Hennepin-University Partnership (HUP)
Child Well-Being

Re-entry to Foster Care Report
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Re-entry to Foster Care

Background of Project

In 2004, Hennepin County and the University of Minnesota began a collaboration titled the Hennepin-University Partnership (HUP). The goals of this strategic collaboration include developing knowledge on key topics relevant to local communities promoting community-based research sharing of academic and practitioner expertise and providing increased opportunities for real-world experience to university students.

In 2009, a group of Hennepin and University staff met to develop questions of further interests around child well-being. This group included Traci LaLiberte, Director of the Center for Advanced Studies in Child Welfare (CASCW) at the University, and Deb Huskins, Area Director of Hennepin County Human Services and Public Health Department. It was decided to focus on and gain a better understanding of three key areas of child welfare practice and policy, including: (1) re-entry to foster care, (2) adoption disruptions, and (3) systems of care working with long-term foster care youth transitioning to adulthood. Re-entry to foster care was the most critical of these topics currently facing Hennepin County, so CASCW explored this area first to be followed by reports on the other two topics.

CASCW staff conducted a comprehensive literature review. The report was provided to Hennepin County and included a report and executive summary of the literature review, an annotated bibliography and a brief guide to current evidence-based practices. Each of these sections is included in this first report, Re-entry to Foster Care.

In 2015, Hennepin County faced continued challenges addressing its re-entry rates of children in child protection. The literature review in this report was updated to be inclusive of new research published between the original report (2009) and the publication if this revised
report (December, 2015). Revisions were made by Patrick J. Mitchell, University of Minnesota Planning Analyst Intern at Hennepin County under the direct supervision of Paul Lennander, Hennepin County Contract Manager. All revisions were reviewed, approved and further integrated by original authors Drs. Semanchin-Jones and LaLiberte.

**Definition of Re-Entry:**

Re-entry is defined as the recurrence of child maltreatment after an earlier episode of out-of-home placement that resulted in reunification with biological family. Re-entry rates refer to the rates at which children and youth re-enter foster care after having been returned home to their biological family after an earlier episode of out-of-home placement. Federal standards developed through the Children and Family Service Review (CFSR) process mandate states to track the percentage of children re-entering foster care within 12 months of reunification with their biological families.

The studies included in this comprehensive literature review vary in the time periods designated for re-entry with some including follow-up of 3 to 5 years after reunification. Some studies look only at re-entry into foster care while other studies also examine re-reporting of child maltreatment whether or not those reports were substantiated and the child was removed from their home. These distinctions are made clear when individual studies are discussed in this report and in the annotated bibliography.

**Methodology of Search Process**

In the review of the literature and research on re-entry to foster care, the following databases were searched:

The literature search was updated in November, 2015, to include unduplicated studies published between 2009 and 2015. This updated search included relevant studies from the Social Sciences Citations Index (2009 to November 7, 2015) and Google Scholar (2009 to November 7, 2015).

In conducting all searches, the following keywords were used:
- “foster care” AND “reentry”
- “child maltreatment” AND “reentry”
- “foster care” AND “recidivism”
- “foster care” AND “reabuse”
- “foster care” AND “re-reporting”

Studies in this comprehensive literature review include correlational studies that indicate risk and protective factors for re-entry into care. The studies often used different definitions of re-entry and different parameters for those definitions, which makes it difficult to generalize across all of the findings. In this literature review, the authors were able to identify common and consistent themes across studies as well as highlight unique findings from specific studies.

**Comprehensive Review of Academic Literature on Re-entry to Foster Care**

Child welfare agencies aim to provide permanency for youth in their care. Re-entry into foster care is one measure of permanency for youth. The federal Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS) data indicates that the most common exit from foster
care for the past decade has been family reunification (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Administration for Children and Families, 2014). Unfortunately, not all children who return home remain at home. Foster care re-entry is a serious concern and one that is now being more closely examined by all states and tracked through the Child and Family Service Review (CFSR) process. States in the CFSR process are required to track rates of foster care re-entry for up to 12 months, and the standard states are expected to achieve is a re-entry rate of 9.9 percent or lower. AFCARS data indicates that re-entry rates vary substantially by state, but the most recent reported median state re-entry rate was 11.8 percent in 2012 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Administration for Children and Families, 2014). According to 2012 data, the percent of children who re-entered foster care in less than 12 months from the date of discharge in the state of Minnesota was 25.6 percent, and in Hennepin County the rate of re-entry was 19.9 percent (Minnesota Department of Human Services, 2014).

Clearly this is an important issue to consider in child welfare as practitioners, researchers, and policy-makers aim to increase permanency and child well-being for all youth involved in the system. Risk factors for re-entry have been well researched, and the findings are outlined below. More research is emerging on protective factors to reduce rates of re-entry, and this report will also highlight the studies that examine these factors. Identifying both the risk and protective factors around re-entry to foster care can help inform practice and policy decisions in child welfare systems.

**Risk Factors**

Many complex and intersecting factors contribute to the recurrence of child maltreatment and re-entry of children into foster care after family reunification. Current research has examined
the risk factors that correlate to foster care re-entry. Although it is difficult to generalize across multiple studies that use varying definitions and parameters, common themes have been identified and categorized as risk factors related to child characteristics, family characteristics and child welfare administrative characteristics. These are outlined below.

**Child Characteristics and Increased Risk of Re-entry**

Although not consistent in all studies, age was a significant risk factor. Most studies examining age as a variable found that infants, pre-teens and teenagers have higher re-entry rates (Courtney, 1995; Shaw, 2006; S. Wells, Ford, & Griesgraber, 2007; F. Wulczyn, 1991). Some studies found that infants and very young children were at increased risk of re-entry (Berrick, Needell, Barth, & Jonson-Reid, 1998; Fluke, 2005; Fuller, 2005; Lee, Jonson-Reid, & Blake, 2012; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006). One study indicated that infants were at higher risk for re-reporting but not re-entry to foster care (Jonson-Reid, 2003). Another found younger children to be at higher risk of re-abuse and re-reporting but did not measure re-entry (Dakil, Sakai, Lin, & Flores, 2011). Some of the reasons suggested for these findings included the following: parenting infants is more demanding and may lead to higher stress, infants are seen as more vulnerable and so CPS reports on infants are substantiated at higher rates, or some parents may have a more difficult time transitioning to their parenting role which is still new and some coping skills may not have yet been learned. Other studies also indicated increased risk for pre-teens and teens (Farmer & Wijedasa, 2013; Jonson-Reid, 2003; Minnesota Department of Human Services, 2013; Lee, Jonson Reid, & Drake, 2012; Wells et al., 2007; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006; Yampolskaya, Armstrong, & King-Miller, 2011) and one study did not measure re-entry, but found higher rates of placement instability among older children.
(Lutman & Farmer, 2012). Authors suggest that the increased parental attention, skills and stress in this developmental stage may account for the increased risk of pre-teens and teens.

Several studies that examined re-entry to foster care suggested that increased health issues, mental health concerns, and behavioral health issues of the youth increase risk of re-entry after reunification (Courtney, 1995; Courtney, Piliavin, & Wright, 1997; Jones, 1998; Koh, 2007; Shaw, & Webster, 2011; Wells et al., 2007). Several studies suggested that increases in difficult externalizing behaviors are linked to re-entry (Barth, 2008; Wells, 2007). Some studies linked the presence of physical health problems to increased risk, although health problems are not clearly defined in these studies (Courtney, 1995; Jones, 1998; Yampolskaya, Armstrong, & King-Miller, 2011); and at least one study found no association between re-entry and child health problems (K. Wells & Guo, 1999). Several studies identified the presence of mental illness (Koh, 2007) or the presence of developmental delays (Marshall & English, 1999) in the child as a risk factor for re-entry. Other studies examined “child problems,” inclusive of educational, mental health, developmental or behavioral problems, as linked to increased risk of re-entry (DePanfilis & Zuravin, 1999; Jones, 1998; McDonald, Bryson, & Poertner, 2006, Shaw, & Webster, 2011).

The research indicates a complex relationship between children who receive services and risk of re-entry. Some research indicates an increased risk of re-reporting when children receive services (J. D. Fluke, Shusterman, Hollinshead, & Yuan, 2005). Increased contact with professionals is one reason offered for increased re-reporting of children who receive services. Child utilization of special educational services and child utilization of individual, family or group therapy was associated with decreased risk of re-entry (Miller, 2006).

Race was also a risk factor identified in many studies, which indicated that African American youth are at highest risk for re-entry (Berrick et al., 1998; Courtney, 1995; Courtney et
al., 1997; English, Marshall, Brummel, & Orme, 1999; Jones, 1998; Koh, 2007; Shaw, 2006; Shaw, & Webster, 2011; K. Wells & Guo, 1999; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006). Another study found African American children to be at higher risk of re-entry, but the results were not statistically significant (Leathers, Falconnier, & Spielfogel, 2010). One study did not find race to be a risk factor, but the findings from this study may be limited by its very small sample size (Frame, Berrick, & Brodowski, 2000). Terling (1999) found that both African American and White children were at increased risk compared to Latino children. Another study found that White children were at higher risk compared to African American children (J. D. Fluke et al., 2005).

