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FAMILY SOCIAL WORK PRACTICES IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSITIONAL LITHUANIAN SOCIETY

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

During all my studies I was interested in family issues: family as institution responsible for children, parent's obligations toward children, how the help of the social worker is constructed to help the family in need. Therefore, the theme of this study is the peculiarities of social work with family in Lithuanian context.

I became interested in this field at the same time as I decided to study social work. The first faced issues in practice were experienced during volunteering in community center in one of the poorest districts in Kaunas in 1998–1999. The center provided services for children of poor families, but there were no services for the adult family members. In fact, social work and the initiatives of nongovernmental organizations were just at the beginning of development in Lithuania after The Proclamation of Independence in 1991. This was also the period of rapid transformations, creation of social service system for the family, which was challenged by economical crisis. At the same time the perception of family structure was changing, the traditional family model was transforming into modern one. The social transformations in society were met with enthusiasm. Also there was a level of distrust to the appearing changes. Families which were facing consequences of economical crisis were vulnerable and fragile in relation to society, therefore in need for economical and social support. The conditions the families were living in could be recognized as the cause for the family issues. However, the parenting style could not be just linked with living conditions. Some parents despite the poverty managed to take care of their children, and some had no interest to provide care to them.

Answers to these questions were summarized in bachelor thesis for catholic theology degree "Parent's rights and obligations to care and foster their children in documents by Pope John Paul II" (2000). The main insights which were important in further studies were the understanding that parents are obligated to care their child, as the God's gift. The family environment was understood as private sphere and intervention from government or community should be minimal, and only in situations where is such a need.

During my master studies I had practice in different nongovernmental agencies and there I could compare provided services for families in different agencies of Kaunas region, services for the family and the child before and after placement. There was created a network of the agencies implementing child's protection in the local community. Indeed, the lack of cooperation between agencies conditioned controversial interventions with the same family. I realised that social support provided for the family depend on the professional family is working with. Services of the social service system for the family, and especially in the phase of initiations, had features of fragmentation, contradic-

tory intervention and could result the structural violence for the family, which should be supported and helped.

During my master studies at Lapland University as Erasmus student, I discovered perspectives of child protections policy presented by Fox-Harding (1995). The perspectives were constructed according historical development of child protection policy in UK. This helped me to realize how the perspective of the family as unit and understanding of the social help can construct the structure of child protection policy and process of social work help. These attitudes were also important for construction of satisfying result of professional intervention: separation of the family as unit or empowerment of the family. These understandings were developed in master thesis "Child Protection in Kaunas: Theory and Practice". The aim of this study was to investigate dominating model of childcare policy in Kaunas' child protection system. The participants of the study were decision-makers in child protection system: police, agency of protection of children rights, schools social pedagogues and social workers working in nongovernmental organisations. For data collection and analysis I have used 4 models described by Lorraine Fox- Harding (1995) and according her focuses, added 5th model, which existed during Soviet Union. I created case description using real family situation, reflected actual family issues, and structured case description so that every of 5 models would have their echoes. This study showed that there exists variety of perspectives concerning help in child protection, the understanding of helping process varies: from punishment, conditioning for bringing children back to family and helping process. The biggest challenge and danger for families are different and separate action in child protection, then family as unit depends on agency the family enters first. Also, the aim of the agency specifies the intervention process.

The results of the master theses made realise that most of the providers of social services have paternalistic attitudes, where neither parent, nor child have active participating role in helping process. Just for social workers working in NGO was attempting to empower family by providing active role for them. The empowerment of the family is impossible just by providing services for children. In order to achieve the family change, and promote child protection, there must be provided help for the parents.

Several years working as lecturer and supervising student field practice in Social Work department at Vytautas Magnus University I had inspiration to develop ideas further. Listening to the student cases, stories about relationship in agencies, I realized that the situation of NGO's is quite complicated. Cases, which students presented for placements in children day care centers, were quite harsh, as this is the almost only one setting which provides everyday services for the children and their families. Indeed, listening to the same cases, same issues, and sometimes same clients for some years even with changing students, activities seemed static and without strategy for the case work. I wanted to find the answer if it is the process with clients, or is it static, ritual everyday procedure.

The issues which I faced during communication with social work practitioners as educator, supervisor, and researcher, were the difference between official policy papers and reality in social work practice. During several years of supervising bachelor thesis I noticed, that students are researching nonexistent phenomenas in practice. During these observations I realized that the success of helping process depends much on individual social worker and his or her professional abilities, and interpretations.

To consider the development of social work as professional activity, it is important to recognize the context in which inclusive practices are implemented. During all the studies I was trying to find research which would analyse the impact of Soviet Union on implementation social services and especially for family at social risk in contemporary Lithuania. Social work practice with families has certain common basis which is continuation of experience and knowledge implemented in actual context.

Another motive was to research social work practice implementing different research methodology from dominating positivist perspective. Being supervisor of student's final thesis I faced the lack of social research in Lithuania which would be focused on different perspective to solve social issues of vulnerable families in Lithuania. Vulnerable families in society are constructed on wide range of understandings: as victims outliving the transformation processes in society, as those who are unwilling to accept social norms reasoning absence of moral convictions and biological inabilities.

Also social work as an activity is shaped by institutional context. What social workers do – the practices they adopt, the values they act upon, the outcomes they pursue – are very much the result of the gradual accumulation of past practices and understandings within profession which gradually taken on a more or less 'accepted' status. According to my understanding, much of innovative practices and services of social work in Lithuania emerge from non-governmental agencies. Researching social work practices in this setting allows recognising the *habitus* projected from the past *horizon*, but also understanding of the social worker from the present which evolves into the future family social work.

The aim of the study is to reveal how social worker constructs professional work with family in the special organizational setting focusing on social support for the parents.

In order to disclose the structure of constructions in the social work with parents in Lithuanian context, the hermeneutical analysis is implemented. In this research 5 social workers participated.

The main research question is how social workers understand and interpret social work practices with parents? Therefore, the construction of family social work is disclosed by the following *research questions*:

1. How social workers understand fatherhood and motherhood and construct family social work accordingly? How these understandings reflect the construction of social work with family?

2. How family policies of the Soviet Union are transmitted through social work practices with parents?

In the 2 chapter is presented ontology of the, there main concepts discussed are diffusions of understandings in social work practice place a researcher into the role of an interpreter. 3 chapter reveals the process of this study. 4 chapter presents and discloses the aim, object and questions for the research. 5 chapter discloses the contextual background for development of professional social work and children day care centres as setting providing services for family as unit, 6 chapter and 7 chapter presents results of research. At first there is disclosed social workers reflection on supporting and helping fathers, in the next chapter mother. 8 chapter presents reflection and conclusions.

2. PRESENTATION OF ONTOLOGICAL COMMITMENTS OF RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Social work in Lithuania has been developing for just 20 years. Social work as profession in appeared in Lithuania in its post-totalitarian society, where social, political, economical transformations created diffusion between so controversially different present and past understanding. The present understanding has created possibilities for social work to originate in Lithuanian society. A number of helping professions appeared in opposition to the infrastructure of social services inherited from the past understanding. The issue which becomes evident in the present understandings for social work practice with families in Lithuania is the puzzled construction of social work process with the family. At first sight, construction of the social work process with families seems to be so diffuse, rough, controversial, conflicting and finally unclear. It was important for me, during the research process, to detect the understandings evolving from the past through the void of social consciousness into present evolved understandings of social work practice. This chapter is important as it discloses the epistemology of research, as these diffusions of understandings in social work practice place a researcher into the role of an interpreter. The main authors, the understandings of whom are discussed in this chapter, are Gadamer (1982), Bourdieu (1990).

2.1. Subjective Constructions and Habitus in Lithuanian Social Work

Family social work is particular for its great complexity as a research subject. Social work with families in the area of child protection involves a professional actor into construction of specific interactions: with the family, network of agencies implementing child protection in the district. At the same time, the same person is involved into construction of own behaviour as a professional social worker. Social worker operates in immediate interaction with families, constructing individual social work process with each of the family. Večkienė, Povilaikaitė (2005) note that social workers even having similar knowledge and skills would apply them differently acting in a typical situation. Bourdieu (1990, 52) has pointed out that the objects of knowledge are constructed rather than passively recorded. Therefore, the social worker is involved into active participation to construct professional helping process with the family.

The concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1990, 54) helps deepen understanding of the historically effected consciousness. The historic nature of understanding was also emphasized by Gadamer (1982). The concept of *habitus,* applied by

Bourdieu, is important in unfolding unconscious constructions in social worker's practice with families. *Habitus* is the product of actual individual and collective practices in action, oriented towards practical functions. The practices develop throughout the history and have continuation in the present. Thus the issue for the social work practice is double subjectivity of addressing and naming the particular family issues in order to provide professional help.

In work with families, a social worker mediates construction of own personal experience and considered societal understandings through own values and perception of occupational culture. There are three elements subjectively constructed in the immediate social work process with families: understandings of some sort of family situations as normal parenting style, the apprehension of which comes with dominant understanding of childhood, and mode of social worker's professional behaviour.

Evaluation of family situations, in particular parent's obtained capacity to guard own children, will be mediated though social worker's own experiences with the family. Much of social worker's family assessment will be based on personal understandings and expectations from the family as a unit, and childhood as a phenomenon. The understanding that society expects the family to be capable of creating environment which is considered as normal situation, will be interpreted by the professional on the basis of his/her own worldview. Therefore, social worker mediates own personal expectations on the normal family situations and societal norms which are commonly accepted.

Another aspect of subjectivity arises from social worker's personal understanding about the expected normal family life as some sort of measure. There is certain understanding about the family life, which is perceived as appropriate for the child's development. In the case of family at social risk, which is considered as social work client, there are features that do not meet the expectation of appropriate parenthood style for the child. Doubts arise about evaluation subjectivity because characteristics of the evaluated family are divergent in terms of need for social assistance. There is also the idea that social worker's intervention into deficient family life would promote changes. Social worker's concern that implemented changes in the family life would help overcome the initial defect, thus avoiding the status of family at social risk and the status of a client of child protection agency. Assessment and intervention into family life implies social worker's professional actions to promote the desirable result. One of the principles of social worker's activities is that any family situation, despite the issues the family is facing, always requires a certain level of uncertainty. Social worker interacting with family experiences uncertainty in relation to performance of his/her own professional role because of unexpected and original sequence of actions or decisions by the professional. The specifics of the situation reveals social worker's attempt to balance between internalized *habitus* which dictates professional behaviour and constructed innovative practice of helping profession when social worker attempts to construct new quality of service for family.

The third aspect of constructed subjectivity is performance of social worker's professional identity. Social worker combines constructed interactions through professional behaviour as a tool implementing knowledge and resources in order to provide help and promote change in the family. According to Miehls, Moffatt (2000, 339), professional social worker's role is to enhance practical model for macro social relations and micro personal interactions of a particular family. Again, a social worker is the mediator between the family and wider social surrounding, and mediation practices are constructed by the social worker.

Challenge for a Lithuanian social worker in transformation society is lack of professional stance on professional help and lack of professional *habitus*. Such lack of example leads the social worker to searching for and constructing the probable model of professional behaviour based on own understanding. Therefore, social worker's choice becomes personal and unclear. Social worker as a professional can be unrecognised or even unacceptable for the community where the person acts. Social worker intervenes into family life as a representative of the state/municipality/community. For that reason, such professional delegation must be recognised and accepted by the community. In case a child protection social worker is recognised and accepted as professional, he is able to represent the child's interests. Recognition of professional role provides possibility for exhibition of authority and power, which is necessary in the child protection field.

During the Soviet period, parents and children were encouraged to follow the governmental directions and expectations, thus focusing on the interest of the Sate, without reflecting on the impact and consequence of the implemented social policy. The changes that a social worker attempts to promote require reflection and understanding of the client families. Individuality and autonomy are also important values for professional role of social work, and such attributes are new for Lithuanian society. Individualisation of a person's understanding has no 'anticipations of the *habitus*, practical hypotheses based on past experience, give disproportionate weight to early experiences' (Bourdieu 1990, 54). The lack of *habitus* for social work as a profession challenges the understanding of the present.

As a result, it can be assumed that social work practice requires efforts to construct new type of professional behaviour and identity. However, the structures that support the *habitus* that is active in presence undermine social worker's as a professional helper's certainty and his/her confidence in made decisions in particular family situations. The confrontation with the old *habitus* also creates doubts in terms of acceptance of a social worker as a professional actor of the family life. Consequently, conscious acknowledgement of the historic nature of *habitus* establishes options for accommodation with perceptions and evolving practices according to newly emerging professional values. In the process of reflection of the social worker's practices, complexity of interactions emerges, as well as the *habitus* of these constructed interactions as they are.

2.2. Horizon between the Past and the Present – Search for Reproduced Professional Relations in Family Social Work

20 years of development of social work in Lithuania have already allowed accumulating experience based on local understanding of the issues. This experience has led to emergence of common sense between professional participants in child protection area. For the common sense between participants of the interaction in the area of child protection to emerge, a certain period of time is recovered in order to uncover common understanding. Gadamer argues that understanding is essentially a historically effected event.

According to Bourdieu (1990, 54), *habitus* is the product of history, producing individual and collective practices in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures active presence of past experiences, which settles in each living creature in the form of schemes of perception. Through action, *habitus* tends to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their continuity over time, more reliability than all formal rules and explicit norms. This is the system of dispositions – a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similarly structured practices, an internal law through which the law of external necessities, irreducible to immediate constraints, is constantly exerted, as well as regulated transformations that cannot be explained either by extrinsic or by instantaneous determination of spontaneous subjectivism.

One of Layder's (1993, 89) main concerns in the research in the field work is interplay between situated activity and its setting. The setting includes not only social organizations and specific social work agency, but also macro level, which includes values, traditions, forms of social and economic organisation. The researcher has noticed that research of situated activities settings are treated in residual way as fairly unimportant adjuncts. Another way to research settings is to take them as particular patterns of activity, as features of social life. Layder (1993, 89) emphasizes complementary aspect of social life, which should be taken into account in any field research.

Layder (1998, 91) has presented the idea that settings are largely made of *reproduced* social relations. It means that people generally replicate the habits, traditions and rules that sustain their social forms. In order to identify unwritten rules, which sustains the existing social forms, Zdravomyslova, Voronkov (2002, 61) suggest analyzing them through the tacit practical knowledge, which is not articulated if the experience of living does not make it problematic. Individuals follow daily routine, as if automatically, without paying attention to what they actually do or how they do it and why. Everyday life implies routine social practices that differ along social networks or social milieu. According to the researchers, the issue for social science is that the empirical evidence of late Soviet everyday life has not yet been collected and lacks conceptualization. Conceptualization of everyday morality as a form of implicit knowledge as well as of the concrete social practices of everyday coping is still insufficient.

Howe (2002, 81) has pointed out that social workers in their day-to-day practice face a busy and complex person's world in certain social context. Thus, social workers try to understand and make sense of people and the situations in which they try to act professionally. If a social worker tries to cope with and be competent in social situations, he/she develops more deliberate, systematic and formalized situation.

It is important to note that in the Soviet Union abiding to numerous rules and traditions was based on the morality. Attribution of moral aspect to social issues provides possibility to avoid questioning and reflection on the formed and transmitted rules. The issue of social workers, previously mentioned by the researchers as an issue of social sciences, is subjection of the basis of daily actions not only on personal but also on professional level. Lack of reflected local knowledge, which would explain social situations, appears in a person's life and creates social issues and results in subjectively constructed professional practice of a social worker. Diffusion faced by the social worker face in his/her day-to-day activities can create guilt, ignorance or lack of understanding. One of the ways for social workers to control the daily professional activities is to share common language with other professionals. Common grounds between professionals is achieved through social work education and collaborative work process with other professionals. It can be assumed that a social worker gains confidence in the performed social work process with families, if he/she is not the only operating professional. In the attempt to avoid revealing those experiences, social workers can share only the experiences where social worker has been able to have control over professional activities. Also, this creates possibility that told stories can be too general or too abstract. Thus, one of the possible ways to have control over performance of the daily professional activities is shared common professional language.

Therefore, identification of the sources that correctly label the professional practice and recognition of their consistency are eventually important for development of social work profession. The *habitus* ensures active presence of past experiences, where each person makes imput according to perceptions, thoughts and action, and, consequently, guarantees 'correctness' of practices and their continuity in a more reliable way than formal rules and explicit norms. One of the triggers for conducting research of social work practice in Lithuania is that social work has been established as profession in opposition to the totalitarian rules of the system that had existed during the Soviet period. This allows claiming that *habitus* are inevitably products of specific historical and social context.

Crotty (1998, 100) has referred to Gadamer's hermeneutical understanding as historical understanding. Historical hermeneutics mediates the past and the present. It brings together the horizon of the past and the horizon of the present. Gadamer describes this process as the *fusion of horizons*. In this *fusion of horizons*, the first pole is the past. The challenge for social work of the past

and the present horizons is different perceptions of the role of the State and parents in development of future generations. In the Soviet Union and Soviet Republic of Lithuanian Republic there is the understanding that development of a child determines the child's adulthood. However, in the Soviet Union it was important for adults to prepare the child to live according the rules of *kollectiv*. Today what matters is the adult's individuality. Nevertheless, the adult must have the ability to adjust own needs to the needs of community. Diffusion between the past and the present is recognized consciously and indistinctly, thus it is important to consider that, despite the efforts to deny the significance of past experience, the past has continuation in daily practices of the social work professionals.

Hermeneutical experience is concerned with the tradition. The highest type of hermeneutical experience is openness to tradition characteristic of historically effected consciousness. In order to recognise the impact of the past tradition on the horizon of the present, hermeneutical analysis is needed. The pole of the past allows recognising the difference in present achievement. Recognition of past experiences allows social worker to develop innovative practice. Past experiences and understandings will have attributes of completeness, no matter that this experience features fragmented wholeness. Present experiences and understandings would have elements of puzzled wholeness, experienced through roughness and disintegration. Therefore, wholeness of the past is recognisable from the pole of the present horizon.

According to Gadamer, the second pole in the *fusion of horizons* is the present, the horizon of the interpreter. These two poles are together. The horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past. There is no more isolated horizon of the present in itself than there is a historical horizon which is needed to acquire (Crotty 1998, 101). Notably, social work practice is studied and interpreted from today's perspective. However, in order to understand social worker's professional behaviour at present and the reasoning of decisions made for intervention in the family social work, there is need to unfold horizon of the past. Experience of the past is not the value itself, unfolded past rather helps to develop understanding of the present and achieve essential changes in the future. The present evolves into the future, and the past has already evolved into present.

The notion of historically effected consciousness enables Gadamer to interpret temporal distances of productive understanding. Historically effected consciousness is hermeneutical situation, where a person find oneself. Gadamer compares the outer limit of the situation to a horizon. The boundaries marked by one's horizon are not fixed, but rather move with historical movement of life. It is mutual immersion in history that unites the horizons of the past with the horizons of the present. There are no isolated horizons of the past and the present (Teevan 2000, 63).

Gadamer (2004, 305) has emphasized the role of tradition, with continuous process of fusion. He specifies the old and the new that are always combined

into something of living value, without one being explicitly foregrounded from the other. The living value creates significance of those separated horizons of the past and the present to the researcher, as modes of living can change, but the living value remains foregrounded from the past to the present. Social work as profession has appeared in Lithuanian society as a consequence of societal transformations. In totalitarian state, there were no social issues as Communist Party was considered to have managed to construct balanced society. However, there were manifestations of social support and help which echoed in the understanding of social work as helping profession.

Projecting historical horizon is only one phase of the process of understanding, which does not become solidified into the self-alienation of past consciousness, but is overtaken by our own present horizon of understanding. Real fusion of horizons occurs – the historical horizon is projected and superseded simultaneously. To bring about this fusion in a regulated way is the central problem in applications, which is to be found in all understanding (Gadamer 2004, 305). As already mentioned, development of Lithuanian social work presents opposition between the past and the present horizons. The past experience is not only suppressed, but also denied in order to establish new quality and tradition of practice, which would evolve into the future. It is noteworthy that the Soviet government came to Lithuania in 1939 applying the same strategy to the local evolving tradition. This lack of local knowledge and gaps in fragmented present is constructed and interpreted subjectively, by applying past superseded experience. Gadamer (1989, 397) has emphasized that the fusion of horizons is required because historical life of tradition depends on being constantly assimilated and interpreted. Every hermeneutic interpretation needs to adapt to situation to which it belongs. Question for a researcher is which part is applied from the past to the controversially different present in the social work practice with the families?

Gadamer (1982, 357) has noted that understanding has fundamental connection to language. The understanding is already interpretation, because it creates hermeneutical horizon, within which the meaning of the text is realised. In order to be able to express the meaning of the text in objective construct, a person must translate it into own language. This involves relating the reality to the entire complex of possible meanings.

One of the main concerns in hermeneutical tradition is focus on language as representation and articulation concepts of reality, which in turn reproduce and reflect reality. It is the language, the way it is spoken that is considered to shape the things a person sees and how he/she sees them and it is considered that the language shapes constitution of reality (Crotty 1998, 87). This is the task of language to share experience and create common understanding between professionals.

Palmer (1969, 206) has noted that the world is not impersonal, not a circle of isolated individuals. World is more aptly seen as between the persons. It is

the shared understanding between people and the medium of understandings made possible by the virtue of language. Language as a realm of interaction is not really a constructed 'tool' for understanding. The open space in which a man exists in the realm of shared understanding created by language as world. Language and world transcend all possibility of being full mode into an object. Crotty (1998, 100) has noted that person is historically affected consciousness. Because of this historic nature we are able to link with the tradition of the past and interpret what has been handed on. The author has also noted that there are two key aspects in historically affected consciousness: tradition and tradition wedded to language. Language is at the core of understanding, for the essence of tradition existing in the medium of language, and the fusion of horizons which takes place in understanding is actually the achievement of language.

Thus, investigating the language of the social worker allows a researcher to explore the understanding of reality of a professional. Developing social work profession creates fragmented reality represented by language. Howkins, Fook, Ryan (2001, 2) have emphasized the importance of language in social work practice. Language is part of social work practice, since it is the means for interpersonal and social communication about professional actions and created meanings.

Bourdieu (1990, 23) has identified a 'lived' experience of social world, i.e. apprehension of the world as self-evident, and the experience taken for granted. This latter has been identified as excluding the question of the conditions of possibility of this experience, namely coincidence of objective structures and internalised structures which provide illusion of immediate understanding, characteristic of practical experience of the familiar universe, and which at the same time excludes from that experience any inquiry as its own conditions of possibility.

One of the main concerns in hermeneutics is the issue of prejudgement, i.e. false true understanding. Palmer (1969, 181) has noted that there is quite common idea to separate understanding and interpretations from prejudices. The objective of historical knowledge can only be fulfilled through freedom from personal ideas and values on a subject and perfectly 'open mind' towards the world of ideas and values of the past age.

The reach of open-mindedness towards present events is not easy to achieve. Palmer (1969, 181) supposes that in most understandings, the present is perceived as correct without any need to test it. Hence, the present is to be suspended because the past cannot complete with it. Behind this suspension of prejudice is the unwillingness to take risk of prejudgements. The past stands to the present as something almost irrelevant. However, Palmer has also noted that the present cannot be left in order to go into the past. 'Meanings' of the past work are defined in terms of questions put to it from the present. Author indicates that the structure of understanding should be considered carefully, as the asked questions are ordered by the way the person projects himself/herself in understanding in the future.

Gadamer has pointed out that even self-interpretation of an individual is only a flicker in the closed stream of historical life. Therefore, an individual's prejudgements are more than just his/her own judgements, they are the historical reality of being. The reason to research potential meanings and understandings which have continuation in the present is important in order to gain true understanding which would allow developing social work in future. The risk to follow unrecognised prejudices is quite high, as transformation of societal processes evolve from the bad past to better future, and mediated by difficult and unclear present situations of family social work.

3. PLAN AND PROCESS OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

This chapter describes the empirical data and the method of this study. I accomplished the process of data collection, transcription, which can be included into the process of data interpretation, required fairly extensive time. It started at the end of 2006 and was finalized at the end of the year 2010.

This chapter focuses on description and presentation of two processes: data collection and interpretation of the empirical data. The process of data collection consists of preparation for entering into the field, interviewing, and preparation of transcripts. The process of data analysis consists of transcription, coding and data interpretation.

In the course of doing the research, I decided to focus more on constant questioning myself about how to harmonize the choice of methods in each step of the research with the dialectical hermeneutics methodology, and how to keep the research focused on inclusive practices of social work with families. Permanent process of uncertainty was interrelated with changing understanding of the phenomena and efforts to find the focus of the research out of wide selection of options after data decoding in order to find the essence of phenomena, concealed by ideology and false consciousness, which appear chaotic, incomplete, contradictory and distorted, and in need to be systematically interpreted to unveil their underlying coherence or sense (Demeterio 2001).

3.1. Data Collection

Preparation for entering into the field. The first version of the research aim was to reveal social workers' interpretation on construction of inclusive or preventive social work with family. Thus, it was attempted to focus entry into the research field on the idea that my study was centred on the family inclusive practices of social work. I decided to invite social workers to participate in the research, asking them to present their construction of client's social exclusion and social work helping process. Multiple children day care centres are field placements for social work students in Vytautas Magnus University. So, initial contacts were already established and I already had certain level of involvement as a practice placement supervisor.

I decided to construct the instrument for data collection by semi-structured or focused interview inviting research participants to share their experiences, observations and understandings. Mason (2002, 65) suggests implementing semi-structural interview when there is concern about the ways in which social explanations and arguments can be constructed lays on depth, nuance, complex-

ity and roundedness in data. This method for conducting data semi-structural interview is also good, because it helps explain social processes, social change, social organization, social meaning that require deep understanding and complexity in people's accounts and experiences. I realised that hermeneutic methodology required interpretive methods, which could create vast possibilities for text interpretation.

Rubin, Rubin (2005, 27) specify interpretative constructionist perspective, which is interested in how people view an object event and the meaning that they attribute to it. This perspective expects people to see somewhat different things, examine them through distinct lenses, and come to different conclusions. In this sense, multiple or even conflicting versions of the same event or object can be true at same time. Constructionist researchers try to elicit interviewees' views of their worlds, works, and the event that they have experienced or observed. The researchers look for specifics and details and try to build an understanding of these specifics rather than looking for an average.

I had several ideas on data collection. One of the dilemmas was finding the most appropriate way that allowed accruing comprehensive data, showing complexity of reality. One of the alternatives was to ask social workers for their distinctive cases:

- Most successful case;
- Unsuccessful case;
- Most usual case.

When inviting social workers I had expectations that they would have certain relation and experience with inclusive social work practices for the whole family. The first alternative which had to guide me through the interview seemed to be too abstract. I anticipated that social workers would present particular events from situations of the families, in which the use of service led to their status of client of children day care centre, and would introduce their professional action which helped the families to overcome social exclusion. I intended to ask research participants about how exactly they dealt with families, how they provided help. I wanted to avoid declarative affirmations or attempts to please my interests during the interview. Thus, I decided to utilize the interview guide, derived from scientific literature. I also had expectation that good guide of the interview would encourage revealing interview situations for discussions.

One of the important aspects for the process of interview in constructionist perspective according to Rubin, Rubin (2005, 28) would be understanding of the shared meaning held by those in cultural arena – a setting that people share in common matters. By living and working together or even routinely interacting in professional domain, people come to share same meanings, same ways of judging things. Thus, semi-structured interview method allows not only

to uncover specific understanding, but also to reveal common meanings and shared understanding between research participants, thus creating possibilities for collation, important for hermeneutical methodology.

Research participants were asked what client situations they faced, what kind of difficulties they managed, and what possibilities for change occurred. The idea for semi-structured interview was based on one of Room's (1999, 167) principles on social exclusion, where he has noted that it is not enough to count numbers and describe characteristics of the disadvantaged – there is need to identify factors that can trigger entry and exit from this situation and to understand how the duration of disadvantage shapes the experience and consequences of it.

Understanding that social exclusion is a socially constructed phenomenon, where situation influenced by society, can be changed, if construction of it was consciously. There is also continuing discussion whether a person is capable triggering social exclusion independently or not, whose matter finding and entering into social exclusion or escaping it is – individual's or society's?

I also tried to construct data collection process according to social exclusion dimensions defined by Shinman (2003), where she defines certain core elements of social exclusion in families with young children that can also be viewed as indicators and/or measures of social exclusion, for example low participation in society, inadequate financial resources, feelings of isolation and powerlessness and deficient social networks. In her study she distinguishes the following elements of this process that identifies social exclusion as a *state*:

1. Multi-dimensionality (personal, psychological, social, legal, physical, ecological, cultural, political etc.).
2. Accumulation of disadvantage (material and non-material).
3. Obstruction imposed on access to goods, services, opportunities or rights that are recognized by society as necessary.
4. Lack of financial resources (an important but not indispensable condition).
5. Denial of political and social rights that democratic societies accord to all citizens.
6. Stigmatization, reinforced by labelling and stereotyping.
7. Powerlessness, hopelessness and loss of dignity on the part of those experiencing social exclusion.

So, according to the presented structure for investigation of social exclusion, I tried to give structure to data collection process under the interview guide, and I went into the field bearing in mind the following structure for semi-structured interview:

1. *The issues faced by clients of nongovernmental child day care centre (factors of social exclusion and for becoming a client)*
   Describing cases where the main problems are:
   a. unemployment
   b. health problems
   c. crime
   d. exclusion from school
Cases that would reveal new client groups in the future

2. *The factors that become sources or difficulties for a client and a social worker*
   What creates burdens for families:
   a. finding a job
   b. using social services
   c. becoming independent
   What resources social worker has to create and how he has to implement helping process
   • resources within community
   • cooperating agencies

3. *Possibilities for change*
   Laws implemented by social worker in helping process
   Laws which should be changed
   Where social policy should be emphasized
   Future clients of day care centre
Future agency of day care centre

Interviewing. The primary idea was to construct research design so that it would allow revealing the cause of social exclusion faced by clients of children day care centre, and the main reason was to clarify the features that had led them to the status of client in the research participants' view, thus revealing the consequence of intervention of social workers. Such implementation of more deductive strategy seemed reasonable and favourable way to accomplish study for me. The phenomena seemed obscure, uncertain from the very beginning, and I realised that the deductive strategy was not the most appropriate approach for this research.

Mason (2002, 62) has suggested that research of high quality operates from the perspective that knowledge is situated and contextual, and therefore the task of the interview is to ensure that relevant concepts are brought into focus so that situated knowledge could be produced. Knowledge is at very least reconstructed instead of simply reporting the facts. The semi-structured interview that I tried to implement for data gathering process is a thematic, topic centred approach, where a researcher has numerous topics or issues he/she wishes to cover or specific stories that he/she wants to hear from an interviewee. It is

not likely for a researcher to have a complete and sequenced script of questions, and high quality interviews are designed to have fluid and flexible structure and to allow the researcher and interviewee develop unexpected themes. As mentioned by the author, I had a sketch of interview themes that I tried to implement and find the best interview structure by giving the interviewee to guide the interview as much as I could at the moment of interview.

Merton, Fishe, Kendal (1990, 3) points that interview involves to participate those persons who are known to be involved in particular situation, also are able to provide hypothetically significant elements, patterns, which have been provisionally discussed by the social scientist. That was the way to relate the content of the study with the research participants, which I would invite into the process of data collection.

My first action was to get contact with municipality's worker of child protection agency, which is responsible for supporting NGO network providing services for family and children. I asked her for the list and contacts existing children day care centres, which she send me later. After I prepared official requests for the leaders of day care centres, signed by director of School of Social Work, Vytautas Magnus University. I called to the leaders of day care centres, presenting myself as assistant in School of Social Work, Vytautas Magnus University, and student of Lapland University, asking permission to talk with social worker working in the agency about their work in agency. I tried to reach seven day care centres, all leaders gave permission to talk to social workers if they agree themselves. Two of the leaders were working as social workers.

After I got agreement from the leaders, I called social workers to get agreement for participation in the research and to make appointment. One social worker refused to participate in research, without attempt meeting me and talk about the research. Three social workers begin interview at the first meeting, without preliminary meeting and presentation, one after preliminary meeting refused to participate in the research, two social workers made appointments for the next meeting.

During first meetings I tried to present my aims of the research and expectation from each of three days. My first aim was introduce structure of the data collection so that there would not create notion of "correct" answers. I introduce aim as my interest to research their work, how they try to provide help for clients, and how legislation is helping or limiting activities of social workers. I told to social workers, that I will meet them three times, around for 1 hour to 1,5 but not longer, first day will be dedicated to the client situations, second day for resources of client for changing situation and social worker to provide support, and third day is about legislation. I ask permission from social worker to record in order that stories which he or she will tell wouldn't be interpreted beforehand. Also we agree about confidentiality which means not only safeguarding the anonymity of social worker but also of clients which stories social worker will tell during the interview.

A modified version of semi-structured interview was used to reveal essential topics of the person's experience. The semi-structured interview allowed me to take a more active, conversational role during the interview, and as Robertson-Malt (1999, 294) recommends, to continue eliciting responses from personal experience of a research participant. Although the research and the questions asked during the conversation with the research participant were aimed at exploring comprehensively the subjective experience of the phenomenon. Specific type of questions was used in order to open the interview and support the person with an in-depth reflection. Questions had no specific order and were principally directed by the participant's response to the previous question. Sometimes the style of questioning helped refocus or redirect the interview when it appeared to have no reference to the social worker's practice, thus it was removed from the research questions at hand. That required my flexibility and adjustment.

Rubin, Rubin (2005, 33) have specified central aspect to the responsive interviewing that interviewer and interviewee are in relationship in which there is mutual influence and in which individuality needs are recognized. Initial questions were rather generalized in order to provide the research participants the opportunity to answer from their experience. The authors emphasize that the way the interviewees answer allow the researcher to perceive suggestions which topics to pursue and which to ignore. Thus, the low-key and open-ended way to interviewing encourages conversation partners to suggest topics, concerns and meanings that are important to them.

During the extended conversations, the researcher and research participant develop common understanding that can differ from person to person. Responsive interviews recognize that each conversation partner has a distinct set of experience, and different areas of expertise. Researcher creates new questions for each research participant, because they need to tap distinctive knowledge. In addition, interview questions change as the relationship between the researcher and the research participant evolves (Rubin, Rubin 2005, 34). The flexibility and ability to adjust to each research participant, taking into account the evolving relationship after each meeting, was crucial, and research participants focused and emphasized different individual aspects of their professional experience.

I tried to avoid the role of an assessor, teacher which would know how to create the best situation, and I made attempts to make sure that social worker felt equally sharing ideas and understandings of day-to-day practice and meanings. Silverman (1993, 90) has referred to active construction between interviewer and research participant of some version of the world appropriate to what they take self-evident about the person to whom we are speaking and the context to the question. According to interactionism, research participants are viewed as experiencing subjects who actively construct their social worlds; the primary

issue is to generate data in order to take authentic insight into people experiences, the main ways to achieve this are unstructured, open-ended interviews.

Collection of data began in 21/11/2006, and ended 19/04/2007. 5 social workers were interviewed, with the total of 14.

Mason (2002, 62) has pointed out that a semi-structured interview has own character, and regardless of a fairly large choice of variations in style and traditions, she suggests some core common features, which I could recognise during the research process:

- *Interaction exchange has the form of dialogue*, which is very important in dialectical hermeneutic methodology. Here Kvale (2006, 483) has noted that an interview is defined as a meeting where researcher obtains information for the person, as a meeting with another person to achieve the specific goal. This is conversation, which has the purpose. A dialogue is an endeavour for equality, where partners search for true understanding and knowledge throughout the conversation.

One of the most significant tasks for me as a researcher was to create a dialogue with research participant during the interviews. But at some point of interviewing I realized that there was certain challenge related to difference between scientific literature which I read and which corresponded to my understanding of the phenomena, which I could recognize in practice, and constructions of the research participants, which at some point seemed too inapprehensible. The importance of reflection on own understanding, as well as acceptance and interest to the understanding of the research participant was crucial for quality of the interview process and relation which was established with the research participant. Anderson (2009, 51) has referred to the role of a researcher, which aims to reflect upon his/her own understanding of the topic in light of a set of selected texts produced by others and found in extant literature about the topic, and has prepared a list of preliminary interpretative lenses that express researcher's understanding of the topic as unambiguously as possible. Thus, it was important to study phenomena even before entrance into the field and openness of the researcher to the research participant.

- *A relatively informal style*, with face-to-face interviewing of a conversation or discussion rather that formal question and answer format. However, Kvale (2006, 484) reminds that qualitative research interview entails hierarchical relationship with unequal power distribution between the interviewer and the interviewee. It is one-way dialogue, an instrumental and indirect conversation, where the interviewer upholds a monopoly of interpretation. So, me as researcher and an interviewer have scientific competence and define the interview situation. I tried to avoid this dilemma, as sometimes in certain issues it leads to saying how it should be, or how I perceive the client situation, not really listening to the situation of the social worker, participating in the research. Sometimes there was the desire to protect the client from misunderstanding, especially in those situations where I could feel that research

participants were using power over the mother or father. Indeed, after some attempts to specify situation, I took into account that social worker actually had to act in the complex situation, and for me it was important to listen and to show respect and understanding as a researcher for the professional social worker. After each interview, when the tape-recorder was switched off, we continued discussions with the research participant on the research topic. Respectful and understanding attitude of the researcher was crucial for the openness of the research participants. Not so many studies have been made on social work good practices, and lack of reflections on preferable social work with families creates social workers' uncertainty and vulnerability in sharing the experience with uncertainty for evaluation.

Rapid societal changes after the shift from the Soviet republic to an independent state and appearance of helping professions and overall lack of reflective traditions have led to blanketed and distorted understandings. The mixture of the present horizon, social work and inclusive helping practices with families are novelties, and it is hardly possible to reflect and make separations in the context of past horizon which carries the habitus, tradition and meaning. This invites the researcher to be more inquiring into this tension between the text and present, thus increasing historical consciousness related to the studied phenomena. Koch (1996, 176) has noted that according to Gadamerian perception of understanding, this occurs when we surrender to the movement of question and place in context. Indeed, Josselson (2004, 10) has emphasized the importance of rigorous reflection, which helps a researcher bracket presupposition and biases and become as open to the research participant's description and experiences as possible. Reflection in the research forms a position, where a researcher asking himself/herself and preparing herself for the acceptance of the participant's meanings and understandings. Interpretation of intended meanings of a text is inherently relational activity, encapsulating the desire to understand and the impulse to connect and respond. Tapp (2008, 122) notes the main aspects of Gadamer's philosophy that should be considered in creating the hermeneutical research methodology, which is based on concern to understanding, which is always situated in historical, dialectical and linguistic traditions.

