources was correlated to grandparent stress and heightened psychological stress related to a lack of family cohesion. Although the study was conducted specifically in Philadelphia the sample was representative across ethnicities and could be generalized to other areas. Results supported the need for further clinical services for grandparent-headed households and the usage of multimodal approaches such as those outlined in Kelley, Yorker, Whitley, and Sipe (2001) and St rozier, McGrew, Krisman, & Smith (2005) and reported on below.

Within the literature review fo ur articles outlined specif ic models designed to provid e resources and support to kinship populations. These include:

- 1) Respite services
- 2) Strengths-based case management services
- 3) Multiple-service intervention design
- 4) Kinship support networks.

1) Respite services

Owens-Kane (2007) employed a pre-post survey design to examine the outcomes of formal respite care for kin and non-kin caregi vers. The design of the respite intervention itself was not described and data was collected from predominately black, female kinship, foster, and adoptive caregivers. 71 on the 90 re cruited caregivers completed the post questionnaire and of that sample 93% of the substitute caregivers reported a reduction in stress and improved quality of lif e as benefits of respite se rvice for children. Future studies that may utilize quasi-experimental or experimental comparison-group designs will shed more light on respite services as a viable support to alleviat e caregiver burden for kinship caregivers. The success rates of respit e services outlined in the article suggest increased funding dollars would assist kins hip families. Advocating such a program at a systems level would, however, require rigorous, replicated, longitudinal studies to justify the merits of intervention.

2) Strengths-based case management services

Cohon and Cooper (1999) provide a program evaluation of the San Francisco-bas ed Kinship Support Network (KSN) and the opportunity to systemically collect data on kinship families. Their analysis employed descriptive statistics obtained through file audits a nd survey data. Results suggest KSN is a successf ul example in which to support kinship service providers through a private sector, mu Itiple-service approach that is offered

independent of the caregiver's pre-existing child welfare relationship. Based on site at the Edgewood Centre for Children and Families (C alifornia), the KSN model demonstrates how providing interventions outside the child welfare sector can effectively support kinship families while reducing stigma and ma intaining fa mily auton omy. Base d upo n so cial learning and ecological theoretical perspectives, KSN advertises a proactive responsive, flexible pr ogram based upon a caregiver' s evolving needs with wraparound case management intervention. Service is prov ided in a culturally sensitive environm ent through the employ ment of par aprofessionals that serve a lay-home visiting role. All participants are given access to the same va riety of support groups, recreation, healt h, respite activities and transportation. Data collected from the program evaluation identified duce caregiving burden. KSN is these services as greatly beneficial to re communitybased, and client driven model, receiving referrals from child welfare, who minimizes their involvement. Unique t o the liter ature it was disappoint ing t hat no longitud inal data has been co llected or e xperimental/guasi-experimental designs utiliz ed sinc e the 199 9 program analysis. That information was pr omising however there is no evidence bas е research to support the development of similar intervention designs.

In their dis cussion paper Sc annapieco and Hegar (2002) out line the need t o collaborate with kinship families within the family decision making model to ensure culturally sensitive and individualized c ase management, str engths based needs assessment and the development of evaluation t ools different than those u tilized with non-kin fo ster parents. Scannapieco and Hegar (2002) outline four categories required for designing kins hip support services that include a) financial, b) collaborative consultation c) social support, d) and adv isement to kinship work ers advoc ating within the school, medic al, and c hild welfare settings. This discussi on paper provided a good historical overview for beginning the literature review; however no specific research study was undertaken in this article.

3) Multiple-service intervention design

Strozier, McGrew, Krisman, & Smith (2005) applied s ome of the tenets out lined in the Scannapieco and Hagar (2002) ar ticle to an innovative school- based intervention for kinship caregivers and the children in their care. The Kinship Care Connection (KCC) was developed to mediate kin caregiver burden. The study utilized quantitative data collection from 34 caregivers participating in suppor t groups and case management services and designed a cross-sectional, sing le group study that pr ovided counselling, advocacy, and resource procurement specific to kinship families. Case management services utilized by Hie rarchy of Needs with the premise that social wor kers were based on Maslow's assisting kinship clients with sustenance needs was essentia I before one could addres s emotional and soc ial support needs . 72 kinship c aregivers resided in an inner-city Southern metropolis participated in this quasi-experiment with a majority of the population African American grandmothers. Financial burden was identified as the kin caregiver's primary concern. Access to regular health c are and ability to work with the school system were also problems identified by the kin cli ents that were directly as sisted by this program. Over an 18 week period caregivers were provided with bi-weekly support group intervention, weekly social wor k case management and broker age on be half of clie nts establish communication between kin caregivers and school/medical personnel. Individual counselling and consultation regarding caregivers personal and parenting needs was also

provided. Significant changes we re reported post-test in relation t o caregiver's advocacy abilities with school personnel in addition to increased emotional s upport. The time expended on case management services to address financial, housi ng, and caregiver health suggest that addressing bas ic physical needs require initial action before effect for emotional well-being and educat ional advocacy could occur. This study could have been strengthened by incorporating a comparison group, attempting to secure lar ger samples, and providing for longitudinal data. Similar to all of the above-discussed interventions that have proven succes sful with kinship families, no lo ngitudinal evidenc e, exp erimental design, or large s amples hav e been utilized wh ich creates barriers when apply ing research to policy initiatives that may develop resource programs to assist kinship service providers with nationally recognized services.