Courtney et al. (1997) concluded that the findings of their study, as well as others with a non-random sample that link age and race to increased risk of re-entry, may actually be mediated by another factor altogether, such as parental substance abuse. However, other studies indicate that when other mediating variables are controlled for (i.e., poverty and single-headed households), African Americans are still at greater risk suggesting that race itself may be a risk factor (Shaw, 2006). Consequently, while not the only risk factor, racial bias in the child welfare system may account for some of the increased risk of re-entry for African American children.

**Family Characteristics and Increased Risk of Re-entry**

In addition to child-specific characteristics, family characteristics were also identified in the research as correlating to increased risk of re-entry. Some of these factors focus on parents while others focus on family and community contexts. In looking at parental characteristics, several studies suggest that parental substance abuse is linked to increased risk of re-entry.
(Brook & McDonald, 2009; Dakil, Sakai, Lin, & Flores, 2011; English et al., 1999; Farmer, & Wijedasa, 2013; J. D. Fluke et al., 2005; Frame et al., 2000; Miller, Fisher, Fetrow, & Jordan, 2006; Shaw, 2006; Shaw & Webster, 2011; Terling, 1999). A study by Brook and McDonald (2009) that focused on children whose removal was primarily due to parental substance abuse also found that children of caregivers with both drug and alcohol involvement had increased risk for re-entry to the child welfare system compared to either alcohol or drug involvement alone. Parental criminal history was found in several studies to correlate with higher risk (Frame et al., 2000; Terling, 1999). Partner abuse experienced by a caregiver was also linked to increased risk of re-entry (DePanfilis & Zuravin, 1999; English et al., 1999). Some studies indicated that families in which parents who had been maltreated as children had increased risk of re-entry (English et al., 1999; Marshall & English, 1999). Two studies also indicated that parental mental illness increased the risk of re-entry (Fuller, 2005; Hindley, 2006). More generally, children that had parents with more risk factors noted prior to entry had higher rates of re-entry (Lee, Jonson-Reid, & Drake, 2012). The risk factors included in this finding were low education level, mental illness, and substance abuse.

Examining parents in their parenting role, some studies found that parental ambivalence about parenting (Festinger, 1996; Wells, & Correia, 2012), insufficient parenting skills (Festinger, 1996; Miller et al., 2006; Terling, 1999), and inadequate social support of parents (DePanfilis & Zuravin, 1999; Festinger, 1996; Terling, 1999) were all linked to increased risk of re-entry. One study indicated that the increased number and severity of parental problems was associated with increased risk of re-entry between 21 to 24 months after reunification (Festinger, 1996). Wells and Correia (2012) actually found that children whose parents had significant
parenting issues prior to placement were 40% less likely to re-enter care. Although this finding may seem counter-intuitive, the authors suggest it may be mediated by parental motivation and it could be a result of increased support from case-workers during the re-unification process. Several studies also found that higher numbers of children in the household of origin was linked to increased risk of re-entry (Barth, 2008; Fuller, 2005). DePanfilis and Zuravin (1999) found that having multiple children closely spaced in age was another factor that increased risk of re-entry.

Another rather consistent finding across studies indicated that those families with Child Protective Services involvement due to the maltreatment type of neglect were at higher risk for foster care re-entry (Berrick et al., 1998; English et al., 1999; Hindley, Ramchandani, & Jones, 2006; Shaw, 2006; Terling, 1999; K. Wells & Guo, 1999). Studies have also linked neglect to lower reunification stability (Biehal, Sinclair, & Wade, 2015) and lower placement stability (Lutman, & Farmer, 2012), although these studies did not specifically explore re-entry. One study found that children who had experienced neglect were less likely to re-enter (Yampolskaya, Armstrong, & King-Miller, 2011) and one study found that at least one incident of physical abuse increased the likelihood of re-entry (Lee, Jonson-Reid, & Drake, 2012).

Family factors were also shown to be linked to increased risk of re-entry. Several studies indicated that families experiencing poverty were at higher risk of re-entry to foster care (Courtney, 1995; Jones, 1998; Jonson-Reid, 2003; Shaw, 2006). Poverty was measured by families’ receipt of AFDC or TANF (Jones, 1998), insufficient housing (Jones, 1998), and poor neighborhood conditions (Miller et al., 2006). More recent studies have used Federal IV-E funding eligibility as a proxy for poverty, finding a similar link between poverty and higher rates of re-entry (Koh, & Testa, 2011; Shaw, & Webster, 2011). Poverty also was a risk factor for re-
abuse in one study, although this re-abuse did not necessarily lead to re-entry (Dakil et al., 2011). Studies that examined neighborhood conditions found that poorer quality neighborhoods (i.e., higher crime rates, less safe play space, and homes that were not well-maintained) were linked to increased risk of re-entry (Miller et al., 2006). Finally, one study indicated that urban youth were at higher risk of re-entry compared to families in non-urban communities (English et al., 1999).

**Child Welfare Administrative Characteristics and Increased Risk of Re-entry**

One of the most consistent findings across studies indicated that increased foster care re-entry rates are associated with short initial stays in foster care, that is, with stays between 3 to 6 months (Berrick et al., 1998; Courtney, 1995; Courtney et al., 1997; Fuller, 2005; Jonson-Reid, 2003; Koh, 2007; Marshall & English, 1999; McDonald et al., 2006; Shaw, 2006; Shaw & Webster, 2011; K. Wells & Guo, 1999; Wells, & Correia, 2012; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006; F. H. Wulczyn, Hislop, & Goerge, 2000). To the contrary, one study found that children being reunified between 7 and 18 months were at the highest risk for re-entry, with reduced rates for periods shorter and longer than that time frame (Lee, Jonson-Reid, & Drake, 2012). However, the authors still concluded that longer time to reunification was likely associated with a reduced risk of re-entry, indicating that their timeframe for short stays (3 days to 7 months) may be capturing a subset of children with very short stays who were at a reduced risk for re-entry. Another study finding that extremely short stays of 30 days or less were associated with reduced risk of re-entry, although the authors of this study suggest that this finding could relate to other factors, such as correcting initially poor decisions to remove the child from home (McDonald et al., 2006).
The findings that link shorter stays in care to increased risk of re-entry may relate to another risk factor that indicates unmet family needs at the time of discharge leads to great risk of re-entry (Festinger, 1996). If children were only in out-of-home care for very short time frames, then it might indicate there was insufficient time to address all of the families’ needs, particularly families with multiple needs. Families that face multiple problems may also be at greater risk for re-entry. Some studies have explicitly looked at case management aspects that may be predictive of increased re-entry. Case closure prior to all problems being resolved was a risk factor in one study (Lutman, & Farmer, 2012) and the use of contracted services was linked to higher re-entry rates in another study (Yampolskaya, Armstrong, & King-Miller, 2011). Both of these findings may suggest the importance of quality assurance and the use of best practices when managing child welfare cases.

Another key finding across studies indicates that prior involvement with the child welfare system increases risk of re-entry to foster care after reunification (Barth, Weigensberg, Fisher, Fetrow, & Green, 2008; English et al., 1999; Terling, 1999). In a systematic review of cohort studies, Hindley et al. (2006) found the number of previous episodes of maltreatment to be a key predictor of re-entry. English et al. (1999) found that rates of re-entry increase with increasing number of prior reports and prior placements in foster care.

Type of placement is also linked to risk of re-entry. Many studies found that non-kin placement was linked to increased risk of re-entry to out-of-home care (Berrick, 1997; Courtney, 1994, 1995; Frame et al., 2000; Jonson-Reid, 2003; Shaw, 2006; Shaw, & Webster, 2011; K. Wells & Guo, 1999). Even though studies indicate that placement with kin reduces risk of re-entry, these same studies also indicate that placement with kin increases the average length of
stay. Some studies also indicated that placement in congregate group care is linked to increased risk of re-entry (K. Wells & Guo, 1999; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006).

A final variable correlated to increased risk of re-entry is the total number of placements of the youth while in foster care suggesting that placement instability increases children’s risk for re-entry into care (Courtney, 1995; Courtney et al., 1997; Fuller, 2005; Jonson-Reid, 2003; Koh, 2007; K. Wells & Guo, 1999; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006).

Protective Factors

While risk factors of re-entry have been well researched, protective factors are much less defined in the literature. Studies looking at protective factors at the family and administrative levels highlight some key findings for child welfare systems to consider in reducing rates of re-entry. As mentioned above, placement in kinship foster care is a protective factor against re-entry to foster care (Courtney, 1995; Frame et al., 2000; Koh, 2010; Lee Jonson-Reid, & Drake, 2012; K. Wells & Guo, 1999; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006; Winokur, Holtan, & Valentine, 2009). Many studies indicate that placement with kinship caregivers is also linked to longer stays in foster care (Courtney, 1995; Davis, Landsverk, Newton, & Ganger, 1996; K. Wells & Guo, 1999; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006; Winokur et al., 2009). On the other hand, one study found that the impact of kinship care may be overestimated due to selection bias and the different demographic and social conditions between children in kin placement and those in non-kin placement. In this study, controlling for confounders reduced the impact on the kinship effect, although kinship placement was still a protective factor (Koh, & Testa, 2011). Other studies have suggested that longer stays in foster care in general, regardless
of placement type, are associated with lower rates of re-entry (Biehal, Sinclair, & Wade, 2015; Kimberlin, Anthony, & Austin, 2009; Lutman, & Farmer, 2012; Minnesota Department of Human Services, 2013). While not all studies indicate that kinship placements may be a protective factor against risk of re-entry, most of the studies examined in this literature review uphold this finding.