Anderson (2009, 51) has noted the researcher engagement with the selected text on a daily basis in order to keep the topic elevated in awareness and begins to note consistent patterns or clusters of ideas in her or his understanding of the topic. During the research I built certain understanding of inclusive practice, which aimed at distinguishing exclusion outlived by client families of children day care centre. For most families, facilities of children day care centres are one of the services which would provide helping social work, with no legal right for control and sanctions to the quality of parenting. As a result, I realized that I made list of topics for data collection.

Kvale (2009, 40) has emphasized that familiarity with the context of an investigation is obtained not only through literature and theoretical studies.

Familiarity with local situation may also be sensitive to local ethno-political issues of the community, which need to be taken into account. Thus, previous entrance into the field when I tried to volunteer in one of the children day care centres and observe their daily activities, as well as experience from supervised students' research projects, made me realize that structure of topics can create certain silence or just talks of merely declarative character. An average social worker deals with 25 children on a daily basis. There are a lot of activities for social workers in children day care centres that are clear and reasonable for research participant, while there also can be a lot of actions based on intuition, which allows social workers to act in rapidly changing situations.

Budėjienė (2009, 119) has pointed out that social work has a lot of methods adapted from other contexts in specific settings, which creates unconscious agreements between the agency workers, promoting certain procedures which cannot be verbalized. McGuinn (2001, 2) has differentiated the knowledge operated in the agency into explicit and implicit. According to the researcher, explicit knowledge is tangible and observable, it can be represented in symbols as words, numbers, codes, and can be possessed and transferred to others in the process through communication. Explicit knowledge can be measured by asking persons to give answers. It is declarative; it makes statements about things. Tacit knowledge is intangible and implicit or unobservable. It cannot be represented in symbols and therefore is difficult to transfer to others. The possession of tacit knowledge generally is recognized in performance rather than in communication, and is therefore called procedural. Tacit knowledge can be measured by observing how people do things.

My as a researcher's aim in this study was to get data of the explicit knowledge, with attempts to reflect on tacit knowledge as much as research participants are able to verbalize their experience. Mason (2002, 64) has suggested taking some self–criticism in judging how well interviews can provide people's accounts, articulations, their discourses. If a researcher is interested in people's experiences or understandings of their daily lives, which can only be constructed and reconstructed in interviews, this heavily depends on people's capacities to verbalise, interact, conceptualise and remember. It is important for a researcher not to treat understandings generated in an interview as though they are direct reflections of understandings 'already existing' outside the interview interaction, as though you were simply excavating the facts.

Mason (2002, 64) has also referred to an interview as a social situation, where created knowledge is situated and contextual. This means that a researcher tries to ensure that the interview itself is as contextual as possible in the sense that it draws upon as fully as possible, exploring social experiences or processes. So, during interview, one of my aims was to get the most opportunity for contextual knowledge possessed by research participants. I tried to ask social workers to talk about their experience in their work, but sometimes they would go to general field and spoke about general situation in the field, sharing their opin-

ion and attitudes. The researcher tries to ascertain research participant's reasoning or judgement in certain areas by focusing on events or judgements in certain areas and on events or situations which have taken place in their life.

Topics for the research guide were based on international literature rather than local experience based on research. Surveys of social policy research were also related to international experience, and published books were discussed from the perspective of behaviourism which was a quite relevant theoretical perspective explaining social deviation in the Soviet Union. I had expectation that praxis of social work would be developing in collision between the past and present horizons. Thus, the choice of a more focused interview was the decision in search for the means to find this collision. Also that challenged me not to focus on verification of the hypothesis made during the theoretical exploration of the phenomenon of social exclusion, but remain open for meanings provided by the research participant.

Sample. Ritchie, Lewis (2005, 78) have noted that qualitative research uses non-probability samples for selecting population for the study. In a non-probability sample, units are deliberately selected to reflect particular features of groups within the sampled population. I decided to select a homogeneous sample, thus creating the possibility for comparison and commonality between research participants.

There was the idea to invite social workers from governmental agencies working with families at social risk or professionals from different settings. Experiences of a researcher and a university teacher and their understanding can differ depending on the setting and facility of social services in which they are occupied. Another option was to involve into research social workers in children day care centres established in other municipalities in order to compare and investigate how construction of social work helping process differs with reference to local specificities and municipal policy.

Based on Ritchie, Lewis (2005, 78), homogenous samples have been chosen to provide a detailed picture of particular phenomenon – individuals belonging to the same group or sharing similar characteristics. This allows performing detailed investigation of social processes in a specific context. Consequently, I decided to restrict my research to 5 participants in order to homogeneous sample. This decision was obvious during interview with the last participant. I realised that data which I collected was rich in topic, complex and controversial. Issues that I concentrated on required an appropriate way of transcription and coding the data relevant for hermeneutical data analysis.

Research sample:

Number of research participant	Name	Gender	Working experience in the area	Time of interview
1.	Joana	Female	Approx. 5 years	21/11/2006 27/11/2006 01/12/2006
2.	Justina	Female	Approx. 3 years	29/11/2006 10/01/2007 24/01/2007
3.	Leonas	Male	Approx. 3 years	08/01/2007 22/01/2007 26/01/2007
4.	Indrė	Female	1 year	28/02/2007 01/03/2007 07/03/2007
5.	Kristina	Female	0.5 year	15/03/2007 16/04/2007 19/04/2007

Joana tried to tell the importance of catholic values and values of social work. She was telling about complicated and complex cases and more about client's way of striving for help and inclusion. She had special attitude toward childhood, which should be guided and controlled, where child day care centre was like a bridge between a child with parents.

She has education of primary school teacher, and social work courses.

The day care centre with 1 social worker works with 27 children.

Justina tried to tell about subculture of municipality dormitories, and the lifestyle of inhabitants and their hopeless situation, where they had no choice and way out, her clients suffered from exclusion and stigmatization. Social workers in this kind of situations are supporters, but really have no power to change. A lot was told about lack of communication between NGOs and governmental agencies, which impact client life.

She has Master's degree in social work.

The day care centre with 3 workers, among whom she is the one with background in social work, deals with about 25 children.

Leonas tried to tell that the agency had no major problem, and there was no social work with families, because there was need for relation. Interview was like examination of a student, where I would check his knowledge about situation around agency. Children come to day care centre only for after-school occupation as parents work long hours or in order to escape violence in the families.

He has college education of social worker and at the moment of the interview was an undergraduate student of social pedagogy at a University.

The day care centre with 3 social workers, all with social work education, works with about 25 children.

Indrė told more about sustaining day care by projects. Children come there because families are big and do not have enough resources to keep children somewhere else. Children coming to the centre have not changed since establishment. Parents do not take active role in the inclusion process because of laziness.

She is a social work student in part-time college studies, former police officer. X number of children, 1 social worker and volunteers.

Kristina tried to tell about social work with clients, which is implemented under certain rules and in collaboration with the psychologist at the centre. Clients become excluded, as they don't have abilities to participate in society equally. She has bachelor's degree in social pedagogy. At the moment of the interview she was a graduate student of social pedagogy.

When I was completing preparation of the process of transcription, I encountered the issue of deciding over the next new steps of the study. How to do transcripts? How I should make coding and then interpretation of the text? I recognized that the hermeneutic process required a lot of creative resorts demanding logical and meaningful decisions. At this point of the research I decided to further implement inductive research strategy.

Inductive analysis means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data. They emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis. The analyst looks for natural variation of the data. Thomas (2003, p.2) in his article has noted that inclusive approach is a systematic procedure for analysing qualitative data where the analysis is guided by specific objectives. The primary purpose of the inductive approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies.

Braun and Clarke (2006, 81) notes thematic analysis, which reports experiences, meanings and reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings and experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within a society.

During the research process there were two main aspects. One was related to the changing pre-understanding from entry to the research field with the semi-structured interview questions on social exclusion, resources for social work intervention, and later focusing on construction of help to parents considering the gender aspect. I was feeling disorientated by the data gathered at the first interview. I had felt disappointment coming from expectations that if I actually made a good plan of research design, the theories which I read and collected would allow me explain and interpret constructions of research participants' reality, and I should manage quickly through the research process.

Flick (2009, 93) has noted that theories do not represent given facts, but versions or perspectives through which the world is seen. By formulation of

a version and by perspective on the world hidden in it, the perception of the world is determined in a way that provides feedback into social construction of this perspective, and thus the world around us. Thus, theories as versions of the world become preliminary and relative. Further development of the versions leads to increased empirical grounding in the object that is studied. However, the research process does not start as *tabula rasa*. The starting point is rather a pre-understanding of the subject or field under study. Theoretical assumptions become relevant as preliminary versions of the understanding and the perspective on the object being studied, which is reformulated and further elaborated in the course of research process.

Indeed, inability to find shared understanding with the text, encouraged me be open minded and consider the inductive strategy of study conduct. During the process of data collection and interviewing I have noticed that theoretical understanding which I had before the process, the main features of the phenomena did not fit into overall perception. There was the feeling that each interview was like an isolated fragment of the reality.

Preparation of transcripts. In this research I was recording interviews on the tape recorder, which allowed me to concentrate on the topics and dynamics of the interview. Kvale (1996, 160) specifies that during audiotaping the words, their tone, pauses are recorded in permanent form that can be returned and listened for several times. Thus, it was important to record conversation with the research participant, because interviews lasted for hour and longer, and it would have been impossible to remember and then write down. This would have impact on quality not only for interview, but for empirical data for further analysis. The audiotape provides a decontextualized version of the interview.

Kvale (2008, 93) has also noted that to transcribe means to transform the forms of the dialogue between a research participant and researcher. Transcriptions are translations from oral language to written language. An interview is a lived social interaction where the pace of the temporal unfolding, the tone of the voice and bodily expressions are immediately available to the participants of face-to face conversations, but they are not accessible to the out-of-context reader of the transcript.

Tape recording of an interview conversation to a written form involves second abstraction, where the tone of the voice, intonations and breathing are lost. Transcriptions are impoverished decontextualized renderings of interview conversations. Ashmore, MacMillan, Brown (2003, 351) elaborate on the role of the tape for the research process. According to them, tape is required to play the role of the 'found object' which guarantees initiation of analysis and act as ultimate source of 'evidential unity' to which the analyst can always return in the final instance to settle analytical disputes then there is something at stake in the refusal to unpack the status of 'the Tape' itself.

However, Kvale (1996, 46) anticipates certain limitations of concept dialogue in hermeneutic interpretation, as hermeneutics focuses on interpretation of the text, but not much on the interview process. The purpose of hermeneutical interpretation is to obtain a valid and common understanding of the meaning of the text. Research conversations about the human life world with the oral discourse are transformed into texts and only afterwards hermeneutically interpreted by researcher. According Kvale, hermeneutics is double relevant to interview research, first of all by elucidating the dialogue producing the interview texts to be interpreted, and then by classifying the subsequent process of interpreting the produced interview text, which again would be conceived as a dialogue or conversation with the text. Thus, in hermeneutics there is need to distinguish the dialogue between the researcher and research participant and dialogue between the researcher and text. After interviewing is finished, a researcher attempts to create dialogue with text, seeking to achieve shared understanding.

3.2. The Process of Text Interpretation

Transcribing. According to Rapley (2007, 50), the actual process of making detailed transcripts enables a researcher to become more familiar with what is observed. Through the process of repeated listening, researcher begins to notice interesting and often subtle ways people interact in. There are the features of interaction which routinely remain unnoticed, fall out of memory or maybe recorded by missing out details in hand-written notes as it happened. However, Rubin, Rubin (2005, 204) have noted that precision of the transcripts depends on their intended use, the most precise go down on paper exactly what was said, including grammatical errors, digressions, abrupt changes of focus, profanity, exclamations and other indication of mood such as laughter. The authors point out that in most of the projects, there is no need for too precise transcriptions.

Oliver, Serovich, Mason (2005, 1273) have presented transcription processes as two dominant modes: naturalism, in which every utterance is transcribed in as much detail as possible, and denaturalism, in which idiosyncratic elements of speech are removed. Decision to use naturalized transcription process was to capture main structure of transcript and speech, which represents the relations of participants to the phenomenon discussed during interview.

Spoken language is important as a tool revealing interrelation between social worker's implicit and tacit knowledge in practice and presumptions on peculiarities of family social work. Plain written text of transcriptions flattens delicacy of spoken language, attitudes towards discussed phenomena, as well as the aspect of relation between the research participant and the researcher. I have also noticed that during the interviews I noticed that pauses, rises in speech accompanied painful or difficult topics. Social work in Lithuania is a new profession, and there are no professional standards in most of the everyday activities to allow social workers to assess their own practices as appropriate or to

identify violations of professional laws. So, language in this case allows disclosing silent knowledge.

During transcription I decided to take all response tokens from the text. Oliver, Serovich, Mason (2005, p.1284) have suggested three main response tokens. One of the types when Mm hm, or uh huh are used, is to note agreement with the speaker and give them primary role in the conversation. From the first interview I realized the importance of acceptance, agreement and following of the interview. Having given primary role to the interviewee, I had to reflect those response tokens made by me, take them away as not important part of the transcribed data.

Interrelation between tape and transcription. Ashmore, MacMillan, Brown (2003, p.351) refer to attitudes toward practice of typing. The practice of typing for 'realist tape' appears almost as natural object and it is necessary for an analyst to treat material and 'constructivist transcript' as the product of work. The process of analysis consists of creating series of artefacts (transcriptions, articles) that are endowed with 'analytic unity'. Not attending to the process of taping systematically obscures two further features: the relation of the Tape to the Event of which is said to be a record, and the practice of listening to/hearing the tape in the process of transcription.

This work requires a lot of precision and accuracy throughout research process. Odman (2007, 122) notes that made interviews create possibility to study statement word by word, transcribe, and then edit. Exact transcriptions of tape recording are not necessarily true to the spoken language; in fact interviewed people often cannot express themselves clearly. In daily dialogues uncertain words, incomplete sentences are ignored, the work of editing requires to reproduce language in transcripts precisely as it is spoken in order to ensure justice for the interviewed person. Likewise bad formulations should not be excluded as they are important in the context or for interviewed person.

Eventually, I decided to implement precise transcription of the gathered data partially because it was the only empirical data I would analyse in this study. I was interviewing research participants myself; however, during transcription process I asked some help considering confidentiality of research participants and the clients they were talking about. Transcription process was comprised of two stages 1) listening to the tapes or recording and creating plain text; 2) conveying emotions, which appeared in interaction between the social worker and the researcher, and reviewing precision of verbatim text. Certain symbols were used in making transcripts of research interview and employed throughout extracts. The major part of transcription symbols were applied from Silverman (2001, 303), Arminen (2005, 257), Hall et all (2003, 9). The transcription symbols are presented in Appendix A.

Issue of confidentiality in transcripts. There are not so many nongovernmental agencies providing services for families and children in the town. Social workers working in this area know each other and there is possibility to recognize

families and children they are supporting and providing help. In this case, confidentiality was one of the issues in this research. Research participants mentioned names of other people or provided detailed information about their own lives, as well as lives of the others (MacLellan, MacQueen, Neidig 2003, 70). One part of interview with social workers consisted of stories of client lives. My responsibility was to protect the identity of an individual, community, organization or locale, while retaining important information framing context, situation and individual perception of the phenomena.

My as a researcher's role, according to MacLellan, MacQueen, Neidig (2003, 71), was to determine whether provision of such information could result in personal and social harm, compromise identity of the interviewee, or otherwise breach confidentiality. According to the researchers, in some instances a researcher may opt to replace real names of individuals, organizations, or settings with aliases, and may rely on substitution words and phrases that help retain contextual and referential information. Some researchers discuss about sensitiveness of information when interviewee is a member of certain ethnic group. In this research, some participants were social workers – nuns, and this important aspect to consider for the interpretation. However, certain questions arise, such as: how to deal with this kind of information about an interviewee in this research? Understanding contexts of provision of social work provision and infringement of confidentiality of the individual, as well as people whose stories were told confidentiality were quite an issue for me. That was one of the reasons why only English transcripts were included.

Data coding. Gibbs (2007, 38) has noted that coding is a way of indexing and categorizing the text in order to establishing a framework of thematic ideas about it. There were several ideas what to do next with the transcribed text, which seemed huge in amount and confusing in variety and complexity of told reality of research participants. There was idea to implement thematic analysis as inductive strategy for data coding and analysis.

Braun and Clarke (2006, 83) specify that inductive approach of the research if the data have been collected specifically for the research, the themes identified may bear little relation to the specific questions that have been posed to the participants. Inductive analysis is therefore a process of coding data without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame or the researcher's analytic preconceptions. In this sense, this form of thematic analysis is data-driven. But that also means that the researcher is not free of the theoretical and epistemological commitments, and data are not coded in an epistemological vacuum. However, thematic analysis has suggested specific sequence of actions to help to code, analyse and present collected material:

1. condense extensive and varied raw text data into a brief, summary format;

2. establish clear links between research objectives and summary finding derived from raw data and to ensure transparency of the both links (ability to demonstrate them to others) and their defensibility (ability to justify them given the objectives of the research);

3. develop model or theory about the underlying structure of experiences or process which are evident in the text (raw data) (Thomas 2003, 2).

The challenge was related to specific specific research question, at that point of research process still confusing and too broad to focus all research. Lack of specific focus for thematic analysis has not given me defined steps for future analysis. Another issue was that this strategy was overlapping with the hermeneutical text analysis, one of the basic concepts of which was expected to reveal during analysis and interpretation, i.e. historicity of experience, fusion of horizons. The summary format of raw data overlapped with the pre-understanding without any preconceptions creating the dialog with the text.

I tried to apply the inductive approach without specifying any particular strategy of data analysis, which seemed more appropriate for hermeneutical data analysis having certain pre-understanding, but avoiding to examine theories or hypotheses which could give more structure to the process of data coding. However, I tried to apply specific steps adapted from thematic analysis, suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006, 87):

1. *familiarizing yourself with your data* (transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas)

2. *generating initial codes* (coding interesting features of the data in systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code)

3. *searching for themes* (collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant each to potential theme)

4. *reviewing themes* (checking if the themes work in relation to the code extracts and the entire data set, gathering a thematic 'map' of the analysis)

5. *defining and naming themes* (ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme)

6. *producing the report* (the final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis).

These suggested steps were not the exact process that I would follow in the process of data coding and analysis. These steps were rather a direction for further decisions and choices.

The first work that I tried to deal with was to prepare transcribed data for coding, for the coding process to be easy to manage given the amount of the

text. I assigned number for each of part of dialogue with a research participant: numbering my question and research participant's answer as a separate data unit. Each data unit had three numbers, the first number indicated the research participant, the second – number of interviews with research participant, and the third – paragraph number in the interview. For example, 4.2.117 denotes that data unit is a segment from interview with Indrė, second interview, and that it can be found in 117 paragraph of the interview. This division of the text into data units made it possible to take further steps of coding and text analysis.

Having separated data units, I carefully read the text, making notes according the content of the interview, including told topics, ideas, and issues. I tried to make those notes focusing on the surface of the interview. I tried to avoid the attempts referred to by Josselson (2004, 1) in citing of Roceur's ideas. The philosopher has distinguished between two focuses of hermeneutics: hermeneutics of faith which aims to restore meaning of the text and hermeneutics of suspicion which attempts to decode meanings that are distinguished. From the perspective of hermeneutics of faith, the interpretative effort is to examine various messages inherent in an interview text, giving 'voice' in various ways to participants. On the other hand, if the researcher works from the vantage points of hermeneutics of suspicion, he/she problematizes the participants' narrative and strives for explanation beyond the text. Thus, I tried to make notes on messages that the research participants tried to tell me, leaving the efforts to interpret those units for the process of interpretation. My main aim for the coding process was to find common themes between texts representing research participants' realities.

McCormack (2002, 312) has discussed that a lot of researchers who use stories as their data analyse text by breaking it into segments (codes) that can be recombined into themes. Those themes are traced across stories, people and contexts in order to allow larger patterns to emerge. During recombination of codes into themes, the clues to understanding provided by language features in their transcribed context are lost. The same words can have different meanings in different contexts. When we lose what comes before and after words, by putting them into discrete codes, we lose context in which they are spoken, performed and heard. Loss is the interactional context in which words and multiple voices were spoken in the context. Odman (2007, 127) has noted that difficulties in handling the codes, when researcher tries to grasp the meaning of world views, mentalities, ways in which people define their being-in-the-world through interpretations and theories.

After careful reading of each transcript of interview, making notes on the margins of the transcriptions I made content for each interview for the process of coding, looking for common segments to be more simplified, as there were 14 interviews. Reading the transcripts I tried to find the common theme. By identifying the topic already mentioned in previous interviews, I could find the data unit, and I used sticky notes on the margin of the transcript to write down number of the data unit.

To complete the process of data coding, I made the list of codes, marking all data units representing the theme. I tried to find common theme at least among two research participants. The list of the codes is presented in Appendix B.

Interpretation. For quite long time I was confused in the research process and identification of the difference between data analysis and interpretation. The question was what I should do in the research under hermeneutic methodology.

Gibbs (2007, 1) has suggested starting analysis with quantitative data collection, and then proceeding through analytical procedures into a clear, understandable, insightful, trustworthy and even original analysis. There is disagreement between researchers about transformation process which provides collection of data. Some researchers focus on the procedures involved into the analytic process. For example, Ritchie, Lewis (2003, 213) provide analytic hierarchy enabling a researcher to move forward through the process of analysis. As categories are refined, dimensions clarified, and explanations are developed, there is constant need for the researcher to revisit the original synthesized data to search for new clues, check assumptions or identify underlying factors. Gibbs (2007, 2) has specified that when sorting and searching through this data and at the same time creating a consistent and perspective analysis that remains grounded in those data, the data provide good supporting evidence. Data require good organization and approach to structure.

Other researchers emphasise the idea that analysis involves interpretation and retelling, which, according to Gibbs, has imaginative and speculative character. These approaches to qualitative data emphasize the idea that qualitative data is meaningful and need to be interpreted in analysis not for revealing just the range of subject matter people are talking about, but also to recognize and analyse the ways in which they frame and mould their communication.

Flick (2009, 306) has noted that hermeneutic research refrains from using any specific methods for data collection beyond making records for everyday situations. Using research methods consists of applying methods for text interpretation. Alvesson, Skolberg (2009, 100) have emphasized that in hermeneutical analysis, it is the text, but not facts or data, that is interpreted. In the text, social acts are regarded as meaningful symbols. Facts emerge from text via the process of interpretation, and they are the results. Thus, parts of the text are considered as meaningful signs. These specificities are awarded with a deeper, richer meaning in light of overarching pattern of interpretation, which during the hermeneutic process is enriched and modified. The researchers have pointed out that what is regarded as facts or selection of facts is affected by the entire research-sociological situation.

Looking at the list of the coded themes, I tried to consider next step to analyse and interpret, thus to write the research report. At first there were contradictory ideas of how to focus the research, what themes I should include and

which avoid. The research question allowed me to have options, but I needed focus to broaden my understanding.

At first I tried to construct data analysis based on the presumption that family structure can also create the need for social services with the help of social worker. At first glance, it seemed to me that social workers evaluated and described family situation by focusing their constructions on quality of parental care, emphasizing family's capabilities to fulfil children's physical needs. Then social workers concentrated their activities on children's educational achievements and homework without involving parents into this process. And it was only afterwards that research participants were concerned about parent's employment. But research participants did not describe any intervention actions which would change lifestyle or family situation. In most cases this issue was referred to as research participant's resentment against inactivity of the parents. The key mission of social work in children day care centres was considered as afterschool occupation of children on daily basis.

I considered the possibility to relate social work helping process constructions to the structure of the family, also related to certain situations in families. Therefore, I was separating families with 3–8 children, single mother families with 1–3 children, mother with children and changing partner.

Those were my first ideas, but I felt unenthusiastic to implement this structure for text analysis and interpretation. There were several arguments to refuse this alternative. First, this way seemed too focused on the issue and not enabling to disclose of the entire phenomena. Unconsciously, I understood that this way of text analysis would not create possibility to move from part of text to whole understanding of the studied phenomena and implementing hermeneutical text analysis. Another argument was that this way of analysis unpinned certain codes. That was like abyss between the process of text coding and subsequent presentation.

Previously, when reading texts of the interviews, I noticed that research participants had different attitudes towards parent figure during helping process. Research participants not only separated and differentiated services for children and services for parents, but in most cases excluded them from helping process. Reading the interviews for several times, analysing data, looking for common themes, I noticed that the case of single fatherhood was rear, and helping process for them ended up in separation of family as a unit and placement of children into custody. In the interviews, fathers were not active help seekers and they were rarely involved into helping process. Thus, I decided to start analysis with the theme that created fusion of the horizons, inviting a reader and the text to start the dialogue in order to gain shared understanding. Kvale (1996, 55) has noted that dialectics in the study exposes contradictions between the general and the specific, between appearance and the essence of the understanding of the phenomena. Development of contradictions is the driving force for change.

Alvesson, Skolberg (2009, 99) have proposed the choice of pattern for interpretation that would be internally consistent, since logical contradictions are

strong arguments. The patterns should also be externally consistent in the sense that they either agree with other existent patterns of interpretation in the same area or contain reason for disagreeing with them. The pattern of interpretation should make individual details of the text understandable, while growing out of them at the same time. The pattern of interpretation should also include facts from the interpreted material, and above all should not be contradicted by them. The pattern is elaborated in a dialogue with the text, starting from researcher's preconceptions, which transform during the process. The pattern should yield deeper understanding of the text, beyond what is bestowed by reading. Since interpreters critically reflect upon their preconception, its evaluation is elevated above the common sense level.

Curiosity increased when I realized that research participants had different opinions on several topics and they could oppose to each other, but in case of stories of single fathers, the final part was same – child taken to custody and family separated as a unit, because a father was considered as unable to provide children care. This sequence of events was never told when children care was provided by single mother. Enthusiasm arose noticing that in most cases social workers' clients were a single mothers, while fathers were mentioned rarely and described as spongers. Thus, I focused my research on the gender aspect and construction of family in the context of helping process.

My analysis and interpretation of the text started with deepening understanding on helping process of social work with single fathers, imprisoned fathers, then focusing on issues of fathers not earning money for the family, and fathers taking better care of children than mothers. Thus, I disclosed all the themes related to father's role, and skipped the themes where research participants were telling about lifestyle, which would lead to social exclusion. More comprehensive understanding of the father's role modified my understanding of the motherhood phenomenon within social work. In the process of analysis, I found the article by Marcinkevičienė (2008, 55), where she presented the support system for family in need during period of the Soviet Union. She accentuated that the means for support to families had been allowances, and recipients were only mothers, mostly having big families, single mothers who had faced poverty. This discovery made me more curious about expectations towards mothers, construction of support for them, because big families and single mothers are main client groups for children day care centres, and these themes were discussed the most in the interviews.

Interpretation and understanding constitute the process towards new and ideally dependent and widened understanding. In this process, the point of departure is pre-understanding, which can be elaborated based on previous experiences. Because pre-understanding of the studied object is undeveloped, knowledge about the object is insufficient. Thus pre-understanding leads a researcher to developing continuous work though the material to grasp specific part that can help interpret the studied object in relation to the context. The

perspective on the studied object is gradually changed being led by pre-understanding, until the researcher becomes prepared to present understanding in new interpretation (Odman 2007, 118).

According to Kvale (1996, 47), interpretation of meaning is characterized by *hermeneutical circle.* Understanding of the text takes place through the process in which the meaning of separate parts is determined by the global meaning of the text, as anticipated. Closer determination of the meaning of separate parts may eventually change the originally anticipated meaning of the totality, which again influences the meaning of separate parts. Such hermeneutical explication of text is an infinite process, while it ends in practice at the researcher's choice, when the researcher has reached a sensible meaning, a valid unitary meaning, free of inner contradictions.

In relation to text, hermeneutic approach leads to producing questions to the text, and listening to it in a dialogic form. Questions originally emanate from pre-understandings and are further developed and transformed during the process. The autonomy of the subject matter under interpretation must be respected, at the same time has to be open for change. The dialectics between distance and familiarity provides the best attitude (Alvesson, Skolberg 2009, 101).

Binding, Tapp (2008, 123) have specified that, according to Gadamer, the researcher has responsibility to know one's way around, to be immersed in it, make sense of it, and have an understanding of it. Understanding makes text part of the researcher's understanding and becomes self-understanding leaving us being spoken to. This can be explained by the emerging gap of understanding between the text and the researcher, as the researcher has the task to unfold the phenomena. Binding, Tapp (2008, 123) add that tradition is the medium which makes thinking and out of which the conversation brought by one person to the other evolves. Tradition includes cultural, social, and discursive features of everyday worlds. Each listener brings to the conversation prejudice and prejudgements from their own traditions, which is re-formed into new understanding. Whether in verbal dialogue or in dialogue with the written text, this aspect of the listener or interpreter being changed through the genuine conversation is fundamental to Gadamer's (1989) position on how understanding occurs. As the researcher enters into conversation with participants or reads text of interviews, he/she joins in the dialogue with them.

During the research I also noticed that it was important to limit explications from part and whole, otherwise it would become an endless process of interpretation. The Soviet system had particular societal structure and means to maintain order in society, special influenced constructions of understanding of the parenthood and support for family. The studied phenomena and historicity of experience in most cases was unconscious and made interpretation more complex and complicated. Interrelation between presented situations of social workers in children day care centre and context of social work on the whole made certain points of process fragmented and uncertain. There were certain

moments in research process when I realised that the text as such attempts to represent expectations for social work as helping profession, understanding which was in the text segments carried social policy existing in the Soviet Union, and which has no legal base in contemporary social policy. This issue impeded not only search for relevant source for explanation, which would reflect contradiction, but also argumentation.

Knowledge of the context gives strength to interpretations. Reconstructing the context therefore becomes a stage in the efforts to establish probable interpretations. Knowledge of the context in this way increases probability of the increasing validity of our interpretations (Odman 2007, 120).

Validity and reliability. From the very beginning of the research there was a great deal of creativity as I could not find any equivalent study to help me follow particular rules, and had the plan and possibility to predict direction and further decisions in the course the research. At each crossroad, when each research stage ended and there was time before further actions, decision-making took quite a lot of time and obligated to follow each stage precisely, as I tried to make conscious decision on methods corresponding to the research methodology. At each stage I was looking for and deciding on research directions and actions within the process. At the same time, I was trying to involve other persons in the research process as the consultants. Trying to find argumentation, I was asking colleagues and relatives about their experiences of the Soviet Union system. For the feedback on applied methods, there were consultations with supervisors and researchers.

Odman (2007, 121) has noticed that in hermeneutic process, creativity has definite place, thus there is need for certain control which expands the possibility to create meaningful, logical and fruitful interpretations. Researcher suggests certain tools for checking interpretational work:

- Skilful use of texts
- Argumentation
- Source criticism
- Data representations
- Akribi
- Applications of criteria for interpretation.

Skilful use of text. The primary sources available for researchers are texts. Since the focus is on the text, it is important for the text to be reliable, and this means that it should be investigated with certain criticism. Text should be accurately prepared for the analysis. In order to make text understandable, it must be related to context. By creating context for the interpreted text, a researcher construes pre-understanding which makes it possible to interpret the primary text as a part of context of meaning (Odman 2007, 122).

The aim of the research was to find coherent understanding between the segments of the text which reflect certain understanding of the research participant, which can be interpreted for the reader and thus understood. Understanding is gained in certain context, which includes particular meanings. Interpretation of the text aims at creating the understanding achieved by explanations, related to historical experience and culturally derived. Issue for the interpretation process is that contradiction emerging in the text can be explained through context presenting historical evidences. Indeed, during the Soviet period research on issues caused by the Soviet society or Soviet policy were restricted, consequently there is no research to provide mere contextual evidences from that period. Instead, most of the research that I have managed to find provides analysis of the legislation or documents representing the Soviet system, and most of them are presented as reminiscence, as there are no other source. Thus, I attempted to utilize several resources on the same topic observing whether the understandings introduced in the text correspond with the understanding of the text which needs argumentation.

There were several issues where tools presented by Odman were interrelated. One of them was the issue of resources to create argumentation, but that required skilful use of the text, which involved ability to present contextual meanings carried by different resources and had to involve certain critical view to the resource. The challenge in relation to the source providing arguments for interpretation was different kind depending on the attitude towards the system of the Soviet Union. For some authors that was a distant fact which existed somewhere and for some that was immediate experience which had personal side. The attitude toward the system was not only related to the writer's objectivity to the analysis of the phenomenon, but also availability of contextual understanding and meanings which were not always available for foreign researchers.

Halberstadt (1996, 298) presenting the assessment model for émigré families from the former Soviet Union to the U.S. has noticed disillusionment between families and social workers. The researcher has noticed, that the workers have described émigré families mostly in terms of difficulties in working with them, viewing them in terms of psychopathology compared to the Western norms. Literature created by émigré practitioners provides more complex, multifaceted perspective, integrating political, socioeconomic, cultural factors into assessment. One of the important aspects of the critical attitude towards the source was the author's abilities to analyse complexities and different factors, critical view to totalitarian system from the perspective of democratic and liberal society.

Importance of contextualization also holds the sense of social action in text. That is possible when there is possibility to relate single parts of text to the text as a whole, and there is chance to shift the perspective in respect to the text itself as a part in view of relation to its whole overarching context. Originality of the research can be achieved by placing things in entirely new context. Ideas can come from familiarity or links with completely different fields of knowl-

edge and come as result of conscious forgetfulness of earlier contextualization (Alvesson, Skolberg 2009, 100). The importance to uncover contextual knowledge for interpretation process was crucial. That provided the possibility for deepening the understanding of social work as profession which is significantly affected by the context. Inclusion of historical evidences, cultural and social experiences, which become unconscious measures to a certain extent pushed to certain shared understandings.

Argumentation. Hermeneutics is occupied by language and text, which must be understood in their context of meaning. The idea of a model for testing the interpretation is made by means of language and argumentation in dialogue. A researcher creates opportunities to communicate with others about our interpretations. Argumentation of interpretation is a principle for validation, which is critical and self-critical procedure that must be performed by the interpreting subject, irrespective whether there is real partner or not (Odman 2007, 123).

Dialectic and dialogue are important aspects in hermeneutical research. Kvale (1996, 57) designates that dialectics takes issues with coherence criterion of truth involved in hermeneutics, with good interpretation as a coherent Gestalt free of contradictions, if social reality itself is in itself contradictory, and the task of social sciences is to investigate real contradictions of social situation and position them against each other.

In the process of interpretation, a researcher enters into an imagined dialogue with the reader of interpretations. This is the relationship between an isolated researcher – subject and object/fact studied, in which truth is established with logical necessity and by empirical testing. Thus, it is important to discuss arguments and counterarguments and reach the most possible result, starting with current knowledge which is always historically conditioned and in which theoretical, methodological and factual aspects interact with each other, and instead of logic of validation, we get logic of argumentation (Alvesson, Skolberg 2009, 101). Representation of solid argumentation of interpretation exposes not only coherent dialogue between the text and the researcher, but also between the reader and the researcher. Researcher's role is not only reasonable presentation of arguments for the shared understanding with the text, but also becoming an interpreter of the text for the reader.

Source for criticism. Researcher who studies contemporary objects can benefit from using source of criticism according to the principles that have been developed in historical research. Interviewed people are not always reliable, as they can be talking from certain tendency, which can interfere with their descriptions of reality. Three principles are applied to narratives by classical source of criticism: 1) simultaneity, in which observation is made, which is close in time with the event of the interview; 2) scrutiny to the tendencies in the material, which can have impact on people's observations, as people may consciously distort the description of reality to their own advantage; 3) dependency on another source, when the originator of the source has used another

source for the statement. Thus, there should be certain criticism of dependency of resources (Odman 2007, 124).

Data representation. Data representation must be quite abundant in hermeneutical research partly because it is an important step of argumentation. Rich documentation furthermore makes it possible for the reader to compare the interrelations with the data material. Presences of data increases concreteness and nearness to the field of research the selected data and must do justice to the material and mirror tendencies in the material as whole. The purpose of hermeneutics is to increase understanding, but if the representation of data is too voluminous, this will not be achieved since the reader will soon lose patience and get weary of reading (Odman 2007, 124).

Another issue was foreign language for argumentation, and creation of dialogue with the reader who is unfamiliar with the context of Lithuanian social work, recognition of familiar and unfamiliar aspects for the reader's understanding. Odman (2007, 113) has emphasized the importance of language, which is a prerequisite for survival and humanly acceptable coexistence, and cannot be separated from the human world. Realty has to be constantly labelled in order to understand it, and it is in the context of language that hermeneutics has its own important mission. Hermeneutic approaches search for possible meaning in their object of study, which is studied in the form of text and language. This is also true for action and non-linguistic expressions of life, which are produced in context of meaning and must be studied in those contexts of meaning in order to be understood. Meanings and contexts are mediated and understood primarily through linguistic interpretation. It is for this reason that interpretation is the principal form of knowledge.

Gergen (1997, 257) has emphasized Gadamer's presupposition that all who are within the cultures have similar experiences, and cultural heritage in which the text is embedded will ensure that its members transcend contemporary horizon and invite interpreter into new forms of understanding. Gadamer presumes that the reader cares somehow to make contact with the essence lying behind the text, a meaning that can ask questions without biases. Further, he fails to offer the means by which anyone could understand someone who did not participate in the same cultural heritage. This would provide precious little possibility for cross-cultural understanding.

This research has an issue of cross-cultural understanding. Data collected, transcribed, coded was in Lithuanian language, interpreted in English, and argumentation came from different cultures and sources, which had almost no experienced consequences of the Soviet Union's social policy, and the same can happen to the reader. Thus, cultural heritage is very varied, and there are not many possibilities for horizon to become transcendent. Researcher's as interpreter's role is to ensure the transparency of historical context of the text. On the other hand, I had the goal to provide understanding on Lithuanian social work with families for foreign reader. The hermeneutical circle to broaden and

deepen understanding is endless, hence it is important to apply criteria and limit interpretation. In this research, inner coherence and understanding with text was the main criteria for limiting the interpretation.

Acribi. Carefulness is basic scientific concept. The primary medium is language and texts. That is not only text carefully edited, but also the rules for presenting data, references and all the resources used to broaden understanding. Carefully edited manuscripts signify that the researcher has been negligent in handling the material on which conclusion are based (Odman 2007, 125).

Acribi and accuracy in the broad sense in the research can also be related to attempts to keep reliability. According to Odman (2007, 122), reliability of text is achievable through precise work with text as main source for research.

Application of criteria for interpretation. The problem in hermeneutics is not the criteria the researcher uses to make interpretations, but how the validity of interpretations is examined and decided. In hermeneutical research, it is important to create a system of interpretations that has acceptable logical coherence (inner control), as well as acceptable logical connection to the traces or data (outer control). It is necessary for interpretations to be coherent with tested knowledge and known circumstances in nature and human life (Odman 2007, 126).

Interpretations that do not have reasonable explanation of the reality must consequently be rejected. The criterion is problematic in two aspects 1) impossibility to generalise the condition which makes certain data essential and others not. There is need for logical judgement by the interpreter regarding the importance of information for given context. Concept of explanation is decision on what is reasonable in the individual case. In any case, none of the interpretations can have final conclusions. 2) Reality behind the data must alone give complete reasonable explanation. Thus, a researcher must search for new information and create new interpretations (Odman 2007, 127).