4) Kinship support networks.

Within their exploratory study Kelly, Yorker, Whiteley & Sipe (2001) explored a multimodal service intervention that included a small sample of 24 grandpar ents raising 63 childr en within the immediate vicinity of Atlanta, Georgia. Within t he quasi-experimental, pre-test and post-test measures were ut ilized. Grandparents were provi ded home visits by social workers, nurses, and legal ass istants over a six month period. Results indicated improvements in mental health and strengthening of social supports. This preliminar y study offered some promising findings however the homogeneity of this small sample size could not be generaliz ed to larger populations. There was no further follow- up identified and no longitudinal aspect to the study design.

A systematic review of evidence based re search completed by Winokur, Rozen, Thompson, Green, & Valentin e (2005) identifies that w hen c onducting research on kinship care, child outcomes should be utilized gi ven child data is what drives the policy, practice, and service design for caregivers.

That being said the majority of literature al so supported that kinship car egivers ar e receiving less support services and those interventions are not tailored to the unique needs of that substitute caregiv er population. Kinship caregivers also appear to provide longer-term continuity with fewer placement disruptions the children in their care (Cuddeback, 2004) these two conclus ions may suggest that kinship c aregivers are providing adequate c aregiving equal to their non-kin counterparts, despite the varying degrees of caregiver burden they may be experiencing.

As Cuddeback (2004) indicates in his methodological review of 100 empirical studies, the research completed on kinship families is o ften inconclus ive and contains regio nal samples that cannot be generalized to larger populations that may inform policy and best practices. Cuddeback's methodological review further identifies a ne ed to operationalize differences in formal and informal kinship care arrangements as approaches to support services are different depending upon which whether they are licensed as foster care providers and therefore able to access monetary and case management services their informal kin providers cannot. Quantitative dat e methods and longitudinal studies need to be employed which is reflective of the writer's literature review findings Standardizing the tools and instruments used to measure car egiver burden and stress-reduction in kins hip

service provision is another recommendation of Cuddeback (2004). This was further reflected in the writer's liter ature review in which the various research studies employed different ratings scales and outcome measures that poses challenges when attempting replication in comparative studies. Winokur, Rozen, Thompson, Green & Valentine (2005) describe the literature completed thus far on kinship care as "conjectural and anecdotal which does not allow for evidence based decis ions. There are few general experts in kinship care that can inform policy and practice.

Conclusions

The research has indicated that kinship service providers that reside outside the parameters of the tradit ional fos ter care system are not receiving the s ame level of support as their non- kin counter parts. The chil dren residing within "informal" kinship service placements have similar needs as childr en residing in non-kin foster placements with both groups having a greater procliv ity that they will require advanc ed parenting skills, and access to specia lized mental he alth and de velopmental services. Additionally, kinship families have unique need s in comparison to their non-kin c ounterparts, give their lower socio-economic status, and continued relationships with the child's biological family. Their differences define them as a unique population of substitute caregivers, which suggest a need to develop assessment tools and best practices approaches sensitive to kin family's needs.

Kinship care providers appear to be providing equal if not more appropriate caregiving abilities if one considers the advantages of su stained biological relationships and cultural affiliations, less placement disruption, and more permanency options than a kinship home can provide. Kinship families appear to be doing more service with fewer resources. Kinship studies completed in the United States discuss their research within the parameters of specific state legislation, federal child we lfare acts, and administration of child welfare services with their own uni que regional and cultural differences. The Canadian and Ontario child welfare structure is different so that applying these studies to provincial policy would be diffic ult to justify if just relying upon the current literature on kinship care giving burden.

Even within America n academic studies focusing on kinship families there is a limited literature specifically focused on the relationship between resource allocation and kinship service providers. The strength of the evidence base is limited given the studies often include small, culturally-specific samples, descriptive statistics, exploratory studies with limited usage of experimental or quasi-experimental design. There are even less studies that have been conducted within the Canad ian landscape. As national baseline information and evidence based research does not exist for Canadian kinship families we need to better understand and r esource this population before informing policy and best practices.

The literature has also shown t hat there are some innovative pr ogram models however the research conducted on suc h interventions has occurred in a pi ecemeal manner with limited evidence bas ed models that may incl ude experimental design, comparison groups, longitudinal data or replication. Kinship research inv olves complicated definitions that require cautious interpretation when attempting to transfer to a Canadian context. The literature has also shown that there are some innovative program models however it is disappointing that the research conducted on such interventions has occurred in a piecomeal manner with limit ed evidence base. The research could be strengthened by incorpor ating experimental and comparison group designs, longitudinal data, replication procedures, and the development of psychometrically sound instruments that are sensitive to the population needs of kinship service families. Utilization of both qualitative and quantitative research designs are necessary to further an unders tanding of specific Canadian kinship statistics and experiences.

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