Other factors were also found to be protective factors to reduce rates of re-entry. Placement stability, in numerous studies, was found to serve as a protective factor to help reduce risk of re-entry (Courtney, 1995; Courtney et al., 1997; Jonson-Reid, 2003; Koh, 2007; Koh, & Testa, 2011; Westat and Chapin Hall Center for Children, 2006). Shaw (2006) found in his study that coming from a home where English is not the primary language was a protective factor against re-entry (Shaw, 2006). Potentially related to this finding, other studies have also found children of Hispanic ethnicity to have reduced risk of re-entry (Berrick et al., 1998; Courtney et al., 1997; Terling, 1999).

Other studies specifically examined case management and administrative characteristics that could be protective factors. Multiple studies found that changed family situations (i.e. family member had left or joined immediate family the child is returning to) were a protective factor (Farmer, & Wijedasa, 2013; Lutman, & Farmer, 2012). Furthermore, evidence of change and adequate and purposeful family preparation for reunification served as a protective factor (Biehal, Sinclair, & Wade, 2015; Farmer, & Wijedasa, 2013; Wells, & Correia, 2012). Family engagement with services during and after reunification was also a protective factor (DeGarmo, Reid, Fetrow, Fisher, & Antoine, 2013; Helie, Poirier, & Turcotte, 2014, Lee, Jonson-Reid, & Drake, 2012). Other protective factors influencing successful reunification included the frequency of parental visits (Leathers, Falconnier, & Spielfogel, 2010), higher funding per child
(Yampolskaya, Armstrong, & King-Miller, 2011), and having another agency supervise the case (Farmer & Wijedasa, 2013).

In their review of the literature, Kimberlin et al. (2009) suggested a resiliency-based framework that explores individual, family and community level protective factors. Some of the individual level protective factors include: self-efficacy, spirituality, positive racial identity and cultural ties. Family resilience might include positive attachment, cohesiveness and adaptability; community level factors might be effective early education programs and positive school environments (Kimberlin et al., 2009). The authors suggest the need for more research on family reunification interventions that incorporate multi-level protective factors to evaluate if these protective factors might reduce risk of re-entry to foster care.

**Summary and Discussion**

Child welfare agencies aim to provide permanency for children and youth in their care. Reunification with family is the most common way to achieve permanency. However, some children experience a recurrence of maltreatment and subsequent re-entry to foster care after reunification disrupting the continuity of their care and development. Re-entry to foster care has received increased attention of child welfare policy-makers and researchers.

It is important to note that the research discussed in this report highlights only the risk and protective factors that increase or decrease risk of re-entry. The findings highlighted in this report are not meant to suggest that all children that have certain characteristics are doomed to re-enter foster care, but rather that they may be at increased risk. Knowing who is at greater risk can help child welfare agencies begin to develop, target, and evaluate their services more effectively.
It is difficult to generalize across all studies, which worked with very different samples of data on various groups of children. However, several key findings in common are multiple settings and contexts that can help inform child welfare agencies as they aim to reduce re-entry rates. To summarize the findings, child characteristics associated with increased risk of re-entry include: age (infants at greatest risk, pre-teens, and teens at increased risk); race (African American children at highest risk); and increased emotional, behavioral, developmental, physical, and mental health needs of the youth.

Based on the review of the literature, family characteristics associated with increased risk of re-entry to foster care include: parental substance abuse and history, domestic violence, unmet parental mental health needs, parents’ own history of child abuse/neglect as a child, inadequate parenting skills, and social support, family poverty, poor neighborhood conditions, and maltreatment type of neglect.

Although child welfare agencies do not always have control over many of the child and family risk factors related to re-entry, studies also highlight several administrative child welfare characteristics that have been shown to increase risk of re-entry. These include: short initial stays in foster care of up to 6 months, prior involvement with child welfare through previous CPS reports, and prior out-of-home placements, placement with non-kin, unmet needs at time of reunification, and placement instability while in foster care.

Several protective factors have also been identified. These include placement of children with kin, families where English is not the primary language spoken, promoting placement stability while in foster care, and ensuring all issues prior to placement have been resolved before placing children back with their families.
When looking at re-entry, it is also critically important to examine protective and resiliency factors that allow families in the higher risk groups to avoid re-entry to care. Further research is still needed to examine individual, family, and community factors that increase resiliency of families and help maintain successful, intact families after discharge. Questions that could be explored include: what factors help some families succeed who are struggling with issues such as parental substance abuse or family poverty? What can child welfare agencies do to strengthen these resiliency strategies in all families?

The risk and protective factors outlined in this literature review can have important implications for the development of policies and interventions in preventing re-entry to foster care. As new interventions are developed and modified, there is also a great need for future research and evaluation to determine the effectiveness of these practices. Some key considerations for child welfare policy and practice aimed at reducing rates of re-entry include the following recommendations:

- Provide greater attention to assessment, planning, and follow-up support to maintain children in their home after reunification with their families;
- Assess parental readiness or ambivalence about reunification;
- Utilize effective substance abuse and mental health treatment practices;
- Provide additional support and follow-up services for children reunifying with families with substance-abuse histories;
- Assess the needs of children and parents early in a case to effectively meet the needs of the entire family;
- Promote placement stability while in care;
- Increase efforts to find, identify, and engage relatives in order to place children in relative homes when out-of-home care is warranted;
- Provide extra support and follow-up services for children with physical, emotional, and behavioral health needs;
- Explore the use of resiliency models at individual, family, and community levels in developing protective factors to reduce rates of re-entry;
- Consider worker caseload size and ability to develop relationships and increase engagement with families in need of services;
- Continue to build partnerships with communities to ensure appropriate services available.
Although there is limited research on evidence-based practices which have proven effective in reducing rates of re-entry, some practices show promise of positive outcomes. These interventions and strategies are outlined in the following section, entitled *Evidence-Based Interventions User’s Guide*.

**Conclusion**

Based upon national standards identified in the Child and Family Service Reviews, Hennepin County needs to reduce its re-entry rate by slightly more than 50%. Logical next steps for Hennepin County include an examination of agency policies and procedures (formal and informal) related to their reunification processes. This might include the length of time that a case remains open after the court case is closed, the types of services that are left in place or put into place at the time of closure, the risk level at the time the child is reunified, and the cases are closed, etc. Then, Hennepin County may consider whether or not an intervention to reduce re-entry based upon administrative factors would be an appropriate step in order to move toward a 50% reduction in their re-entry rates.

A second step in the self-examination, which could be done with administrative data, is to determine which children in Hennepin County’s Child Protection system are at higher risk for re-entry. Do the children re-entering the system in Hennepin County reflect those who were described in the literature? Having this information (who is at higher risk–infants, preteens, African Americans, those in non-kin homes, parents with substance abuse issues, etc…) would allow Hennepin County the ability to target specific interventions for higher risk reunification
cases while maintaining the overall mission of safely reunifying children into permanent circumstances.
Outline of Evidence Based Practice

For this project, the following categories will be used, adapted from the California Evidence Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare (California Evidence-Based Clearinghouse for Child Welfare - CEBC, 2009):

1) Effective Practice – supported by multiple studies
2) Promising Practice – supported by at least one study
3) Emerging Practice – effectiveness is unknown
4) Evidence Fails to Demonstrate Effect – research shows no effect
5) Concerning Practice – research shows negative effect

The criteria for these categories are as follows:

**Effective Practice**
- Multiple site replication: At least two rigorous randomized controlled trials (RCTs) in different usual care or practice settings have found the practice to be superior to an appropriate comparison practice. The RCTs have been reported in published, peer reviewed literature.
- Outcome measures must be reliable and valid, and administered consistently and accurately across all subjects.
- If multiple outcome studies have been conducted, the overall weight of the evidence supports the effectiveness of the practice.

**Promising Practice**
- At least one study utilizing some form of control (e.g., untreated group, placebo group, matched wait list) has established the practice’s efficacy over the placebo, or found it to be comparable to or better than an appropriate comparison practice. The study has been reported in published, peer-reviewed literature.
- If multiple outcome studies have been conducted, the overall weight of evidence supports the efficacy of the practice.

**Emerging Practice – Effectiveness is Unknown**
- The practice is generally accepted in practice as appropriate for use with children receiving services from child welfare or related systems and their parents/caregivers.
- The practice lacks adequate research to empirically determine efficacy.

**Evidence Fails to Demonstrate Effect**
- At least one study with some type of control or comparison group has found the practice has not resulted in improved outcomes, when compared to usual care.
If multiple outcome studies have been conducted, the overall weight of evidence does not support the efficacy of the practice.