4. THE AIM AND QUESTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Social worker acting in the present aims for the standards defined by set by his profession and by providing help for the family at the same time influence the future of the social work. The structure which supports professional actions of the social worker in Lithuanian context is sill in progress. Nevertheless, there are gaps of experience in promoting professional behaviour in complex family situations, and social worker is forced to interpret the required achievements.

Most of the interpretations are based on personal experience and gained understanding in the past. Future is important for the client family, and social worker brings a new behaviour which can construct new quality of life for the family. However, it can also produce the reiterating present of the family failures in their social and economical being. Therefore the social worker should have am insight of te past to the future. The research is focused on the issues of the child protection system.

Palmer (1969, 182) specifies, that understanding is a historically accumulated and historically operative basic structure. The meaning comes not from interplay of the elements, but from tradition of interpretation in which it stands and the future possibilities it opens up. Thus, presuppositions come from the tradition where the social worker stands. This tradition does not stand over against our thinking as an object of thought but it is the fabric of relations, the horizon within we construct our thinking.

The aim of the study is to reveal how social worker constructs professional work with family in the special organizational setting focusing on social support for the parents.

In order to disclose the structure of constructions in the social work with parents in Lithuanian context, the hermeneutical analysis is implemented. Therefore, *the object* of the study is construction of family in social work within the special organizational setting.

The main research question is how social workers understand and interpret social work practices with parents? Therefore, the construction of family social work is disclosed by the following *research questions*:

1. How social workers understand fatherhood and motherhood and construct family social work accordingly? How these understandings reflect the construction of social work with family?

2. How family policies of the Soviet Union are transmitted through social work practices with parents?

The aim of child protection services is to preserve families that child could develop in the family surrounding. There is expected that social workers in the area of child protection would follow the family preservation strategy. According to Abstein, McRoy (2000, 3) family preservation philosophy is based on understanding that all persons can best develop if they are able to remain in their own family or rely on their family as a resource. The researchers also grasp the controversial values in the family social work. This controversy lies in the provisions: the idea that children should be protected from the abusing and neglectful parents, yet children also has the right to be raised by their biological parents. However, social work with families focuses mainly on protecting the interests of the child.

Focus on the child is not of accidental nature in family social work. Esping-Andersen (2002, 29) points that the importance of mainsprings of people's life chances are in the family conditions of their childhood. Researcher emphasize that the opportunities and life chances remain powerfully rooted in social inheritance as in the past. Thus focus on the welfare of the child implementing family social work is inevitable in contemporary society. Still, the responsibility for the future society is transferred to the parents. Therefore, much of helping relationship of social worker with the parents rely on understanding of family as a unit, and mission transferred to the caregivers of the child to grow as future adult.

As totalitarian State Soviet union was implementing social child-centred policy with the understanding that only child can be moulded according to the interests of the state. Geiger (1956, 187) characterize totalitarian systems by their efforts to develop among their citizens aiming for the acceptance toward the social philosophies and goals associated with their regimes. As it was in the Soviet Union, leaders came into feeling that the older generation will not respond to the desired extent, and that major emphasis should be placed on youth. In the crucial early years, children are trained and their personalities shaped predominantly within the family, and the family is not a public, but a private, association of individuals. Within the family, interpersonal relations and behaviour tend in main to be governed by the force of tradition, that is, by relatively inflexible norms which frequently are not in accord with those viewed favourably by totalitarian regime.

Howe (2002, 86) emphasize that social work takes place and is formed within social political context. It occupies and is defined by the space between the personal and political. Author remarks that political philosophies emphasize collective responsibility and action, value harmony and cooperation, equality and interdependence. Indeed, the societies, which are lead by political philosophies, and especially totalitarian states, have implemented certain forms of social control, which would help to overcome issues, which would diminish power and create chaos. Giedraitienė et al. (2006, 64) affirms that in Soviet Lithuania as in many other totalitarian states, where was regime of planned economy, existed attitude that political system and provided security, safeguards person form social issues per se.

Thus, parents are included into provision of social policy as much as care-givers are related to the care of the child. According to Mcdonald (2006, 3) social workers are interested in change. Specifically, they are interested in promoting positive change for the service users and their families. In order to identify the change social workers tried to promote so, it is important to recognise the historical consciousness within what society the family social work is implemented. Gadamer (2004, 305) emphasize the importance of historical consciousness. Every encounter with tradition that takes place within historical consciousness involves the experience of a tension between the text and the present. During Soviet period the provided support was indirect for parents, there were universal social services for all the families, including full employment policy which allowed to control and avoid evidence risks for the families. However, the implemented social policy had not developed tradition for social work of helping to overcome crisis situation for the family. There were no traditions to include parents into helping process. State was providing the role of protector by alienating parents. Contemporary social work demands from professional to provide help for parents who are considered at risk of loosing care of their children.

Important to notice, that child protection is the social work area where abilities of parents to provide acceptable care for the children are questioned. Healy (2000, 74) adds that in child protection contexts, social worker's role involves assessment and decision-making about whether parents are 'fit' to maintain guardianship of their children. Holland (2004, 31) insists that practice of social worker in child protection assessing and making judgements are mediated through their own values and occupational cultures. There will be certain level of uncertainty when analysing complex situations. The complexity of family situations involves social worker to act personally and professionally. Therefore, there arises a diffusion social workers constructed situation. The constructions of the family situations are shaping the professional role of social worker within the relationship with the family.

Also social work as an activity is shaped by institutional context. What social workers do – the practices they adopt, the values they act upon, the outcomes they pursue – are very much the result of the gradual accumulation of past practices and understandings within profession which gradually taken on a more or less 'accepted' status. According to my understanding, much of innovative practices and services of social work in Lithuania emerge from non-governmental agencies. Researching social work practices in this setting allows recognising the *habitus* projected from the past *horizon*, but also social worker's understanding from the present which evolves into the future family social work.

5. FRAMING AND CONTEXTUALISATION OF INSTITUTIONAL FAMILY WORK IN LITHUANIA

Social work as an activity is socially constructed, culturally and historically unstable. Social work in Lithuania is generating traditions and form of practices. Family social work in Lithuania is developing traditions and means to deal with family issues, whereas protecting the interests of the child.

Children day care centres are the facilities supported by the state which provide services for socially deprived or social risk families. This special group is considered in need and informal supervision of child welfare. Thus, certain criteria are set to provide social services by social worker for the selected special group of the families. Nevertheless, there are set parameters, but still subjectivity and interpretations of a social worker in measuring deprivation and accordingly provided help for the family. The state has evolved powers and duties to 'intervene' in the families when there are concerns regarding child welfare. As the dominant assumption according Kirton (2009, 1) in child welfare is that the upbringing of the children is largely a matter for parents and guardians. In turn, the state's role is twofold. First, child welfare sets the legal parameters for parental rights and responsibilities. Second, it offers support to families in areas such as health care, education, housing or cash benefits, either 'universally' for all families, or more 'electively', based on criteria of deprivation or 'special needs'.

Family as unit is important for child's personality development. Child abuse, neglect, mistreatment is considered social problem, which social work traditionally deals. Maslauskaitė (2005, 122) describes the family function in contemporary society as important space creating safe environment for the person to escape from existing tensions, speed, autonomy at least temporarily. Social work intervenes into this private intimate space of the family evaluate the ability of responsible ones – parents to meet child's needs for development according certain norms. The aim for social worker is to protect child and provide services to maintain family as unit, overcome possible crises and harm of any family member, involving parents into helping process.

Esping-Andersen (2002, 27) emphasizes that opportunities and life chances in today's society remain as powerfully rooted in social inheritance as in the past. Therefore much attention is on the family as a unit. State is implementing a child-centered strategy, which anticipates failure of the child as a future adult if the family, which is considered at social risk situation, remain unaffected. Thus, there are much emphasizes on parent's abilities to ensure the current possibilities for the future of the child.

Social work in Lithuania is strongly associated with Lithuanian independence and with the intent to implement human rights (Lazutka, Pivorienė, Eidukevičiūtė 2002, 144). Together with Lithuanian independence, changes the economical situation, consciousness of society, values and relationships, child welfare system in Lithuania develops according to European experience (Jonynienė 2005, 129). Social work to Lithuania also comes as progressive profession from the western democratic societies. Regardless good intentions, the social work practice realities, tradition has mould professional activity according to the existing values, stock of knowledge, experienced tradition.

This chapter will present the context of social work helping process for the parents in Lithuania. The main assumption I had before writing this chapter was that the personal perceptions of research participant but also contextual knowledge, habits and rules which help to understand the peculiarities of family social work in Lithuania. In this chapter the development of social work education and nongovernmental children day care centres will be discussed as special settings introducing the process of social transformations in Lithuania. The shifts in value systems will be deliberated.

There will be presented the understandings and notions of family relations as they were developed during Soviet period. Soviet social policy have influenced also family life, the extent will be explored in this chapter. There was implemented separate strategy task for each family member, what influenced the role of each family role, and fragmented family as unit within the State intervention. Desirable changes were implemented through orders, which in totalitarian state there were no foreseen possibility of choice, and propaganda. Through the time society internalizes the imposed lifestyle which is facilitated by special establishments, and it becomes *habitus*. These discussions also are significant for the recognition of reproduced relations converted into professional attitude of social work.

5.1. Change of Norms and Values. Appearance of Social Work in Lithuania

The transformations which Lithuanian society attempt to outlive through from the year 1987 are tremendous for this short of period. From the glance of foreigners (Norgaard, Johannsen, Skak 1999, 1) it can sound very heroic, as the Baltic countries had been in the forefront of the struggle for democratization, economic reform and ultimately independence. Lithuania proclaimed independence on 11 of March in 1990. The proclamation of the independence is also important for development of social work and social services for family in Lithuania. The three Baltic States, according to the analysts (Norgaard, Johannsen, Skak 1999, 2), occupy unique position among post-communist systems. They are the first Soviet republics with independent statehood. Also these are the states had been subjected to political control and repression as their economies

had been completely integrated into Soviet economic system, and have been effectively cut off from all foreign political, economic and cultural contacts. There were attempts to create new history in society with different values and political system. The transition from planned to market economy, from collective to society of individuals, and from totalitarian to democratic policy, what required consciousness and real recognition of the extent and meaning of these transformations.

Kutsar, Trumm, Oja (1996, 125) notices that first wave of democratic movement was accompanied with high participation feelings in majority of the population. Springing up from the roots of the collapsing totalitarian system and fed by opposition towards it, the participatory democracy on this stage of evolution was destructive towards old system and its power structures. The destructive societal participation was supported by trust in the actions of new leaders, and new political elite.

After proclaimed independence, the role of the state became distant, and market economy brought wealth, possibility of choice, but also instability into everyday life of the family. The stability which was ensured for parents in social policy of the Soviet Union, after Lithuanian independence, launched instability of market economy as loss of usual, acceptable and safe. Some families adapted finding their way of stability, and other families still rely on the state's assistance becoming welfare recipients and clients of social services.

Collapse of the Soviet Union had proceeded quickly what stipulated to implement not reflected changes within Lithuanian society. Social work as helping profession dealing with newly emerged phenomena – range of societal issues. These were the features of new society which tried to have novel pure present and isolated from the past experiences, and have no links with the system existed in the past. The horizon of the present and the horizon of the past system seemed separated and isolated from each other, at the beginning of the research, especially while entering into the research field.

Social work which emerged in the horizon of present was promoted by actual societal changes, adapted from the Western societies. Powell (2001, 45) analysing historical development of Australian social work, emphasize that social work values are much shaped in the context of human rights, bringing elements of individualisation that is not in harmony with collectivism. However, the continuation of traditions and stock of knowledge were important for the consistency of the society. Fast shift from collective to individual value system was met with acceptance and recognition. Indeed, the process of social work adaptation for the post-totalitarian societies was not questioned, and seemed as there was no need for reflection. There is need for reflection which would allow society to find manifestations from the past which made social work to be acceptable, recognisable and meaningful for each individual and society overall.

Transformation from collective value system to individualistic created certain challenges to development and appearance of social work in Lithuania.

Breslav (1995, 9) presenting situation of social work as profession emergence in Latvia points that initiating process was facing major challenges: transition between collective and humanistic or individualistic value systems, where individual needs were confronting societal interests. In between of this transition appears infrastructure of social services and social work as profession.

5.1.1. Social Control and Double Morality in Soviet Union

During Soviet period there existed set of expectations for the person as member of communist society. The way to make collective socialist values vivid and acceptable the division was made between the capitalist or Western societies, and communist societies. The propaganda pictured capitalist as deviant and exploitive, therefore communist lifestyle as aim was imposed as worth efforts. Madison (1969, 65) features this period with claim that under socialism no class struggle is possible, it is acknowledged that there are contradictions in the development of socialist society. However, there was established infrastructure which would sustain official ideology and control its implementation of it to the individual and private level.

Madison also notices that government of the Soviet Union accepted the notion that even under conditions of communism, with all its harmony, certain conditions cause personal and social conflicts. Deviant behaviour of the person was understood as a result of an incisive examination of the interaction between the environment and the individual. However, the bases of these conflicts were situated not in the structure of the Soviet society, but come from the past experiences of older generation which was gained in the old capitalist social order. The emphasis was put on survivals of the past persist because in consciousness lag behind the economic changes. At that time soviet society was newly established, the cause of the conflict was in the economical relations. Thus, the capitalist world was still strong and thus exerts an influence upon Soviet society, and because there were weaknesses in the socialist economy that hinder the transformation of all people into 'new Soviet man'. The survivals are dangerous – the people raised under capitalist conditions unable to shake off the old psychological concepts, pass them on to the next generation. The deviant behaviour of parents would trigger child's development, and at the same time influence the establishment of new Communist society. The powerful role was on the soviet state, establishing conditions in society under which individual deprive personal autonomy to control all spheres of life.

Indeed, the link between new economical relations within society and personal psychological concepts inherited from the past triggered the formation of the new Soviet society. Kharkhordin (1997, 342) illustrates the development and the basis for the institutionalization of the private lives of citizens during existence first decades of the Soviet Union, which constricted basis for the participation of *kolectiv* in a personal life. Researcher pointed, that there were

two features of Bolshevik constitution of personality through revelation, which reveals constitution of the self as revealing though deeds:

1)   A person may know himself/herself only through the eyes of relevant public, which was the Party. The person may get an assurance of righteous behavior, which is indicative from the Higher Conscience, and only from Party. Therefore, disciplined obedience to the Party becomes essential to a given person assurance of grace.

2)   If the person's self is constituted in and by the public gaze, then by definition it cannot be secret. It is all and always on display, because only by means of this display can Bolshevik self exist at all. The person's self cannot be meaningful against the encroachments of the public, as it exists only in the eyes of public. Consequently personal life is subject to constant public gaze also: only in the whole totality of one's deeds it the true personality is manifested. Hence, one cannot close personal life, for a Bolshevik self closing off is absurd, because the obstacles for to a public, which is the Party, gaze would lead exactly to the inability of a person's self to emerge.

Public life became institutionalized by the Soviet state. Therefore the state had the complete right to interfere in the private lives. Indeed, it was obligated to interfere in order to correct or prevent those deeds that were not representative in Higher Consciousness. Thus, person loses autonomy and right for individuality, as the mean impeding the development of the Soviet Society.

The totalitarian way of social organization of society contains many characteristic features but the one of interest for analysis is the theme of the responsibility in social context. This theme concerns the issues of centralization in various spheres of human life that form the understanding of collective identity. The totalitarian social order incorporated idea that central managing and direct control would achieve a vision of reality that was ideologically based. The issue of responsibility was central to the socialist-communist construction of reality based on direct moral fundamentalism. Moral fundamentalism has roots in the concept of as the Soviet Union, where soviet people were seen as a unique type of collectivity, different from those non totalitarian countries. Self-designation of individual member of collectivity is an important element in the existence of a stable *kolektiv* (Juozeliūnienė 1999, 68).

As already mentioned, there were established special groups which would monitor the implementation of the collective values in the level of everyday life. After revolution, as Ashwin (1998, 192) explains, the name *kolektiv* was reserved for groups closely connected to the communist case, and in most cases referred to a Party cell. Then in the 1930s Stalin's emphasis was on individual responsibility, meant that collectivism became somewhat suspect, while the link with the Communist Conscience which had existed in everyday usage also weakened. By the 1950s the term *kolektiv* began to be used to refer to almost all groups within the Soviet society. Collectives were everywhere, one entered a collective as a small child, passed from one to another in the course of one's

life, but one was never normally outside a collective. Generalization of the term *kolektiv* meant that it lost political connotations, but Soviet social sciences of the 1970s still defined *kolektiv* as a group which served socially-defined goals rather than a narrow group interests.

Zdravomyslova, Voronkov (2002, 49) points the two versions of public realm in the late Soviet society: the official public and the informal public. Researchers points that public official realm was regulated by the official rules and controlled by the party-state bureaucracy. At the level of everyday life these were the rules of conduct and interaction in the Soviet *kolectives*. Those *kolectives* had several tasks in society: mutual surveillance, collective correction and self-revelation (Kharkhordin 1999, 110). Mutual surveillance was reliable bedrock of the Soviet power, and the foundation on which pyramids and hierarchies were erected. These techniques (Zdravomyslova, Voronkov 2002, 50) were produced in order to develop true *kolektiv* as unit of Soviet society and relevant type of 'Soviet individual'. The reports on comrades' everyday life and discussions on of personal lives at the assembly of comrades were core kollektivist activities and were considered important procedures in the construction of the Soviet individual. The individual in the Soviet society was integrated into *kollectives*. Important to take into account that name *kollectiv* is given intentionally in the framework of social integration that intentionally followed ideologically approved goals. It has aim to help for an individual to fulfil and form the tasks of the Soviet society, but not vice versa.

Madison (1969, 66) notices that it was argued that particular attention in the Soviet society should be paid to the four environments that play powerful roles in formatting the personality – the family, the school, the *kolectiv*, and the immediate home environment. With the regard to the family, the traditional changes that children are improperly brought up and that parent do not set a good example, are not strict enough, and spoil, and make egoists of their children. The criticism for school was focus on failing to develop love for labour and a proper outlook on life, for sacrificing the development of the individual to competition for scholastic success, for ignoring parents, for conceiving mistakes and yielding to pressures of influential fathers and mothers. The various collectives were attached for their indifference and neglect in situations that clearly demanded their intervention as well as failing to create an environment were facts about overcrowding, poor housing, inadequate recreational facilities, shortages of nurseries, and kindergartens were presented without usual rationalization. It is maintain that all four environments are adversely affected by weaknesses in the economic-technical base of socialism, which result in the pronounced rewards for intellectual as opposed to physical labour, and failure to take realistic account of the material interests of the workers.

Along the working unit, the family was another version of the *kolektiv*, since it could be penetrated by party-state regulations. Both working life and family life were subjected to state-inspired observation and control. Soviet *kolektiv* at

work was viewed as patronizing system of social integration, with its educating, enlightening, and supporting roles were emphasized. The *kolektives* charge was not only to produce goods for the Soviet economy, but to control the private lives of individuals and act as the instrument of state family policy.

Family conflicts were discussed in the *kolectiv* by ideological body. Divorces were avoided, sexuality was exclusively marital and parental oriented, and spouses in conflict should apply to the working *kolektiv* to normalize family life. The last according to Zdravomyslova, Voronkov (2002, 51) was basically practiced by wives who thus controlled the private lives of their husbands by means of work *kolektives*, their party and trade unions. Thus, the Soviet state through *kolektives* interfered with individual privacy through work and family.

Another mean of *kolektiv* control was implemented by housing policy. In the large industrialized cities housing policy lead to the mass liquidation of apartments of individual family (Zdravomyslova, Voronkov 2002, 56). Researchers point that living in those *komunalkas* created special atmosphere and culture of living among residents of those housings. The housing had features of mutual help and support among tenants, but also mutual suspicion and deletion which were as a result of privacy shortage and increasing level of social control. The physical private space was reduced to a minimum, and public and private division became conventional, as no subject become outside public discussion, not only ideological but also those concerning the body.

Zdravomyslova, Voronkov (2002) discussed the double realm of the Soviet reality, which in the 1990s evolve into movements disrupting evolution of new soviet society, and collapse of the Soviet Union. At that time, society had no belief in the possibilities to establish communism, despite efforts to sustain existing system. The researchers were disclosing the basis in soviet society, which made possible for NGO to develop, after collapse of the Soviet Union. According them, existing double morality created space for the autonomy of individual. Zdravomyslova, Voronkov (2002, 50) attract attention on distinction between public and private spheres of Soviet person. Official public life and its relevant practices were controlled by party-state ideological norms and regulated by the relevant rules of communication and social integration as established by the state. Informal public life was regulated by the diversity of rules that can be referred to unwritten or common law. Every Soviet individual lived and acted in both official and informal public realms, representing the invisible but efficient boundary between them and not confusing different rules regarding behaviour in official public and informal public such double standards became the essence of *social schizophrenia,* which attributed to the type of *homo Sovieticus.* Another word which helps to grasp this late-Soviet everyday morality is double standards.

Zdravomyslova, Voronkov (2002, 58) differentiate rules, which exist in private realm, which was different from public in the Soviet society. In the period of late socialism, habitual informal codes evidently dominated in the regulation of everyday life. The written code consisted of the declarative official regula-

tions that were presented at work on official occasions, such as party committees, collective assemblies, and public demonstrations.

At the end of the Soviet era, declarations of the written code worked basically in the forms of rituals and other symbolic objectifications that were performed at specific official public occasions. In the period of the late Socialism, social practices of the private sphere, the household economy as well as the mundane functioning of collectives were mainly regulated by habitual codes that worked as unquestioned traditions or cultural patterns. Metastases of informal codes were forcing out written code. Shlapentokh (1982, 406) refers that at late Soviet period there was growing belief, that almost all members of the society, except a few old Stalinists and some parts of the elite, are in complete opposition to official values and to Soviet ideology as whole.

Legitimization of the habitual code was based in its instrumental efficiency in the regulation of the everyday coping strategies of Soviet citizens. If Soviet individuals challenged the habitual code of double morality, it put them on the margins of the system. If they decided to follow officially proclaimed rules, and became violators of the major everyday code, the system persecuted them rigidly.

The official public realm was constructed in such a way that social practices, relevant in realm of the informal public, were excluded there. The official public presentations of Soviet life were to show a utopia, which was completely inconsistent with everyday experiences: outstanding construction sites, heroic labour, cultural achievements, kolektivist orientations. The social reality of everyday practices was in contrast what had been officially admitted or discussed: economic deficits, low standards of living, long waiting lines, egotism – all of which could be observed everywhere. Written code regulated kolektivist practices: habitual codes regulated the totality of everyday life. However, these habitual codes were misrecognized and silenced in the official public realm, which is different for the kolektivist practices (Zdravomyslova, Voronkov 2002, 60). The researchers point that the only way to efficiently follow this habitual code was to misrecognize it or not articulate it on official public occasions.

The essence of Soviet hypocrisy is the shared tacit knowledge and practice of double standards that each individual followed: she/he performed according to one set of rules in informal public and private settings. In the late Soviet period alienation from the formal code became deeper: loyalty to the rules of official collectives was questioned. Without consistent state terror the government could not force people to identify themselves with the official public. Escapist strategies became increasingly popular, which meant that the state official public was deteriorating.

As the result, the issues applying research conducted during the Soviet period – they do not reveal actual issues or phenomena, changing understanding especially on those questions which are related with Soviet ideology. Issues like double morality of official and public milieu, changing values, coping strat-

egies of individuals with the issues, they would come up as opposing official State's position. According to Shlapentokh (1982, 407) most of research carried out by ideologically correct sociologists, nobody could completely ignore them and evade the problem of explaining the data demonstrating popular approval of official values.

5.1.2. State's role in the economy of Soviet Union and Lithuanian social life
The massive political and economical changes since the breakup of the Soviet Union necessitate that its citizens adapt to the lack of stability and predictability in the new system and their new freedom of choice (Halberstadt 1996, 300). At first glance, the transformations after independence changed conceptions of everyday life: the concept of 'worker' replaced that of 'citizen' and 'mother-worker' replaced 'mother-wife'.

Also, Heinen (1997, 583) notices tremendous shifts from one understanding of political rights to another, what creates disequilibrium and create need for returning to the old recognizable system. In soviet-type societies, the abolition of private property and the negation of the right to free association had broadly emptied civil rights of their content. Researcher points that during the Soviet period full employment policy guaranteed certain basic needs gave minimum protection to the individual. The state subventions that secured the free use of various services, and maintained prices at an artificially low level in number of fields relating to daily life, gave to the 'socialist' state only limited taste of welfare insofar as it brought a set of material and social rights – but these were social rights without citizenship.

The same point is noticed by Milanovič (1998, 12). He designates the defining characteristic of socialist countries where means of production was under state ownership. The role of the state was undeniably major. On the household level, the role of the state was rejected in the fact that the most income was received through the state owned enterprises or government. Pensions and family allowances were paid out of the sate-administered funds or directly out of the budget.

In most Soviet countries according to Estrin (2002, 102) there was functioning centrally planned economy. The allocation of resources was primarily through quantity based planning. There was no market in the supplying goods, either for final products or intermediates. Firms were not autonomous decision making units, but they were concieved as production units within an economy that was run as a single giant firm. Firms were not financially independent and had no responsibility for sales or pricing, firms in planned economy was not only out of touch with suppliers, but also with consumers. The structure of the planned economy did not permit competition, entry or exit. Small state-owned firms were rear and privately owned firms officially were nonexistent. The planning system was more aimed at the preferences of the planners, with focus on heavy industrial production than on preferences of consumers. As a result major

restructuring was needed in transition process to bring supply in the line with the patters of consumer demand.

Heinen (1997, 583) underlines, that many of these rights were not perceived as such, as most social benefits remained invisible – people do not get them, or pay cash for many of them. Quite a few of social policies that would be seen as very progressive were often regarded as integral parts of the authoritarian system based on an obligation to work and thus given a pejorative or even a negative meaning. The core mistrust toward anything that looked like state intervention masked the possibility of any positive appreciations of these social advantages. Another issue, mentioned by researcher is that the double burden which was assimilated to the soviet-type of women's liberation was deeply internalized as something normal and linked to the difference of status between the sexes.

Another issue for the social work as a newly appeared profession implementing local social policy is changing attitude on the state's role for the person's everyday life. The State during the Soviet Union had significant role in welfare provisions, so with the collapse of the Soviet Union State lost omnipotent and controlling role, and gained more support providing. Individual and the family took over the most of responsibilities. However, the expectations about the responsible state remained.

Levada (2001, 7) presents quantitative comparative research on changing values and attitudes of Soviet person's in 1989 and Russian citizens in 1999. The research was conducted in Russian Federation, therefore direct comparison of research results with Lithuanian situation is hard to employ because of cultural and political differences. However issues and challenges which societies are facing after collapse of the Soviet Union can be similar. Researcher notes comparing the position "state gave us everything" disappeared in 1999 (5% in 1989, 1% in 1999), and because of considerable changes people's willingness to sacrifice for the good of the state has diminished sharply. According to the research, two positions have strengthened considerably "we owe state nothing" (7% in 1989, 38% in 1999) and "we should be free people" (27% in 1989, and 37% in 1999). There has been demonstrable increase in the individual's alienation from the state as well as in a simplified but nonetheless democratic model 'to force the state to serve the people's interests' (27% in 1989, 37% in 1999). Levada (2001, 17) also notices that research revealed a growing majority expresses its preferences for the 'Soviet' model of a modest but guaranteed income (45% in 1989, 60% in 1999).

The state of the Soviet Union took all responsibility to regulate life of society, and solve upcoming issues. Social work appeared in this society as the profession dealing the issues which before were non existent. Also, social work took responsibilities the State had.

Social work as profession appears to deal individual issues, with attempt to promote change with existing community resources. The Soviet Union proclaimed many social problems as nonexistent, which existed just as a harsh

story of an individual discussed through mass media. The emergence of new social problems as unemployment, homelessness and 'discovery' of old ones such as child abuse, adolescence prostitution, raised the issue of creation of new societal infrastructure, a new system of humanistic relations, which would require mediators between governmental institutions and people in need (Breslav 1995, p.10). Therefore, the social work is meaningless unless it is based on general humanistic values as social help should be provided to every person in need, whose life is reduced into inferior existence.

Williams (2000, 15) relates the difference in norms and values with normative conceptions of preferred and obligatory conduct and of desirable and undesirable state of affairs, which are developed by every continuing human grouping. Essentially the most important types of normative elements are *norms*, which are described as specific *obligatory demands, claims, expectations and rules*, and also *values*, which can be defined as *criteria for desirability*.

The Soviet system much of the attention put on fulfilment of norms setting the obligatory rules, which were set according to the expectations for the behaviour in order to achieve desirable structure of communist society in the future. Axelrod (1986, 1096) notices that definitions of norms are based in expectations, values and behaviours. Researcher presents one of norm definitions which defines the extent of the action is in norm depends on frequency of action and how often the person is punished for not following it: "the norms exists in a given social setting to extent that the individuals usually act in a certain way and often punished when seen not to be acting in this way" (Axelrod 1986, 1097). Thus system existed in the Soviet Union had aim to control and force the society to follow set of norms. Fear of the punishment and exclusion from society, where all spheres are controlled by the State, was a mean to make person to follow the normative direction.

The society which had as a norm the perfect structure of society on the cost personal freedom of individuality and autonomy, after proclamation of independence needed to be transformed into values as criteria for individual which would lead actions and decisions of individual person.

The evidences of values can be found with different mixtures to knowledge and beliefs. The judgements of what *should be* are always related to person judgements *what is*. Values are not concrete rules of conduct, nor values are merged into the concept of institutions, some consistent or systematic combinations of concrete criteria and the object of preference are implied (Williams 2000, 16). Thus the value requires personal commitment and choice of behaviour to achieve the desirable state. For social work as profession, self-determination of service user is crucially important in order to achieve change. Due to particularity of situation in each family, as service user, professional rigid norms can hardly be implemented in contemporary society. Therefore, the acceptance of individual choice and autonomy are important for the process of relationship

building, interaction, decision making, and intervention between social worker and service user–parent.

The normativeness of expectations for the family situation has to be adequate for the promoting child's development. These norms could be implemented as strategies for the social worker to encourage the change in the family. However, the speed of contextual changes faced by Lithuanian social workers during last 20 years brought diffusions into understanding of professional norms. Social work as profession brought to Lithuanian context from western culture, which previously had different norms and values. Lithuanian social workers can find themselves pursuing entirely opposite polices to the ones implemented the first. Therefore, the shift in value systems needs time to reflect, recognise and accept in order to make conscious transformations.

5.2. Institutional Development of Social Work

5.2.1. The Emergence of Social Work Education in Lithuania

Social workers are carefully educated to help others to resolve social problems. The sophisticated knowledge about social problems and the effect and effectiveness of initiatives the social work undertook to prevent or resolve them. As well as social worker has expertise of skills of social problem-solving processes, and adherence to professional code of ethics. This makes social worker professional and find distinctive from other professionals (Compton, Galaway et al 2005, 4). According to National Association of Social workers the primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human well-being and help meeting the basic human needs of all people with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of the people who are vulnerable, oppressed and living in poverty (NASW 1999, 1).

Big part in **establishing social work** as innovative practice dealing with societal issues was on foreigners sharing with experience with newly appeared independent and democratic countries. Leliūgienė, Giedraitienė et al. (2006, 69) point, that the network of social work education and development in Lithuania was profoundly reinforced by other European Union countries and USA. Miscellaneous support was provided: learning courses, Erasmus/Socrates teachers and student exchange, visiting foreign lecturers, batches of scientific literature. There were several international projects, which had significant impact on social work education: 'Education of social workers in Lithuania' supported by university of Helsinki and university of Lapland (1998), Leonardo project 'Standard of Social Work Education in Colleges' (2000), Phare, Holland, Norway 'Social work education in Utena Medical School' (1998).

There existed quite strong notion that before Lithuanian independence there was no social services implemented, or at least those not to be in favour with. During first years of independence previous Soviet system has not showed the signs of life. However, there was nostalgia for stability supported by employ-

ment policy, so important for the Soviet Government. The understanding, that country is opening new page different and isolated from the past experiences. First social work teachers were foreign professors from democratic countries, thus having quite various experiences with creating the basis for the social work profession.

Jurkuvienė (2003, 19) distinguishes the social work in Lithuania as the innovative field of education. She reveals that in 1992, Lithuanian government admitted the act 'Regarding the specialists education of social security in Lithuanian teaching institutions'. This act referred that Lithuanian high schools should educate the specialists of social security according to the orders of ministries, departments and other governmental institutions. Another act of government was admitted in 1994 – 'Regarding the conceptions of social support'. This act presented the strategy of social work development and emphasized the necessity of education of professional social workers. Afterwards, the first law of social services was admitted in 1996. The law defined legally the professional social work and legalized the profession of social work. Social work was defined as a professional activity helping to re-establish the relations between the person and society and helping to perform to person this public functions when the person cannot do it by himself/herself. Also, there was an attitude social worker has to have qualification: she/he should have finish the specialty of social work on high or higher education.

Alongside with political acts, the education of social work was established. Naujanienė (2007, 9) points that in 1992 social work educational programs were started at two universities: Vytautas Magnus university and Vilnius university, also at Utena College. Afterwards other universities and colleges in Lithuania established their bachelor and master programs, and in the year 2006 there was five universities and six colleges were providing education in social work.

Several social work educators were describing their experience of teaching during first years of social work education in Lithuania. Tunney (2002), Tunney, Kulys (2004), Constable, Kulys (1994), Ritchie (2003) were discussing and providing insights for their teaching experience, and especially in Vytautas Magnus university situated in Kaunas. Vytautas Magnus university's experience in developing social work education and practice is important, as me, as author of this study gain understanding of social work in this school. As I have mentioned previously, during the Soviet period social problems were ignored, thus social services institutionalised. Initially social work profession faced some identity problems with meeting the different social work tradition from different countries (Lazutka, Pivorienė, Eidukevičiūtė 2002, 144).

According Tunney, Kulys (2004, 60) the educators from different countries brought the variety social work service delivery for Lithuanian social work students. Later, researchers points, the graduates began to assure teaching and education duties. The rationale for the education focus on diverse groups within

faculty presenting different models of social work education enabled students to make choices and create their own model of social work based on the needs of the country. However, another visiting professor Ritchie (2003, 84) at the same Vytautas Magnus university admits ill-preparedness of social work educators to start the education of social work in Lithuania. There were objective causes, as after independence economy was struggling, and social institutions providing professional help were lacking.

The **aim of the appeared education program** was to educate the educators, thus to prepare future practitioners as educators to provide guidance and vision for social work in Lithuania (Tunney, Kulys 2004, 60). The focus of educators was not only on social work as field of practice, but as for the field of education. Social work as profession brought new professional culture to practice, also understanding of society. Social work come with value of individual, and did not take society's structure as ideal, where integrity of individual depends on person's attempts and efforts to be part of it. New understanding brought the possibility, that the structure of society can be the cause of individual issues, at the same time role of the state was distant in dealing with newly appeared social issues, comparing to the Soviet period one.

Tunney, Kulys (2004, 59) emphasize that during the first years of education in Lithuania there was implemented social development model. This model according researchers had to provide social work knowledge, values and skills. There was big emphasis on field education, therefore there was established relationships with educational and welfare institutions focusing on community wellbeing. However, the lack of reflection distorts the understanding of community social work regarding previous experience with structure of *kolektives*. *The kolektiv* had major role to control and normalization, and lesser role was to provide support for individual. The community social work has aim of support and mutual help, and just then has role control over the individual.

The concept of social work education program according Tunney, Kulys (2004, 62) was based on social development concept. The concept came though leadership of United Nations after II World War. The focus was on social and economical development. The purpose of social development was to indentify the role for government in the provision of welfare services and social well-being, as the societies had philosophical roots in the utopian tradition of perfectibility of society.

The foreign educators had attempts to understand **the context of Lithuanian reality**. Stories people were telling were yesterday's history, within them *habitus* was still vivid. Nevertheless, there was eagerness to create new and entirely different everyday understandings and performances. Tunney, Kulys (2004, 61) explains that because of havoc wrought by the transition from a Soviet to democracy, social welfare services were undeveloped in Lithuania. As a result individuals were caught into emerging social problems as unemployment, poverty, crime, and lawlessness. In that context organized studies of social work in

master level during first years focused on assessment, problem solving and linking to whatever resources that were available. Also there was much attention on professional behaviour of social worker, one of the basic tasks were introducing empathy as professional skill. During second year, researcher points, students were shifting their focus to the applying basic social work skills of assessment and problem-solving to other system levels. At the same time, the first establishments of community programs implemented by students and graduates appeared.

However, I should emphasize that perfectibility of society was not just a perspective or understanding of society and ongoing processes. To recognize the post-Soviet reality for foreigner was not easy task. Halberstadt (1996, 298) notices that, the former Soviet citizens in social work literature were constructed as aggressive, manipulating, and resistant to accept provided help of American way. That construction of the Soviet citizens was significant for some American-born practitioners. Therefore, the complexity of means implemented by individual to survive in the regime of the Soviet Union had roots in understanding and behavior of everyday practices. Also social work educators had to admit the changing role of the State in contemporary Lithuania.

Another aspect noticed by Tunney (2002, 437) was Lithuanian culture, compared to individualistic USA culture, was geared towards family and group identity and less focused on maintaining the well-being and rights of the individual. Researcher notices that the collectivistic emphasis is consequence of the Soviet domination. The researcher observes the shift between public values, as after independence the Catholic Church became influential in the public life. For the foreign education was important to notice that there was emphasized individual subordination over the culture and family. Tunney notices that there were eagerness to invite foreign educators and their expertise, however, there was suspiciousness of western culture and its values.

The post-Soviet reality had triggers for implementing the change. One of them was the omnipotent power of the State in the society. The power was supported by infrastructure. Also there existence of double morality, which differentiated public and private realm, was triggering the recognition of the foreign educators. Tunney, Kulys (2004, 62) notices that social work **education had to deal with newly appeared role** of the state.

Another aspect which educators tried to take very carefully was related with experiences and knowledge gained during social work historical development in western countries. Much critique was on following one certain perspective in social work. Tunney, Kulys (2004, 61) admits that historically social work education and practice have been criticized for overemphasizing individual and family (micro level) problems and underemphasizing the impact of culture, community, social injustice and economic inequality in the creation or exacerbation of individual problems. Therefore, the community/locality development training was implemented reasoning the dramatic shifts in population, health,

density due to immigration and economic change. The experience gained establishing and developing of social work in South Africa and Eastern-Central Europe was used by educators.

Another issue mentioned by Tunney (2002, 438) was the lack of understanding of important concepts in social work from very beginning. In the article she was emphasizing the importance of individual autonomy, which was challenging social work education, as it was different from USA understanding. The understanding of individual autonomy according to researcher is essential for social work with individuals.