**Concerning Practice**
- If multiple outcome studies have been conducted, the overall weight of evidence suggests the intervention has a negative effect upon clients served; and/or
- There is a reasonable theoretical, clinical, empirical, or legal basis suggesting that the practice constitutes a risk of harm to those receiving it, compared to its likely benefits.

Even though the CEBC provides the basis for the criteria used in this guide, “evidence-based practice” includes evidence based not only on research and theory, but also includes evidence gleaned from four cornerstones of evidence-based practice (Gilgun, 2005). These include: (1) research and theory; (2) practice wisdom; (3) person of the practitioner (including personal assumptions, values, biases and world views); and (4) person of the client and what they bring to the situation.
User’s Guide: Evidence on Addressing Re-entry to Foster Care

Very few specific models and interventions have been empirically studied to determine the impact on re-entry to foster care. Given this limitation, broader approaches to family reunification and permanency that have been reviewed or studied are also included in this user guide.

Effective Practices

Homebuilders

Homebuilders is a program designed to reunify foster children with their biological parents through relatively brief but intensive family-centered services. The program was directed at building strong alliances with parents, strengthening communication, problem-solving and parenting skills, addressing concrete needs (e.g., food, shelter, employment), and providing in-home support when the family was reunified. Several studies have shown the program to have a positive impact on reducing rates of re-entry to foster care.

In one randomized, controlled study in Utah, significantly more children in the treatment group returned to their families within the 90-day treatment program than did control group children (96.5% versus 32.1%). At the end of the 15-month follow-up period of this same study, 70% of children who were in the program remained home compared to 47% of children in the control group (Fraser, Walton, Lewis, Pecora, & Walton, 1996). In a six-year follow up to this study, it was found that a greater number of intervention families had discontinued services due to the family situation being stabilized.

Another quasi-experimental study on the Homebuilders program in Northern California, indicated that 74% of the children in the Homebuilders program remained at home compared to 45% of the comparison at the 12-month follow-up (Wood, Barton, & Schroeder, 1988).

Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care for Preschoolers (MTFC-P; formerly known as Early Intervention Foster Care Program)

The MTFC-P targets the spectrum of challenges that preschool-aged foster children face through an intensive team approach delivered to the child, foster care provider, and permanent placement resource (birth parents and adoptive relatives or nonrelatives). Foster parents are provided intensive training and support and 24-hour on-call crisis intervention. The children also receive services from a behavioral specialist, and they attend weekly therapeutic playgroup sessions.

At least two randomized clinical trials have been conducted to evaluate the permanent placement outcomes of MTFC-P. The earlier study found that the permanent placement
success rate in the control condition was 64% while the permanent placement success rate in the MTFC-P condition was 90%. Results of this study also found that MTFC-P might mitigate a known risk for permanent placement disruptions, multiple placements. Children with multiple placements in MTFC-P did not show increased re-entry to foster care (Philip A. Fisher, Burraston, & Pears, 2005).

A smaller study in 2009 of 52 children also found that children in the MTFC-P group had more than twice as many successful permanent placements (i.e., adoption or reunification with family) at the time of the 24 month follow up (P. A. Fisher, Kim, & Pears, 2009).

Promising Practices

Parent-Child Interaction Therapy (PCIT)
A randomized trial was conducted to test the efficacy and sufficiency of parent-child interaction therapy (PCIT) in preventing re-reports of physical abuse among abusive parents. At a two-year follow-up, 19% of parents assigned to PCIT had a re-report for physical abuse compared with 49% of parents assigned to the standard community group.

Shared Family Care
Shared Family Care (SFC) program places a parent (typically the mother) and at least one child with another family who provides mentorship, skills, and resources to meet treatment goals. The goal of SFC is achieving permanency for the child and moving the family toward self-sufficiency. The program works toward this goal by providing parents intensive services from a team that might include a drug abuse counselor, case manager or housing specialist, as well as providing intensive 24-hour support via the trained mentoring family.

In a quasi-experimental study (non-randomized, comparison group) in California, results showed that 8% of the children in families who completed the SFC program re-entered foster care within 12 months, compared to 17% in comparison group. Participants in the program also showed improved outcomes over the comparison group including: higher graduations rates, increased average income, and greater numbers of families living independently. More research is needed on this program, but results of this study indicate some promise in reducing re-entry to foster care using the SFC model.

Child Endangerment Risk Assessment Protocol (CERAP)
CERAP is a tool developed in Illinois for use in predicting short-term recurrence of child maltreatment. In Illinois, social workers used this tool throughout the life of a case and at critical decision-making points. At least two studies have been conducted that indicate the use of the CERAP, particularly shortly after case opening, correlates to reduced rates of maltreatment recurrence (J. Fluke, Edwards, Bussey, Wells, & Johnson, 2001; Fuller & Wells, 2003).
Structured Decision Making (SDM)

Results from a quasi-experimental study of Michigan’s SDM showed a significantly higher percentage of permanent placements for the counties using SDM than for the comparison group. A greater number of comparison group children re-entered foster care than those in the counties using SDM (10.7% versus 7.9%) although this difference was not statistically significant.

Minnesota’s study of SDM Family Risk Assessment (FRA) indicated that the FRA showed levels of predictive validity for the subpopulations similar to the entire study sample, exceptions to this rule were Southeast Asian families who received overall lower risk scores and American Indian families who received overall higher risk scores. Analysis showed that the FRA has predictive validity in regard to new reports of child maltreatment. However, analysis indicated in that the scale misclassified approximately one in three families (Loman & Siegel, 2004). Reliability of the SDM was assessed, and it was shown that the FRA demonstrated internal consistency slightly below the lower range of what is generally considered acceptable. At the time of this report, it was recommended that Minnesota change the order of completion of the SDM instruments; improve the FRA Scoring method; and empirically test changes to the FRA (Loman & Siegel, 2004).

Over 20 states have implemented SDM and many are conducting field testing and initial evaluations of the intervention. However, at this time, more rigorous studies of SDM are needed to show its effectiveness on outcomes for youth in child welfare systems.

Solution-Based Casework

Antle, Barbee, Christensen, & Sullivan (2009) conducted a quasi-experimental design comparing recidivism outcomes for two groups: one group that used solution-based casework with high implementation (n=339) and a comparison group that did not implement SBC (n=421). The solution-based casework group had significantly fewer referrals for re-maltreatment compared to comparison. Within the SBC group, the study found that supervisor learning and openness were negatively correlated with recidivism. The study concludes that solution-based casework shows promise for reducing rates of foster child re-maltreatment, although that does not necessarily suggest higher re-entry rates.

Beyond recidivism, other studies also showed positive outcomes for solution-based casework (although none of them specifically addressed re-entry). A case review for two evaluations of the SBC model was conducted in Kentucky using a quasi-experimental design. The study found that use of SBC was associated with the achievement of significantly more case goals as well as greater compliance by the family and effort by the coworker. Implementation was successful regardless of comorbid factors, geographic
location, and chronic involvement with mixed results on scores for physical abuse cases. (Antle, Barbee, Christensen, & Martin, 2008).

A final study used a Continuous Quality Improvement review instrument to measure fidelity of the model, then examined case data (n=4,559) to test correlations between fidelity and outcomes. The study found that statistically significant differences were seen between high adherence to SBC, low adherence, and the federal standards. The high adherence group performed significantly better than the other groups on safety, permanency, and well-being. The study did not specifically measure re-entry, but it supports that the SBC model with high adherence has a positive impact on outcomes and highlights the importance of quality assurance and rigorous approaches to model fidelity (Antle, Christensen, Van Zyl, & Barbee, 2012).

Family Dependency Treatment Courts
Integrated Family Dependency Treatment Courts is a model that uses one judge to preside over the caregiver substance abuse component and the child welfare component of a child protection case. Chuang, Moore, Barrett, & Young (2012) used a quasi-experimental design in Florida to examine the impact of Integrated Family Dependency Treatment Courts on reunification, time to permanency, and foster care re-entry rates. There were significant differences between Hillsborough County (Integrated FDTC) and Pinellas County (Control) for reunification (Hillsborough-53% Pinellas-42%), average time to permanency (Hillsborough-495 days, Pinellas-395 days), and re-entry rates within 12 months after achieving permanency (Hillsborough-2%, Pinellas-12%). After controlling for confounders, FDTC increased odds for reunification and decreased odds of re-entry but took significantly longer to achieve permanency. The study provides links to positive child welfare outcomes for Integrated FDTC and suggests that FDTC may have a positive effect on service integration and family engagement.

Other studies have examined the impact of FDTC without looking specifically at re-entry. One study looked at use of FDTC in North Carolina results found that cases for those that completed FDTC were more likely to be reunified and less likely to exit via adoption than those who either started but did not complete FDTC or did not enroll in FDTC (Gifford, Eldred, Vernerey, & Sloan, 2014). Another overview found that FDTC’s create positive outcomes for reunification and the model can be cost-effective (Marlowe, & Carey, 2012).