Social work in Lithuania was in need for balance interventions in micro and macro levels. The neglect of social issues during the Soviet period, at the present moment created need for independent society to address and deal with them. At the same time, the helping relationship was like a tool for social work helping process, but still remains challenge in practice and education. However, the concern for foreign educators according to Tunney, Kulys (2004, 61) was ill-preparedness of students and educators to address lager system problems. Therefore, the social work development had to have directions for evolvement of social work practices. The attempt of foreign educators' to balance education between individual, family social work, alongside there was need to develop community social work which also was in demand for transformation.

Overviewing 10 years of social work development in Lithuania, Veckiene, Bizys (2003, 60) observe **social work understanding** as multifaceted. However, researchers emphasize the social work's individual nature in practice. Social work, according them, is interplay of social worker and the client. Indeed, the macro level (political, legal, material conditions, human resources, community and societal attitudes) is the context of their carried out interaction. Therefore, social worker is kind of manager in the area of discovery, evaluation and solution of individual client's problems and sometimes of social problems in general. Social work is presented as mediator between individual issues and the societal problems, which are consequences of social problems and insufficient community resources.

Another Lithuanian researcher Švedaitė (2004, 12) tries to understand social work professional content. She notices that there exists multiply understandings what is social work professional content. Researcher points that there is still confusion what are the activities of social worker, what is the content of the profession, which would define and project professional activities which would construct professional responsibilities. However, analyzing social work as profession, she is implementing the social work understanding originating from social pedagogy. There social work is described as mediating between person and society, or local community, emphasizing the focus on troubled person or family. Though, Tunney, Kulys (2004) insight was sound, however, social work has to deal with communication with person as service user. The com-

munication and interaction with the client is considered as main tool for social worker to implement intervention.

Social work in Western societies were developing knowledge on communication and interaction for the last 50 years, as Lithuanian professionals are discovering the means and dynamics of professional interaction with the client. Researcher, indeed, from the field of education, Melnikova (2011, 28) conduct study with the schoolheads, researching their competences. She notices that interpersonal competencies of school heads are the most in need for development. Researcher distinguishes the lack of knowledge about communication with pupils, interaction with parents, skills of conflict management. Therefore, social work practice and education gaining experience at micro level also has significant role in dealing with the societal issues at wider level.

Taking into account the family social work, which was developing at the same time, the challenge which foreign social work educators were facing was the dominant perspectives on the families which were in need for social services. Ritchie (2003, 101) emphasize that prevalent term throughout Lithuania was the "asocial families". That was the description used to define family issues with attending school and participate in larger society. Researcher considers that client blaming strategies originated from idealized understanding of society. Asocial families are somehow considered outside of society, against society's norms, incapable to change. The judgment involves also moral judgment by definers also relate them with status and class. Thus, the terms 'asocial' and 'dysfunctional' were used in Lithuania, but has roots in the Soviet time. That serves according to researcher not only for client blaming, but also to support the *status quo*, as it defects attention, critical examination from the larger system.

Also at the process of social work education establishment the foreign educators were challenged several existing rules (Tunney, Kulys 2004, 64). One of the challenges was to follow the official rules for the qualification, what challenged the expert role for the local reality, which was aimed to change. Social work could be perceived as utopian profession which had no recognition, and resources to implement changes. However, using outside expert model for foreign educators was the feature which allowed providing social work expertise in Lithuania, with a little experience. The respect and authority were met the foreign educators allowed to introduce social work as profession.

Nevertheless, the experts met another issue, that the expertise in the outsiders then to absolve local participation form take initiative to challenge ideas if they did not fit to local reality. The researchers interpret this phenomena as learned behaviour under communism habit and self-protective device, which had to be challenged in new societal conditions. Organized initiatives which were related to the area of private relations, which was outside the public realm. The expectations of foreign educators were to promote and stimulate initiatives which would change settled and previously state controlled practice.

Tunney, Kulys (2004, 68) points that field education in community agencies was seen as the most effective mean for social work skill development. The emphasis on field education as important experiential learning method was one of the factors that made social work program at Vytautas Magnus university exceptional among other social work programs which in Lithuania were developed at the same time. However, they also notice the challenges of skill development during practice placement.

First of all, there exists the overwhelming volume of human needs, comparing to the available resources within the community. However, the lack of resources to deal with the amount and depth of societal issues create another challenge for the social work educators – the expectations for the positive change. There was expected, researchers notices, to be changed by making miracles. Another challenge, the social work as newly appearing profession was in competition with already existing ones.

However, Lithuanian researcher Švedaitė (2004, 8) points the appearance of social work as profession is a consequence of social transformation processes in Lithuania. She believes that many social systems are novel for Lithuanian society. At the same time, the old systems existed during Soviet period gained different content comparing to the previous one. Researcher specifies that Lithuanian state is initiating social work and social protection system in order to deal with inclusion and exclusion issues of the individual and families. The inclusion and exclusion as phenomena are the consequence of transformations in economical system. Therefore, the assumption can be made, that according to researcher previously existing structure of society was well organized. The issues which appear at the individual level are the consequence of transformation of economy, therefore, aim of social work is to introduce the possible ways of active inclusion into the life of society.

Tunney, Kulys (2004, 69) points that much struggles for students were conflicting professional values with the existing perspectives during the field placements. Attitudes of employers of social agencies were putative and paternalistic requiring articulating the professional values and ethics. This return to the observation that skills which were required in social worker's professional interaction with the service users were *terra incognita*, and had been based on personal experience and intuition.

Ritchie (2003, 103) suggests that for future social work development there is need for critical analysis regarding the social problems that children and families were facing in Lithuania. The critical reflection and analysis should include social, political, and economic evolution of these social problems. Solutions, researcher was suggesting, should come from collective action achieved through personal commitment to achieve the change.

Social research was the field which was strictly following the ideological pathway during the period of Soviet Union and very specific understanding of social research was formed. At that time social research was controlled by soviet

government, and the only methodological perspective acknowledged material Marxism. Science had to fulfil expectations of soviet government – form a new society consciousness (Pruskus 2009, 62). Just since the sixties when sociological research was permitted again, after Stalin's death, the only crisis which could be freely mentioned was the family crisis. Therefore, development of social work research, as field related with naming issues of disadvantaged groups is evolving area creating new culture of knowledge.

Another important social work area is social work research. One of the first articles discussing the specificity and difference of social work research as scientific field was Pivorienė (2003, 36). In the article epistemological background of social work research was discussed. That was the first article on social work research, however, without consideration on contextual specificities.

Since 2001 periodical scientific journals were being established, promoting research in the field of social work: Social Theory, Empirics, Policy and Practice at Vilnius university since 2001, Social work at Mykolas Riomeris university since 2002, and Social Work. Experience and Methods, at Vytautas Magnus university since 2008. There were also defended several doctoral thesis at the field of social work: Indrė Gajdosikienė in 2005 at Alabama university USA, Rasa Naujanienė in 2007, Brigita Kreivinienė, Gedas Malinauskas, Valdas Rimkus in 2011, Dalia Puidokiene in 2013 at Lapland university, Finland. The social work is not recognised as the scientific field in Lithuania, therefore doctoral degrees in this field is achieved in cooperation with foreign universities. Big impact of social work development is made by Lapland university.

Social work profession in Lithuania was based on gained knowledge and experience from different contexts, which spurred social work development after proclamation of independence. Social work evolution is related with human rights and democratic values. Willingness to accept democracy involved into transformation process. The foreign social work educators came to Lithuania having certain expectations to promote ideal type of social work practices. However, these expectations were replaced according to local specificities. Further social work development evolve specific local professional practices, knowledge and scientific research.

5.2.2. New Independence and Institutional Changes in Lithuania
Social work in Lithuania its development started in 1989, first NGO providing services for poor people, and excluded people in 1990. The crucial role for development of social work as profession and establishment of social programs for excluded families had Catholic Church and catholic women movement 'Caritas'. After some years of development 'Caritas' was initiator of the first establishments and programs of foster care, day care centres, which at first were solving problems of begging children, and Family preservation program. There should be taken into account, that during first independence Lithuania

was agricultural society, community ties were still very strong, and tradition of providing help for people was alive.

Social work as profession and NGO appeared not on empty social basis, where society have no experience of help provision. Indeed, provided help was for acute situations of children – in cases of orphanage and foundlings. During the Soviet times, there appeared intervention, but the only alternative for family was residential care. Main periods of development in Lithuania are shortly described by Bagdonas (2001) in Table 2, emphasizing main characteristics of establishments during each historical period:

Table 2. Social work development stages in Lithuania (Bagdonas, 2001)

Period	Stage of development	Characteristic
Until 1794	The Great Duchy of Lithuania and the Union with Poland	First asylums, Commission of Hospices
1794–1918	Period of Tsarist occupation	Natural family-type support, charity and care; Public Care Administration
1918–1940	Interwar independence	Weak NGOs, charity, family-type support, care provided by church
1940–1990	Model of Soviet social security	Institutionalization, segregation, 'medicinisation'
1990–1992	Formal acceptance of the notion of *social work*	Social security reform, demand for social work
1992–2002	'Professionalisation' of social work	Legal basis, academic boom, international support, primary certification
After 2002	Professional social work	Prevalence of social work professionals, integration of values, knowledge and skills
From 2000	Social euro-integration	Internationalization of social guarantees and social services

There was no written material how communities were dealing with orphans, people with disabilities before Baptism in Lithuania. Together with baptism of Lithuania (XIV century) there comes monasteries. Notion of immortal child's sole and efforts to keep them alive creates possibilities and attention for organised residential care for children. At that time there in biggest town there are shelters for orphans which are established by initiatives of monasteries. But at the same time there is big impact of trade unions. They endow widows, orphans and elderly. During XVI–XIX centuries almost every parish had had to establish special residential shelters settlements for the orphans and elderly. So there was idea of keeping residents within the community.

After 1775, after Lithuania became part of Russian empire, all systems, which had existed was changed. All work, which mainly was done by Catholics and their initiatives was disrupted. There was established State care system, which committed Russian officials and their families. Those processes enhanced private initiative on the base of religion and nationality. These initiatives were involved to provide care of children, elderly and for handicapped persons. Special for this period – community resources which existed until XIX centuries were disturbed, and there appears shelters which are supported by charity organisations. After 1863–1864 rebellion all activities of catholic charity organisations were disrupted, as it was understood as a danger for the State. Charity again became private initiative of catholic priests and women catholic associations.

Child care in Lithuania as Republic of Soviet Union (1940–1990). Development of child care system during Soviet times makes the biggest impact on today's development of child care. After occupation of Soviet Union child care system in Lithuania was completely changed. Those changes aimed to match to the education system of the Soviet Union.

Decisions about termination of parental rights during the Soviet Union made Civil Court which determined weather a child needs to be compulsorily removed from his parents because of certain specific types of parental misconduct. Harwin (1989a, 58) points that if order is made, child passes into state care and thereafter all future planning on behalf of the child is carried out by state agencies, without any legal obligation for consultation with the natural parents.

Care of neglected children was taken over the State, which was considered of politics and ideology of the Soviet Union. Generation, which was taken into custody, was future communist society, which was priority of all educational system and just after that would be noted child's needs. School was obligated to care about education of children and teenagers, but not parents. Information about pupils who were not attending school or were delinquent was collected and was in concern of special rooms in militia.

Task for family from States point at that time was to spread ideology. Parents had right and duty to care about their children according morality and values, which wouldn't differ from the ideology and future vision of the State. Harwin (1989b, 628) notices that the Soviet legislation does not set out any specific list of parental duties beyond describing, in general terms, a responsibility to provide food, shelter, and medical care and to meet the child's need for social and intellectual nurture. Harwin (1989a, 61) observes that during 1980s there was brought idea on public policy of the Soviet Union emphasis that children are best brought up in their own homes by their natural parents. Also, there was a broad commitment to family-based child rearing, two-parent families are the preferred family structure.

In the child care policy, existed during the soviet time in Lithuania certain welfare for the child had to be created. Decision making process was not taking into consideration opinion or wishes of parents or any members of extended family. In Civil code (1963) the main point was on parental duties – to upbring children in spirit of whole with societal education, to prepare them for active participation in creating communistic society. Also child had to be committed to Motherland, to develop communistic attitude for work.

The soviet child care policy model had very similar features comparing to State paternalism child care model, which was described by Fox-Harding (1995). In State paternalism perspective the child's welfare is preferable. Parents in this process are understood as agents of the State. If parents do not follow the objectives, which are described by the State, they loose their autonomy. In this child policy model "substitute care through adoption and (secure) fostering is also positively valued" (Fox-Harding 1995, p.41). Children from deprived families are placed to better ones. Harwin (1989a, 63) points that the law in general plays a comparatively small role in setting standards of parental behaviour which derive far more broadly from moral, cultural and social norms. Parents should contribute to appropriate political socialization of their offspring's, they should provide food, shelter, medical care, and meet their children's needs for intellectual and social nurturing. Researcher points, that while these duties provide some pointers to the constituent elements in the notion of neglect, they do not by themselves provide guidelines on the degree and severity of parental deviation which would warrant any form of child protection intervention. Therefore, important aspect for intervention is ability to measure parent's abilities to meet child's physical needs as one of the basic parental duties in relation of childcare.

In perspective existed during period of the Soviet Union welfare of child can be secured, there is established network for alternative care by the State. In comments of Matrimonial code, support for family is described as establishment and development of kindergartens, boarding schools and other establishments for children care, also there are a lot of efforts to secure and promote maternity. Indeed, the welfare system had a goal – to educate future generation of communist society. Harwin (1989b, 629) notices, that the Soviet law does not define the phrase 'the child's interests' although family code often refers to it. Ministerial instruction specifies that the concept includes the safeguarding of normal conditions for the child's development as well as providing for the child's "correct ideological upbringing and preparation for socially useful labour. These include the child's material and general living conditions, his attachment to adults, the parents' interest and concern for the child, and his family's general and cultural level. Researcher points that, this categorization provides useful checklist, but also indicates that individual discretion by the juridical and social welfare agencies plays a key part in judging child's interests.

There are several indications for establishment care for child, predominantly residential care. In one case parents had possibility to educate their children in boarding school. Special attitude is for parents who were addicted to alcohol or drugs, that were the reasons for termination of parental rights, same as cruel, amoral, antisocial behaviour with child. Parents, for whom addiction to alcohol or drugs is diagnosed, will not overcome intervention of the state. One of the principles of the Matrimonial law, those parental rights can not be terminated without fault of parents. Perception of parental rights, which can be terminated only then parents were not making any efforts to change their behaviour. Also possibility for taking child into care is when parents do not allow their child to educate, fulfil their duties for society, or force their child to beg.

Also there is possibility to intervene to family life without termination of parental rights and duties, in court decides to take child into care without termination of parental rights – if living condition for child were dangerous. Harwin (1989a, 59) emphasize that that loss of parental rigts was not the only mechanism for compulsory admission to state care. The civil code also provides the removal order, whereby child can be taken into care on the grounds that a present or future danger exists for that child in his home situation. And when conditions for which child was taken into custody are eliminated, the child can be returned to family. The situations can be short-terms crises and chronic dependency. It is important to take into account that parents wouldn't get any support and help from any kind of professions, he/she would seek that alone. Harwin (1989b, 623) also considers the question of the child's return to his parents is decided by the court. The researcher emphasize that the court must be satisfied that the parents genuinely have altered their behaviour and their attitude to the child. It is important to emphasize that the guardianship agencies are not required to help in parental rehabilitation after a loss order since the law has attitude that parents must demonstrate a capacity to overcome their own problems.

In perspective during period of the Soviet Union parents had rights and duties to educate their children in communist morality. Intervention into family is understood as separation members of family.

The modern defence of the birth family and parents' rights. According to Fox-Harding (1995), this perspective can be described with expansion of Welfare States in post-second World War period. State intervention is legitimated, but ideal intervention is seen of supportive kind, helping to defend and preserve birth families. This promotes idea that biological bonds are important for parents and for children, and when it is possible the family should be maintained. This perspective is supportive, providing various services, which they need in order to remain together.

There is an emphasis on the rights of parents as people in their own right. Alongside, this is an explanation of poor quality of child care which is sympathetic to parental duties, which fails because they are oppressed by circum-

stances outside their control. Bad parenting is firmly linked with social deprivation and its concomitant pressures on families (Fox-Harding, 1995). So, in this perspective parents would be supported, empowered to overcome with issues, which they are facing. Role of social worker or provider of social support is to do all the possible to keep family together.

This perspective could be recognized in development of social services, which has characters of proactive period (Lazutka, Pivoriene & Eidukeviciute 2003). Social services are rising strength perspective and improvement. Important feature is planned help for family as unit. Social workers are not the only active participators in helping process, they are making decisions with their clients, not for their clients. "The perspective prefers an extensive role for the state, not separating children from parents or providing substitute care but in providing support for families so that children do not need substitute care" (Fox-Harding 1995, p.71). Social support would be provided for families, which are on top of separation and a lot of attention is paid to preventive services. The role of social worker could be as empowerer, as promoter which supports and strengthens relationship within family, and separation of family unit would be ultimate measure to protect child.

The implemented certain perspective determines roles and responsibilities for the participants in the child protection. Also the attitude around parental figures and need of their involvement into helping process anticipate the level of provided support and control. Also perspective can project the network of social services. There is special attitude on nongovernmental agencies which provide supplementary role in the helping process with parents, as services established by the state and municipality in most cases has role of control.

5.3. Children Day Care Centres

For development of child protection services ratification of Act of Child Rights in 1995 was important, which hasstarted development of social services to implement child protection, and there was an increased intensity of social services. Also the Law on Fundamentals of protection of the rights of the child (1996) allowed to have aim and responsibility of social actors.

5.3.1. Laws and Acts Regulating Children Day Care Centres' Development

First laws, which gave fundamentals of social services, were admitted in 1992, and then changed according to the specificities of development. The most important declaration for the development of child protection services the Declaration of Children Rights was signed by Lithuania in 1995.

Žalimienė (2009), when overlooking the development of social service systems, points, that understanding of social service system as separate part of social protection developed just after II Wold War. At that time in welfare states on the State level there was agreed that welfare of the person cannot be

ensured just with financial inputs (allowances, benefits, pensions etc.), which are ensured for all citizens according certain defaulted measures. People are in need for personal individual services. She describes that during 1945–1960 in most welfare states it is the period of establishment of systems of social services, which evolves during 1960–1990, and is featuring the increase of quality of systems social services. The period, which Lithuania starts establishment their of systems social services, at the same time in western countries it deals with the reforms. Researcher points that Western Welfare State countries went through long period of development. Žalimienė emphasize that the Law of Social Services which was admitted in 1996 in practice was interpreted differently according to the personal experience and imagination of the ones who implemented. This according researcher challenged the development of new social service system in Lithuania, and discontinuation of the Soviet system, existed previously.

The majority of children at social risk are mostly dependent on the work of child protection agencies. It is important to emphasize that during the last decade documents which legislate the child protection were formulated and accepted, and formed the basis and the main preconditions for development and change within the child protection system.

Also ratification of Children rights also impelled the development of social services in child protection area. During 1995–2005 the number of families which were considered as being at risk of social exclusion was increasing from 25, 6 thousands of children in 1995, to 40 thousands in 2002. Increasing number of families and children at risk is the theme of much discussion and there are two particularly important but differing aspects. On the one hand, as mentioned previously, many families face difficulties in adapting to permanently changing economical, political and social situations. The most challenging of course and with the greatest demands was the change from a planed economy to a market economy. The situation was both complex and difficult and required families to find quickly a new and balanced way of being in society.

3 table. Families at social risk in Lithuania 1995–2010, thousands (Lietuvos vaikai, 2003, Lietuvos statistikos departamentas, 2011)

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010
Number of families	99,7	112,6	114,9	115,1	116,0	118,1	118,7	118,5	116,4	112,0	111,4	111,1	110,9
Children in them	225,6	229,9	334,3	334,4	336,9	440.3	442.8	440,0	336,5	227,9	225,5	224,2	223,3

In 1996 there comes one of the first laws of social services, which creates basis for development of the social services. The law had the basic goal, which aimed to satisfy the vital needs of an individual and to create living conditions that do not debase human dignity, when the individual himself is incapable

of accomplishing this. And the ultimate goal of social services is to return to individuals a capability of caring for themselves and integrating into society. It emphasizes that social services must be provided for prevention purposes as well, in order to avoid the emergence of social problems. Indeed nor clear aim, nor settings are not defined.

The basis for the day care centres for children had comes from the international–external funding. The first law which created fundamentals for the program of children and adolescence crime prevention 1996, 1997, 1998, implemented by Ministry of Education and Science.

The aim of the national program of children and adolescence crime prevention in 1996 was to create conditions for physical, mental, spiritual, social and cultural development of children and adolescence; motivate their learning and improve their free-time occupation; eliminate and neutralise negative impact of social environment to child's personality; organize social care for the risk group children (especially homeless, vagabond, begging) children, giving particular attention to their educational care and occupation; impede violence, alcohol and other substance abuse. The program is not describing any outcomes or results, occupation of children is value *per se*. The requirements, that there should be included 25–30% of children at social risk, and their creativity, active participation in citizenship programs should be developed, psychological help. for children would be provided. It is important to notice that program is focused only on provision social services for children, but no means for family or other important actors, who are creating exclusion of children.

2001 program of children and adolescence crime prevention is quite same, just more developed understanding who are children at social risk, and their conditions and determine them so: children who made crime or otherwise broke the law; unaccompanied, vagabond, begging, not attending school, children from asocial families, and other "street children"; children who were physically and psychologically abused; children under substance abuse, children who has pedagogical-psychological problems and are suggested by pedagogical-psychological office and municipality child protection agency.

In this stage there is no budget for the medical care of the children, and strongly promotes collaboration between agencies.

In this stage there is no:

- clear expected result
- clear means how the program aims should be implemented
- settings, which would be preferable for achieving aims
- no price of social issues

In 2002 national program of children and adolescence crime prevention changed, as the aim more is utilise acquired knowledge and settings, and equip-

ments (sport halls, parks, computer classes and so on), seeking to distract children from negative impact of social surrounding.

Together with new version of Laws of social services in 2002, there comes first National program of nongovernmental children day care centres. The implementation of the national programs belongs to Ministry of social security and labour. The program is created for preschool and school age children from problematic families, where they would get help. The agencies should organize education, after school occupation, social work with families, in order to make conditions for children to return to family (it's meaning not clear, because children coming to day care centres are living with their biological parents). Indeed, this part can create dissatisfaction of work, if in the other agencies case are involved. This topic is quite often explored by the research participants.

In the national program there is mentioned that in those day care centres for children there should be created proper conditions for children's socialization, early crime prevention, and social services for problematic families provided. The problematic families, which should get help of social worker are considered:

- socially vulnerable (in poverty) families, which due to material disadvantages (low income, unemployment, and other causes) are not able to care about their children properly;
- families which are not assuring needed conditions of care and education (because of illness of both parents or the only);
- asocial families (disharmonious families), where is permanent heavy drinking, or other substance abuse, lack of attention for children care, education, and meeting of basic physical needs;
- families where mother or father is single caretaker, where is need for psychological, social and other help for solving different problems

The children day care centre is described as agency, providing social services for problematic families and their children, also services for preschool and additional education. In day care centres children are fed, educated, there are possibilities to play, prepare festivals, and participate in cultural, ecological and other events. There is organized social work with families, whose children are coming to day care centres, in order that parents would be encouraged to take better care and education of their children. According to possibilities there is provided psychological and pedagogical help for parents. The aims is to eliminate causes which reasons children to loose care of parents, as social work with problematic families are strengthening families, and helps to become functional – implement functions of society.

The need for the programs is because firstly there is an increasing amount of children growing in problematic families, and thus children preschool age are not educated, school age children do not attend school or they attend poorly, at home there is not assurance that children will do homework. Lack of resources

or careless attitude toward child, consequences that not every child can achieve for specialized professions after school education. Very often children find themselves on the streets as they do not have activities. There is increase delinquency among children and adolescence.

Solving social problems of problematic families and their growing children becomes actual pedagogical, social, legal problem for protection of children rights. The national program is prepared according recommendations of UN, as every year there is increase in number of children who enter the care system. Also, the reason is attempt to deinstitutionalise services for children, therefore the issue is too many children are cared in institutions. Social problem which was in need to reduce was increasing number of poor families. Therefore, children day care centres should evolve to provide services for poor families, as the poor families and vulnerable families cannot receive appropriate support, and there is lack of alternative care.

In the national program there is analysis of situation which would recognise need of provided social services as usually because of abusing alcohol, drugs, or other substances or other socially not acceptable behaviour, parents do not warranting basic needs of their children. They cannot take proper care about their children, afford preschool education, do homework, fulfil hygienically needs, ensure conditions for leisure time. Children in such families more often attract attention of police, as children submit to the street authority, or because they are victims of the crimes. The description of the current situation in Lithuania, which creates basis for the children day care centre activities are identically described in the National programs of 2002–2004 and 2005–2007.

The novelty in the National program of the children day care centres in 2005–2007 was that the preschool age children are excluded form the target groups, thus the program is more focused on the children's achievements at school, and drop-out prevention. Also this national program focused on creation of infrastructure and increasing number of children day care centres in the country.

Another important law is the Law of social services which legitimize the entrance of social worker into private family matters specifying family situations. The Law of social services differentiaites the family at social risk focusing on issues adult parents are facing and the childat social risk. The family at social risk has to have these features:

- has children under 18 years of age;
- at least one of the parent is abusing psychotropic substances;
- at least one of the parent is dependent on gambling;
- parents are abusing the child;
- the state's benefits parents are using not for interests of family;
- results threat for the development and security of the child.

The named features of the family at social risk are related with parents' responsibility to warrant the secure behaviour with the child, the abilities to control use of substances and promoting education and participation of the child in the society. The definition the participation in the society is so broad, that it leaves space for the individual interpretation. The issues related to the child are not pictured in the definition. In this law the family is perceived as a combination of different members: responsible adult parents and minor child, who is in need for supervision. Child can also perform uncontrolled impulsive behaviour, what makes him/her at social risk. The features for the child at social risk, defined by the Law of social services:

- child is under age of 18;
- involved into vagrancy, begging;
- does not attend school, or experiences behavioural problems at school;
- child is abusing substances;
- child is gambling dependent;
- involved into criminal activities;
- experience or there exists the threat to experience abuse in the family;
- there are limited possibilities for education and participation of the child in the society.

The Law of social services is important to take into account, as it legitimizes client's status for social services. Regarding these features, it is clear that national program of children day care centers focuses on families at social risk. In the national program there is still confusion between social needs which include just basic physical needs of the child and rights of the child that are important in order to establish variety of social services for family. Emphasizing the importance to meet by social services the child's physical needs and mixing them with children's rights separate opposite groups of receivers of social services: children and parents. First of all, children become victims of their abandoning parents. Parents are not able to meet physical needs of nutrition and hygiene of children, children day care centre is taking over these responsibilities. Focusing on provision of basic physical needs does not extent the perception of client need for the social services. Parent's needs as improving parental skills or abilities to participate actively in social life, thus, promote their social inclusion are not in the scope of social workers in children day care centre.

The definition of the social risk focuses on deviant behaviour, which leads to the establishment of the custody of the children. There is no difference between child and adult dealing with deviant behaviour, another important aspect to mention is that both groups are actively choosing and performing inappropriate behavioural habits.

The children day care centres initiated activities in order to deal with children delinquency, involvement into vagrancy and beggary in the year 1996. The

infrastructure was initiated by Ministry of education and science aiming to create facilities for delinquency prevention. In 2002 the National children day care centres were set and all responsibilities for the development of the facility took the Ministry of Social security and labour. Interesting to notice that the setting which evolves from the Ministry of Education was not so much relating childhood to the education system, than it evolved under leadership of the Ministry of social security and labour. National program of children day care centres accentuate the importance of fulfilment of basic children's physical needs, and the dropout prevention from the education system. Services for parents are just supplementary services. The legislation of the setting promotes division of the family as unit into two groups the children and the parents.

5.3.2. Transformations of Children Day Care Centres

Residential institutions, according to Tobis (2000, 5), were central part of social policy in most Central and Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union. The residential institutions had impact on housing of marginalized populations. The institutions had dual tole of social protection and social regulations. They also:

- socialized individuals into collective culture;
- educated and trained children and channelled them into the work force;
- re-educated juvenile delinquents;
- assisted and protected groups of vulnerable individuals-orphans, dependent children, children at risk of abuse and neglect, the elderly, and people with disabilities.

There were no alternatives for the institutional care of children, when parents were unable to provide care for children due to economic reasons. There were no services for parents which were facing difficulties with provision of adequate child care.

Nongovernmental organizations were significantly important for development of social work as professional activity in Lithuania. This sector has been bringing novelties to the development of national family social policy: creating system of foster care, some networks which are providing services for families, also had role in appearance municipality social workers working with families. The need for network of social services providing help and support families in need is still crucial. State created and has financed national program for Children Day Care Centres. In this way the State is supporting development of nongovernmental organizations, and creating possibilities to provide services for children on daily basis.

At first, trying to understand the development of legislation and understanding, I have decided to analyze the implementation process of innovation. Kenter (2000) presents that innovation consists from set of tasks, which

are carried out at micro-level by individuals and groups of individuals within organization, which are stimulated, facilitated, enhanced, or opposed – by set of macro level conditions. Indeed, children day care centres are considered as innovations, which are creating local social services, which would support family as unit.

Kenter (2000, p. 168) points that innovation in products, processes, or system tends to have four characteristics:

1. Innovation process is uncertain. The source of innovation or the appearance of possibility to innovate may be unpredictable. The innovation goal may involve little or no precedent or experience to base the use to make forecast about the results. This innovation phase can be characterized as chaos of development, with not clear costs, unrealistic results.

2. The innovation process is knowledge intense. The innovation process generates new knowledge intensively, relying on individual human intelligence and creativity.

3. Innovation process is controversial. Innovation always involves competition with alternative course of action. Sometimes the very existence of potential innovation poses a threat to best interests.

4. Innovation process crosses boundaries. There is evidence that many best ideas are interdisciplinary or interfunctional in origin. They benefit from broader perspective and information from outside is primarily response for the innovation. Regardless of the origin of innovations they inevitably send out ripples and reverberations to other organizational units, whose behaviour is to be fully developed or exploited.

If innovation is uncertain, fragile, political and imperialistic (reaching out to embrace other territories), then it is most likely to flourish where conditions allow flexibility, quick action and intensive care, coalition formation. It is more likely to grow in organizations that have integrative structures and cultures emphasizing diversity, multiply structural linkages both inside and outside the organization, intersecting territories, collective pride, faith in people's talents, collaboration and team work. The organizations producing more innovation have more complex structures that link people in multiple ways and encourage them to 'do what needs to be done' with strategically guided limits, rather than confirming themselves to the letter of their job. Such organizations also are better connected with the key external resources and operate in favourable institutional environment.

At first I found that development of children day care centers can be analysed according the adaptation of innovation process. I used Greenhalgh (2004,

119) distinguished phases of innovation adaptation to understand evolution of the children day care centers as a setting providing social services for the vulnerable families. First phase is emergence, which could be related with the single isolated projects implemented by nongovernmental agencies for the occupation of children in the communities. The attractiveness of services pushed to the second phase of innovation: diffusion – knowledge creation. The phase could be associated with the organised state funding for the afterschool occupation. This allowed promoting the spread of the services as an effective idea. The establishment of the National program of children day care centres could be signed with the third phase – diffusion. Also it is important that the state is funding development of the specific agencies was perceived as acceptable for the municipalities' effective way to deal with family issues within local communities. The fourth phase of negotiating and influencing could be linked with the National program of children day care centres 2005–2007, where description of the client is more clarified, but there is emphasis on the number enlargement of the agencies.

However, when I found Madison's (1969) article I resigned to analyse the setting of children day care centres as innovation. The extended day groups have the same structure and aims as children day care centre, as the extended day groups were established in 1956. Thus, understanding and recognising the *habitus* can help to explain the phenomena. From the third phase of innovation diffusion development of children day care centres turn to the past experiences, and reproduced knowledge and traditions made innovative services more acceptable and stimulated in the society.

Looking on the services which are provided by a social workers in the children day care centers are quite same assistance and supply as it was during the Soviet period. However, services are developing and additionally there are services for parents which are promoting the quality of parental care through self-help groups, or teaching parental care and individual consulting. Indeed, it is important to take into account the facilities which are reproduced over the years. It was not so easy to find description about the 'extended-day' groups existing at schools during Soviet period. I remembered myself such a facility in the primary school for most of the children, as parent was working at that time of a day. I found source which was presenting innovative services in Soviet Union. Of course it was translated to professional language avoiding to unfold the ideological aim within these facilities, one of them ignorance of social issues. Removing the ideological purpose the 'extended-day' groups seems quite reasonable facility supporting working parents occupying children when they are at work.

Madison (1969, 154) refers that extended-day schools and groups made their appearance in 1956, four years later they were extended by decree throughout the entire country. 'Extended-day' means that the children do not go home after school, but remain at school until the parents call for the child, usually after 6

p.m. During the extra time, children are fed, do their homework, and take part in supervised recreation. In many families both parents work long hours, so that if the child comes home immediately after school, he is alone. The alternatives for these settings are considered institutional care, which is too expensive as facility, boarding schools do not offer emotional richness of normal family life, also can be considered as expensive services.

It is significant to take into account the alternatives which were considered for extended-day groups at school- they were all residential, and supposed to be provided outside the family as a unit. That could be explained through understanding the implications which had parent–child relationship in relation to the State.

Madison (1969, 149) refers that the services for children and mothers in need were organized by the Ministry of Welfare. In principle workers in the family allowances program are expected to satisfy the social needs of the mothers and children involved: find suitable work for mothers, improve living conditions, help adolescence to find work and enroll into evening schools, place small children into nurseries, kindergartens, or when necessary, institutions and assist neglected, abused and unsupervised children. However, most local offices do not furnish any of these services, claiming that mothers who have social problems can get necessary help at their places of employment in their social organisations.

As Field (2007, 83) notes by the 1950s, utopian visions of completely socialized child rearing had mostly withered away, and it was widely assumed that parents were necessary for raising children. Radical proposals for reorganizing the family did arise from time to time, but they were never seriously implemented. But pedagogues and officials worried that while parental love and care were vital, mothers and fathers did not always understand that because they were raising future citizens, they had social obligations to mould their children into hard working communists. Thus, it is important to take into account certain discussions about the possibility to replace parenthood creating certain facilities to fulfil main expectations coming across – to mould and form future communist society. The emphasis is not only in values or worldview of the child, but be able to work for the state. Anyway, this idea was declined, but parental care was not good enough and with certain suspiciousness. Therefore it is important to have control over child upbringing, replacing parenthood when it was considered as deficient.

Krushchev's populist approach to government required hard working, disciplined, active citizens. Mothers and fathers taking distinct responsibilities deemed appropriate to each gender had a major role in producing these citizens. Each family had to raise a true patriot, and honest labourer, a good collectivist, a worthy successor and continuer of our great revolutionary tasks (Field 2007, 83). Thus rhetoric lasted till the collapse of the Soviet Union and was important in implementation, forming of child welfare structures in the Soviet

Union. The spotlight in this perspective would be construction of childhood, which is realizable as passive agent in the process of upbringing. She/he can be formed, moulded, and constructed as person, outcomes of the process would be appearing in the future. There is emphasis on the role of upbringing person, which has power to control child's personality. The socialization process in human life is fundamental, individual features of personality erased. There can be threat for today's children day care centres as consequence of that period – eliminated individualities of parents and children and with social work help reaching personal intentions of the social worker.

In the event that parents failed to achieve the goals, the volunteer groups and incipient welfare organizations that were so characteristic of this era was empowered reprimand, fine or punish them (Field 2007, 83). Hence can be understandable attempts to provide social work help as punishment for inability to achieve required or demanded tasks. Education in the Soviet Union was unified and ideologies implemented and it was quite clear direction to follow in upbringing of the child. Considering the child's individuality, his/her participation in the process of upbringing and recession of the state from controlling and directing and leaving parents alone to decide, social work in child protection lost clarity in qualifying parenthood. Thus, most social workers concentrate on material facilities and parent's abilities to meet certain level of wellbeing for their children. Socialization process seems pushed away as secondary element in child's upbringing, or even minimizing it to the child's achievements in homework, behaviour control, and politeness.

Pedagogical discussions about child's personality were concluded in the Pavlovian language that had been mandatory under Stalin and continued to be rhetoric reflex, even scholars begin to explore and use other scientific approaches (Field 2007, 84). As I already mentioned, during the Soviet period the most prominent theoretical approach implemented in child's education was behaviourism.

Thus, in material for parents, pedagogical writers explained children's temperament and behaviour in term of interaction of two essential nervous system processes that Pavlov has described: excitements and inhibitions. Some children, according to the experts were dominated by inhibitors reflexes and were quiet and passive and needed their parents' encouragement to exercise and socialize. Other children were dominated by their reflexes of excitation, then parents had to teach them greater self-control and patience (Field 2007, 84). Thus, control of child's behaviour remain issue for most social workers working in children day care centres.

Extended schools are designated to deal with problems associated with broken homes, lack of supervision, and inadequate parental guidance: poor scholastic performance, dropping out of school, and delinquency. They rely not only on individualized, skilled instructions but also on upbringing practices that will restructure the child's personality. Hence, both teachers and educators are

employed. It is important to emphasize, that in their operation were 25 children for one teacher and educator working as a team (Madison 1969, 154).

In the struggle for the young generation, it cannot be denied, that the totalitarian state disposes of powerful resources for shaping the minds of the young in the desired direction. These include a carefully controlled system, the suffusion of the output of the mass media with propaganda themes, and the closely supervised youth organizations. On the other hand, the resources of the family are frequently seen as equally strong, as they include the presumed complete control of parents over children in the earliest years, and influence achieved through mutual ties of loyalty and affection at later years (Geiger 1956, 189)

The issue for social work, which focus on safeguarding children from insufficient care of parents is that at young age children are able to idealize figures, which create feeling of belonging. Geiger (1956, 196) indicates that those children will focus for conflict with parents. During the Soviet period, the child-parent relationship was politicized they emotional problems could be explained as a displacement from dependency between parents and the state, associated with the struggle to overcome dependency feelings which are no longer culturally approved.

Social work as professional activity has just 20 years of development. Social work education in Lithuania evolved as a result of social policy decisions, which also aimed to provide new structure of support for the most vulnerable members of society after collapse of the Soviet Union. Social work in Lithuania is described as multifaceted, as in the phase of initiation had different sources of professional knowledge: USA, Europe and also local initiatives. Social work education brought new understanding not as a field of professional practice, but also implementing innovative methods in education. The foreign educators emphasized importance of practice field, as the method which allows to recognise local needs and deal with real local situations.