Emerging Practice

Differential Response
Also called alternate response, multiple response or family assessment response, differential response marks a shift in child welfare that is being adopted by over 20 states. Differential response involves engaging families on a voluntary basis once a report of
child maltreatment is made rather than substantiating the report and following the
traditional investigatory approach. Although implemented differently in each state,
differential response includes the following elements: focus on engaging families and
building on their strengths, voluntary engagement with families and their support
networks, and increased role of community partners in providing services to families.
Families involved in differential response may not have children removed to foster care,
so issues of re-entry to foster care are not exactly related to this new intervention.
However, some studies have examined the impact of differential response on later
recurrence and re-reporting of child maltreatment; consequently, it is included in this
report. While some studies indicate that children are not at any greater risk of recurrence
of child maltreatment, results of one study using data from the National Child Abuse and
Neglect Data System (NCANDS) indicated that children of families that participated
in differential response had reduced risk of recurrence of maltreatment (Ortiz, Shusterman,
& Fluke, 2008).

**Failed to Demonstrate Effect**

**Increased Parent-Child Visitation**
While parental visitation has been shown to be a strong predictor of reunification, several
studies indicated that no association was found between parental visiting and re-entry to
foster care within 12 months following reunification follow up (Davis et al., 1996;
Festinger, 1996; Frame et al., 2000). Findings from these studies suggest that the
frequency of parental visiting during out-of-home placement does not have a significant
impact on the subsequent stability of reunification. However, it is also important to note
that these studies primarily examined quantity of visitations not the quality of the visits.
Research on improved quality of parental visitation is still needed.

**Family Group Conferencing or Family Group Decision Making (FGDM)**
Most studies of family decision-making models have not explicitly examined the
relationship between the models and re-entry to foster care. One study that examined this
relationship in a randomized, controlled evaluation in California found no significant
differences between the groups with respect to substantiated re-reports of child
maltreatment or re-entry to foster care (Berzin, 2006). Some studies actually found a
higher rate of maltreatment re-reports among families receiving FGDM (County of Santa
Clara Department of Family and Children's Services, 1998; Sundell & Vinnerljung,
2004). Authors from these studies suggest that once extended family and communities are
successfully engaged, the family may have increased surveillance and, thus, increased
reporting of suspected maltreatment. A more recent randomized control trial on FGDM
found promising results on the model’s effect on kinship placement and reducing re-entry
rates, however the sample size for the intervention group was small and there remain
concerns about bringing the model to scale (Wulczyn & Lery, 2013).
Implications for Policy and Practice

To review, although only a few specific models and interventions have been empirically shown to have an impact in addressing re-entry to foster care, the programs that have begun to be rigorously studied are listed in this user guide. Two programs that have been shown to be effective in reducing rates of re-entry include the **Homebuilders** program and the **Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care for Preschoolers (MTFC-P)**.

Promising practices to reduce re-entry include **Parent-Child Interaction Therapy (PCIT)** and **Shared Family Care (SFC) Family Dependency Treatment Courts, and Solution-Based Casework (SBC)**. Promising safety and risk assessment practices that can help child welfare practitioners reduce risk of failed reunifications and later recurrence include **Child Endangerment Risk Assessment Protocol (CERAP)**, and **Structured Decision Making (SDM)**. Although these practices show promise, more research is needed to demonstrate their effectiveness in addressing re-entry to foster care.

One emerging model of child welfare practice and policy, **differential response**, may also help families that have child welfare involvement to avoid risk of subsequent involvement. This intervention, too, requires more evidence on its effectiveness in reducing risk of maltreatment recurrence.

Two practices have been studied that failed to demonstrate a positive impact on re-entry to foster care. These practices include increased **parental visitation** and **Family Group Decision Making (FGDM)**. Although these practices may positively impact other child well-being and permanency outcomes, they do not have sufficient evidence to suggest they reduce rates of re-entry.
### Summary of Findings Factors Associated with Increased Risk of Re-entry

#### Child Characteristics
- Age and race are the most significant predictors of increased risk of re-entry related to child characteristics found across studies.
  - Age: Infants and pre-teens/teens are at greater risk
  - Race: African American youth are at greater risk (although some race findings are confounded by other variables)
- Other characteristics of the child that have been found to be a factor in some, but not all studies includes the presence of serious behavior difficulties, emotional of youth.

#### Family Characteristics
- Several factors related to parent characteristics increased risk of re-entry. The most consistent finding across studies around parental factors indicates that parents with a history of substance abuse are at increased risk of their children re-entering care. Other parental factors found across multiple in studies to be associated with increased risk of re-entry include the following: parental criminal history, domestic violence in the home, parental history of abuse/neglect as a child, inadequate parenting skills, and inadequate parental social support. Consistently found across most studies that examined family and community factors related to re-entry found that cases with maltreatment type of neglect and families experiencing poverty were two characteristics that increased risk of re-entry.
  - In just a few studies that examined neighborhood factors, poor neighborhood conditions (i.e., lack of safe place spaces in a community and increased crime rates) were linked to higher risk of re-entry.

#### Child Welfare Administrative Characteristics
- One of the most consistent findings in studies on re-entry to foster care is that very short stays in foster care (foster care placements of 3 to 6 months) is linked to increased risk of re-entry.
- Many studies indicate that placement instability (multiple moves and placements) while in foster care increases risk of re-entry.
- Studies also indicate that prior CPS reports and/or out-of-home placements increases risk of re-entry after family reunification.
- Unmet needs of the family at point of reunification have also been found to be a predictor of re-entry.

#### Protective Factors Associated with Re-Entry
- Placement in kinship foster care, rather than non-relative placement, has consistently been found in studies to be a protective factor for re-entry to foster care.
- Several studies indicate that coming from a home where English is not the primary language is a protective factor.
- Ensuring placement stability while in foster care may reduce risk of re-entry.
- Returning to a “changed family” has served as a protective factor across multiple studies.
Evidence-based Practice to Address Re-entry: Summary of Findings

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<th>Implications for Policy and Practice</th>
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<td>➢ Provide greater attention to assessment, planning and follow-up support to maintain children in their home after reunification with their families;</td>
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<td>➢ Assess parental readiness or ambivalence about reunification;</td>
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<td>➢ Utilize effective substance abuse and mental health treatment practices and provide additional support and follow-up services for children reunifying with families with substance-abuse histories;</td>
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<td>➢ Promote placement stability while in care;</td>
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<td>➢ Increase efforts to find, identify, and engage relatives in order to place children in relative homes when out-of-home care is warranted;</td>
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<td>➢ Provide extra support and follow-up services for children with physical, emotional, and behavioral health needs;</td>
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<td>➢ Explore the use of resiliency models at individual, family and community levels in developing protective factors to reduce rates of re-entry;</td>
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<td>➢ Consider worker caseload size and ability to develop relationships and increase engagement with families in need of services;</td>
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<td>➢ Continue to build partnerships with communities to ensure appropriate services available.</td>
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Appendix A: Foster Care Re-entry Literature Diagram
Summary of 2009-2015 literature

Risk Factors

Individual
• Older Age
• Prior abuse
• Race (*African-American, confounded)

Family
• Substance abuse issues
• IV-E Eligibility status

Child Welfare Administrative
• Time to reunification
• Premature case closure (evidence of problems not resolved)

Practice Models

Integrated Family Dependency Treatment Courts
• Results: Increased odds for reuniﬁcation and decreased re-entry, but longer time to permanency

Pathways Home
• Results: Halved re-entries, but not statistically significant
• Increased encouragement activity and larger beneﬁt for higher-risk mothers (more alcohol cravings or higher stress)

Solution-Based Casework
• Results: Preliminary results indicate positive gains for achievement of case goals and greater compliance from families
• Implications for positive impact on re-entry, but more research needed

Family Group Decision Making
• Results: Limited success with placement and time to permanency, but promising and statistically significant results for reentry rates and kinship placement

Protective Factors

Individual (Child)-
No protective factors identiﬁed

Family
• Change within the family (i.e. a family member ihas moved out of the household)

Child Welfare Administrative
• More deliberate and intentional reunion process
• Adequate preparation and increased funding per child
• Substantial substance abuse interventions
• Kinship Placement (*selection bias may be present, though)
Appendix B: Annotated Bibliography: Re-entry to Foster Care

This study was a case review for two evaluations of the Solution-based Casework model conducted in Kentucky using a quasi-experimental design. Results from the second study supported that SBC can be used in rural and urban areas and showed statistically significant increases in the achievement of goals for SBC families. Implementation was successful regardless of comorbid factors, geographic location, and chronic involvement with mixed results on scores for physical abuse cases. The study concludes that SBC is a child welfare practice that aligns with the shift toward family-centered strengths-based practice.

This study was a quasi-experimental design comparing recidivism outcomes for two groups: one group that used solution-based casework with high implementation (n=339) and a comparison group that did not implement SBC (n=421). The solution-based casework group had significantly fewer referrals for re-maltreatment compared to comparison. Within the SBC group, supervisor learning and openness were negatively correlated with recidivism. The study concludes that Solution-Based Casework shows promise for reducing rates of foster child re-maltreatment.

This study examined the effectiveness of Solution-Based Casework for three federal outcomes (safety, permanency, and well-being). The study used a CQI review instrument to measure fidelity of the model, then examined case data (n=4559) to test correlations between fidelity and outcomes. The study found that statistically significant differences were seen between high adherence to SBC, low adherence to SBC, and the federal standards. The high adherence group performed significantly better than the other groups on safety, permanency, and well-being. As adherence increased, so did compliance scores on CFSR review. The study did not specifically measure re-entry, but SBC model with high adherence has a positive impact on outcomes. Meanwhile, low fidelity adoption of the model actually demonstrated worse outcomes. This study highlights the importance of quality assurance and rigorous approaches to model fidelity.

This study used data from the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-Being with a sample of 273 children between the ages of 5 and 12 years. Findings indicated that re-entry into foster care was associated with higher Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) scores and higher numbers of children in the household of origin.
Barth, R. P., & Jonson-Reid, M. Outcomes after child welfare services: Implications for the design of performance measures. *Children and Youth Services Review, 22*(9-10), 763-787. The authors review studies of post-child welfare services mortality, serious injury and incarceration to indicate the need for increased attention to post-child welfare services into a broad research agenda and into performance measures. The studies indicate that child welfare systems currently are not keeping children safe after child welfare services end. These authors recommend the inclusion of safety indicators in performance evaluation, including more detailed mortality data, better tracking of moves from child welfare to juvenile or criminal justice systems, and rates of injury. They recommend tracking data for 5 years for children reunified before age 3 and a 3 year follow up for older children because the current 12 month follow up is insufficient to track important outcomes.

Berrick, J. D., Needell, B., Barth, R. P., & Jonson-Reid, M. (1998). *The Tender Years: Toward developmentally-sensitive child welfare services for very young children*. New York: Oxford University Press. This study looked at data from California from 1989-1995 for 37,455 reunified children ages 0 to 5, of whom 7,125 re-entered foster care. Findings indicate greater rates of re-entry for children ages 0 to 2, African American children, for youth with maltreatment type of neglect, for youth with stays shorter than 6 months, and for non-kin foster care.

Berzin, S. C. (2006). Using sibling data to understand the impact of family group decisionmaking on child welfare outcomes. *Children and Youth Services Review, 28*(12), 1449-1458. This study utilized sibling data from California’s Title IV-E Waiver Demonstration Project Evaluation in Fresno and Riverside Counties to compare child welfare outcomes for children of families randomly assigned to receive FGDM (Fresno County, n = 110; Riverside County, n = 87) to children of families assigned to receive traditional child welfare services (Fresno County, n = 74; Riverside County, n = 52). Outcomes from both counties suggested no group differences in permanence, including rates of re-entry for families in FGDM and families in traditional services. These findings are consistent with several other studies on FGDM that show no change in re-entry rates while some studies indicate increased rates of re-entry for families in FGDM.

This paper focused on three important elements of reunification: the evidence on the timing of discharge, the evidence on parental contact, and the view that reunion is necessarily a positive outcome for children. The author reviewed literature on re-entry arguing that the evidence as it exists clearly indicates a need for caution when returning abused or neglected children to their families. It is argued that greater attention to assessment, planning and follow-up support is needed if children are to be successfully reunited with their families and that more research is needed into the outcomes of reunification.


This study compared reunification decision-making and wellbeing outcomes for maltreated children in the United Kingdom (n=149). Outcomes were assessed at 6 months and after a final four year follow-up. Among the sample, 68 children reunified and 81 remained in care. After 6 months, 52% of the reunified group had concerns recorded against 16% for the group that remained in care. Increased placement stability was associated with aspects of planning undertaken prior to reunion and purposeful and proactive unification. Home placements were more likely to be durable when process had gone more slowly, planning was purposeful and inclusive, family problems had gone away, and there was evidence of change. Conversely, stable reunion was less likely if children experienced neglect or had learning disabilities. The results of the study suggest that if no evidence of changes in parent behavior have been made, reunification should not be forced to meet timeline demands.


This report reviews evidence and research on re-entry. The author concludes that very little research has been done on interventions to reduce re-entry to foster case following family reunification. The author finds that most of the available research was nonexperimental and focused on factors (child, family, and system) associated with re-entry. These findings might help inform the design of future interventions to reduce re-entry. The report included the following list of key factors associated with re-entry:

- Parental ambivalence about reunification and parental requests for placement
- Parental mental illness, substance abuse, or poverty
• Family coherence during separation
• Placement instability
• Children placed in non-relative foster care
• Previous failed reunification attempts
• Number of service goals and tasks for the family
• Children with health difficulties
• Lack of reunification services and case management

This study looked at children (N=2682) in Oklahoma who experienced a re-entry into foster care from 1999 to 2003, focusing on children whose primary reason for the initial removal was due to parental substance abuse. Results indicated that children whose reasons for initial placement in foster included caretakers with both alcohol and drug involvement were much more likely to re-enter care following reunification than either alcohol or drug involvement alone. However, drug or alcohol involvement as the initial reason for removal was also associated with higher risk of re-entry compared to those without any drug or alcohol abuse.

This study examines the impact of a substance abuse intervention on family reunification and re-entry of children into foster care. The results of this study indicate that participants actually move slightly more slowly to reunification, and re-entry rates are significantly higher among those children whose parents participate in this service. The authors conclude that more intensive service interventions may not always improve permanency outcomes.

The study used a quasi-experimental design in Hillsborough County, Florida to examine the impact of Integrated Family Dependency Treatment Courts on reunification, time to permanency and foster care re-entry rates. After controlling for confounders, FDTC increased odds for reunification and decreased odds of re-entry but took significantly longer to achieve permanency. The study provides links to positive child welfare outcomes for Integrated FDTC and suggests that FDTC may have a positive effect on service integration and family engagement.
This study examined data for a random sample of children who entered foster care in California for the first time between January 1988 and June 1991 (N= 8,748). Results indicate that children initially placed in kinship care were less likely to go home in the first few months than other children.

This study examined the same administrative data for a sample of children who entered foster care in California for the first time between January 1988 and June 1991 (n= 8,748) to explore the effects of selected child, family, and foster care system factors on reentry. Infants, African American children, youth with health issues, families in poverty, youth placed in non-kin care, youth who had multiple placements while in care, and youth who were in care longer were all found to be at higher risk of re-entry.

This longitudinal study examined factors associated with reentry to foster care for 21,484 children placed by child welfare authorities in California. Although a previous analysis implies direct effects of race and age on foster care reentry, current results suggest that these effects are mediated by other factors although this study was unable to determine possible confounding variables.

This study examined re-abuse and re-reports in a national cohort of children aged 0-14 (n=5501, 80% retention). The study used recursive partitioning analysis to assign risk clusters based on child, caregiver, and environmental characteristics. The results found that child age (younger), child behavior problems, poverty, and caregiver age (younger than 33.5) were markers for re-reports and re-abuse. Parental substance abuse, sex of the child, and abuse type were not relevant when focusing on risk clusters for re-reporting. Substance abuse issues may not be as relevant to this study because those children might be more likely to be removed from their household. Child protective services might consider support and supervision or out-of-home placement for children at highest risk abuse. Lower-risk clusters can also be identified to save money and resources.

Findings from this study, as part of a larger follow-up investigation of permanency planning for children in foster care, showed that the visitation between mothers and
children in care was the strongest predictor of reunification, but no association was found between parental visiting and recidivism of reunified children at a 12 month follow up.


This study was a randomized control trial examining effectiveness of Pathways Home intervention for families with children entering foster care (n=103). Pathways Home led to increases in encouragement activities and was more beneficial for mothers with higher drug and alcohol cravings relative to mothers with low cravings. The control group saw twice as many re-entries to care as the intervention group, although these results were not statistically significant due to a small sample of overall reentries in the cohort. The study suggests that early engagement with these types of substance abuse and stress management services is important.


This was a prospective study of 446 families who had experienced a substantiated report of child abuse or neglect during the sampling year. Data were collected and coded from archival sources for 5 years following the index report. Results indicated that predictors of reentry were child vulnerability (defined as child mental health problems, child developmental problems, and the presence of a child under the age of six in the household), family stress (as defined as having multiple children closely spaced together), partner abuse, social support deficits, and an interaction between family stress and social support deficits.


This study examined foster care recidivism based on an ecological model of child maltreatment using data from 12,329 referrals. Findings indicated that re-referral rates increased with the increasing number of prior referrals and placements in foster care. Other risk factors for re-referral were a history of domestic violence, history of caregiver child abuse/neglect (CA/N) as a child, and substance abuse. African American youth, maltreatment cases and urban youth were at greater risk of re-referral.

This policy brief examined re-entry rates in Minnesota, providing an overview of national and local data. Looking at the impact of re-entry, the study found that when a child re-enters, total time in placement doubles, impacting the child’s well-being and doubling the fiscal impact of that placement. For demographic characteristics, 14 year olds had the highest rate of reentry to care (42%) and more specifically, 14 year old boys had a 47.2% rate of reentry. The study also supported findings that as times to permanency lengthen, re-entry decreases. The brief specifically examined the effectiveness of Trial Home Visits and found that the group using Trial Home Visits re-entered care at an 11% lower rate (13%) than those who did not use Trial Home Visits (24%). The brief implies that the state should promote targeted interventions for higher-risk populations.