Social work associated with Lithuanian independence and implementation of human rights. The profession appeared in society where the Soviet state had powerful role in control of public and private lives. The deprivation of personal autonomy in society resulted the double morality. Private realm was protected by following the rules and using language of the public one. The state was controlling relations in economy. This allowed reinforcing the omnipotent power of the Soviet State to regulate society and relations within. Therefore, it is hard to evaluate the extent which Soviet social policy had impact over the present horizon. Diffused horizon of the past is reproducing certain rules and knowledge into the present. Social work as profession develops different values and requires consciousness in understanding of the profession. Reflection is crucial for development professional roles and activities of social worker, in order to promote change, and social inclusion of the family.

There is separation of the family as unit into children and parents. The children day care centres infrastructure which at first was established as a mean

to solve children delinquency problems evolved according to the *habitus.* The agencies which are not part of education system, and are more participant of child protection setting, at some point begin to fulfil the education gaps with the most vulnerable members of society – children of the excluded families. The aim of the children day care centres according to the National program of children day care centres are to meet basic needs of the children, and help to stay in the education system. Social work with parents is voluntary part of the social worker's helping process, which professionals can interpret according individual attitudes and experience.

6. SOCIAL WORKER'S REFLECTION ON FATHER'S ROLE BEHIND THE PRACTICES OF SOCIAL WORK

It was challenging to find the way to present research data and its interpretation, and start data presentation by disclosing help for fathers as it was constructed by the research participants. Disclosing the construction of help for fathers helped me to unfold *habitus* in relation to the family as a unit which originated in the Soviet Union. This topic helped me to open up the latent layer of cultural norms concerning not only the role of the fatherin the relation to the child, but also the role of the mother. This layer which is not reflected by overall society has an impact on the construction of helping process provided by a social worker.

It is possible to notice that social work in child protection area already faces some obstacles for conscious fathers' involvement into helping process. The aim of this chapter was to disclose the understanding of fatherhood in the social working helping process. This chapter includes topics displaying the possibilities for fathers, whose lifestyle is considered improper, to have a chance to receive help and maintain actual status of the father as a caring figure.

6.1. Helping Process for Men as Single Parents

The data analysis started with helping process for single fathers, looking for horizon of the phenomena, feeling blurry and unclear. The repetition of the same scenarios told by the research participants created an intrigue for me to search for historical evidences which would broaden the understanding and help to interpret the motives of the research participants.

Reading the data, I noticed, that social workers rarely talked about helping process provided for both parents at the same time. Four research participants out of five have mentioned different situations where they have faced single fatherhood in their professional practice. Research participants told 7 different stories concerning single fatherhood. Those stories emerged when research participants were comparing and elaborating on family situations where mother was the main caregiver in the family. This might highlight that single fatherhood and motherhood situations are perceived differently by the research participants.

In excerpt [1.1.128] Joana mentions cases of two families sharing the same house. One family was described as cohabitating couple with two children and unemployed but loving mother; another family – as a single father with uneameable number of children. The stories of those families' emerged when

Joana was describing family visit during which she wanted to involve cohabitating couple's children to come to a day care center

I.1.1.28 [gyvena žodžiu. jie nomuoja. nomuoja, nuom- vieną pusę namo. bet ten tik, vienas kamba-, vienas kambarys. ir tokia kaip veranda kurioje įsirengę, net man net ne veranda kaip karidoriukas. kuriame įsirengę yra viryklę. kambario dydis panašiai kaip šito, kaip šito kambario ir gyvena <u>keturiese</u>. žodžiu tai iš tikrųjų šildymas. (.) jie šildosi elektra:a, nes (.) žodžiu, <u>kūrenimas</u> krosnim yra iš kitos namo pusės. ta kita šeima, ↓bet ten yra, visiškai asociali šeima ir. net ne šeima, ten tėvas geriantis, mamos nėra, ir vaikai dabar tokia irgi stiuacija. va, ir žodžiu iš tikrųjų situacija labai labai, (.) sudėtinga.

1.1.28 [are living in a word. they are renting. renting, rent- one part of a house. there is only, one roo-, one room. and there is terrace as such where they put in, it do not seem as not a terrace for me but as corridor. in which they put in stove. the size og the room is similarly as this room, as this room and there lives <u>four persons</u>. in one word that really heating. (.) they are heating with electricity:y, as (.) in a word, <u>heating</u> by charcoral-burner heater is from the other side of the house. that the other family, ↓but then totally asocial family and. not even the family, there is father drinking, mother is absent, and children now also such situation. so, and in a word really situation very very, (.) complicated.

In the excerpt research participant was describing two families that were in need of some kind of social worker's intervention. Joana described in details the living conditions of the cohabitating couple, emphasizing the help she could provide in order to fulfill children's basic needs. However, the living conditions of the single father had no details in Joana's description. Accoding to Joana the single father's situation was very complex. Absence of details could indicate that Joana did not consider children or the father as her potential clients.

The difference of constructing family situations was reflected not only in Joana's words but in her vocal expressions as well. At the beginning of the single father's case description, Joana's fall in the pitch and word repetition could indicate that she acknowledged her hopelessness in the helping process. One of the aspects emphasized in the extract was Joana's moral attitude toward the understanding of the family as a unit. The presence of the mother in the family seemed to be the main indicator for defining 'situation' as a family. By not defining a single father's situation as a family might explain Joana's reluctance to foresee social work interventions for that family.

Another aspect of defining a family as a unit was caregiver's active participation in childcare. A drinking single father might indicate that there is a lack of responsibility and active participation in childcare in the family.

Leonas presented [3.1.28] another case where the main caregiver is a single father. He tries to compare this family situation with the one of single mother. In both cases research participant emphasizes parents attempt to be in touch with their children after the divorce. Leonas shortly presents the case of single father as a result of work emigration, who is raising two school age girls and the family mother has emigrated. Indeed, during the interview the research participant repeatedly emphasized lack of proffesional experience to start helping process for this family. At some point Leonas express distrust to the father as a single caregiver for the family. Nevertheless, Leonas does not give any hint about how social worker should act or what kind support such family needs. Leonas

only expressed concern how he could organize supervision for these children during some hours of the day. Leonas sees the importance of the father's participation in this supervision of his children.

The analysis of the described cases raised questions about the passivity of the research participants. There is so much of resentment about the lifestyle of men as single fathers, but in their stories they describe the feelings, but not actions. While examining the research data, I wondered if such patriarchal attitude came from social work as a feminine profession where the roles of the men and women are supposed to be divided into different arenas. Presumably social workers, as representatives of the feminine profession protect motherhood as women's priviledge. In this case, men are supposed to be breadwinners. However, the data analysis revealed that this role is also attributed to mothers. This topic will be discussed in Chapter 7. Thus, doubts and curiosity encouraged me to examine the impact of *habitus* on contruction of help for family with the single father. I have examined the sceptical attitude of the social worker on abilities of the single fathers to provide care for their children, thus doubting their capabilities in solving family issues

Few research participants described cases where social worker is focuses on help provision for single fathers. There the father is described differently: from victim to violent abuser of his own child. Depending on the father's role, the research participant chooses respective role on the behalf of the child: from supporter to protector. In these extract, the point of view to their role as family social workers of the research participants depends on child's age and their attitude to single father as a subject in need of help. Anyway, helping process described by research participants addressed for the father is more like introduction of facts that client situation is complex without consideration, assessment or even acting to initiate helping process.

Social worker Justina was telling about single father [2.3.56] in the context of collaboration between agencies, which provide social services for families at social risk. One of the issues she was facing is that municipality's center of social services and the child day care center has been working with same families at the same time. Here the research participant saw the obstacles were different values, working methods, and expectations for the helping process for family in different agencies which are supposed to collaborate in helping process for the client. Justina suggested that slow empowerment of client is more realistic than a usually provided list of strict requirements to be fulfilled during the certain period of time. The research participant was discussing about injustice in evaluating client's capability to change the current situation into more suitable for child care. Justina emphasized that the resources to implement the required change without assistance of professional social worker also should be taken into account.

2.3.56.   *[o kaip jie dabar man kyla klausimas, o kaip jie iš vis žiūri į socialines paslaugas?*

2.3.57.   žinok iš-, kas?=

2.3.58.   *=klientai?*

2.3.59.   °nežinau žinok.° ↑nieko nes tie kurie susiduria su:u tarkim su tarkim socialinių paslaugų centru tai jie žiūri į tai kad juos priverčia kažką keisti gyvenime supranti. juos tiesiog priverčia. (.) grasindami vaiko atėmimu, atėmimu dar kažkuom žinai. 2.3.59.

2.3.60.   *bet dideliem- nu čia aš galvoju. (.) yra šešiolika moteriškių ane iš viso, dvi iš jų dar pakovoja už kažk-, nu ta prasme už vietos po saule. visos keturiolika, ne pas jas ateina socialinių paslaugų centras, (.) nu pasirašai dokumentą ne visada prieš tave gali atsisukti. (.) jeigu pakankamai protingas esi, ir žinai įstatymus, žinai kad tokių dalykų prieš tą žmogų nu negali <u>niekas</u> daryti, jeigu tu turi galios. nu atsiprašau aš stebiuosi, nes aš galvoju kad, du mėnesiai pakeist tuos dalykus kuriuos išvardinai pasiekt yra nerealu. 2.3.60.*

2.3.61.   °kad nerealu nežinau, kad nepasiekiama gal.°

2.3.62.   *tai kam tokius reikalavimus kelt?,*

2.3.63.   vienos mergaitės ma-, nu ten du mėnesiai buvo nepasiektas, <u>dar mėnesis</u> ir viskas ir atėmė vaiką. kad nieko nedarė žinai. o ten iš tikrųjų buvo vyras žinai tėvas bet <u>taip</u>, nu jisai visai fainas buvo. (.) jisai paskui žinai pasikeitė iš tikrųjų, grąžino vaiką. ↑bet nu supranti <u>mano</u> supratimu tai yra:a taip kad, <u>tuos pasižadėjimus</u> išlaužia iš <u>tų šeimų</u> iš kurių realiai nereikia <u>tų vaikų paimti.</u> kurie <u>dar gali</u> žinai <u>būt</u> toj šeimoj. bet <u>tie</u> iš kurių <u>reikia</u> tuos vaikus tikrai <u>paimti</u>, tai žinok su jais <u>niekas</u> nieko nedirba ir jokių tokių pasižadėjimų iš nieks neišlaužia žinai. 2.3.63.

2.3.64.   *juos paskui tuos įvykdymus, paima vaikus ar nelabai?*

2.3.65.   nu aš kai buvau tai:i, ta ta jų ten kiečiausias atvejis kai buvo tai paėmė, nes atseit nieko nevykdė žinai.

2.3.66.   *kiečiausias, (.) tai yra?*

2.3.67.   nu turėjo susirasti <u>darbą</u>, pakeisti gyvenimo vietą, vyras ta prasme malonus žinai vienoj. <u>vyras</u> ir turėjo pakeist gyvenamą vietą susirast darbą, (.) o paskui ten prisideklaruoti, (.) °ar dar ten kažką padaryti reikėjo.° ↑vienu žodžiu <u>jisai tiktai vieną punktą</u> įvykdė ir jam paėmė vaiką žinai.= 2.3.67.

2.3.68.   *=o kas atsakingas už palydėjimą?*

2.3.69.   nu:u tai aš taip suprantu, kad socialinių paslaugų centras kuris, <u>liepia</u> tą daryti tai nu jie ten kažkiek tai <u>padeda</u> žinai. (.) jeigu žinai kad klientai sutinka. 2.3.69.

2.3.56.   *[and how they question comes my mind, and what attitude they have to social services?*

2.3.57.   you know real-, who?=

2.3.58.   *=clients?*

2.3.59.   °I don't know you know° ↑nothing as those who face with suppose:e center of social services then those they are looking to that they are forced to change something in their life. they are straightly forced. (.) threatening the children to take away, to take away and by something else you know. 2.3.59.

2.3.60.   *but for the big- I am thinking here. (.) there are sixteen women aren't there totally, two out of them at least fight for someth-, in that sense for their place under the sun. all fourteen, because the center of social services are coming to them, (.) and you sigh the document which always can turn against you. (.) if you are clever enough, and you know the laws, you know that such things against person can't <u>no one</u> can do, if you have power. so excuse me I am surprised, as I think that, two months to change those things which you named to achieve is unreal. 2.3.60.*

2.3.61.   °that unreal I am not sure, that unachievable might be.°

2.3.62.   *so why to upraise such requirements?,*

2.3.63.   one girl's mo(ther)-, like there were two months was unachieved requirements, one <u>more month</u> and all and they take away the child. That was because they did nothing you know. and there was a man you know father but <u>this</u>, like he was quite fine. (.) after you know he changed actually, returned child. ↑but you know by my understanding that is:s so that, <u>those commitments</u> they squeeze from those <u>families</u> from whom really there is no need <u>to take those children.</u> those who <u>still can</u> you know be in that family. but <u>those</u> from whom <u>there is need</u> to really those children to <u>take away,</u> then you know with them <u>no one</u> works nothing with them and no one squeeze such commitment from them you know. 2.3.63.

2.3.64.   *them after those requirements, take away children or not?*

2.3.65.   so when I was that:t, so so their there the strangest case was when they take away ((the child)), because they supposingly did not accomplish you know.

2.3.66.   *strangest, (.) that is?*

2.3.67.   so had to find <u>the job</u>, change living residence, man in that sense was kind you know in the once. <u>man</u> and had to change living residence find job, (.) and later declare, ((address of residue)), (.) °or do something more he had.°

↑in one word <u>he just one point</u> accomplished and they take away the child from him you know.= 2.3.67.

2.3.68.   =*and who is responsible for support?*

2.3.69.   like:e so I understand so, that center of social services who, <u>orders</u> to do that then they something so they <u>help</u> you know. (.) if you know that clients agrees. 2.3.69.

In this extract is represented another aspect: if the list of requirements given by municipality's social worker is not fulfilled then the family as unit is separated, children are placed to the foster care. Justina is presenting case of a single father. She emphasizes the list of requirements presented by municipality worker: to change living place, find a job, and declare living address for municipality in one month. Eventually, the father has achieved all the changes, but only after his children was placed into foster care. Justina doubts the need to make father to feel guilty for unachievements and inabilities to maintain family and overcome separation with children. Indeed, research participant does not specify what kind of support she provided for the father to avoid this injustice.

Social worker Kristina told two cases of single father from her professional experience in the children day centre. First time after given the question if she had faced single father during her work in children day care center, she answered that there was no cases, and after some time she recalled [5.1.23] the teenager and father, as the mother of the family passed away several years ago. Both, according to research participant, had addiction to the alcohol. Kristina repeated the addiction issue several times during the first interview.

According the research participant, the father and the son were the clients of the center because of the alcohol abuse and poverty. The case was decribed as long lasting, as it was taken from the predecessor social worker and was forwarded to the successor social worker. . As the main issue of the father was substance abuse, the social worker suggested him to go to AA club. When Kristina was asked if father was working, she was not sure, she made that he could possibly be working in constructions. Thus, poverty according research participant was severe, as because of the lack of incomes electricity, water and gas in the flat were disconnected. In this case father is characterized as reluctant to accept help and not active in helping process. Main emphasis and motive to provide help for Kristina is to control the behavior of the teenager, and pay back the debts of the family. Anyway, in participant's words, the father is acting as an outsider, inable to achieve stability and control. The boy was coming to the day care center according the research participant just for nominal monthly ticket, food and group or psychological counseling.

Alcol issue was attempted to solve during the period of the Soviet Union. That experience and means which were used to manage this issue created special attitudes to alcohol abuse which are vivid even today. As Conor (1971, 570) notices by analyzing Soviet legal periodicals and the press, there was lack

of clearly distinguished difference between 'habitual drunkard' and alcoholic. There existed reluctance to name alcoholism as simple desease. One of the reasons could be the extent of the issue, and another reason was medical attitude towards alcohol dependence as developed individual psyhopathological addiction to alcohol which is beyond their control, which has consequences for physical, psychological, and social performance. Non-acceptance of alcohol as disease and addiction can also had meaning that the Soviet society had issue and drunkness was more acceptable as a behavioral concept relevant to the public order.

The research participant does not make a distinction between the intensiveness of alcohol consumption. The alcohol consumption in client families is perceived as violation of societal norms. This attitude grants the right for the social workers to eliminate from clients, as individuals with deficient consciouseness, not ready to accept the provided services, and to make choices and changes in their family life.

Kristina was listing family's issues, which can be attributed to the adult as responsible for the care and upringing of the child, nevertheless solutions and support were provided for the teenage boy, instead for the father. On one hand, the research participant points, that the issues belong to both of family members, but the child is more appropriate and available for the social worker's provided help.

Child becomes the only family member who gets help and support from social worker of the day care center in order to make change in all family. To overcome family's substance abuse the child was suggested AA club, group work, psychological counseling. In order to overcome family's poverty the child is supported by food, free bus tickets and suggested to take the job. The research participant also makes remark that the boy can face difficulties using the services, as most of the children in the agency are much younger. Indeed, one of the themes discussed by the social worker is child's motivation to use the services, emphasizing intention to help, and his reluctance to accept this help.

The told story was long, quite detailed, but Kristina was describes it in short sentences. In order to get clearer view I had to give questions after each answer of the research participant. The feature of this story is that there are a lot of details told in whisper. Changes in voice can be detected in those points of the story where research participant is opposing the father–son situation, or describing their common issues. Just when Kristina is telling solely about the situation of teenager there are no significant changes in the voice, just emphasizing different words, giving evidencies of his behavioral or drinking issues. Research participant is describing father's situation in quieter voice. Seems that when Kristina is telling about providing help for the teenager is feeling more confidently, and with father issues she is unsure of the taken actions and decisions, and feeling the need for the certain distance in relation to the man. During the analysis of the extract I assumed that in this case the effors were made to make the teenager an adult and responsible for the issues which the family

is facing; and at the same time dislodge the father from the possible decision making and provided help of social worker.

During the second interview social worker Kristina recalled another case [5.2.47] of single father. Here the research participant took the active role in providing social work services. Kristina starts remembering the case with the fact that child was guided from Municipality agency of child rights. At the beginning the family situation was unclear. The main reason of the need to use support from the child day care center was the single fatherhood. The research participant describes the visit to the family home and characterizes their relationship based on what she heard from the neighbors. Then research participant talks about abuse and fights between father and child, that father was using corporal punishments and screaming as attempts to discipline the child. Then boy told to social worker and psychologist stories about father's abuse, pointing that he especially severe when he is drunk. Kristina was emphasizing the father's reluctance to accept help from professionals she supppses that there was need of hiding something from social workers.

As the next part of the actions research participant tells that the social worker and psychologist asks child to tell when father punish himthat, so they could help. That day when child told that father was abusing him, the center in collaboration with other agencies placed the child to the foster care. With this child's placement case closed, no matter if father is looking for help, support or social services are not provided for father as abuser.

Reading the transcripts of the interview the research participant gave a lot of emphasize words, which provide meaning to the understanding of the case. The words which were told in stressed emphasis describes father as hopeless abuser, who is avoiding collaboration with social worker in helping process: *defensive, avoiding to accept his problems, abusing alcohol, that he is educating his child so, that all house, and neighbors can hear. He is beating and educating, when he is drunk. He is using not correct educating methods, get allowance, but if he will beat the child, he will tell to us.* In the next parts there are no words told in stressed emphasis, no change in voice, not too much pauses, seems that for social worker this case is reasonable and clear. Kristina in the story is characterizing herself as saver of the victim – child, from abusing father.

5.2.48.   [taip mhm. tai va dabar pavyzdžiui, (.) nu neseni įvykiai. (.) vaikas nuo, (.) lapkričio mėnesio yra. rekomendavo, (.) vaiko teisių apsaugos tarnyba tą šeimą. .hh tėvas atėjo, (.) nu pristatė tas tėvas atvejį atėjęs. nes jam kaip ir sąlyga buvo, kad turi lankyti dienos centrą. (.) tai labai jisai čia iš pat pradžių toks ginybiškas buvo, nelabai norėjo leisti vaiko. jam čia ir problemos tame kad čia pas mus ir tvarkytis reikia. ir, (.) ir taip čia kaip čia mano vaiką dabar čia žeminsit, jam čia reiks tvarkytis. nu ir tėvas toks iš viso problemas tiek savo, (.) neigia. nes ir mes buvom gavę žinių iš vtato kad vartoja alkoholį, galbūt smurtas yra prieš vaiką. tai tėvas kategoriškai neigia. ((direktorė išsikviečia sakydama būk gera man kompiuteris)) *5.2.48.*

5.2.49.   *9:25 Kaip man paklausti*
10:07 kažkaip durnai jaučiuosi ir nežinau ko paklausti neišeina striktūra lieka kaltinimas žmogaus kaip čia daryti
22:31 grįžo

5.2.50.   ⁰atsiprašau labai.⁰(.) mhm. tai va tai. tas tėvas neigia ten visas savo bėdas, viską. bet, (.) kaip priėmėm vaiką tai mes jį stebėjom. (.) ir buvo, dar prieš tai socialinė nuėjusi ir į namus, aišku tėvo nerado, bet kaimynai pasakojo kad, nu irgi geri atsiliepimai buvo. bet sako jeigu vaiką auklėja tai jau girdisi, girdi visas namas, visi kaimynai. bet šiaip nu kad problemų tai nėra. (.) bet (.) hh jau čia neseniai mūsų pischologė kalbėjo su vaiku ir vaikas taip parsitarė kad, (.) nu namuose tėvas jį muša, (.) nu auklėja. (.) tai tas auklėjimas pasireiškia tuo kad tuo kad jie ir peiliais apsimėto abudu. nes gyvena tik su tėvu tas vaikas, nes mama yra mirusi. dar tada kai pats vaikas dar buvo mažas. ir ir naktį tėvas kai užgeria tai, prikelia vaiką ruošti pamokų. nu kai jau jam užeina tai sugalvoja kad vaikas gali būt neparuošęs.= *5.2.50.*

5.2.51.   =*o kiek vaikui metų?*=

5.2.52.   =vaikas, (.) penktoj ar šeštoj klasėj. (.) tai va tai, (.) sa- tai:i klausiam pas vaiką, k:kaip dažnai tas pasikartoja toks va auklėjimas. nu tai kai tėvas gauna pinigų, tada gauna du kartus į mėnesį gauna atlyginimą vieną kartą, o kitą kartą gauna pašalpą. (.) tai:i (.) sakėm vaikui kada, nu kai pasikartos tai jau tu pranešk mum. ir kaip tik po kelių dienų atėjęs vaikas, vėl pasisakė kad tėvas vėl jį muša. nu tada jau mes pasiskambinom į vaiko teisių apsaugos tarnybą. pranešėm jiem kad, taip yra. nes nu jau jie patys dirbo, jie patys įtarė tą smurtą. tada mes jiem pranešėm. >ai dar buvo svarstymas prieš tai.< dar dar mes to buvom neišsiaiškinę, kad yra smurtaujama.< ir buvo svarstymas tėvas ten irgi ten viską neigė. buvo prisižadėjęs kad lankys ir anoniminius alkoholikus, ir dėl (.) skolų susitvarkys, susidėlios kada ką išsimokėt. bet aišku nieko nepadarė. ir kada mes pranešėm vaiko teisių apsaugos tarnybai, tada (.) iš karto. vaiką paėmėm tą pačią dieną į

5.2.48.   [yes mhm. so now for example, (.) so recent events. (.) child from, (.) november month is here. recommended, (.) agency of child protection that family. .hh father have come, (.) so introduced that father came he had case. because he had such a condition, that he has to attend to day care centre. (.) so he was very here from very beginning so defensive was, he was not very anxious to bring his kid here. for him and the problem was that in ours we ask to clean. and, (.) and so how you will humiliate my child, he will have to clean here. so and father is such who is totally problems both also his, (.) denying. as we had got the information from vtat (agency of protection of child rights)) that probably he is abusing alcohol, probably there is violence against the child. that father assertively denying. (there comes manager of the center and asks to help and research participant returns after 20 minutes)) *5.2.48.*

5.2.49.   ⁰I am very sorry.⁰(.) mhm. so that so. that father is denying there all his miseries, everything. but, (.) when we accepted the child hereof we have observed him. (.) and was, besides before that social ((worker)) went also ((to visit their)) residence, of course she have not found father, but neighbors were telling that, so there also were good responses. but they said that if child is educated then all is possible to hear, all house is hearing, all neighbors. but otherwise there are no problems. (.) but (.) hh already here recently our psychologist was talking to child and child thus babbled out that, (.) so at home father is beaing him, (.) so educating. (.) so that education is displayed so that they also shower each other with knifes. as that child is living just with fathers, as mother is dead. then yet when that child was yet small. and and during the night when father burst then, wakes kid up to do the homework. so when it takes when he pretends that child have not done ((homework)).= *5.2.50.*

5.2.50.   =*and how old is the child?*=

5.2.51.   =child, (.) in fifth or sixth grade. (.) so that so, (.) tel- then:n we ask to the child, h::how often that repeats such that education. so it when father gets money, then gets two times per month gets salary one time, and another time gets allowance. (.) then:n (.) we said to the kid then, so when it occurs again then you will tell us. and just in the next days kid came, again told that father is beating him. so then we have phoned to agency of protection of children rights. we informed them that, about that. so because they worked themselves, they themselves suspected that violence. then we informed them. >in fact there was hearing ((case conference)) before that.< still still we have not clarified yet, that there is abuse.< and there was hearing father there also was denying everything. he promised that he will attend alcoholics anonymous, and concerning

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Pastogę. ((kažkas įėjo)) nes nu jau buvo iš seniau tai tęsiasi. ir tada, (.) vaikas į Pastogę pateko, aišku tas tėvas čia ieškojo to vaiko, jam buvo pasakyta kad, negausit vaiko. ir po to, (.) vaiko teisėse įvyko svarstymas, dėl vaiko. (.) buvo nuspręsta kad vaikas vis dėl to pasiliks Pastogėje, kol tėvas. o tėvas įsipareigoja mesti gerti, lankyti tėvystės įgūdžių grupeles, anoniminių alkoholikų, (.) ir (.) aišku byla perduota prokuratūrai išsiaiškinti ar yra smurtas ar nėra smurto šeimoje. *5.2.52.*

5.2.53.   *tai per kiek laiko maždaug šitas procesas?*

5.2.54.   m::m (.) visa tai įvyko, (.) kovo pradžioj. ir dar tęsiasi.

5.2.55.   *tai maždaug kažkur penki mėnesiai ar ne?*

5.2.56.   mhm.

(.) debts settle, schedules when what pay the debt. but of course he did nothing. and when we informed agency of protection of children rights, then (.) straight up. we took child same day to "Pastoge" ((center of child welfare, which provides foster care for child)) so because this was aforetime this continues. and then, (.) child was placed to Pastogė, of course that father was looking for the child here, that was told to him that, you will not get the child. and afterwards, (.) in child rights ((agency of protection of children rights)) was hearing, because of the child. (.) there was decided that however child stays in Pastoge, until father. and father obligates leave drinking, attend groups of parenting skills, alcoholics anonymous, (.) and (.) of course case is reported to prosecution services to clarify if there is abuse or there no abuse in the family. *5.2.52.*

5.2.52.   *so how long for this process?*

5.2.53.   m::m (.) all this happened, (.) at the beginning of march. and still continues.

5.2.54.   *so that is around five months isn't it?*

5.2.55.   Mhm.

One of the assumptions why these practices were applied unclear role of the father as active participant in care of the child. Research praticants are if the father can replace a mother, when mother is absent. The most controversial notions were about families with a single father.

The controversy here lies in the fact that during the helping process the social worker works on separation of the family as unit, taking children into custody. According to Paquette (2004, 196) in the process of children upbringing in the family environment, the emphasis is on different nature of mother's and father's tasks. It brings up the notion, that until recently in Western societies, the parental roles of the father and the mother were distinct. The mother provided to the children care and tenderness, father represented authority and discipline. These parental roles were transformed by increasing demand of labour market for the women's work. The entry of women into the labor market transformed parental roles. Author is pointing to the consequences which formed after this transformation when both mother and father equally provides emotional support, monitor and discipline the children.

The attitude to disciplining could be an issue in social work, as it to bring up new values and tear the old ones. Corporeal punishments as disciplining mean were acceptable as aim for the child to be obedient. Just two decades ago, according to Ušeckienė,Ališauskienė (2004, 112), in Lithuania appeared first studies on the issues of implementation of corporeal punishments as education measures within the family.

Sakalauskas, Ūselė (2007, 29) indicates that corporeal punishments within the family still is not clearly and ambiguously forbidden in Lithuanian society. In the Law of fundamentals of protection of the rights of the child, Article 10

states that the child shall not be tortured and injured his honor and dignity subjected to cruel treatment. In the Article 49 of the same law it is stated that parents and other legal representatives of the child may appropriately, according to their judgement, discipline the child, for avoiding carrying out their duties and for disciplinary infractions, with the exception of physical and mental torture, other cruel behaviour and the humiliation of the child's honour and dignity.

Researchers discuss that by applying different laws, defining the responsibilities in the case of abuse and cruel behaviour with the children, corporeal punishment often is not included into the definitions of those in the law. Children in case of cruel behaviour with them has right to ask for help in police or child protection agencies, and these agecies immadetially take the child from family to custody institutions. The main cause is that these corporeal punishments are perceived as insignificant education means, and parents and carers has the legal right for it. Sakalauskas, Ūselė (2007, 29) notes that usually issue in implementing of the laws is that measures and actions are taken just in the situations when child is already injured or there are other evidences that police and other agencies can use and operate. Thus, police and child protection agencies are unwilling to intervene, as sometimes there is a lack of legal means to protect the child, as the parents applied discipline means for the child is considered private family business.

The issue in this case is that society and professionals are learning to the behaviour which previously was widely practised and now is considered unacceptable, and in this context the client families are facing the consequences of their decisions. Thus, the father became the client of children day care center and was punished without warning and support without suggesting searching alternative ways to discipline the child. Also, nowadays there are not so many institutions parents could learn to change their behaviour with the children and not just express the condemnation.

In the case of single father, when man is facing stress and anxiety while bringing up child alone, he on his own is facing the consequencies of changing values in society. Farmer and Owen (1998, 555) refers that since the investigated fathers were often described as violent men, they could seem frightening to professionals, many of whom were women. When the social worker considered the father figure to be a serious risk to the child, they tried to arrange him to move out. Such help scenarios was implemented in the case described above.

Untill recent years due to attempt to legitimize paternal leave the care of the child was considered the privilege of women. Indeed, the change of the norms especially influences the excluded families, as they have more complex issues to overcome. Addis, Mahalik (2003, 10) points, that depending on the context in which a problem occurs, individual men may or may not perceive it as norm. A man who has never known anyone struggling to solve the problem may be less likely to perceive as a norm. Single fatherhood is not very usual among the client families. It is more usual social worker working with single mother to be lone carer of the children. The uniqueness of the single fatherhood for the inti-

macy of the parental role, and its performance is related to the ego of the man. Feeling guilty for not controling the situation can be reason to avoid intervention and relation with social worker or any other professional. Addis, Mahalik (2003, 10) pointed that several experimental studies, which indicated that people are least likely to seek for help when problems are perceived as ego central, or those which threaten to an important quality about oneself. For some men big threat for self-esteem if there is a doubt about his ability to provide for his family and if he considers the role of provider as central to his identity.

Before seeking for help a man calculates possibility to be rejected from an important social group as well as the view of himself as deviant, the risk in relation to the help he might receive. He also considers the need to sacrifice his autonomy by seeking help (Addis Mahalik 2003, 11). Thus, for men it is really important to maintain solid role within the family, to ensure the collaborative and objective relationship within the helping process and his need to able to control decision-making process.

Laurinaitis (2007, 130) made research on Lithuanian men attitudes towards self-realization in paternity. He made qualitative study, in which participated 1376 fathers. The study revealed that main feature of paternity, emphasized by research participants, was ability to take care of the children. Researcher in the study pointed that this covers the ability to create appropriate conditions to bring up the children, and men emphasized that father's role is to provide financial stability and certain living conditions for the family. Indeed, the characterisation of the ability to create conditions is very general, abstract, and structurally undefined practices. Important point in the study was that more than half research participants emphasized father's role as a breadwinner as different from mothers which is responsible for taking care of child and household.

Thus, the practical role for the father in the family, the child care remains unclear and undescribed. The society expects the father within family to remain a distant breadwinner. When analysing the extracts, and noticing certain trends in research participant descriptions, I tried to analyse the reasons to exclude the fathers from the helping process while observing the family situation, at the same time, separating family as unit at the point of crisis. What is the base for the attitude that fathers should accomplish the necessary changes only by themselves, without guidance if the situation of family is considered as inadequate?

As I already mentioned, one of the initial ideas was that maybe it is the question of general approach that due to their nature only mothers are able to take care of the children. In Lithuanian context this division of duties inside the family has no basis for continuation as women begin to participate in the labour market even at the beginning of the XX century. Reingardiene (2004, 59) mentions that in Lithuanian context women had never been pushed out from the public and private spheres, but 'the mother care' attitude was influenced by patriarchal social attitudes and practices. It could be considered that 'natural suitability' of mother to care about the children and this created

certain understanding as only source of competencies, not achievable for the father, thus in private area there were not only division of duties, but also division of responsibilities. Therefore, social work as helping profession was mainly performed by female social workers and eliminated men from child care as they were presumed to be unable to assure or realize certain quality of care. That could be good reason to eliminate single fathers with the confidence that those parent figures are neglectful.

Another aspect of difficulty in the helping process for the single fathers is that there were no clear practices and expectations for a single father. There were no detailed example which would clarify practices and expectation of social worker for men, where they would take care of single fathers and not see them only in the role of breadwinner and have knowledge and skills to promote this role.

Swift (2002, 102) asserted that there are two different kinds of State programs. One of them is oriented towards individuals and aims to relate families with participation in the paid workforce market. The second kind of programs is designed to compensate family failures. Researcher emphasizes, that first set of programs is designated for men, and the second – for women.

According to Marcinkevičienė (2008, 59) just in 1970 the government of Soviet Union took into account the role of father, till then the only guardian of a child could be mother. Indeed, legislation which would activate or include fathers into at least early child care was approved only in 2006 by Labour Code of Lithuanian Republic. The law legitimates paternal leave, considering father to stay with family for the first month of child birth: from the day of child birth for 1 month, and get paternity allowance for this period. Before that there were no State programs which would include fathers into child care. Indeed, the implementation of the law provides opportunities only for married parents.

6.2. Imprisoned Fathers

Construction of responsible or even troubled fatherhood in need for help is based on expectations and attitudes of research participants on fatherhood. During the analysis of this topic I was surprised by the prejudice expressed by research participants, as it revealed confronting attitude agianst the fathers during the process of constructing help for the families.

When analyzing extracts of research participants, I have noticed that in the description of the relationship between family members of client families there is lack of reciprocity between parental figures. This distance between family members can be questioned especially in those cases were both of parents are present in child's every day life, and certain intimacy and reciprocity in the family relationships should be taken into consideration. One of the features attributed to a marriage is emotional intimacy. I took the understanding of this conception from Thompson and Walker (1989, 846) that emotional intimacy is sharing one another's innermost life, expressing and listening to each others

feelings, thoughts, desires, doubts, joys and fears; attending to understanding and accepting one another's 'true' self. I consider emotional intimacy as important aspect in constructing environment for the child's development.

Analysis of the research data suggested an important topic revealing the construction of fatherhood and helping process for the clients' families: *Imprisoned fathers.* Construction of fatherhood in the category of incarceration of father in the client situations presented by research participants can be described as aggressive and passive or distant in child rearing or breadwinning activities inside the family. Experience of being imprisoned during the young age of the man can have also a specific impact on the way how fatherhood is exhibited according social workers. Experience of the father being incarcerated for the research participants could impose the lack of emotional intimacy in relation with the family members.

In the theme *Imprisoned fathers* there are 3 cases, which describe abusive behaviour of the father. Indeed, in just one case described by Joana, the father at the time of the interview was incarcerated for the group rape. Telling specific cases of these families, research participants were underlying the impact of experience gained during imprisonment was shifted to experience of parenting.

One of the first cases of research participant [1.1.74] described the situation in children day care center. The case was about the thievery from volunteer in the center accomplished by the child. With help of detectives from police the thief (the girl) among the children was found. The issue was named and their mother involved. The research participant considered this case as successful intervention. Indeed, the situation was not analyzed deeper, it was known only that this was taking place just in the agency, and there were punishments for unacceptable child's behaviour. Thus, only child's behavior became an issue, replacing intervention to family context. However, as a feature for contextualizing of such behavior of child social worker mentioned that the child was being raised by single mother, and the father is imprisoned. In describing mother's situation, the social worker emphasizes her poor health, which was resulted due to experienced family violence.

In another case [2.2.220] Justina related child's aggressive behavior to the wittnessing cruel stepfather's behaviour with her mother. The issue of the child was placed outside agency. Indeed, research participant was not acting for the case, in order to safeguard child. Also the child was avoiding intervention of the social worker, as she was expected to separate family as unit. Child's emotional distress was exhibited in the day care center and the research participant just focused on child's behavior and helped him to make behavior more socially acceptable. Again Justina was complaining that none of the municipality agency is taking actions to prevent the killing of the mother.

During the analysis of this case a quite important role is played by the change of voice of the research participant during the interview. When naming the facts of the incident when stepfather injured mother with the knife, the research participant was talking silently. Justina was increasing the voice talking

about the experiences of twelve year old boy, who witnessed marital conflict. Seems like the research participant tried to emphasize that those experiences has long lasting effect and consequences for child's wellbeing and adjustment. This divergence in voices, naming crime of the aggressive man against the women, and differently identifying the experiences of child as victim, could have meaning for Justina as two conflicting sides. The research participant feels anger and disgust for victimizing the boy and the powerlessness in the case of the man stabbing the women.

Even in those cases, where incarcerations were past experience of father's personal biography, there remained claim that father's aggression and imprisonment are related. Non normative child's behaviors, husband's aggression towards spouse or child, continue being attributes of men's imprisonment no matter if it was present incarceration or the past one.

One of the cases is when another research participant as the issue for the family named father's aggression towards teenage boy [1.1.96]. Joana was describing situation where father had problem over authority and control of emotions, which turned to abuse over the son. Father's experience of imprisonment was mentioned by the research participant incidentally, emphasizing father's the fear of possible incarceration in case of abuse of the child. Later in the interview the social worker mentioned that she was afraid that father can provoke aggression of the teenager. For Joana this aggression could be named as the feature of families with low-income, abusing alcohol, and with special kind of understanding of manhood.

Reading transcriptions of the interview it can be noticed that Joana wass emphasizing those words that describe the actions which aim to avoid violence, and a victim role of teenager, also the actions of father as an aggressor. Also research participant wass emphasizing that parenting style based on striking punishments are consequences of hate to others and the absence of respect, thus reasons men's incarceration.