This study examined patterns and outcomes of children returned from care in the UK (n=180). Older age, local authority, inadequate preparation, parental alcohol or drug abuse, and presence of physical abuse were significantly associated with placement instability. Having another agency supervise the case, children returning to changed households, and resolving all problems in the case prior to reunification were protective factors.


The study described 210 children and families returning home from foster homes and examined factors related to reentering care. Results from the data analysis indicated that decreased parenting skills and less social support were the strongest predictors of re-entry within 12 months of leaving care. Re-entry during the second year was linked to the number and severity of caregiver problems.


This study followed children for up to 5 years using a multiyear, multistate case level National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS) data set. The data indicated that approximately one-third of children were re-reported within 5 years although most subsequent reports occurred within a few months after the initial report. This study indicated that white children were more likely to be re-reported compared with African-American children, which is contrary to other studies’ findings. Children who received services were more likely to be re-reported than children who did not receive services. As the age of victims increased, the likelihood of their experiencing recurrence decreased. Victims were more likely to experience recurrence if their caregivers abused alcohol.
This study reviewed the case records of 88 randomly selected infants who had been reunified with their families, 32% of whom re-entered care within four to six years of their reunification. The factors predictive of re-entry included parental criminal history and substance abuse, and being placed in non-kin care. Factors that were not linked to re-entry in this study included parental visitation or length of aftercare services.

The study used random assignment to evaluate a program, Homebuilders, developed to reunify foster children with their biological parents. The data suggest that relatively brief and intensive family-centered services can significantly affect reunification rates. The experimental service was superior to routine reunification at the close of treatment and throughout the one-year follow-up period. (Please see the attached Evidence-Based Guide for more details on this study).

Using a case-control design of client case records and administrative data, this study examined the factors that predict short-term (i.e., within 60 days) maltreatment recurrence among 174 families with children returning home from their first stay in substitute care. Results from the analysis indicated seven variables uniquely added to the prediction of maltreatment recurrence: 1) child age; children under age 12 were at higher risk and infants up to age 1 were at the highest risk, 2) caretaker mental illness, 3) number of placements, 4) type of placement (kinship placement more likely to re-enter), 5) length of time in placement, 6) number of children in the home at reunification, and 7) the interaction between household structure at reunification and the presence of siblings returned home with the index child.

This article highlighted findings from two studies that evaluated the Illinois CERAP, which was developed as a safety assessment tool. Results indicated that some factors of maltreatment recurrence (age of the youngest child; single-parent household; number of child problems, such as physical, emotional, behavioral; type of maltreatment and case disposition) were the predictors of short-term recurrence for investigation cases. Five days after the case had been opened for intact family services, the absence of a completed CERAP form and lack of service provision both were predictors of recurrence of maltreatment. At both milestones, the number of previous indicated reports on the
perpetrator and the presence of multiple caretaker problems (e.g., alcohol/drug dependency, domestic violence) were predictive of short-term maltreatment recurrence.


The study examined two cohorts of Quebec youths in substitute care: Cohort 1 (2003-2004, n=3241) and Cohort 2 (n=879). All children were placed in non-kin substitute care and were tracked between 13 months and 6.35 years after their cases were closed. Children had a 33% risk of being re-reported within 5.3 years of case closure. After second the year of observation, overall rate of recurrence slowed demonstrating the highest risk period between 6 and 24 months. The number of reunification breakdowns was a significant predictor of risk of recurrence when other characteristics were held constant. All other factors were dependent on age groups. The study highlights the importance to provide support for families before and after reunification.


This article discussed an evaluative tool to determine the case activities and family characteristics contributing to successful reunification. Some of the problems identified in the tool were caseload size and caseworker turnover, insufficient community resources, the number and severity of parents’ problems, insufficient involvement of foster parents in decision making, the child's willingness and ability to adapt to return, and the parents' attitude about reunification.


This article highlighted findings from a systematic review of cohort studies investigating factors associated with substantiated maltreatment recurrence in children. Sixteen studies met the inclusion criteria. The factors most consistently identified as predicting future maltreatment included: number of previous episodes of maltreatment, neglect (as opposed to other forms of maltreatment), parental conflict, and parental mental health problems. The risk of recurrence was highest in the period soon after return home (within 30 days) and diminished thereafter.


This cost-effectiveness analysis used national data from the Department of Education in the United Kingdom. The cost-effectiveness analysis found that 19% more reunifications in England (900 children) would lead to a break-even point for costs avoided, at which
point the government would begin saving money by providing additional support. The study suggests that it may be cost-effective to provide more resources to support medium and high risk families in order to decrease the risk of re-entry.

This exploratory study examined the correlation of successful reunification with social and environmental variables (i.e., income, housing, social support, and family structure). Administrative and case record data were analyzed for 445 children, aged birth to 12, removed from their homes from 4/29/90 to 10/1/91. Findings indicated that children from families in poverty (as expressed by inadequate housing and receipt of AFDC) represented the greatest risk from the social environment for successful reunification. Children with medical or behavioral problems and non-white children were more likely to re-enter foster care.

This study explored administrative data of youth (N=1,915) who were re-reported or reentered care after reunification. Findings from this study indicated that children with shorter lengths of stay (under 3 months) were more likely to be re-reported for maltreatment and more likely to re-enter foster care. Younger children in this study were more likely to be re-reported but not more likely to re-enter care. Non-white male youth between the ages 10-14 were more likely to be re-reported for maltreatment. Placement with kin was linked to reduced risk of re-entry but also linked to longer stays in care. Prior receipt of AFDC and placement instability while in care were both correlated to higher rates of re-entry into out-of-home care.

This literature review examined the research on foster care re-entry, including risk and protective factors related to re-entry and results of evaluative studies of program models on reducing foster care re-entry. Findings indicated that risk factors linked to re-entry include child characteristics (i.e., increased health, behavior or mental health issues; African American children; infants, pre-teens and teens). Family characteristics linked to higher risk of re-entry include: family poverty, parental substance abuse, type of maltreatment of neglect, parental ambivalence, lack of parenting skills, lack of social support, increased total number of parental problems, number of children living the home, and youth with siblings in care. Administrative characteristics included extremely short stays in foster care (3 to 6 months), increased number of placements while in care, type of placement (with increased risk for group homes and decreased risk for kin placements), unmet needs at time of reunification, and prior involvement with child welfare system. Protective factors for avoiding re-entry include: children from non-English speaking homes, children placed with kin, and longer stays in care. This author
also highlighted resiliency models as a potential avenue for increasing individual, family and community level protective factors. This review looked at specific interventions targeted to reduce re-entry. Findings suggested that increased parental visitation and Family Group Decision Making has not been linked to improved rates of re-entry. Homebuilders and Shared Family Care show promise as models to reduce risk of re-entry.

This study examined longitudinal data in Illinois for a sample of 73,972 children who had been discharged from their first episode of out-of-home care. Results indicate that the African-American and children with mental health disabilities were more likely to re-enter out-of-home care. Risk of re-entry also increased when children entered the system at a younger age or when they left at an older age. Longer stays in care and placement stability while in care reduced the risk of re-entry.

This study explored permanency outcomes of children in kinship foster homes in comparison with those in non-kinship homes across five states. The study used AFCARS data and matched sampling for five states (Arizona, Connecticut, Missouri, Ohio, and Tennessee) to examine differences. The results showed significant differences in all five states between kin and non-kin placements before matching. After matching, most of those differences disappeared. In the matched sampling, permanency outcomes were variable across states, but when looking at placement stability, kin children had lower rates of initial placement disruption than non-kin across all states. Kin placements were also more likely to experience greater placement stability overall. The results imply that it is important to pay attention to dissimilarities as well as similarities of kin homes and to understand how state context (policies, practices) might impact outcomes.

This study used matched-sample analysis and survival analysis to examine whether the kinship and non-kinship relationship with re-entry rates was confounded by demographic, economic, and placement factors for children in the state of Illinois. The study found that kinship foster care has a lower re-entry rate than non-kinship when placement is reunification and guardianship. However, when matched samples are applied, this effect size is diminished to statistical insignificance suggesting this finding is influenced by confounding factors. The survival analysis also reduced the effect size, but significant difference remained for the kinship effect (alpha=.001), suggesting that stability in
kinship homes may have impact on re-entry. The risks for re-entry when adjusted for IV-E status were nearly identical for kin and non-kin placement, reinforcing that releasing children to impoverished home is risk factor for re-entry. The study suggests that demographic and social conditions for children in kin-homes may be different from those in non-kin homes. This confirms the likely presence of selection bias for studies that measure kinship effect. While kinship may play an important role in supporting the reunification process—particularly by providing greater placement stability—the study cautions against overestimating the kinship effect and suggests that these families still require support.

This study used a prospective cohort of 12-13 year olds (n=208) to explore the association between youth characteristics, relationships with foster and biological families, and placement outcomes. Adoption was the most common permanency outcome for the cohort followed by reunification, and subsidized guardianship. Frequency of parental visiting was highly predictive of successful reunification and foster family integration strongly related to adoption. In contrast, being older, male, and African American were predictive of reduced odds of successful reunification, but results were not significant for any of these categories. The small size of the cohort presents challenges for generalizability, however the study results suggest that maintaining family contact during the reunification process may contribute to higher success for reunification.