In those described cases social workers were justifying the imprisonment of the father. The imprisonment of the man meant the attempt to distract source of aggression from the mother and for their children. Interesting to notice that the mother of the family where father is aggressive is considered non existent or passive and not able to protect her and children from father aggression.

Different researchers interpret child's non normative or aggressive behavior and relate it to different aspects of child's reactions to evidenced marital violence. Davies et al (2002, 27) stressed concepts of emotional security and social learning theory. Emotional security and social learning theories told that children should evidence distress in response to angry and aggressive adults. The hypothesis of emotional security specifically predicts that children will be more negatively affected when there are arguments on their own security and the same the integrity of the whole family time is questioned. This distress between own security and issues for family integrity is especially crucial, as in day care centre professionals has power to protect child's security, but at the same time

there remains threat for family as unit. Thus, aggressive behavior if the child can be significant feature for the social workers working in theagency.

Other cases told by research participants revealed situation where the imprisonment of father had more negative effects for the family. Family was loosing the breadwinner, or possible source of income when father was replaced or distant, thus outliving certain crisis. Nurse (2002, 4) suggested that in most cases incarceration of father is rather negative, as women and children are left behind and must contend with financial pressure. Even in those cases when father is employed illegally before imprisonment the children may have been supportted illegally or with off-the-books income. Those women and children who rellied on support from fathers then are forced to change home or to go on public assistance. Women and children also report emotional difficulties, including loneliness and social stigmatization, resulting from incarceration of the father.

Two research participants described cases of the client situations where women became single parent family because of father's imprisonment. In those cases father is described as distant or passive, and the research participants emphasize the active role of the mother who was trying to maintain the family and provide nurturing and caring relationship with the children. Social workers did not miss father's initiation and involvement of relationship with the child.

In those cases father's imprisonment experience was associated with distant or passive fathering as in providing income for the family and facilitating the upbringing of the children. This fathering stule was supposed as being in opposition for mother's role, which was active. She was the parent figure initiating provision of day care center services for the children after school activities. This dichotomist division of roles remained not taking into account if father's incarceration was present or past experience of the family.

In the extracts [4.2.70], [5.1.110] fathers were imprisoned at the time of data collection, and mothers were looking for the services for the children, so they were searching for the day care centers independently. Families could be featured as having little income and they were living in deprived households and districts.

In both described cases the only family income was allowance for the children as both mothers were on maternity leave with the children under the age of three. According to the law, they get some allowances, the amount is very small, hardly possible for maintain the family single mother. However, none of the mothers were looking for a job, or looking for the services allowing them to find at least part time job. Social worker of day care center was providing support, to diminish the odds, which family was facing, mostly those related with child care. However, Roy et all (2007, 10) pointed that underground or out-of-book work usually distanced men from their children, as the nature of the activities are threatening to children and women. Cases of incarceration distanced and severed men's relationship with the families. Some research participants were involved with mother into relationship which would support their expectations and transactions thus also avoiding active intervention process.

In the cases which describe passive father, research participants were trying to reduce imbalance of the family life, blaming father's criminological behavior and absence. Research participants did not go into discussions or reflections how this distance between fathers and the rest of family members impacted family functioning. Seems that attraction of the day care services as professional means disclosing abusive side of the phenomena, and which was performed by adult man parental figure. Thus, mothers were left alone and family situation was left as it was at the same time avoiding intervention of social work or any other kind of social services which would implement change the family situation.

4.2.65. *mhm. jos ta prasme vienos bando išlaikyti dide- dideles šeimas?,*

4.2.66. ⁰taip.⁰

4.2.67. *vyrai šeimų?*

4.2.68. ee] ((juokiasi))

4.2.69. *[nes kažkaip]*

4.2.70. [nerasta būna visai, *nebūna jų*, tiek ir to t<u>ėvo</u> vaikų, (.) paskui yra bet tarkim kalėjime sėdi, dviejų tai pavyzdžiui, tų tėvų nei vaikai patys nežino nepažįsta ir nieks ten nežino. o vienas, kalėjime sėdi berods. *4.2.70.*

4.2.71. *kiek ten toj šeimoj, šeimoj vaikų yra kur kalėjime sėdi?*

4.2.72. du.

4.2.73. *du vaikai, ar ne, ir abudu pas jus?*

4.2.74. mhm.

4.2.75. *mama bando viena išlaikyt?*

4.2.76. ⁰taip⁰

4.2.77. *ar jinai dirba, ar kažkur tai?*

4.2.78. n::nu kaip pasakyt, jinai dabar augina mergaitę. ji yra]

4.2.79. *[tai ta prasme nu jos pigiau augina vaikus, negu paprastai]*

4.2.80. iki trijų metų.

4.2.81. *iki trijų. nes tada reiškias nu nes nu nėra]*

4.2.82. [nes, nes vis tiek dar kažkiek tų pajamų gauna ten už tą, už tą vaiką.]

4.2.83. *[o kiek ten tas kažkiek?]*

4.2.84. [devyniasdešimt trys litus gi gauna, vis tiek jau,

4.2.85. *per mėnesį ar ne?=*

4.2.86. = jo =

4.2.65. *mhm. they in that sense are trying to maintain bi- big families alone?,*

4.2.66. ⁰yes.⁰

4.2.67. *men of those families?*

4.2.68. ee] ((laughing))

4.2.69. *[because somehow]*

4.2.70. [cannot find them, *they are absent *, also that <u>father's</u> children, (.) then there is but suppose they are imprisoned even children know or recognize, for example and no one there knows who are they. and one, is imprisoned seems so. *4.2.70.*

4.2.71. *how many there in that family chidlren, in that family there are that are imprisoned?*

4.2.72. two.

4.2.73. *two children, aren't there, and both come to you?*

4.2.74. mhm.

4.2.75. *mother tries to maintain family alone?*

4.2.76. ⁰yes⁰

4.2.77. *is she working, or something else?*

4.2.78. l::like how to say, now she is raising a girl. she is]

4.2.79. *[then in this sense for time is cheaper to raise kids, than usually]*

4.2.80. till three years old.

4.2.81. *till three. then that means that as there are no]*

4.2.82. [because, because nevertheless ((she)) gets still a some incomes for that, for that child.]

4.2.83. *[and how much is that something?]*

4.2.84. [ninety three litas she gets, anyway that is,

4.2.85. *per month isn't that?=*

4.2.86. = yep =

Research participants did not take active role as professional social workers during the helping process, as promoters of social change of the family. Social workers intended to share the role of caring for the mother. Indeed, the active role and responsibility for children was all shifted to mother.

Women are initiating relationship with a man, and when this relationship ends, it's her who is changing partner. In the described case the end of relationship with a father of the child was ended because of the imprisonment. Men are passive in the relationship in private sphere but negatively active in public one. Dudley and Stone (2004, 34) mentioned two pivotal challenges for most non residential fathers involve: that are making contact with children and being dependent upon collaboration with the biological mother for such contacts. Thus, mother can be a gatekeeper for the father's involvement with the children in te case of the imprisoned father.

There are some extracts [1.1.100], [3.1.110] where father had experienced the imprisonment during young or youth age, and father's experience was showed as deviant life example which children shouldn't follow or as a model for upbringing of children shouldn't be implemented. Research participants were opposing father's childhood experience to practice of children.

Also research participants doubted fathers' abilities to take responsibilities to maintain family as breadwinners, and shared the care of the children together with their mother. Woman became family hero, wh scarified herself by caring for the children, and preserving the man, indifferent to family issues.

3.1.110.   mhm yra. (.) yra vienas atvejis tai tikrai yra, bent jau kiek man yra žinoma tai:i tėtis turėjo teistumą. bet, (.) jis ten turėjo kai buvo, (.) jaunesnis. kaip čia pavadinti už zbitkus. hh va tai:i bet jisai visą laiką tą pavyzdį pateikia vaikam, kad jie to nedarytų ką jis darė. 3.1.110.

3.1.111.   *kiek vaikų ten yra toj šeimoj?*

3.1.112.   toj šeimoj yra dabartiniu metu gyvena trys. (.) nes vienas yra suaugęs ir, gyvena atskirai. jo gyvena trys. du iš jų lanko:o, pas mus dienos centre. 3.1.112.

3.1.113.   *dėl ko jie lanko dienos centrą?*

3.1.114.   jie lanko ten žinokit irgi problemų yra toj šeimoj. (.) yra jų ir daugiau. ir yra (.) gal netgi finansinių tam tikrų problemų, yra ir (.) ten alkoholizmo yra, ir yra:a ta tokia žinokit, užimtumo problema. kai mama turi ten viena vaikus sužiūrėt, nes tėtis nu, (.) kada sužiūri kada nesužiūri ir. va ir tas užimtumas:s, tas valandas kai būna dienos centre nu lyg ir tokios, nu:u ne tai kad naštos bet nebūna namuose žinot to tokio rūpesčio. nes žino kad vaikai, tuo metu yra dienos centre ir jiems viskas gerai. 3.1.114.

3.1.110.   mhm there is. (.) there is one case actually is for sure, at least as I know so:o father had conviction. but, (.) but he had there when when he was, (.) younger. how to name them here for tomfool. hh so thus:s but he always this gives as example for children, that they would not do the same as he have done. 3.1.110.

3.1.111.   *how many children there are in that family?*

3.1.112.   in that family is currently there lives three. (.) because one is adult and, ((he)) lives separately. yes there lives three. two out of them attend:d, to us in day care centre. 3.1.112.

3.1.113.   *why they attend day care centre?*

3.1.114.   they attend there you know there are also problems in that family. (.) there are and more of them. and there are (.) maybe even financial particular problems, and there is (.) there alcohol abuse there is, and there is:s that such you know, occupation problem. when mother has to look for the kids alone there, because father so, (.) sometimes looks sometimes doesn't and. so and that occupation:n, that hours when ((children)) are in day care centre so that is sort of such, so:o not so as it would be burden but (she is not) at home you know that such concern. because (she) knows that children, at that time are in day care center and there are no harm done to them. 3.1.114.

Reading the extract seems, that the client's community seemed excluded from the rest of society because of the common 'secrets' which were connected with the illegal activities, off-the-book incomes. Disclosure of these 'secrets' could be threat for the family integrity which client families were avoiding. Taking into account that families were living in the public housings and their incomes were under the level of poverty, administrative penalty could seem small, but because of permanent shortage of incomes might become a threat for the family integrity and emotional safety.

Reading data, which describes construction of social workers towards fathers who had experienced imprisonment, there remains regard that they are non existent in the client family. The man is sharing common living space, is reproducer of the children, but at the same time he is so non-active that in accordance with the responsibilities set inside the family from the research participant perspective he is considered as non-exstant in the family. Then the active role of the parent is rendered to the mother. Her role is to maintain the family, keep the household, and provide nurturing relationship with the children.

According to the research participants, children day care center in those cases aimed to occupy the children for the certain time. These provided services did not have interventional aspect to promote a social change, thus more occupational. Services aimed not to change, but to sustain family situation. Father's passive role was considered as an irreversible family issue, which created poverty issues for the family. Indeed, in the cases of client family who had faced father's imprisonment none of the mothers were employed.

2.2.191.   *šičia tai man paradoksas. aš niekaip, aš niekaip nesuprantu, nes aš ne primą kartą, mes einam ir žinom kur yra narkotikai o policija policija to nežino? 2.2.191.*

2.2.192.   ne jie maždaug žino, bet jie kai ieško neranda žinai. ta prasme jie yra paslėpti ne <u>pas žmones</u> ir <u>ne butuose</u> žinai. jie kal kitur ir <u>neieško</u> supranti. ir kažkaip su seniūnu, sekmadienį mačiausi seniūnu, kalbėjau žinai apie tuos barakus. (.) tai sakau aš žinau kur tie narkotikai yra *aš netgi pasakiau žinai.* tai sako mes važiavom į reidus sako, ir nieko neradom. ⁰tai sakau aišku nerado⁰. (.3) taigi ten supranti jo žodžiu primėtyta <u>švirkštų</u>, visur <u>po langais</u> vaikai žaidžia, ir <u>vienodai</u> su tais švirkštais ten. arba ten kokių:ų vaikų tėvas rūko žolę ir <u>siūlo</u> berniukam, norit parūkyt žinai nori supranti.= *2.2.192.*

2.2.193.   =*o vaikai bando?*

2.2.194.   man atrodo, nu:u gal kažkiek bet jie n:nu nežinau, kažkaip <u>bijo</u> gal neįsitraukia, žinai gal neįsitraukia. dar neįsitraukia. *2.2.194.*

2.2.195.   *tėvai jų?*

2.2.191.   *this is paradox for me. I can't anyhow, I can't anyhow to understand, as I not the first time, we go and know where are drugs and police police do not know this? 2.2.191.*

2.2.192.   because they know more-or-less, but when they are searching they cannot find you know. in that sense that they are hidden not <u>at people</u> and not <u>in their</u> flats you know. they probably <u>don't look in</u> other places you know. and somehow with foreman, on sunday I met foreman, I talked with him about those barracks. (.) thus I said ((to him)) I know where those drugs are *I even told him you know.* thus he says that we went on raid he says, and we had found nothing. ⁰thus I say of course had found nothing⁰. (.3) hence thus you understand there lay around <u>needles</u>, everywhere under <u>the windows</u> children are playing, and <u>indifferently</u> with those needles there,. or there father of some:e children is smoking grass and is proposing to the boys, would you like to smoke you know you understand.= *2.2.192.*

2.2.193.   =*and children try?*

2.2.196.   vienų tai tikrai žinau, o kitų nežinau. nea kad su narkotikais tai vie- tai viena šeima žinau tiksliai, o kiti. tai nu gal ↓aš nežinau žinai bet viena tikrai o kitos man atrodo ne. *2.2.196.*

2.2.197.   *nes?=*

2.2.198.   jie bijo supranti, nes iš jų barakų yra viena šeima sėdi jau kalėjime žinai, jie gal bijo žinai. *2.2.198.*

2.2.199.   *tie kurie vartoja narkotikus.*

2.2.200.   tie ku-, tai jie nevartoja, jie pardavinėdavo, platino ir jie buvo normali šeima nei gėrė supranti nei įtarės būtum. ir jie sėdo žinai. ir ten šalia gyveno, >0šalia jų žinai visai dabar man atrodo jie visi bijo žinai.0< *2.2.200.*

2.2.201.   *aš kažkaip narkotikų bijau.*

2.2.202.   0nežinau aš irgi.0 ↑man atrodo jie daugiau bijo kalėjimo nei narkotikų. *2.2.202.*

2.2.203.   *kur nori-?(.) o kodėl kalėjimo?*

2.2.204.   ką aš žinau, nežinau. gal kažkokia dėmė žinai. kad kalėjime sėdėjai, GĖDA jiems supranti, pavyzdžiui vyrai kai kurie atėję niekada neprisipažįsta žinai. (.) arba jeigu aš sužinau kad jie sėdėję kalėjime, tai jie sako tu negalvok kad jeigu aš sedėjau kalėjime, tai aš ten, taip ramiai. nu:u jie:e kažkaip labai bijo kad sužinos žinos žinai. *2.2.204.*

2.2.194.   I suppose, like:e maybe some but they like:e I don't know, somehow they are afraid maybe they do not involve. yet they had not involved. *2.2.194.*

2.2.195.   *their parent?*

2.2.196.   one ((children parents)) I know for sure, about the others I don't know. no if with drugs thus there is on- one family I know for sure, and others. So like maybe ↓I don't know you know but one is for sure about the others I suppose that not=. *2.2.196.*

2.2.197.   *because?=*

2.2.198.   they are afraid you know, as from barracks there is one family already does time in prison you know, maybe they are afraid you know. *2.2.198.*

2.2.199.   *those who are using drugs.*

2.2.200.   those who-, they have not been using, they had sold them, distribute then and they would be normal family they were not drinking you know nor you would suspect. and they did time you know. and they had lived near by, >0near by them you know I suppose that all of them are afraid you know.0< *2.2.200.*

2.2.201.   *I am somehow afraid of drugs.*

2.2.202.   0I don't know me too.0 ↑I suppose that they are more afraid of prison then of drugs.. *2.2.202.*

2.2.203.   *where want-?(.) and why ((afraid)) of prison?*

2.2.204.   how could I know. maybe some kind of stain you know. that you did time in prison, it SHAMES them you know, for example men some of them never confess you know (.) or if I get to know that they had spend time in prison, then they say you don't tink that if I spend time in prison, so I would there, so calmly. like:e they: somehow are very afraid that will understand know you know. *2.2.204.*

Another issue according to Justina for the families whose family member experienced the imprisonment is the shame this experience inside the community. Inside the community there are possibilities for illegal activities, which would bring off-the-books income which would allow to keep the father's role of breadwinner. Indeed, this stigmatization of the imprisonment creates certain expectations and prisonement becomes as personal feature, which according to research participant the clients are trying to avoid.

According Gavėnaitė (2008, 9) in Lithuania there was littlle attention paid for the analysis of penalty institute. Although Lithuania became independent and had many possibilities to shape its own policy of the penalty, indeed there were not so much paid attention to the deeper analysis of the phenomena. All

analysis was more focused on punitive policy, implementation or practices of different penalties. Sakalauskas (2007 126) was analyzing penalty policy from the critical perspective points that was important for society to understand that imprisonment does not solve neither delinquency nor any other kind of social problem, but develops much more particular attention for those cases for a narrow incarceration as punishment without any attempts to integrate person.

During the Soviet period imprisonment was considered as the only way of the punishment for the committed crime. As in all areas of social life, government of the Soviet Union ignored social issues which person after imprisonment was facing. All social issues were solved by total participation of citizens in labor. During independence period in Lithuania social workers were facing social isolation of persons who after long incarceration period returned to society. Thus, more emphasized issues of ex-prisoners, and no discussion about help for the family who were facing consequences of induced separation of family as unit because of the father's imprisonment.

During the Soviet period incarceration was the most often implemented punishment form. According Sakalauskas (2007 124) during period 1991–2002 imprisonment was implemented to 40–45% of all convicts, for the rest convicts this judgment was suspended. The researcher also points that duration of the imprisonment is also important for the integration of incarcerated person, as five year of incarceration is borderline, longer period in prison makes hard for the person to return to society.

Anyway, a phenomenon of imprisonment mostly is associated with experience of the men. According to the Crime and the Law Enforcement 2008 (2009, 25) in the year 2008, there was 1555 sentenced women, and 12740 males. In year 2009, there were 311 incarcerated females and 6711 males in the imprisonment institutions. In Lithuania there are 15 prisons, and just 1 is prison for the women.

The phenomenon of imprisonment is centered on the role of man, and it can be suggested that the issue is part of socialization comparing the extent of the issue faced by women and men. As analysis of extracts revealed that this experience of imprisonment for men has life-long consequences exhibited in family relations, passiveness in social relations, for women imprisonments is the period spend outside the family and this experience do not have long lasting consequences.

There was some extracts related to imprisonment which were mentioned in the context of other topics during the interview. Thus, these extracts also reveal that experiences of incarceration and ability of parenthood are related to gender.

Justina was asked about ending processes in day care center, she remembered one case [2.1.242], which was as no need for social services after women returned from imprisonment. Mother came back to family, changed her place of residence, and took child away from agency services. The research participant considered that from now she was able to take care about her daughter. Justina did not question possible issues of income for the family, or impact of

incarceration to care of the child. That extract presented the only case where mother experienced the imprisonment, and this experience does not have any imprint into style of parenthood or relation to the child.

Indrė [4.2.230] was asked about help for fathers. Then she mentioned that in the most cases mothers are the clients and recipient of social services of children day care centers. When the research participant was asked about the fathers as service recipients, I was surprised to hear her about services for ex-prisoners in canteen for poor. Those canteens provide only food. The research participant agreed that the men are not considered as fathers, they are regareded as distant and need to be controlled. Thus, fathers rearly would be considered as service users of children day care centers. This attitude also can be related with the perception of fathers as child carers.

4.2.230. *bet daugiausiai jūsų klientai yra du dvi grupės kaip girdėčiau, tai yra vaikai ir moterys, ar ne?*

4.2.231. taip, taip]

4.2.232. *vyrai tai jie ten kažkur plaukioja,*

4.2.233. ee jo, o daugiau va tais vyrais ten tais va grįžusiais iš įkalinimo įstaigų, .hh užsiima vargšų valgykla. ⁰socialinė⁰ ( ) *4.2.233.*

4.2.234. *bet tie tie žmonės būna, irgi šeimos nariais tai jie kažkaip ten yra, bet kitos organizacijos,=*

4.2.235. =NE. (.) vyrai pas mus kažkaip tai, (.) jie likę nuošaly. kažkaip aš nežinau kaip pasakyti, (.) .hh jie viskas jie (.)]*4.2.235.*

4.2.236. *[jie ten yra ((juokiuosi))]*

4.2.237. [jie ten ateina, (.) domisi, nu tokių kad labai didelių problemų tarkim dėl vyrų tai, (.) keletas yra, (.) yra keletas. *4.2.237.*

4.2.238. *tai problemos kokios?*

4.2.239. ↑alkoholizmas. ir smurtas. (.) šeimoje, yra va keletas. (.) bet vėlgi jau kaip yra ta problema, automatiškai įsijungia vaikų teisės (.) ir vėlgi tada jau jie, jau jie siunčia, jau kas prižiūrėtų tą šeimą, jau tada su ja dirbtų ir psichologinį darbą, ir viskas jau eitų į tą šeimą ištįsai. nes vėlgi mes tai negalim, man reikia ir su vaikais dirbti, ir aš nepajėgi ten lankyti, (.) tarkim kiekvieną dieną, kontroliuoti kaip ten, kas ten. ar ar ar tėtis parėjo neišgėręs, ar kaip?, o yra (.) valstybinės tos institucijos kurios ↓ = *4.2.239.*

4.2.230. *but the most your client are two groups as I could hear, that are children and women, aren't they?*

4.2.231. yes, yes]

4.2.232. *men thus they are floating somewhere there,*

4.2.233. ee yep, and more with those men those return from prison establishments, .hh engaged canteen for poor. ⁰social ((worker))⁰ ( ) *4.2.233.*

4.2.234. *but those those people are, also family members and they somehow are there, bus other organizations,=*

4.2.235. =NO. (.) men at us somehow so, (.) they are left aside. somehow i don't know how to say, (.) .hh they whole they (.)]*4.2.235.*

4.2.236. *[they are there ((I am laughing))]*

4.2.237. [they come there, (.) ((they are)) interested, so that such very big problems suppose because of the men, (.) thre are some, (.) there are some. *4.2.237.*

4.2.238. *thus what problems ((are))?*

4.2.239. ↑alcohol abuse. and violence. (.) in family, there are some. (.) but again already if that problems exists, automatically children rights (protection agency) are involved (.) and again then they, then they are sending, already who would supervise that family, already then work with her and psychological work, and all already would go to that family consistently. because again we can not, I need to work and with children, and I am not and would be too much to visit, (.) suppose every day, control how is there, who ((is)) there. if if if father got ((home)) not drunk, or how, and there are (.) governmental institutions which ↓ = *4.2.239.*

If the man was not distant, according the research participant, he was violent. Men are related with the threat and week family members need to be safeguarded and protected. Social worker of the day centre was shifting responsibility of intervention with complicated client systems to state agencies. Thus social worker was avoiding difficult and threatening relationships with fathers, which would require intensive professional intervention.

Taking into account the change of the voice during the interview with the research participant, speech was not fluent; there were silent moments after each of the phrase. There came idea, that Indrė did feel distance between father and her as professional.

The helping process for the father who experienced imprisonment in most extracts was presented as distant, absent or violent family member, who was not involved. In the case of father's aggressive behavior the intention was to replace the father in family, however not in the action. The sequence of the events happened without intervention of social worker. The replacement of the father created the possibility to support mother and share care of the children for the certain period of the day. If the father wasn't agressive, he was perceived by research participants as distant and not interested with the care and upbringing of the children, there is no extract which would reveal involvement into helping process the father who would experience the imprisonment. The help, in those cases, were focused on sharing care with mother.

6.3. A Father without Regular Incomes

After long considerations on issue of father's unemployment there were a lot of reflections on men's status in the social risk families. At first interepreting data I felt confused, as men's role of breadwinner seems not so actual for research participants. Reading Lithuanian sociological research there was emphasized that in life course for men are important to keep the role of breadwinner during their lifecorse and career which is not interupted as with maternity leaves for the women. Anyway, reading the data I felt confused about the construction of division of labor inside the family, as earning and support for the research participants was not not queston for the men's role in the family, more task which research participants are not expecting him to acomplish. Of couse, the descriptive role which would to strengthen or importance of man in the family or would give clarity for the client family structure.

The topic of men lost role of breadwinner seem minor for the disadvantaged client families for research participants. Social workers of children day care centers are working the child protection system, and their first concern is to overcome children poverty, regardless the reasons. Thus, which parent figure is the provider, is not so important. Indeed, it is more often presumable that the research participants would make intervention involving women than men, also to ensure their breadwinner role.

Lee (2001, 17) discusses the idea of adulthood as period of stability and childhood as being opposite to the state of adulthood as being period of permanent change. Indeed the stability performed according to the gender role. Important to notice that Lee (2001) is discussing gender differences from the perspective of the UK experience where historical context to Lithuanian are quite different. Lee (2001, 17) points that stable adulthood was based on long-term unchanging employment conditions, and was more an experience of men than one of women. If many men's experience of labour throughout their lives was a more or less smooth and uninterrupted passage through well-planned pathways, women's experience was quite different. Traditional gender roles placed married women in the home and charged them with the responsibility of actively producing stability in the home for men and for children, by (among many other things) preparing regular meals, keeping the house tidy, and attending to children's emotional and practical needs. So while men stabilities made *for them* at work and at home, women had to create stability *for the others*.

Indeed, reading the data that was quite a discussion if the breadwinner's role for men is a task or requirement, in the case of inability to fulfill the father's role is depreciated. One of the two ways for interpretation on the depreciation of father's role could be the historical heritage of strategy of social policy of Soviet Union of total employment as civil participation in creation of future Soviet society. Another way would be the contemporary child-centered social investment strategy described by Esping-Andersen (2002, 26), where childhood is perceived as fundamental life phase and parental societal investements are crucial for the future status.

The Soviet Union emphasized importance of investing into young age as future society, emphasizing not individual career but societal success. Creating the future communist society was the priority for Communist party and thus state strategy. During diversal changes, there was shift not the direction for young people as future society, but implementation of the vision. There was more responsibilities provided for the parents together with their rights especially in child protection area, but also there was more emphasis on individual career, and the impact of family background. Not all families had possibilities, skills and abilities to adapt to the fast changes without skills to solve such issues as unemployment, or harsh poverty.

The topic *father without regular income* was found in 8 extracts of 4 research participants. The discussions of father's inability to maintain family as related to alcohol consumption in the workplace and inability to provide financial stability for family, were found in 4 extracts. The main argument experienced by the research participants was that fathers are not able to involve into labor market steadily because of the addictive behavior. As I have mentioned previously, research participants do not take men addicted to alcohol seriously, and even do not try to provide them the status of the client. Person becomes the client of the social worker only if there is certain relation between professional

worker and the person in the client family. Indeed, in the research the father with addictive issues are just parent figure living together with the client family, but he is not involved into helping process nevertheless he is perceived as the foundation for all the family issues.

Thombs (2006, 192) explains that family, where one of the parent figures is abusing substances, is functioning through the principles of system theory. The boundaries in chemically dependent families can be very rigid or disengaged. Individual family member, particularly the alcoholic or addict may be isolated, or at the same times the entire family may be isolated from entire community. Researcher also observes that in chronically addicted families with alcohol addicted parent, the non addicted spouse typically assumes most of the parental power. The addicted spouse gives up or turns over as a parent. This shift in the role of obligations places a heavy burden on nondependent spouse.

Research participants exploring family issues did not try to intervene the existing family hierarchies, which usually exists in the alcohol addicted families. Whereas, when one of the spouses was an alcoholic or addict, the marital relationship might be disengaged at a fixed distance. That could be picked in the sharing responsibilities in childcare, also in the role of breadwinner. Also at some extracts the roles and responsibilities were conflicting, as expectations for the men as carers between the research participants and mother differed.

In the extract [1.1.38] Joana was telling the case of caring mother with 2 children and father who had no permanent job. Issue for the family was that at the end of month family had no food. Indeed, with the support and push of research participant, mother unwillingly found a job and stayed there for a few months. After a few months she quitted in order to stay with the children. The research participant was concerned more with permanent employment mother than fathers, and did not take into account that father earned more. However, the case story ended with mother's repeated employment as a cleaner.

The father in this case earned a lot working in the constructions. Indeed, his constant employment and provision of steady income for family depended according to the research participant on his drinking habits. Joana again was not going to intervene and change the father's as breadwinner's habits though his income were much higher and family support would be gained faster. The research participant worked with that parent figure which is more accessible. Employment of the women without involving her partner into budget planning seems more occupation or involvement of women into more social activities extracting her from the role of the housekeeper.

1.1.38.   žodžiu čia yra Pramonės, šitam rajone. bet ne taip toli. ten daug, ta prasme tai yra ta prasme, tai yra viena iš tų darbo darbo vietų kur priima (.) ir labai stpriai išgeriniačius, ir ir priima ir vėl atleidžia priima ir atleidžia ir darbo sąlygos labai įdomios ir. ir ir sakykim, ir dėl atlyginimo, ir dėl visko kažkaip. kažkaiptai man tai pasirodė tokia darbo vieta kur, visą laiką gali ateiti ir visą laiką gali išeiti. kada tik nori. (.) ir kažkaip paklausa tų žmonių yra nes, nes sakau vat kiek žinau ir, va ta šeimą ir aną šeimą kurią stebėjom, jos tėvas irgi turi priklausomybę alkoholiui, jis dažnai įsidarbindavo padirba savaitę uždirba, ir tada jau geria mėnesį. ir vėl įsidarbina ten pat. (.) žodžiu jiems matyt reikalingi tokie darbininkai, kurie dirbtų juodadarbiai, ir jiems dirba gerai nedirba, atiduodam pinigus ir ieškom kito. tai nėra kažkokia darbo vieta kur, (.) sakykim kuriai reikėtų pastoviai žmogaus ir kuris, ir kur priimtų tiktai tokį kuris patikimas yra. va. (.) hh atėjus vasarai ta mama vėl jinai jinai jinai vėl paliko tą darbą sakydama kad, žodžiu kad ten kažkokie konfliktai su viršininku buvo, ir dar kažkas, kad kad žodžiu, (.) kad ten sunku dirbti, kad kažas atlyginimas ir panašiai. (.) ir kad ji ieškos naujo darbo. ir taip žodžiu vasarą. vasa- bet vasa-, ir kad tėtis gavo statybose dirbt, ir žodžiu. vyras, tas sugyventinis jos. kad jis įsidarbino, kad uždirba nema- nemažai, ir panašiai. (.) atėjus rudeniui vėl, žiūrim kad darbo jinai toliau ir nesieško, ir vėl čia rugsėjo pradžia, čia mokslo metų pradžia reikia suprikti priemones, (.) ir vėl mes pradėjom. o kodėl gi, jūs sakėte jūs rasit darbą. sakėt kad įsidarbinsit. na ir vėl pradėjo galvot, ai kad aš čia dabar ką, nežinau žodžiu man sudėtinga tada vaiką atvedu į mokyklą, (.) mažoji pradėjo lankyti paruošiamąją klasę. (.) mergaitė. sakau ryte abu išeina jūs laisva. ką jūs veikiat gyvent neturit iš ko. (.) ir kažkaip mes paskui sakom, (.) žinokit mes irgi ne- ne- negalim kiekvieną kartą jūsų, jums galim vieną kartą, kitą kartą krizės atveju padėt jums maistu. (.) bet, (.) mes neturim tokios galimybės jūsų šeimą, (.) tiesiog. nes gi jūs privalot dirbt. jeigu norit išlaikyti savo šeimą. (.) tai dabar šiuo metu jinai susiradusi irgi kitoj įstaigoj, (.) valytoja ir įsidarbino. vėl įsidarbino tai dabar ačiū dievui kažkaip dirba ir, (.) nors visą visą mėnesį dar neturėjo negavo atlyginimo, tai irgi buvo sudėtinga. tai va dabar irgi sakau ta situacija bus, bet kol kas mokslo metai. jinai dirba.] 1.1.38.

1.1.39.   [o kaip vyras?

1.1.40.   tas vyras jisai, tai dirba, tai nedirba. (.) nes kai pradeda gert, jis nebedirba, meta darbą. (.) >žodžiu tokia situacija tai vat kas kas link darbo. priklausomybė alkoholiui, aišku (.) ji ji išlieka, ir išliko bet,< bet sakykim] 1.1.40.

1.1.41.   [ten abudu priklausomi nuo alkoholio?=

1.1.42.   =abu. abu. (.) abu.

1.1.38.   in one word here there is in pramonės, in this district. but not so far. there are many, in that sense there are in that sense, that is one of such work places where employ (.) also very heavily drinking, and and accept and again employ and fire and working conditions are very interesting and. and and suppose, and and suppose, and concerning the earnings, and concerning everything somehow. somehow appear to me that this is such workplace where, all the time you can come and all the time you can leave. whenever you want. (.) and somehow I asked these people how there is done as, as I say so much people there are as I know and, so that family and another family which we were observing, their father also has addiction to alcohol, he often get employed works for a week earns, and then he drinks for a month. and again gets employed at the same place. (.) in one word for them obviously there is needed such workers, which would work unskilled, and work for them well they stop working, we return money and look for another one. that is not such a work place where, (.) suppose which would need constantly ((working)) person and which, and which would employ such ((person)) who is reliable. so. (.) hh there comes summer and that mother and again she she again she left that job saying that, in one word that there was certain conflicts with the chief were, and something more, that that in one word, (.) that there is hard to work, that something ((about)) the salary or something alike. (.) and that she will look for new job. and so summer ((passed)). summ- but summ-, and that father got to work in the constructions, and in one word. man, that cohabite of her. that he get employed, that he earns not s- ((some)) not some, and likewise. (.) there comes autumn again, we are looking that further she is not looking for the job, and again here beginning of september, there is beginning of the school year there is need to buy means ((for learning children at school)), (.) and again we started. and why, you said that you will find job. you said that you will get employed. so and again started to think, that I here what now, I don't know in one word it is complicated for me then get child to school, (.) the youngest ((girl)) started to go to preschool class. (.) girl. I say both go out ((to school)) during the morning you are free. what you are doing you don't have for what to live. (.) and somehow we say ((to her)) afterwards, (.) mark out we also no- no- cannot every time your, for you once, another time at the case of crisis help you with food. (.) but, (.) we don't have such possibilities to maintain your family, (.) fairly. as you must work. if you want to maintain your family. (.) so now she found ((job)) also in another agency, (.) cleaner and employed herself. again employed and now thanks god somehow works and, (.) although she all all month have no got no salary, that also was complicated.

so now also I say that situation will be, but still there is school year. she is working.] *1.1.38.*

1.1.39.   *[and what about man?*

1.1.40.   that man him, like he is working, like he is not working. (.) as when he begins to drink, he stops working, he leaves work. (.) >in one word that situation that with with <u>work. addiction</u> to alcohol of course (.) it it remains, and remained but,< but suppose] *1.1.40.*

1.1.41.   *[they are both addicted to alcohol?=*

1.1.42.   =both. both. (.) both.

Joana's attitude towards men participation was distant, not only with the employment but also with active belonging to the family as unit. In one paragraph the social worker was telling that man was employed, and in the next, asked about the man's efforts to ensure family income was described as unable to work permanently, as he stopped working with heavy drinking. Nevertheless, according Joana, both parent figures were alcohol addicts. As I have earlier mentioned, Joana had distant attitude for the man as family member, he was described as father cohabite.

Reading transcripts of the interview Joana was emphasizing those words which meanings could be related with the importance of the stable employment like employed, constantly, reliable. Joana also stresses those words which can narrate obstacles for the permanent employment related with men's attitude, and not community context.

Another extract revealing the client family story which disclose attitude of research participant towards man's breadwinners role is story told by Kristina [5.2.139]. She was also telling story of the mother and in the context of her the story unemployed husband was mentioned. As an obstacle for his employment Kristina named his drinking habits.

The story of the case was told about the mother living in harsh conditions with 6 children under age of 8 years, who was trying to divorce with her husband. The divorce of the couple was reasoned by the man's inability to be a breadwinner, thus maintain the family. Kristina expected from the man the role of family provider, and did not suppose any other social or psychological role of father within the family. The father was obstacle for the family's material wellbeing. The research participant supported idea of single motherhood as this condtition would allow mother to ask for the municipality's public housing and more welfare allawancies. The research participant emphasized as important role: mother's ability to maintain the household.

Halberstadt (1996, 304) points, that 92 percent of women were fully employed and were better educated comparing to men, they got lower salaries. Nethertheless, mother was the most significant parental figure, although traditionally family was patriarchal. Mother was running household; she was keeping family budget, and assumed masculine roles both within and outside the family.

Thus, also in this extract man as father was not perceived as possible client of social worker, but more as financial resource for the family – mother and children. Father's lack of capability to maintain the family was related with alcohol addiction, which caused his deficiency in keeping permanent job. Kristina was not questioning lack of relationship between the father and the children.

Reading the text becomes evident that mothers are trying to avoid the role of provider, which is enforced by Kristina, not participating coherently in labor market. Client families were with 2 or 6 children, and parents do not have proper education which would ensure them well-being which would be considered as proper.

5.2.139. *iš kur jinai pati atėjusi? kokia jos vaikystė, nes nu ta prasme lyg tai problema yra tai kad ji nesaugi, (.) iš nu iš vienos pusės iš visos aplinkos labai stipriai išsiskiria jeigu tik vardą moka parašyti.= 5.2.139.*

5.2.139. *from where she is coming from? what is her childhood, as so in that sense sort of that she is not safe, (.) from one side from all surrounding she strongly differs if she can only write her name.= 5.2.139.*

5.2.140. =taip.=

5.2.140. =yes.=

5.2.141. =o jinai dirba?

5.2.141. *=and she is working?*

5.2.142. *ne kaip jinai dirbs jeigu <u>šeši</u> mažamečiai vaikai tai,*

5.2.142. *no how can she work if <u>six</u> little ones so,*

5.2.143. *turi šešis vaikelius?=*

5.2.143. *she has six children?=*

5.2.144. =nu.=

5.2.144. =so.=

5.2.145. *=ir viena pati augina?*

5.2.145. *=and she cares alone?*

5.2.146. tai ten tai <u>vienas</u> vyras, dabar (.) su kitu buvo irgi susituokusi bet jau čia, (.) ir <u>mes</u> ėjom. nu kaip ir negyvena dabar jau jinai su tuo vyru ir ten, vyras irgi nedirbdavo ir gerdavo. jinai <u>nenorėjo</u> ir, buvo susiruošus su juom skirtis. ir iš tikrųjų ir, taip žvelgiant jiegu jinai išsiskirtų su tuo vyru jinai galėtų, atsistoti į eilę būstui gauti. (.) nes dabar gyvena tokioj kaip palėpėj. nei tiem vaikam ten gyvenimo sąlygos. tiek kad jie švariai gražiai gyvena ir tvarkingai.= *5.2.146.*

5.2.146. so there is <u>one</u> man, now (.) with other also was married but already here, (.) and <u>we</u> went. so like she is not living with that man now and there, man also had not been working and drinking. she <u>did not wanted</u> and, she was ready to divorce with him. and for really and, so taking into account if she would divorce with that man she could queue in order to get accommodation. (.) as now she is living in sort of loft. nor for those children there are living conditions. thus they are living tidy nicely and neatly.= *5.2.146.*

Krisitina was supporting mother's attempts to divorce. This decision of her, would allow take over the responsabilities of the father. Indeed, also in this extract research participant does not consider the consequences of this change of family structure and elimination of man from the family structure.