This study examined longitudinal administrative data to follow children for a minimum of 24 months (n=632) to look at characteristics of children in foster care. For non-modifiable child-level characteristics, only age at first placement was significantly associated with re-entry with highest rates of re-entry among pre-school age and among those 12-15. Among older children, those with history of at least one physical abuse report were at higher risk for re-entry and children whose parents had higher levels of risk factors noted prior to entry had higher rates of re-entry. For modifiable characteristics children with kinship placement had significantly lower re-entry rates and children from families receiving in-home child welfare services during and after foster care were considerably less likely to re-enter care. Children experiencing stays in care between 7 and 18 months had higher rates of re-entry than those with shorter or longer stays in care. The study’s findings reflect prior studies connecting positive outcomes to kinship care and suggests a need to consider child and family risks and provide additional services during and after care to support successful reunification.

This study conducted case file reviews to follow a cohort of neglected children (n=138) in the United Kingdom for five years. The researchers identified the placement status into three categories: stably at home (n=40), stably away from home (n=36), and unstable (n=35). The study found that children in the unstable group were the oldest and for each additional year of child-age, odds of being in an unstable placement increased by 1.47. The unstable placement group had also experienced the most instances of severe neglect and emotional abuse, and had the highest number of neglect experiences. Organizational factors for unstable placement included a lack of clear focus on problems, case closures when problems were still evident, or decisions that were not followed through upon. Changed households were a key protective factor. When assessing well-being, children living stably away from home were more likely to have good well-being (58%), while the most likely well-being outcome for unstable households was poor (71%).


This study used an ecological context to explore the relative importance of risk factors for chronic recidivism in child abuse/neglect. Results from this analysis indicated that families at highest risk of recidivism include the following: families in which parents had a history of abuse or neglect as children, maltreatment of children began at an early age, having children with developmental delays, and having multiple victims in the family. Results also indicated that the amount of time to re-referral decreased with increasing number of prior referrals.


This study examined the relationship between reunification and reentry rates for 33 Oklahoma counties in 2002. Findings indicated a relationship between early reunification (before 6 months) and higher re-entry rates. However, this study also found that very early reunification (within 30 days) correlated to reduced re-entry rates. Possible explanations for this finding included agencies using out-of-home placements as emergency respite or that children were inappropriately removed from their home in the first place.


The study included a very small sample (N=16) of foster children who, at reunification with their birth parents, ranged in age from 4-7 years. Findings indicated that income, child age, and type of maltreatment were not linked to risk of re-entry. Parents in substance abuse treatment, lower parenting skill level, inappropriate use of discipline,
and poorer quality of neighborhoods (i.e., homes that were well kept and access to safe place spaces) were all linked to increased risk of re-entry. Child utilization of special educational services and child utilization of individual, family or group therapy was associated with decreased risk of re-entry.

This study looked at a sample of 6,021 children who re-entered foster care within one year of reunification. Findings from this study indicated that infants, African American and Native American children, children who entered care due to neglect, children with shorter lengths of stay, parental substance abuse and families with lower income, and placement with non-kin are at highest risk for re-entry. Findings also indicated that families whose primary language is not English had a reduced risk of re-entry while the presence of siblings in foster care increases risk of re-entry. The findings of increased risk for African Americans and Native Americans hold true even after accounting for potential confounding variables (such as poverty), indicating the effect of race in increased risk of re-entry may suggest racial bias in the child welfare system.

This study followed two cohorts of children (n₁=4466 and n₂=1508) in California who were reunified from foster care within 12 months. Cohort one consisted of children that re-entered care within 12 months and cohort two consisted of children that re-entered care between 12-24 months. Most children were reunified between 5 days and 3 months. This group was also the largest group of children re-entering care within 12 months. Children with shorter reunification time, pre-existing mental health conditions, parent substance abuse, Title IV E eligibility, and African-American race were more likely to re-enter in both cohorts. The study concludes that the federal 12-month frame for follow-up on re-entry provides an incomplete measurement period to look at reunification success.

This study utilized both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to identify re-entry rates and correlates of re-entry for abused and neglected children returned to their families by CPS. Results of this study indicate that 37% of reunified children re-entered the system within 3 years. Correlates of increased risk of re-entry include: abuse type of neglect, CPS history, parental competency, African-American and White children (relative to Latino children), criminal history and substance abuse of parents, and decreased social support of parents. This author suggested that tools to assess risk at time of reunification were inadequate at the time of the study.
This longitudinal study examines the data of 2,616 children first entering care in 1992 and 1993 in Ohio. Findings indicated that older children, African American children, youth with higher numbers of placements, maltreatment type of neglect, placement with non-relatives and shorter lengths of stay in care were all associated with increased risk of re-entry.

This study found that case types were significant in predicting both outcomes of placement stability and re-entry to care. Certain case types were associated with highest risk of re-entry, including: children under one year of age from all race/ethnic groups and children with behavior problems ages 11 and older from all race groups. Other case types that had high re-entry rates were children with emotional difficulties and children ages 11 and older for all race groups.

This study analyzed three sources of state welfare administrative data for a subset of children returning to foster care (n=512) to examine risk and protective factors for re-entry. Children were less likely to re-enter care when they had current neglect assessments, parents had major problems with their parenting skills, parents were motivated to improve parenting, and safety assessment decisions showed that the case was initially safe. Children with longer lengths of stay in foster care were less likely to re-enter length of stay. The results suggest that child welfare workers may be putting effective practices in place when parenting skills are identified as a concern. Parental motivation may also serve as a mediator in this relationship. The conclusions on safety plans suggest that child welfare workers may be able to tailor interventions based on initial risk and safety assessment findings.

The authors used administrative data in California to examine reentry rates within 12 months of reunification (n=8068). The study found the following factors linked to higher reentry rates: younger children (ages under 1 year) and children between the ages of 12 and 14 had the highest reentry rates; Black children were more likely to reenter care compared to White and Other (non-Hispanic) children; children placed in group homes were more likely to re-enter than other placement types; children who had more than one
placement while in foster care re-entered at a higher rate; and short stays in care increased the likelihood of re-entry. Several other factors were found to be associated with lower reentry rates: Hispanic children were less likely to re-enter care compared to White and Other (non-Black) children; and children in relative care were less likely to re-enter than children in non-relative foster care.

Winokur, M., Holtan, A., & Valentine, D. (2009). Kinship care for the safety, permanency, and well-being of children removed from the home for maltreatment. *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*(1). This systematic review of kinship care indicated that the results of multivariate studies generally support the findings that children in kinship care are less likely to re-enter out-of-home care or have a disrupted placement than are children in non-kin foster care.

Wood, J. M. (1997). Risk predictors for re-abuse or re-neglect in a predominantly Hispanic population. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 21*(4), 379-389. This study examined data for 409 substantiated maltreatment cases in El Paso, Texas to determine if indicators of recurrence of maltreatment developed by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) would be predictive with Hispanic communities. The findings indicated that a substantial number of NCCD risk indicators can validly predict re-abuse/re-neglect in predominantly Hispanic populations in the United States.

Wulczyn, F., & Lery, B. (2013). Family Group Decision Making in Allegheny County. Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago. Retrieved October 27, 2015 from [http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Bridgette_Lery/publication/259296229_Family_Group_Decision_Making_in_Alegheny_County_Impact_on_Out-of-Home_Placement/links/00b7d52add04d1e726000000.pdf](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Bridgette_Lery/publication/259296229_Family_Group_Decision_Making_in_Alegheny_County_Impact_on_Out-of-Home_Placement/links/00b7d52add04d1e726000000.pdf) The study identified three FGDM intervention groups: Group 1 (n=2,216) was at risk of a first out of placement (goal was to prevent first placement), Group 2 (n=330) was in out-of-home care (effect examined was placement and permanency), and Group 3 (n=3362) had returned home from care (effect examined was re-entry). The results suggest that achieving an at-scale impact with family group decision-making is difficult. The results indicate limited success with placement and time to permanency, but the increase of placement with kinship and lower re-entry rates suggest that FGDM could be may be a promising practice.

Yampolskaya, S., Armstrong, M. I., & King-Miller, T. (2011). Contextual and individual-level predictors of abused children's reentry into out-of-home care: A multilevel mixture survival analysis. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 35*(9), 670-679. This study was a multi-level longitudinal analysis of admin data based on an exit cohort of children from Florida (n=17,695). Results showed that among demographic characteristics, only age was found to be a predictor for faster re-entry (older children
more likely to re-enter). When examining maltreatment type, only neglect showed a significant association with re-entry into out of home care (children who entered because of neglect were less likely to experience re-entry). Among other factors, level of funding per child was significantly associated with re-entry (more funding led to lower re-entry) and the analysis also found that children and families working through contracted child services were at a higher risk for re-entry to out-of-home care. The research suggests that re-entry may be most effectively addressed by focusing on factors at the organizational level, including contracting practices and funding allocation.
References


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