Expectations of Kristina for family were not limited with the change in family structure to survive in the present circumstances. The research participant was also considering the investments for the future of the family, which again compounds as the responsibility for mother. The research participant was concerned about men's inability to fulfill the role of the housewinner. Thus, in order to provide adequate living conditions, Kristina the gap in house owning forsee the municipality's social dwelling. The research participant at the end of the paragraph was emphasizing mother's ability for houseclean, which would prove her ability to maintain and sustain household for the big family.

In the next extract there is no story of the family which is trying to overcome issues mainly related with the inconsistent abilites to provide stable income for the child's consistent nourishment. In the extract [2.1.129] the main concern in the big families for Justina at the end of the month they lacked food. This responsibility for the maintaining basic needs without creating gaps in time for the children in first part of the extract was not referred as any gender role. At that point, it seemed that this responsibility according to the research participant should be shared between both parent figures. Justina triggered that parents attempted to do nothing to ensure the basic needs of children and especially at the end of the month, as families were coming to research participant to ask for food. Justina saw problem that the parents were settling only with allowancies without entering to labor market. This expectation for research participant came along with the understanding that parents should prioritize children basic needs.

In the second part of the extract, Justina felt that caring for the children contradicted with father's drug addiction, and fulfillment of his intention to buy things which would express upper social status of the family. Indeed, I would like to spotlight the avoidant behavior of parents with the research participant. This could reveal barriers for communication between family as service user and social worker, who can provide help and support looking for inclusive practices. Their different understandings in arranging the priorities, therefore making different actions to achieve the same intentions leads to the conflict with each other and creates barriers for the futher communication.

The basis of this misapprehension between the sides can be different expectations to parental figures. However, this misapprehension which is exposed by avoiding relationship and not fulfilled demands corresponds not to the conflict but to the offense. During interviews with Justina there were much discussion on children day care centre families and their perception as welfare recipient families in municpality's center of social services. According research participants the parents express the feelings of being stigmatized, as they are big families, having no education, living in public housing. From that point, these families have no way out from this social, economical, political exclusion.

The economical dependence from the welfare allowancies conditions bondage with the decision made by municipality's worker. They are trying to reject this dependence, but because of social exlusion – living in harsh conditions, with lack of a education, without abilities to represent 'adequate' behavior, and sustain sufficient incomes, they are unable to avoid the status of welfare recipient families. This closed circle does not produce conditions for family inclusion. The question which occurs, why this topic of exlusion come together with the father's inability to maintain family theme?

According to Townsend (2002, 2) a set of normative roles are identified for men and named them 'the package deal'. This 'package deal' includes marriage, homeownership, family-supportive employment, and fatherhood. The 'package' is not only required, but also expected using the acceptable means of fulfill-

ment. Family and fatherhood is expected to reach through marriage, and home-ownership and employment – active and legal participation in labor market. Man's inability to reach this 'package'" features distant relationship between family man and research participat as service provider. Therefore, fatherhood as one of the element of 'package deal' is itself composed of four facets: emotional closeness, provision, protection and endowment. This identification of fatherhood and providing is crucial, reflecting the central place of employment in men's sense of self-worth (Townsend 2002, 53).

The role of man in the family is connected with the achievements in labor market, ability to maintain family, so the task to be breadwinner for the family. Roy et al. (2007, 2) point that low-income men are particularly at-risk of engagement with their children, partly because they experience more critical transitions in and out of households, intimate relationships, and employment than other fathers. Thus, low-income fathers often cannot contribute much child support, as their precarious position in labor market threatens their ability to fulfill the provider role.

Avoidant father's as a client behavior, described by Justina, reflected not only the attitude towards lifestyle issue when children's needs are not prioritized, and the needs of parents are not under question and the material side of these relations is emphasized. Everything what parent achieves is dedicated for their children. The achievements of the families which are facing exclusion are small. Thus, discussion is not on priorities, where could be alternatives, but on priority, what requires the deliberate and conscious actions from parents. Thus, there are certain expectations for fathers which by facing unemployment and poverty have no opportunity to be fulfilled. Lewis (1998, 126) indicates that standards, rules, and goals set by context, are necessary and need to be incorporated in individuals' cognitive capacities for them to judge whether or not their behavior meets or doesn't meet these standards. Thus parents avoiding services of social worker can struggle with the guilt as parents for doing what they shouldn't (Jacoby 1996, 1). Thus, parents who have no employment, are not fulfilling breadwinners or workers role, are stigmatized as bad parents. Not fulfilling agreements with social worker and not settle documents in municipality for allowances makes parents avoid social worker facing family issue.

Taking into account possibilities to succeed as fatherhood to ensure children's current well-being and future life chances Townsend (2002, 51) suggests that it is important to recognize four features in men's life: 1) the real possibilities and limits to what men can achieve; 2) their subjective perspectives that life unfolds by presenting opportunities; 3) the fact that life outcome depends on both existence of opportunities and availability of the resources to make advantage of them, 4) the notion that social position or class is about consumption or 'lifestyle' as well as production or income.

The stigma, as Lewis (1998, 127) suggests, for individual possess represents a deviation from the accepted standards of society. Stigma and shame analyses

lead to conclusion that persons can blame themselves or can be blamed by the others for their condition. The idea of responsibility and perceived responsibility is central to stigma and shame.

The pressure for the father as unable to accomplish standard requirements in man's life confronts with shame and stigma, related to the charge of blame and feeling of shame. Lewis (1998, 126) describes shame as intensive negative emotion having to do with the self relation to standards, responsibility, and such attributions as global self-standards. Discussing phenomena of shame is important in interpreting this case as according to the researcher stigma and shame are two interrelated phenomanas.

In this topic the importance of father figure remains unquestioned for child's development. Father's role is emphasized and discussed in the family situation where it reveals impoverished living conditions and spending the money on the undequate needs according research participants. However, Soviet family policy emphasized importance of mother's role over children, indeed, father's role and place was not dicussed and became quite empty. Thus research participants do see men as source for family material wellbeing with no ability to bond with wife and children.

Attitudes existed during Soviet planned economy can have certain influence on evaluation of capability to face certain issues and find solution or resources to obtain the required roles for man as the father, as research participants have certain expectations to fathers and their employment, theirrole in the family. According to Grandick (1987, 71) full employment in Soviet Union is not a mean to such objectives as growth of national income and minimum of family income. Instead it stands as a goal with its own right and, to agree that overall employment is persuaded, the attainment of these other subjectives suffers. The right of each individual to have a job is valued for its own sake rather than for its income-creation or income distribution attributes.

Planned economy during the Soviet Union created special relations to labor and income, thus meanings and expectations which are transmited through our habitus. One of the most important points, to take into account, that during that period men had no independence and control over regulation of the family income in regular, legal way. Centrally fixed wage scales were difficult to enforce, due to enterprise discretion in grading jobs, assessing skills and determing fringle benefits. Wages were relatively low but there was a relatively high 'social' wage in kind a combination which fulfilled the ideological purpose of not treating labor as commodity (Eatwell 1995, 41).

Fixed wage was not the only reality for families, also the meaning and value of work, which at the same time created certain expectations for social work helping process. Important to emphasize, that during Soviet period total employment existed. Not only women were involved, but also working skills were not so important in preserving working place in the case of alcohol abuse or addicion, or any other social issue. Eatwell (1995, 41) specifies that centrally planned econo-

mies were characterized by full employment indicated by presence of labor shortages. Obviously full employment levels ranked very highly in the leadership's preferences but were obtained as a by-prodyct of over ambitious macroeconomic targets rather than as a result of specific policies of employment promotion.

Unemployment was banned as a 'parasitic activity' in any case. According research participants living from state allowances and staying unemployed can be perceived as unacceptable behavior for fulfilling the role of caring father. Thus, research participants can also transfer the meaning that in any case there is emphasis on father's participation in labor market without valuing the amount of earned salary. Taking into account that fathers from social risk families has low education or none, lack of working skills, and that does not guarantee sufficient income for a big family.

This unrealistic understanding that if you want you can work also comes from the period of the Soviet Union. Grandwich (1987, 75) points that the Soviet government concern for employment shared the common feature that their members were all engaged in socially approved activities and are not subjected to the ego-thretening humiliation of socially defined idleness. That indicates that the period necessary for the search of the job between positions was kept very brief, regardless of whether the person left the previous job as a result of dismissal or quit, and the new entrants on to the labor market should similarly find no difficulty in being placed. Thus, the person had no personal responsibility for the job search, the state system was organizing the rest, also the worker was not responsible for the behavior as he would find next job without taking the outcome into account.

Other cases told by research participants can be described as paradoxal, as these cases of the families and the process of employment attributes are not obvious even for the research participant.

In the extract [2.2.131] Justina was telling the family case were at the starting point of the story is interchanging with employment of the father. He got injured, thus is not able to keep the job. Together with change of his work status the family economical situation also has changed. According the research participant that family again became poor and with low income. The case of this family for the research participant seemed hopeless as the efforts to find exit from the poverty seemed closed. Anyway father's efforts were appreciated by Justina. In the told story of father's failure to be employed, father was considered as a member of the family, the research participant felt bonding of the father with the rest of family. The retreat of the state from leading role in the solution of the employment exposed the lack of knowledge and traditions in solving issue of unemployment and poverty. The assumption can be made that the research participant faces impotence in helping process with this family as in the society there are no means which would bring clear and sure outcome in changing family situation.

In another case told by Indrė [4.2.117] the family was divided into two units. One unit was mother and 7 children, and in the other side opposition

was father. The case description started with the mothers attempts to maintain family, provide income together with allowances as welfare recipient. The research participant father's presence-absence in the family life saw as a paradox. Family life involved just financial maintainance of the children. There was accepted man's reproducer's role, but not any other as he was not sustaining the family despite living together.

4.2.117.   nu dabar šita, net nežinau, [0]man atrodo, jinai yra Karolina Stankevičienė, taip „Miesto sodas", miesto, tai bus kokia indų plovėja ( )[0], čia kavinė yra. *4.2.117.*

4.2.118.   *aha žinau senamiesty,*

4.2.119.   jo, tai per mėnesį jinai uždirbo šešis šimtus keturis litus.

4.2.120.   *tai septyni vaikai?*

4.2.121.   septyni vaikai,

4.2.122.   *butas šeima vaikai]*

4.2.123.   [ir socialiai remtina yra, (.) tai gauna per mėnesį dar tris šimtus, keturis šimtus trisdešimt septynis, nu į mėnesį jau gaunasi tūkstantis litų. tėčio kaip tokio nefigūruoja iki šiol nors jis yra iš tikrųjų, *4.2.123.*

4.2.124.   *ai, jis jis jis]*

4.2.125.   [Jis yra bet jo, jie gyvena bet jie išsiskyrę.

4.2.126.   *a tai jisai toks]*

4.2.127.   jie gyvena kartu. ir jo va čia tų visų pajamų nėra.

4.2.128.   *bet jisai, o jisai dirba kaip jūs manot?*

4.2.129.   jo jisai dirba. (.2) [0]bet kaip ir skaitosi kad gyvena atskirai,[0]

4.2.130.   *bet kartais atsiranda ir vaikų. ((juokiuosi))*

4.2.131.   taip ir jau bus daug metų gyvena atskirai, bet vaikui mažiausiam metai.

4.2.132.   *aišku,*

4.2.133.   *jau suėjo.*

4.2.117.   so now about this, I even do not know, [0]I suppose, she is ((name of client)), yes "((name of big restaurant))", town's, that will be some kind of dishwasher ( )[0], here cafeteria is. *4.2.117.*

4.2.118.   *aha I know in the old town,*

4.2.119.   yes, so during the month she earned six hundred four litas.

4.2.120.   *so seven children?*

4.2.121.   seven children,

4.2.122.   *flat family children]*

4.2.123.   [and welfare recipient is, (.) thus she gets per month three hundred more, four hundred thirty seven, thus during the month obtains already one thousand litas. dad as such does not figure until now although he is actually, *4.2.123.*

4.2.124.   *so, he he he]*

4.2.125.   [he is but his, they are living ((together)) but they are divorced.

4.2.126.   *so he is such]*

4.2.127.   [they are living together. and here are no all his income.

4.2.128.   *but he, is he working how you think?*

4.2.129.   yes he is working. (.2) [0]but and how he is supposed to live separately,[0]

4.2.130.   *but sometimes also infants emerge. ((I am laughing))*

4.2.131.   yes and already will be many years living separately, but youngest child is one year old.

4.2.132.   *definitely,*

4.2.133.   *he already turned ((one year)).*

Indrė feels imposed that family was pretending to be of single mother with a big family, but in reality they were managing family together. One aspect of the felt injustice which the research participant was trying to face is that family – pretending being single, but in everyday life they were supporting family together. Important to notice while reading the extract, that the research participant felt misleaded, as single mother of big family received more allowancies, than nuclear family, also violation of certain norms in important feature analyzing the relation of Indrė with this family.

Another aspect which would disclose the issues of the family is the injusticed relationship between men and women in families, which are considered at social risk. That is when father or men do not strive to maintain families with at least some incomes. Thus, welfare allowancies becomes crucial for the families not only in the sense that these incomes allow meeting the needs of family members and especially of the children, but it also has impact on family structure, responsibilities and stability of family relationships.

Thus incomes and ability to maintain the family become crucial for men. The participation in family as breadwinner is essential. The research participants construct father as a male partner of the mother, who is distant to children, and has no emotional bonding, only biological origin.

Justina was telling another situation [2.3.221] about decision the women should or was forced to make by municipality worker about the structure of the family if she wants to increase the amount of the allowance. The research participant told the case placing herself in opposition of municipality worker, which had power to distribute welfare allowances. Indeed, power to make decisions about the family structure belonged to a mother who was taking responsabilities about family incomes.

2.3.221.   *nu galią reiškia iš to kur dabar?]*

2.3.222.   [nu tai va reiškia galią, jo. *(.3)* turi teisę duoti patarimus tu apsiženyk su vyru ir gausi socialinę pašalpą, arba tu su juo išsiskirk žinai. 2.3.222.

2.3.223.   *tokio tipo patarimai?]*

2.3.224.   [nu. ir viena iš mūsų apsiženijo supranti su tuo vyru, ir dabar jisai ją muša žinai, jinai sako būčiau gyvenime nesiženijus jeigu man nebūtų liepę. nes atseit jeigu tipo jeigu apsiženijęs nuo tau tik geriau žinai, ir tu gausi socialinę pašalpą ir nieko panašaus supranti. *o kita kuri supranti su vyru gyvena ten dvidešimt metų tai jai liepė išsiskirti tada tu žinai gausi socialinę pašalpą.* bet jinai yra nepėsčia moteris ir jinai aišku neklauso žinai. *(.)* @mesk tu tą vyrą sako žinai maždaug, ką jisai čia biržoj nestovi, nieko neuždirba.@ 2.3.224.

2.3.225.   *bet tai daugiau išsiskirk, tai gal tinginys tema, ta aš galvoju kaip nu palauk. stop. kur čia dabar stovi nestovi biržoj, dirba nedirba kas turi teisę nuspręsti? (.) nu man:n(.) aš galvoju. (.)2.3.225.*

2.3.226.   supranti kur pinigai ten ir galia žinai. kadangi ten kalba eina apie pinigus, tai tie žmonės kurie juos tvarko mano kad jie gali:i kitų gyvenimą pareguliuoti žinai.= 2.3.226.

2.3.221.   *so this means power from this where now?]*

2.3.222.   [so this means power, yes power, yes. *(.3)* ((they)) have right to give advices you get married with man and you will get welfare allowance, or get divorced with him you know. 2.3.222.

2.3.223.   *this kind of advices?]*

2.3.224.   [yes. and one from us got married you see with that man, and now he is beating you know, she saysI would never in my life would not get married if I wouldn't be ordered. As purporsely if suppose if you are married then it is only better you know, and you will get social allowance and nothing like this you see. *and other which you see with husband lives there over twenty years there so ((they)) told her to divorce then you will get social allowance.* but she is foursquare women and she of course does not obey you know. (.) @ you leave that nab ((they)) say you know more or less, what he here ((is doing)) he do not register himself ((unemployed in labour center)) exchange, earns nothing.@ 2.3.224.

2.3.225.   *but that is more about ((talking)) get divorced, that maybe it is idler theme, so I think how just wait. stop. where here registered not registered in ((labour)) exchange, employed unempoyed who has right to decide? (.) so for me:e(.) I am thinking. (.)2.3.225.*

2.3.226.   you see where are money and there is power, thus those people who are administer them thinks that they can:n readjust life of the others you know.= 2.3.226.

As already discussed, Justina was opposing herself to the understanding of municipality social workers about the intervention process. The research participant emphasized women's role within the family as decision-maker, and responsible for the structure and supply of the household. The relations between women and man are calculated by the possibilities for the got amount of the allowancies, also the number of family members and breadwinners in the household. Seems that the research participants were shifting role between mother and father in the family structure was not deeply considered. Thus, role of the wife or husband in the family is down-grounded, and importance for child's development not discussed. This understanding can be related to Soviet policy, where families were dual earners, and value of work is overemphasized in opposition to the drunkenness as breaking the value of Soviet man. Another issue which social worker confronts with parents is out-of-booking employment, which does not guarantee any security services in the future. Indeed, research participants have certain attitude to men's employment, where the irony or disbelieved in successful fulfillment of fathers as breadwinners role.

6.4. A Father as a Caregiver

In order to reveal the multidimensionallity of attitudes of the research participants towards the father – child carer, I would like to disclose theme '*father as a caregiver*'. This theme emerged during the final phase of data analysis. Discussing and comparing abilities to take care about the children of parents, research participants were prioritizing a care of the father only after the failure of women fulfilling control or care as mother. Indeed, there are just 2 extracts which would allow disclosing the theme. Netherthless, the cases when research participants prioritize the care of father is situational, and not met in other interviews.

Roy et al. (2007, 16) in their research observes that low-income men's relationship with the mothers of their children were pivotal in establishment and maintaining involvement with their children. Furthermore, as children became adolescence and become more independent of their mothers, the dynamic of interaction between fathers could change substantially.

The theme which presents comparisons between father's and mother's care is actual especially when father's abilities to care about the children is disclaimed. During the socialization process man gets the main expectation for the performance of father's role – to warrant and maintain certain living standards for the family. The issues for the man of low-income family are to experience no abilities to accomplish the role preferably, and to have no alternative ways to overcome this gap of unfulfillment. The harsh and intensive experience is especially evident for the father, meeting the intervention of the service providers. Social worker, on the other side, has certain picture. The presence of the certain features is checked while entering into family and inspecting if their situation and relations corresponds requirements for the clienthood of children day care center. Indeed,

the expected preferable picture of the ideal family at the first glance looks very individual and different for each of a research participant. Going deeper into phenomena, these pictures do not seem so different and becomes evident that picture is one according to research participants mold their actions. Helping process for fathers is created according certain symptoms by which research participants encourage to keep certain distance with the family father.

As Roy et al. (2007, 18) points that men's involvement in the children life has not a clear path of positive path, but a consistent churning between progress and setbacks over time. Also Roy et all (2007, 27) points that successful fathering in the context of low-income fathering is largely focused on avoiding the common pitfalls like crime, incarceration, violence, substance abuse, total absence of income generation and doing 'as much as you can' like providing and involvement with opportunities that do exists. Also important to notice that Roy et all (2007, 26) to recognize that contextual resilience of fathers is a process which is changing over time, depending on priorities for the men.

Sociologist Kublickienė (2003, 79) presents results of the research made on topic 'The crisis of masculine roles in Lithuania'. The results of the study revealed that there are different expectations toward men to women, and vice versa. At the beginning it is important to notice that both men and women thought that life of opposite gender seems better and easier.

Kublickienė (2003, 81) also notices that in Lithuanian society it is crucial to evaluate men's life from the same perspective as women's life. Modernization of social life denies the patriarchal definition of men's role and new understanding is not easily and clearly stated. The researcher notices that the diffustion of men's role is criticized in two directions. On one side they are blamed for the patriarchal domination and the devaluation of womenhood. One the other side, the felt disappointment for newly developing generation of men who are described as weak, unresponsible, often unable to find their own niche.

This attitude to the diffusion of the men's role is repeatedly mentioned by research participants. The extremity of men's role in the family when men are either strong and abusive, or men are weak, undecided, unresponsible. This creates niche for distraction of clienthood of social work. There are no chances or situation which would contruct sitation where men would be client of social worker in the children day care center.

Indeed, Kublickienė (2003, 83) notices that dominant expectations for 'normal' menhood has patriarchal images. Study revealed that women expect men earn money, be handy at home, and then maintain the children, their education, and finally care for the women.

The alcohol consumption and dependence is the greatest issue in the family and especially for mothers according to research participant [1.1.134]. Joana was emphasizing the threat for the children to be out of parental control. In the case of alcoholic mother, Joana observed that children of the family are dressed, fed, but not controlled. The research participant childhood associates with the

need for control and regulation from the adult figure, thus abuse of alcohol of mother indicates chaotic childhood without control and desirable model shaping appropriate behaviour.

Quite important aspect in constructing expectations for parents is the perception of child and expectations for their performance of their roles. Joana is emphasizing importance and need of controlled child's development and upbringing. Without active involvement of adult into the child's everyday life, the deviant evil would emerge when child would turn into adult.

Very special structure of youth organization was established during the Soviet Union, which aimed to shape future adults. Yakovlyeva (2009, 3) presents structure of youth organization, which was a single unified and indeologically motivated children and youth organization thus aimed to control society for progress and social harmony. Until the Soviet Union collapsed, the youth had to belong to mass all encompassing organizations, which were October Children (7–10 years old), 'Pioneers' (10–15 years old) and the 'Komsomol' – All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (15–28 years old). The main governing body was the Central Council of the Young Pioneer organization of the Soviet Union, which functioned under the leadership of the main governing body of Komsomol. Thus insuficiet parental care was not so great issue, as there were institutionalized alternatives for morality contruction established by the State.

Writing about childhood in Soviet Russia Kelly (2007, 4) points that children's percpeption are formed by adult direction in fundamental ways, particular in the case of younger children. Adults control the specifies that children may occupy and regulate the course of their daily routine, and children learn from adults how to perceive the world. Thus, concept of socialization becomes important, as in formation of child personality participate not only parental figures, but all adults which are responsible for education.

Kelly (2007, 424) also points that when adults attempt to shape children's characters they are primarily concernncerned with the adults the child is going to turn into. Prohibitions and restrains that are annoying to the children are justified by adults' assumptions that their long-term view makes the more conscious of children's welfare than children themselves. But an equally important part of upbringing is the unpleasant side what children observe when watch adults. Thus the alcohol consumption and dependence of parents and especially of mother was the highest concern.

This construction of mother who is unable to control the childhood Joana relates with alcohol abuse and of course with certain understanding and perception of the childhood. The study conducted by Murney (2007, 140) reveals that women are referred to the role of mother and wife, and protector of the family. Thus, alcoholic women, who are unable to fulfill these roles has particular low status and their morality is condemned. Mother having alcohol issue is treated with penal attitudes in the process of service provision. Research participants

very rearly suggest help for the mother to cope with the issue instead would create strategy how to safeguard children from alcoholic mother.

This attitude towards mother with alcohol issues as they are treated with low status not only in the post-communist countries. McDonald (1994. 22) refers, in the North of Europe women's responsability for the propriety means that female 'addict' like female 'alcoholic' – has particular low status. They are condamned if they drink and damned if they husbands do too. Women as moral force for society have been prominent, and they were not simply becoming important moral agents but were designated to be nation's mothers, and healthy children were esential to ensure strong race.

The feelings which are important in analyusing the development of a women's alcohol dependence are guilt and shame. Gomberg (1988, 145) claims that those feelings derive from socialization process and the emphasizing nurturant role of femininity. The researcher emphasizes socialization process which defines acceptable range of female behaviours, also acceptable limits of effetctive response, degree and kind. Feeling of guilt is based on difficulties in impulse control and in rule-breaking behaviors. Many individuals who have difficulty of impulse control and who engage in rule-breaking behavior do not experience guilt. Nevertheless, female deviant behavior is viewed with more dissaproval, thus guilt can arise from external resources: person can react to gossip, social rejection.

External resources for the women's experienced guilt and shame might be induced also by social worker of children day care center, who, by taking children into custody, creates conditions for the mother to acknowledge shame and guilt as features of not mothers good enough. Thus, in the case, described by the research participant is not solving mother's issue of alcohol dependence but use the same source to forced change. Therefore, achieved change by the mother is not durable.

Murney (2007, 134) indicates that worldwide heavy drinking among men is more prevalent than among women. Perception of alcohol consumption as a family issue could help for research participants to construct certain helping process for both parents specifying it according to the gender of the family member. The alcohol abuse is understood as the phenomenon having negative value, thus research participant should bear the influence during the assessment of the family case and extend the possibilties for intervention to the each member of the client families. One of the aspects of social work intervention I tried to find: at least the emergent mind which would encourage research participants to include both parents into helping process avoiding differentiation or positioning opposition against each other.

Simmons (2006, 2) presents main principle for drug addiction treatment. First of all, there is no single treatment appropriate for all individuals. Taking into account this principle for treatment of addiction situations the stories of helping processes should not repeat. Indeed, as Simmons points, that treatment field tends to place emphasis on individuals rather than on individuals within

their social contexts. Interesting to note, that in most cases stories on men or father issues are in lack description of personal context. The context of clients and especially on the alcohol issues are not individualized especially when the issue is alcohol abuse. Research participants are not seeking for excuse of alcohol abuse, which would base understanding or compassion in relation to the client.

Quite important topic for research participant and appearent in the extract is consideration of children day care centre as after-school education. In the content of children day care centre were children gather after school is constructed by Joana, parents are not invited to take active part in these actions. Parents has task to control entrance and attendance of children day care center activities.

This control of childhood and participation in formation of the child is giving value not only for the parents, but also for the social workers of the day care centers. One of the important principles, which research participant attempts to emphasize, the importance of active control of the child's behavior. Kelly (2007, 425) presents attitudes towards controlled and directed activities towards children existed during the Soviet Union period. If parents and adults should exercise a high degree of control outside home they were naturally likely to exercise still more control inside it. Middle-class parents who subscribed to the theories of 'rational upbringing' were especially prone to direct leisure tastes, purchasing educational toys and books to nudge their offspring in the right direction. Indeed, parents of working-class or peasantry were outreached types of parents who did not encouraged in active upbringing of any kind, was not really troubled. Then there were quite strong official rules, regulations, and campaigns to get adults to see their children.

1.1.31. *[o jeigu jūs pabandytumėt nu prisiminti, vat kada buvo mama gerianti. ir nu buvo be galo sudėtingas atvejis.=*

1.1.32. =>nu kad ir dabar situ-, ir tokį atvejį ir tą šeimą mes stengiamės kiek padėt, bet kažkaip viskas tarsi <u>slysta</u>. nes šita situacija tokia kad, <u>mama</u> yra <u>labai</u>, labai turi didelę priklausomybę ir ten iš tikrųjų situacija yra <u>kritinė</u>. yra kritinė situacija. bet mes padaryti nieko <u>negalim</u>. nes iš tikrųjų tėvas, yra mama ir tėtis. jie yra išsiskyrę, bet išsiskyrę neteisiniu būdu. (.) tiesiog atskirai gyvena, tėvas turi priklausomybę bet, (.) daug mažesnę jeigu taip galima pasakyt. gal būt išgeria <u>mėnesį</u> kartą.= *1.1.134.*

1.1.33. *=o mama kiekvieną dieną?]*

1.1.34. mama jeigu tik turi pinigų. (.) geria tol kol pinigų nėra, kol nėra nėra už ką gert. (.) tada eina ieškot. (.) tai žodžiu dugnų dugnas yra. ir ir <u>gyvena</u> čia visiškai netoli. o tėtis iš- išsikėlęs gyventi n:netoli Kauno visiškai. pas savo mamą. (.) ir situacija buvo tokia, kad jisai persikėlė pas <u>mamą</u>, vaikus jisai::i. jisai norėjo kadangi. <u>vaikai</u> matydami kad, su mama gyvent <u>negali</u>.

1.1.31. *[and if you could try to remeber, that when there was mother drinking. and that would be very complicated case.=*

1.1.32. =>so that and now situ-, and such case and that family. we try somewhat to help, but somehow everything somehow <u>slider</u>. as this situation is such, <u>mother</u> is <u>very</u>, has very big dependency and that actually situation <u>critical</u>. that is critical situation. but we can do <u>nothing</u>. as trully father, there is mother and father. they are divorced, but they are divorced but not in legal way. (.) just they live separately, father has dependency but, (.) much smaller if that is possible to say. maybe drinks once per <u>month</u>.= *1.1.134.*

1.1.33. *=and mother every day?]*

1.1.34. mother if only she has momey. (.) drinks as long as there are no money, while there are no ((money)) there are no for what ((afford)) to drink. (.) then ((she)) seeks. (.) that is in one word that is bottom line. and and ((she)) <u>lives</u> here nearby. and father mo- moved out to live n:neear kaunas completely. to his mother. (.) and that was such situation, that he moved to his <u>mother</u>,

(.2) aišku normaliai jie, vai- jie gyvena <u>pas tėvą</u>. (.) bet yra važinėjimas. (.) tai yra <u>atstumas</u>. (.) ir <u>aišku</u>, visada čia yra draugai. ten draugų nėra. (.) čia yra mokykla, prie mokyklos draugai, pažįstami, ir kokie jie bebūtų. ten yra visiai kitoks draugų ratas, ir net sako <u>nu nerandam</u> draugų nes daugiausiai būnam čia. (.) va ir, paskui tas noras pasilikti savaitgaliais. (.) >nors mes ir su močiute kalbėjomsakom tokiu atveju vis vien gi jūs, <u>pagalvokit</u> čia vaikai savaitgaliais kas juos <u>prižiūri?</u>< (.) aišku <u>niekas.</u> (.) ir jie <u>ką nori tą daro.</u> (.) ta prasme jiems šauna į galvą tą jie <u>daro.</u> ↑buvo mėgint- kalbėjom ir su su ma- su su su <u>tėčiu</u> žodžiu kad (.) ar negalit sakau (.) tiesiog rūpintis kad vaikai, kad <u>jūs esat</u> (.) ir jūs teisiškai, (.) tuomet būtų bent kažkokia <u>teisė.</u> (.) bet dabar jie nenori nieko nei ieškot savo <u>teisių</u>, nieko sakau. mums tebunie taip kaip yra. (.) ir situacija yra tokia kad pinigus už vaikus gauna mama paima, ir juos paima. ir prageria ir visa kita tėtis dirba. (.) žodžiu, (.) situacija yra visiškai <u>nevaldoma</u>. nes ir čia namai, ir čia namai. vaikai važiuoja pas pas tėvą į namus tam kad <u>pavalgyt</u>, (.) tam kad būtų nu api- <u>apiprausti</u>, <u>aprengti</u> geriau. bet jie grįžta <u>čia</u>, nes <u>čia</u> yra jų draugai, ir <u>čia</u> jie gali daryt tai ką <u>nori.</u> (.) ir va sakykim:m tokioj situacijoj, (.) dar kol mažesni dar dar dar kažkaip <u>stengiasi</u> juos. paskui jau aišku <u>auga</u>. situacija tokia pat lieka. (.) ir ir ir pavyzdžiui vienai mergaitei atsirado draugai:i, (.) ji pareiškė norą nebeeiti į dienos centrą, (.) apsigyveno čia <u>su mama</u>. dabar kiek žinau, ↓⁰šita mergaitė kiek jai čia metų aštoniolika turėtų turėti.⁰ kad atseit ir draugą kažkokį turi. ir su draugu vos ne gyvena. žodžiu ir. (.) ↑ kita <u>mergaitė</u> irgi prieš pora metų, kita sesuo jos. irgi paauglystė. (.) paauglsytės krizė. (.) yra draugai, yra tas gyvenimas, ir ta močiutė sako aš taip pat nieko negaliu padaryti. (.) nes <u>tėtis</u> laikosi, (.) tos pozicijos kur, (.) nu nieko tarsi. tarsi <u>toliau</u> (.) nuo visos šitos situacijos, močiutė sako aš irgi nieko negaliu padaryt. nes jie <u>nori</u>, jie <u>būna</u>, jie žino kad ten ką nori tą gali daryti. ⁰yra ir jaunimo. yra ir tos⁰ ir ir ir jaunimo grupė, kuri su kuria tiesiog galima paūžt savaitgaliais linksmai. galima išgert, galima, (.) ir ir ir va dabar. yra dar vienas yra likęs tiktai berniukas. ir aš nežinau kaip toliau bus, nes močiutė sako. aš jaučiu kad ir <u>čia bus</u> tas pats, ta pati situacija. ir ir situacija vie todėl padėt negalima kad, kad kad (.) <u>iš tikrųjų</u>, (.) šeima teisiškai yra viena. bet jie taip negyvena mes mėginom spręst problemą, irgi per vaikų teises, iš tikrųjų šitą iniciatyvą turėtų rodyt iš <u>šeimos</u> pusės. (.) kaip tuos vaikus nuspręst, pas ką tie vaikai turėtų būt. ir ta situacija, (.) yra tokia komplikuota kad. (.) žodžiu viskas. (.) *1.1.136.*

1.1.35.   *tai ten trys vaikai. dvi mergaitės?]*

1.1.36.   [ta prasme jau jos tos mergaitės jos jau jau, iš ne-. bet mažesnis berniukas vis dar <u>lankosi</u>, <u>lanko</u> čia. (.) bet man irgi labai skaudu,

children he::e. he wanted because. <u>children</u> had seen that, with mother ((they)) <u>cannot</u> live. (.2) of course normally they they, chil- they live <u>with father</u>. (.) but there is driving. (.) that is <u>distance</u>. (.) and <u>of course</u>, there are always friends here. there are no friends. (.) here is school, next to the school there are friends, aquaintances, and whatever they would be. there are completely different circle of friends, and there they say that <u>so we cannot find</u> friends as mainly we are here. (.) so and, then that wich to stay during weekends. (.) >although we talked with grandmother we say in such case but still you, <u>think</u> here are children during the weekend who <u>takes care</u> about them?< (.) of course <u>no one.</u> (.) and they <u>are doing what they want.</u> (.) in that sense what clicks that they <u>do.</u> ↑there was attemp- we spoke and with moth((er))- with with with <u>dad</u> in one word that (.) can you I say (.) just take care that children, that <u>you are</u> (.) breadwinner and you are legally, (.) then there would be at least some <u>right</u>. (.) but now they want nothing nor seek for their <u>rights,</u> I should say. for us it can be as it is. (.) and situation is that allowancies for children gets mother ((she)) takes, and she takes them. and she drinks away and all the other father works. (.) in words, (.) situations is completely <u>out of control</u>. as and here are home, and there are home. children goes to father ((place)) on the purpose <u>to eat</u>, (.) that they would be was- <u>washed, dressed</u> better. but they come back <u>here</u>, as <u>here</u> are their friends, and <u>here</u> they can do whatever they <u>want.</u> (.) and so suppose:e in such situation, (.) untill they are small still still somehow <u>makes effort</u> them. afterwards they of course <u>grows up</u>. situation stays same. (.) and and and for example one girl found friends:s, (.) then she said the word not to come to day care center, (.) stayed <u>at her mother</u>. now as i know, ↓⁰this girl how old she is now she should to have eighteen year old.⁰ that she supposely has some boyfriend. and with that boyfriend nearly living. in one woord and. (.) ↑ other <u>girl</u> also few years ago, other sister of her. also teenage. (.) crisis of teenage. (.) there are friends, there is that life, and that grandmother says I also can do nothing. (.) as <u>father</u> stick to opinion, (.) that position where, (.) like there is sort of nothing. sort of <u>further</u> ((develops)) (.) over all this situation, grandmother says i can do nothing. as they <u>want</u>, they <u>are</u> ((reside)), they know that there they can do whatever they want. ⁰there are youth. and there are those⁰ and and and youth group, which with whom you can just go on bender during weekend cheerily. you can drink, you can, (.) and and and so now. there is one more boy left solely. and I don't know how will be next, as grandmother says. I feel that also <u>here</u> will be the same, the same situation. and and situation ((is that)) the only ((reason)) we cannot help only because, because because (.) <u>essentially</u>, (.) legally family is one ((unit)). but

kai sakykim laisva ranka leidžiama jį savaitgaliais. reiškia jis penktadienį pasilieka čia, šeštadienį sekmadienį ir primadienį vėl. <tai ką jis daro tas dienas? (.) žinant kad namuose mama visiškai jo neprižiūri. su kuo jis eina?, (.) kokius draugus jis renkasi? (.) kur jis eina?> žodžiu situacija (.2) tokia. *1.1.138.*

they don't live so we tried to solve this problem, also with ((help of)) children rights ((agency)), actually this initiative should be taken by family. (.) how decide those children, with whom those children should stay, (.) that is so complicated that. (.) in one word all ((is complicated)). (.) *1.1.136.*

1.1.35.   *so there are three children. two girls?]*

1.1.36.   [in that sense they are those girls they already already, from no-. but younger boy still attends, attends here. (.) but for it is also painful, that suppose loosely it is allowed for him ((to stay)) during the weekends. that means that from friday he stays here, saturday sunday and monday again. <so what he is doing during those days? (.) knowing that at home mother absolutely is not taking care of him. with whom he is?, (.) what friends he chooses? (.) where he goes?> in one word situaion (.2) is like this. *1.1.138.*

Taking into account these assumptions, concern of Joana that children are unaccompanied in their daily choices, also has impact on their future adult life. The research participant was complaining that she was trying to negotiate with the father that he would take regular care about their children, thus terminate intensive relation and staying period with biological mother. Parents were not legally divorced, but living separately. Both parents according to the research participant were alcohol dependent, seems that they are equal in common conditions of parental skills and abilities.

Murney (2007, 143) analyzing the gender relating understandings concerning alcohol consumption, questions drinking pattern are so different between men and women. One of the aspects which emphasized researcher is that women's drinking seems unacceptable. Also, men are perceived in her research as not so flexible as women in relation to drinking habits. Men are less capable to adopt and adapt to the changing system of priorities and values. Thus, the important aspect for Joana, that there should be provided care and control of the children, but also that this care would be given by women and it is inessential that this figure would be biological mother.

Reading extract, at first glance could seem that at least that is situational ability to be capable be central parental caring figure as man, but there are mitigating circumstances that the father was living with his mother. Grandmother is the person who is communicated with the research participant, and discussed with her about the care of the childen. Indeed, for the disappointment of Joana, grandmother of the children was not taking ultimate responsibility for them. Thus, the research participant was positioning herself with those who are able to control children, but confused with family's inability to take settled decisions. At the end of the case description Joana discussed consequencies for the future of the not controlled childhood.

Reading transcripts of the interview, I noticed that the reasearch participant was emphasizing words which characterized relationship between children situation and lack of concern of their mother, therefore simultaneously appearing the distance of the father in family decision making. The research participant feel lack of of family, which would take care not only about fulfillment of children's basic needs, but also have control over choices of friends, alcohol abuse, and early sexual life. For the research participant was easier to submit child than teenager, which is at the time of experimentation over limits of autonomy and especial for early start of active sexual life.

It is important to take into account that Lithuania is catholic country. Sexual life, child birth is interrelated with the matrimony. These attitudes were strengthened during Soviet period, just with different meaning. Kon (1983, 15) points that for many decades Societ society potraited herself as utterly asexual, even sexless.

Rotkirch (2005, 95) on the basis of Kon (1995) assumptions presents four periods of sexual policy in Soviet Union. First period was short 'daring and progressive' period in early 1920 with radical legislation, pluralistic discussion and social experimentation. Lithuanian society at this period was independent state, and tendencies in the Soviet Union had no major impact. Indeed, second period of 'brutal repressions' under Stalin, echoed with the tendencies in Lithuanian society. Sex become unmentionable and love was ideologically confined to the married, monogamous heterosexual couple. Third period, the late socialism of Khrushchev and Brezhnev as the 'domestication', as the domestication of sexuality: researches on sexuality were partly allowed, and somekind of information featured in medical journals. Fourth, the Gorbachev politics of *glasnost* led to liberalization of the printed word in the late 1980, this period also was significant for Lithuanian society.

Within the period of *perestroika* the discourse of the single, rigid model of the official morality about sex relations began to change. During the period of Stalin morality was centered as suspicion of sex as wasteful consumer of energies, which would be must be better devoted to the building of communism. There was emphasis on family as the basis of societal stability, it presented as disciplined, heterosexual sex within the marriageas only true model of communist sexuality. Devation from this 'moral norm' could be interpreted as a political deviance or 'anti-Soviet' behavior (Shreeves 1992, 133).

Returning to the extract, as I have earlier mentioned, the research participant was not approving the attitude of the parents to sexual life of two adolescent girls. Joana had no means to intervene in the situation, as issues of the family is seen as violation of mortality, one of the ways is to make parents and children regret so change morality to better side. Hence, there are two opposite viewpoints (but not worldviews) which are conflicting as right one and deviant, dangerous one.

The research participant was opposing the lifestyle of teenage sister, as former client of children day care center, which lived in active sexual life in open relationship with man. According to Joana, this teenager's lifestyle during period of adolescence, consequently leads to the repetition of parent's lifestyle, and especially of the mother's. The greatest chagrin for Joana was that no official agency, and also children day care center is taking active actions to change the precarious sitation of teenager, and do not prevent consequences. Lifestyle lead by the child and quality of her care remain self-determination of the family. The family remains autonomous, without meeting the interference of the agencies responsible to control neglectful relation between parents and children. If none of family member is taking the leading role in the process for the change of their situation, there will be no intervention from social worker.

Children's life with mother was associated with self-rule, thus bad choices of friends and acceptance of street lifestile. Seems, that parent's has the task to regulate choices made outside home. So, living with grandmother was associated with rules and care what cannot make certain of care the mother and the father, more directed childre's life and diverted choices.

Several times Joana repeatedly mentioned that grandmother felt impossibility to rearrange anything in current family's situation. This repetitively mentioned phrase creates impression that the research participant felt same impossibility to take actions. The right for decision making in the family was given for parents, and mainly father. Both women -grandmother and social worker do not take action to change situation, despite attempts to involve municipality's child protection agency.

Indeed, for the research participant it was hard to name that the alcoholic dependent mother as a source of family trouble thus she should be replaced as there is father and grandmother. These two family members according to the research participant could provide adequate and consistent care. The concern for the social worker was attitude of irreplaceable care of mother and actual situation of the family.

So, in this case, Joana was teeling about alcoholic mother, and the most significant roles within this family are given for the woman roles: mother, grandmother, two girls and social worker who is also woman. Men, who could be significant resource for the case, are described as distant or careless.

Education of children socially acceptable behavior is one of the aims imposed by the National program of children day care centers. Therefore in those facilities there are gathered children from families which are perceived as lacking skills to care and upbring the children. This lack is considered as inability to care but also provide proper model for the lifestyle and thus moral values to their children, and thus raised the need for social services. Indeed, those families are recognized as able to care for children, and no need to place them to custody. Nevertheless, social services are needed to provide proper direction and control for the care, and also create conditions for accomplishment basic tasks as nutri-

tion, playground, and prevention for drop-out situations from education system. Reading the extracts I realize the importance educating the future society of societal norms and taking into account that during the Soviet Union period all facilities for the care and education of children were emphasizing and focusing on the development of morality of Soviet man. Hence, e children day care center's daily activities are aimed to develop proper societal norms for children from amoral families, invoving just children as service recipients.

The second extract [4.2.354] in this theme was revealing attitudes toward women who stay in relationship with the partner in the case of family violence. Also Indrė disclosed her attitude towards women lacking parenting skills and therefore sharing care of the children with father. Thus, father's capacity to care about children is discussed in the context of the mother's inability to fulfill the required and socially acceptable role. I asked Indrė about community tolerance towards family violence against women trying to explore tolerance for the societal issues within the community, she to told about certain kind of women as her name them. Female is incapable to maintain family, what deliberately makes her dependent from support of the men and partners. According the research participant main aim of her is to keep the man as breadwinner, and she allows to be abused as reward. Man of the other side is some kind of idol able to maintain family, keep the household, what focuses mainly on preparation of a meal for the children.

In this case there is space awarded for the father as carer, just then mother is unable. That could be seen as roots for new social work paradigm, where family is seen as unit, including the father as important member of the family and significant resource dispencing between the roles the emergent gaps of childcare. Indeed, the care of children remains in the level of regular provision of the goods, which is important in daily life of the family, but there was no deeper discussion on relationships between family members and consideration on the need of children for this relationship of the parent figures.

7. SOCIAL WORKERS' REFLECTION ON MOTHER'S ROLE BEHIND THE INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE SUPPORT PRACTICIES OF SOCIAL WORK

I was considering terminating this research paper with the text revealing the potential for a father to receive help of social worker, which is considered as deviating from norms of fatherhood, or facing social exclusion. I realized that by revealing the understanding of a mother I would discover the possibilities for a family to escape current situation of social exclusion. Mother's role can be considered as important and influencing child's development. Also there exists understanding that mothering models consequences future of a child. But at the same time, having considered understanding of fatherhood, I missed overall deliberation for importance of parent figure for development of child's personality. I also found that understanding of a mother as a client of a social worker was controversial in research participants' stories. Therefore, I am trying to unfold the subjects which reveal construction of motherhood as troubled and in need for social work intervention.

There are 30 extracts revealing the subject *Mother – client*. The subject *mother as client* is a big topic, which suggests that social workers tend to separate parent figures, and mother is considered as the only family member for whom social work intervention is possible. The extracts where research participants were talking about help and support for the whole family, but research participant at some point focused all intervention on mother figure were chosen for this subject.

At the beginning I suppose that the construction of motherhood would emphasize importance of mother's relation with the child, as the basis of development of the child's personality. Also, research participants consider provision for and taking care of children to be the main task for motherhood, taking into account the discovery of previous chapter of absence of father from the family life. Mother's relation with children is emphasized to justify inability to provide financial well-being for children. Moreover, the objective of the social services is maintenance of the household, but not relation with the child. In such cases, social worker would encourage mother to find job, changing the status of welfare recipient, actively participate in labor market, and manage care of children independently.

7.1. Employment as the Aim of Social Services for a Mother

Employment provides key too economic well-being. Women's emancipation from the economic dependence on a man or state allowances can be considered as the aim of social work. Parents' employment is also one of the most impor-

tant aspects of family-related social work in order to overcome family poverty. With liberalization of labor market, family income has had impact over child's possibilities to have choice of alternative ways to participate and belong to society in the present and in the future.

Social services according to the Law on Social Services of the Republic of Lithuania must create conditions for a person or family to develop and enhance the abilities and possibilities to independently solve social problems, maintain social relations which society, as well as to assist in overcoming social exclusion. Nonetheless, employment is one of the most evident ways of creating conditions to overcome poverty for the whole family Employment as the way to create a certain status for the child within the society has been emphasized as being important. As mentioned previously, one of the first unexpected outcomes was consideration that employment as such did not change family status and did not terminate family's status as the client of children day care centre. Indeed, research participants see employment as a crucial measure to overcome social exclusion and poverty of the family.

On one hand, women's employment can be considered as seeking self-fulfilment in individual achievements and opportunities in the employment, while on the other hand, women have the obligation to perform role of housekeepers and caring mothers and wives, which creates variegated role for women. Woman's roles are perceived as acceptable and preferred everyday reality for a woman. Most of the client families are big families, so this double burden becomes impossible to implement. The construction of a worthless father makes a woman the main breadwinner. Economical dependence on allowances makes women vulnerable to decisions taken by social workers and other professionals. Women are seen as able to combine these two roles: being a breadwinner and a mother.

In the extract [1.1.26], research participant begins a story about an unemployed woman with two children and a husband who makes little or no input into family's wellbeing. Research participant points that at the beginning of the relations with the family, children were pre-schoolers, thus they did not fall under the category of service users of their agency despite the harsh living conditions. Joana emphasized that in this family, which she considered to be comprised of the mother and two children, had strong relations among them. Research participant was concerned about parents' inability to preserve permanent employment that was interrupted by lack of motivation and alcohol abuse. Joana emphasized the relationship between women and man characterizing them as fragile, as being out of wedlock, thus illegitimate. The illegitimate family relations prompted Joana characterize man as a 'sponger', not perceiving him in the role of father.

1.1.26. tai sakykim tokia situacija yra, (.) esam tur-, ta prasme mes (.) mes ir dabar ja. mama dirba bet bet, bet niekada nežinai kada vėl nedirbs. irgi yra žodžiu situacija buvo tokia kad. (.) žinojom ten, lankėmės pas vieną vaiką, ir žinojom, kad (.) to namo kitoje pusėje gyvena šeima. (.) mama su dviem vaikais. (.) jie tada dar nėjo į mokyklą, dabar abu eina abu mokyklinukai. (.) gyvena su sugyventiniu, nors vaikai yra jo bet jisai teisiškai n:::neįteisnęs šito dalyko. galima sakyti kaip, kaip kaip <u>nesantuokoj</u> gyvena. ir tas tėvas, (.) <u>tėvo</u> rūpinimasis šeima labai labai (.) ribotas, ir labai nedidelis. (.) nes sakykim dirba, (.) kol neateina tas, ta tas momentas kai sakykim ima gert ir tada prarandamas darbas ir viską. hh bet <u>na</u>, bet kaip bebūtų šeima, steng- jie stengiasi vis vien, kažkaip iš kažko gyvent ir pragyvent. ir mes matėm kad tokia situacija yra sudėtinga. tiesiog. (.) vieną kartą lankydamiesi toj šeimoj, mes vis matydavom <u>ją</u>. ir aš vis pastebėdavau kad ji niekur nedirba, nei ką, nors ten, ten gyvenimo sąlygos yra tikrai. (.) labai labai labai prastos.= *1.1.26.*

1.1.26. so suppose there is such a situation, (.) we had ha(d)-, in that sense we (.) we have it now. mother works but but, but you never know when ((she)) will be unemployed. again also there was such situation that. (.) we knew there, ((we)) visited one child, and we knew, that (.) there was a family that lived in the other half of the house. (.) mother with two children. (.) they then did not attend school yet, now they both attend, both are pupils. (.) lived with cohabitee, although children are his but he legally n:::not legitimized this stuff. it can be said that, that that lives in <u>fornication</u>. and that father, (.) <u>father's</u> concern over family is very very (.) limited, and very minor. (.) as suppose ((he)) works, (.) until that, that that moment comes when suppose he starts drinking and then job is lost and everything. hh but <u>so</u>, but anyhow family tr((y))- they try still, somewhat to live off something and survive. and we saw that this situation was complicated. just. (.) once during the visit to that family, we saw <u>her</u> over and over again. and I have noticed that she did not work anywhere, nor did anything, although there, there were certainly poor living conditions. (.) very very very poor.= *1.1.26.*

Also Joana put emphasis on father's insufficient involvement into family matters. As family's financial supply was not steady, he was abusing alcohol. Starting with the first sentence, the research participant emphasized distant role of the father figure and concentrated on the mother's role and possibilities to provide support to her. Mother and her children were considered as family unit. It is important to take into account the construction of the family man, described as an outsider in terms of family matters in the first part of the extract. First, the man is perceived as distant and partly existent in the family. Moreover, the father is the person who does not initiate legalization of family as a union with the mother of his children, he earns no money, is unreliable and incoherent, and he has alcohol abuse issues. This extract has already been discussed in previous chapter 6.3., where Joana has emphasized the father's inability to assure family's wellbeing.

Mother's intention to stay with preschool children at home is not welcomed, and seen as violation of values and luxury the family cannot afford. The obstacle which mother is facing to be employed in order to overcome the poverty is in conflict with the mother's relation with the children. So Joana suggests providing day care services for the pre-school child as well, thus providing support to mother's employment. The aim for Joana is to motivate employment of the mother. The attempts to find job for the mother can be related not only to change of welfare recipient status, but also with the provision of non-monetary goods. In this case, such goods could be health care, education services. Indeed, the income the family could gain through employment does not change the status of the client of children day care center, but just extends the possibilities to

access the services. It should be taken into account that children under the age of 16 are provided with free medical services in Lithuania. Thus, employment of mother extends access to medical services just for the employed adult member of the family.

Mother found a cleaner's job in a greengrocery warehouse. Indeed, the research participant has special attitude towards this workplace. She describes it as a place inciting drinking, not providing stable employment for a worker. According to Joana, this workplace provides conditions for alcohol abuse and an employer does not value or search for permanent and reliable worker.

After conflict with her boss, mother resigned and became jobless again, thus the family again did not have the resources. At the same time, the father, as research participant names him, has well paid job, but is considered as an outsider of the family, and his earned money is not calculated into the family budget. Murney (2007, 143) has concluded in her research that men are seen as less capable to accept changes, and adapt to the changing status and authority, yet nonetheless men remain better paid while changing their workplaces more often than women. It seems that the only resources the family can have come from the woman's efforts. Social worker recklessly aims to employ the mother, especially now when now children are in their school age.

The research participant puts emphasis on women's employment as self-contained value The full focus in professional support is directed towards following socially acceptable norms – being permanently employed, provide certain level of wellbeing for the children, pushing aside a role-model who is able to create bonds between family members. One of the possible insights related to the research participant's concerns about the client's employment can be explained by the fact that during the Soviet period, most of the goods and facilities were provided though the workplace.

During the Soviet period, employment meant more than only income. According to Ashwin (1998, 191), employment relates not only to the occupation by which person earns money, but also to belonging to an enterprise community. Author noticed that a Soviet enterprise was far more than a workplace. It was the basic unit in Soviet society, through which state protection and benefits were provided.

Under this system of state paternalism, an enterprise provided for a whole range of worker's needs – from the provision of kindergarten places to paying funeral expenses. In the case of the most important provision, there was often no alternative means of securing access to the required goods and services other than through the workplace. It is also noteworthy that workplace provided housing and kindergartens that are important factors for sustaining families, and have remained relevant even after transformation of the state system. Researcher emphasized that major feature of this form of production relations was its location within a non-monetary economy: many of these goods could not be paid for in rubles as money did not act as a universal equivalent, because

access to the goods in short supply was more important than the means to pay for them. Moreover, in the case of the most important forms of provision, there was often no alternative means of securing access to the required goods and services than through the workplace.

The average large enterprise provided housing, rest and leisure activities, and kindergartens, heath care facilities, access to a variety of goods in short supply, grants, soft loans and guarantees for loans from local retail establishments. Thus, employment assured not only income, which during Soviet period was minimal, but also supply of the goods so needed by poor or excluded families. Thus, the goods provided by enterprises were not perks but necessities: survival outside the labor collective was, for most people, impossible.

Employment for the research participant means more than earning for living – it also means access to the services which would warrant social inclusion of the family. However, children day care center does not have the power and facilities as a Soviet enterprise used to have neither for the workers, nor for the clients. Attempts to employ clients while the salary and the allowances do not differ in the amount can be interpreted as research participant's unconscious strive to relate client with the goods the employment could provide. Also, during the Soviet period there used to be the attitude that the employment was asocietal value to be followed by everyone.

The family's issue Joana was concerned with wasbudget planning, as most of the income was spent at the beginning of month and part of the income was spent on alcohol. The relationship between the parents and children was intensive; they were bonding without any signs of abuse, neglect or violence.

Although the mother was caring, able to maintain relationship with children, she was unable to provide financial security. When talking about the mother, Joana used the word 'family' implying the mother with children. In this case, the man was distant, unable to keep permanent work, occasionally drinking, and not providing any financial maintenance for family, unable to commit. Because of this failure of commitment, the family was considered as a couple not a union, where the research participant saw two opposing sides: mother with two children, whose side the research participant took in opposition to the father as a separate and distant part of the family.

Talking about family issues, they evolved as a consequence of the parents' behavior and attitudes. Man's bad habits vanished, and his qualities became closer to the overall image of the caring mother. Joana was providing support and help for the mother to find and maintain employment. The case told about the family was focused on mother as the change agent. Provision of help or involvement for the man was not deliberated by the Joana, despite of she did not mentioned features of aggressiveness which would imply the distant feeling for the research participant.

Extract [5.1.231] reveals that Kristina understands the indolence to follow the rules in the situation of unemployment. This mother's indolence to follow

the expected norms is the consequence of the complex situation of the family and, in particular, reaction of the child to the normal life situations. Kristina is describing the situation where child was lifting sweets and toys from the shop next to the children day care center. The event involved municipality's child protection agency. However, the meeting was organized not because of the child's delinquency, but rather because of mother's neglect of the child and alcohol abuse. Mother in this family is single and unemployed. According to Kristina, she is not inclined to look for steady permanent job, as she is expecting to keep situation of the family unchanged for couple of months.

Kristina states that she is concerned about family situation; therefore, she tries to fix it. She tries to find ways to make mother realize that she needs a permanent job, and being without job seems improper to the research participant. Mother is managing household not in accordance with the rules. The disobedience to the norms provokes child's behavioral issues at school. He is overactive at school, unable to concentrate, and resists to punishments or other forms of disciplining. The resistance to obey the rules makes the research participant assume that the child needs to be checked by mental health doctor because of his inadequate reactions to the discipline.

The family's lifestyle is obscure for research participant. Kristina keeps her role as a distant observer, involving with the other agencies only in certain situations and expecting active participation of the client in the search for the workplace, register with the Labor Exchange and register for visit at the specialist's of neurology. The most surprising for me during the interview was the aim of this visit, as, according to Kristina, there was need for medicine prescription or other means to control the boy's behavior in children day care centre.

In the extract, Kristina does not question the bonding and relations between the mother and the boy. Research participant has concerns over the mother's inability to follow social rules and consistent ways to manage family issues. Mother's inconsistency has resulted in the child's troubled behavior at school and in the children day care center. Extended family living in one dwelling is perceived by Kristina as violation of normal situations.

Kristina is quite sceptical about the woman's excuses of not being able to settle the documents because of the lack of money. According to the research participant, she could arrange the required document when boy is at school and use money earned when she had work. The mother has to fulfill social worker's expectations of her being a decent housekeeper.

5.1.231.   *kaip, o jeigu pabandytumėt vieną kažkokį vaiką papasakot, ir jo istoriją. nu ko, iš ko, kas yra šeimoje, kaip jisai iki jūsų atėjo?*

5.1.232.   tai irgi yra, (.3) naujas atvejis. (.) bet nu negaliu sakyt kad tas vaikas yra <u>linkęs</u> va į vagystes. bet čia pasitaikė vat, dabar neseniai. kada irgi, čia išėjęs matyt iš dienos centro, „Iki"

5.1.231.   *how, and if you would try to tell about a certain child, and his story. so why, from what, what is the family, how he came to you?*

5.1.232.   that also is, (.3) new case. (.) but like I cannot say that this child is <u>inclined</u> so to shoplifting. but then it occurred so, recently. when also, then apparently left the day centre, also stole

parduotuvėj irgi apsivogė. mama sakė kad už ledinuką susimokėjo, o žaislą į kišenę. (.) tai:i šeimą nukreipė Vaiko teisių apsaugos tarnyba. kad (.) yra vaikų nepriežiūra, (.) e:e alkoholis. nes tuo metu gyveno mama, dvi jos suaugę dukros, ir tos dukros turėjo po savo vaikutį. (.) irgi mažamečiai tai, (.) trijų gal metų.] 5.1.232

5.1.233. *[tai visos trys moterys *turėjo vaikų*.*

5.1.234. jo visos trys turėjo, ir jos ten gyvena, nu dabar dukros išvažiavę yra į užsienį. pasiėmė tuos savo vaikus, išsivežė irgi. mama gyvena tik su šituom sūnum. vienu, bet irgi mama niekur <u>nedirba,</u> tokie pavieniai (.) darbai. o jeigu kas paprašo tai [0]kažkur[0] padaryti ten, (.) tai stengias. į:į <u>darbą</u> taip kaip ir ieškotis nėra linkusi, nes aš kliausiau, tai nors į <u>parduotuvę</u> nueikit, nu arti tiek viena tiek kita yra tie prekybos centrai. ne:e tai čia ar <u>žinot</u> tai čia atseit, tik <u>trim</u> mėnesiam tik padirbsi ir viskas o ką po to daryt. nu jau nusiteikus kad jai jau iškarto nepasiseks. (.) <u>darbo</u> biržoj irgi nesusitvarkius. (.) ne nestovi] 5.1.234

5.1.235. *[o priežastis kokia?*

5.1.236. priežastis (.) <u>nenueina</u> iki tenais. (.) kita nėra susitvark-, nu neišsiėmus pažymos apie, (.) kaip ten vadinasi būsto deklaracija. (.) apie gyvenamąją vietą. 5.1.236

5.1.237. *ji savininkė to būsto?=*

5.1.238. =taip. taip.

5.1.239. *nenueina iki iki rejestro skyriaus ar ne?]*

5.1.240. [[0]nu taip.[0] ir dar <u>priežastis</u> bet jau čia man tai atrodo labai tokia juokinga. neturi pinigų. bet tai, (.) gauna už tuos padienius darbus tai, vieną darbą nudirbai gali nueiti <u>išsiimti</u> pažymą. (.) nu taip <u>realiai</u> pagalvojus. vaikas mokykloj yra, (.) labai <u>aktyvus.</u> (.) trukdantis <u>pamoką.</u> mokymosi gebėjimai, yra neblogi. palyginus, bet tik tuo atveju jeigu su juo yra dirbama. (.) jeigu su vaiku su juo nedirbsi, prie jo nesidėsi, jis nesimokys. nesusikaupia per savo aktyvumą. ir (.2) labai yra irzlus, su vaiku galima tiktais gražiuoju kalbėt. jeigu kažką tai piktai <u>pasakysi.</u> (.) gausi priešingą reakciją. isterijas ir, (.) nesusikalbėsi. labai sunkus čia atvejis yra ir. mokykloje vaikas mokosi pagal <u>palengvintą</u> programą, mama, (.) nesugeba užregistruoti vaiko pas šeimos gydytoją kad gautų siuntimą:ą pas nervų gydytoją. ((sako lyg skaitytų iš lapo)) (.) kuris patikrintų ir, mes taip manom galiausiai duotų siuntimą į:į (.) psichikos sveikatos tyrimui atlikt. nes vaikui yra, <u>problemų.</u> yra ir galbūt <u>tada</u> būtų:ų >atitinkamai mokymo programos.< 5.1.240

something in X shop. mother told that he paid for a candy, and a toy ((he put)) into the pocket. (.) that:t family was directed to the Children's Rights Protection Agency. that (.) there is child neglected, (.) e:e alcohol. as at that time there were living mother, her two adult daughters, and those daughters each had own child. (.) also preschoolers so, (.) maybe three years old.] 5.1.232

5.1.233. *[so all those three women *had children*.*

5.1.234. yes all three had, and they are living there, so now daughters are abroad. ((they)) took their children, they took them away also. mother lives only with this son. only one, but the mother does <u>not work</u> anywhere, such sporadic (.) works. and if someone asks so [0]somewhere[0] do there, (.) so ((she)) strives. to:o <u>work</u> unlike and to search for the ((job)) is not tend to, as I had asked her, so at least go to the <u>shop</u>, so ((shops are)) close to each other both one and another there are those supermarkets. no:o so here do you <u>know</u> that here supposing, just for <u>three</u> months just you will take a turn of work and that's it and what to do after. so already minded that she will fail at once. (.) at <u>labour</u> exchange ((office she is)) unclear. (.) no she is not standing ((not registered, as there are queues, 'standing' is the word used here instead of the phrase 'standing in a queue'))] 5.1.234

5.1.235. *[so what is the reason?*

5.1.236. reason (.) ((she)) <u>does not go</u> there. (.) other is that there is unclea((red))-, so ((she)) has not taken any certificate about, (.) how it is called, declaration of accommodation. (.) about the residence. 5.1.236

5.1.237. *is she the owner of that home?=*

5.1.238. =yes. yes.

5.1.239. *she does not go to registry office does she?]*

[[0]so yes.[0] and such a <u>reason</u> but that is already i suppose that it looks very funny. has no money. but that is, (.) ((she)) gets for those sporadic works so, you have done one work and you can go and <u>take</u> certificate. (.) so if you <u>really</u> think. the child is at school, (.) very <u>active.</u> (.) disturbing <u>the lecture.</u> learning abilities, not bad. if compared, but only in the case if work is done with him. (.) if you do not work with the child, do not sit next to him, he will not learn. ((he)) does not concentrate because of own activeness. and (.2) ((he)) is very irritable, with child is possible to talk only nicely. if you <u>say something angrily.</u> (.) you will get an opposite reaction. hysterics and, (.) will not make ourselves understood. that is a very difficult case and. at school child is learning under a <u>facilitated</u> program, mother, (.) is not able to register child for the visit to the family doctor in order to get prescription:n to the doctor of neurology. ((talks as if she read from the paper)) (.) who would check

and, we suppose so that finally he would give direction to:o (.) the complete examination of mental health. as there are problems in that child. and probably then there could be:e >learning programs accordingly.< 5.1.240

The interesting story line is told by the research participant. The boy who during the day spends time in different settings, while on his way home is stealing in the shop located near the agency. Because of the shoplifting, the mother is blamed for neglecting behavior. After the incident in the shop, the Children's Rights Protection Agency became involved and directed the family to the same children day care centre. As a consequence for the event family becomes client of children day care center. At this point, a question emerges: what is the process of clienthood in the Children's Rights Protection Agency?

In this case, the woman actions are perceived as uncomfortable for the research participant. Kristina is just demanding achievements, but not suggesting help and support for the mother. There is continuing rebuke from the research participant that the mother is unable to fulfill what she is required to.

The mother's employment issue is named as top priority by the research participant. Employment is a value per se; therefore, it is important to be employed, but not necessarily earn. Consequently, employment does not change a family's financial situation or a client's status, rather the behavior of family becomes socially acceptable. Working as the way to gain certain income for family is seen as violation of social norms. Staying home as a housekeeper is perceived as a privilege the single mother of a big family cannot afford. Planning of family budget is also not included into the support process provided by the research participant.

Kiblitskaya (2000, 58) has emphasized that working in Soviet Union meant working for the state – and work for the state was seen to be the highest purpose in life. For women, the slogan 'social interests take precedence over personal ones' was not simply an empty propaganda, but an idea that made sense of women's lives. The values of work encourage research participants promote employment of mothers and avoid family's status of welfare recipient. Indeed, research participants note that employment has no major impact on overcoming consequences of social exclusion.

Extract [4.2.47] demonstrates the endless way round of the support process without forseen opportunity for change. Indrė told about unemployed clients and their resources to overcome issues in their current situation. Research participant tolerates unemployment of parents with the maternity leave in some families. Asked about current situation of those families, she said that all those women raised their children until the age of three, were unemployed and single, as their fathers were imprisoned or unknown. The allowances the mothers received were 93 litas, i.e. 27 Euros, which is below level of poverty. But poverty in these families and means to overcome these issues were not discussed by research participant.

Indeed, Indrė did not consider any areas for intervention with those women. Children attended day care center, they were fed, entertained and there were no major issues in family situations that should be changed. The poverty, changing male partners, attempts to keep relation with imprisoned father or any relation issues remained unnoticed, no matter if mothers were unable to care about their children and assure comprehensive development. The only family issue named by the research participant was unemployment. However, although Indrė did not emphasize relation of parents with children, conflict between children day care center and family lifestyle models remained. There is the notion that a child echoes the model from parents observed by the child on a daily basis.

Certain text segments suggest the idea that the women – the research participant's clients perceive their emancipation in a different way than social workers who provide support perceive it. Sargeant (1996, 270) excludes disappointment of women went through changes of perestroika that before perestroika woman's main role was proclaimed to be active worker and builder of communism, but after she was argued to fill her traditional functions of a housewife. Thus, emancipation for the women after the Soviet period, according to the researcher, was not to be able to work and thus maintain family independently. Mother's will stay with children at home as a housekeeper is perceived as luxury that can be afforded by rich families only. In any case, unemployment is perceived as violation of social norms, resignation of the person from being socially valuable. Therefore, efforts to keep employment of the women are among the top priorities for the research participants. Indeed, as Halberstadt (1996, 305) has pointed out, that for a Soviet woman's emancipation is not based on the demand to work. Her liberation is rather perceived by many as the right not to work, in particular during the first years of independence.

Jagudina (2009, 128) discussing about gender dimension in the Soviet Union has pointed out that the ideal *Homo Sovieticus* as a genderless androgynous asexual creature actually pertained to women. Through the range of mechanisms, the Party regulated women's duties and tasks regarding both paid work and motherhood. This constructed misbalanced femininity lacking sexuality and intimacy in partnership carries important meaning for the Joana [1.1.26] and is supported by her during the support process for the family. The research participant organizes facilities to fulfill the woman's role of the worker and mother, and ignores the woman's feminine part, which could bond the parents.

There is certain contradiction in the attitude of the research participants to the family income as the same amount of money the family could gain through the low salary employment or the welfare allowance. Only few research participants take actions to help parents find a job. Joana interprets employment as self-fulfilment and an element of responsible motherhood. Kristina helps mothers find a job because she believes it is her duty and parents must be employed, which shows that employment for her is a value per se. Other research partici-

pants do not take any actions to help parents find a job, as unemployment of parents is considered to be the feature of client families.

According to the research participants, employment of women is the means to overcome family poverty and satisfy the basic needs of the family – mainly nutrition. Unemployment can be considered as violation of social norms thatare obligatory to each adult family member. The research participants obtain women's attempts to search actively for the job. It is preferred that mother searched for a job in the newspapers or at least register with the Labor Exchange Centre, thus becoming legally unemployed. Research participants motivate mother to active search for a job, indeed, not discuss with her about individual obstacles that impede active participation in labor market. Therefore, unemployment is considered as having impact not only on a family's incomes, but also on a child's behavioral issues and obstacles in communication with the mother as a result of unacceptable lifestyle of the client family.

Kiblitskaya (2000, 64) has emphasized the internalized Soviet ethic of work, which is important to notice in the extract, where avoiding work is clearly seen as a cardinal sin in the morality of a Soviet citizen. Again, issues a person faces as a result of alcohol abuse are perceived as violation of moral no and alcoholism is not related to mental health or consequences of personal experiences. However, according to Adams (2006), employment of poor families became an ideoleogical shift in welfare reforms to understanding 'work first', when work is linked with productive citizenship and ensures a surplus of low-paid workers, mainly women, who despite their age, must follow the principle 'a bad job is better than no job' and opt for these low-waged, low-skilled jobs.

Thus, unemployment is violation of social norms that must be followed by each adult in order to be beneficial for society and, in particular, to assure the child's upbringing. As it has already been mentioned, the Soviet policy emphasized full employment of the women Being a wife and taking care of the household only without any work has turned into one of the targets of support processes. The possibility to proceed with the role of a mother and wife are not discussed. There is the expectation that employment will help overcome harsh family poverty, without terminating the status of children day care center client. It is also expected that employment will bring other nonmonetary goods for the family. Father in this case is not considered in the role of a breadwinner, as he is either absent or distant. The role of a breadwinner is transferred upon a mother, and her role is to maintain the family. Research participants do not discuss at all about the impact of employment on the relationship *children-mother* or on the child's reaction to the mother that is too busy and absent.

Despite the above considerations, the National Program for Children Day Care Centres 2005–2007 had no aims or direction towards parents-focused social work. Thus, there is a possibility that research participants are utilizing gained experience. Research participants seek to prevent exclusion of the family by encouraging parents to find jobs. Indeed, such encouragement and support

are new features to social work, which corresponds with the strategies of child-centered social policy that is relevant for the social policy of the EU.

7.2. Alcohol Abuse – Challenged Motherhood

One of the dilemmas I faced during data collection was repeated emphasis that the ultimate case for most all client families at the children day care is alcohol consumption. Alcohol consumption causes other issues – poverty, unemployment, neglect, violence and, consequentially, exclusion of the family. When writing the Master's Thesis, I already noticed special attitude towards alcohol abuse. Research participants perceive it as the main family issue thatcauses other outcomes. Alcoholism is perceived as the indispensible condition of the family, but not the situation that requires professional help.

Attitudes towards alcohol abuse were very specific during the Soviet period. It was the only social issue that after Stalin's death the issue labeled as social problem. Alcoholism as a very specific issue has the entire history of treatment and perception. Murney (2007, 134) has conducted ethnographic research in Western Ukraine, aimed at exploring the daily lived experiences of male and female alcohol addicts in Western Ukraine. One of the issues she faced was the definition of an 'alcoholic', 'heavy drinker' and 'addict'. Differences in those definitions are not only related to the amount of alcohol a person consumes and frequency of the consumption, but also to the attitude towards alcohol and how it influences daily living practices.

In the previous chapter, I was not focusing the discussion on the understanding of the issue of men's alcohol abuse. Alcoholism is the topic mentioned and discussed the most by the research participants. Revealing the issue of the women's alcohol dependence and help provided to her would allow me understand the construction of help the mother can receive from the research participant.

Issue of alcohol abuse by a parental figure is also discussed in the extract [1.3.31] revealing special attitude towards the alcoholic mother. In the same extract, three different cases are told by the research participant. Joana begins the story by telling about the mother who has debts for tenancy. The research participant emphasizes the mother's incapacity to provide for and maintain family. As a result, she is not able to maintain control over her children, and especially her eldest son who gets involved into delinquency acts. According to the research participant, these attributes evidence neglect of children. As in previous topics related to the issues faced by the mother, the research participant views the situation of the family as part of the mother's lifestyle that has consequences to the child's behavior issues. Joana emphasizes the importance of control over the children, unless abilities to fulfill this role are limited by alcohol consumption.

Mother's helplessness to manage family issues is perceived by the research participant as a failure to fulfill parental role, but not the plea for the social

worker's help. When reading the extract, the told story line is leaping from one case to another, thus it is not clear, where the cases continue and end. Nonetheless, in the narrative, the research participant reveals special construction not only about alcoholic mothers, but also about the children and tasks for the parents in relation to the children. Joana faces the need to intervene into the family when children's behavior is problematic, and she reflects on the issues of the family's lifestyle.

Consequently, the neglectful mothers who do not make any effort to have control over and care about the children should be subject to permanent observation and control by the agency workers, and preferably by the Municipality's Child Right Protection Agency Professionals. According to Joana and Indrė, they are not able to provide help for parents individually with the client because of the workload each social worker has. Research participant do not include support into helping process for these women, as a kind of relation between an alcoholic mother as client and social worker, in which Joana would impose upon good will of the mother. That is part of consequence, when social issue is understood as moral slough.

1.3.31   *ar jums apsunkina darbą tai kad, iš vis socialinis darbas arba socialinės organizacijos siejamos su vaikų atėmimais?* 1.3.31.

1.3.32   labai apsunkina. <u>labai apsunkina</u>. ir baisiausiai netgi TAI >kai kai kada <u>pasitaiko</u> net šitoj sryty dirbančių žmonių kurie,< kurie taip galvoja. >nes pavyzdžiui paskutiniu metu buvo tokia situacija kuomet, (.) mama turinti <u>priklausomybę</u>, (.) ir ir ir vien dėl to kad buvo nemo- nemokėjo už nuomos už buto nuomą (.) mes kreipėmės į vaikų <u>teises</u>, (.) ir ir išspręsti šitą situaciją. iš tikrųjų situacija yra <labai, labai labai bloga. (.) nes yra trys vaikai. ↓viens paauglys, ir du mažesni vaikai. (.) ir tas berniukas jau turėjęs, nu tiesiog nu nu buvo įsitraukęs į nusikalstamą veiklą. ir matoma kaip viskas tikrai eina į į, rieda į blogąją pusę. nes mama visiškai jais <u>nesirūpina</u>, ir, (.) ir ta šeima buvo <u>stebima</u>, ir ta mergaitė lankė dienos <u>centrą</u>, ir mes mėginom eit į kontaktą, nors buvo labai sudėtinga su mama praktiškai nes jinai <u>vengė</u>. (.) bet <u>ko</u>. nes, nes,> nu žodžiu tikrai tai buvo <u>vengimas</u>, tai buvo (.) maždaug vaikas eina, o prie manęs jūs <u>nieko</u>. >(.) nu va tada toj situacijoj kai atsidūrė ant gatvės, (.) mes buvom užkabinę su su vaikų teisėm, vaikų teisės buvo atėję domėjosi ir visa kita sako padėsim, ieškosim. (.) ir aš manau jeigu tai, jeigu tai būtų buvę, jeigu būtų buvę leista, ateiti. manau būtų buvusi išspręsta ir problema. galų gale <u>laikinai</u> paimt vaikus laikinai globai ir tada būtų. nes mes tokią situaciją turėjom. < kai kai irgi situacija buvo nevaldoma. (.) ir tas <u>laikinas</u> paėmimas vaikų, suveikė mamai. (.) susirado darbą, (.) susirado nuomuot, (.) ir ir ir ir. nes kai kada kai tu matai situacija eina blogyn, ir kad

1.3.31   *does that burden your work that ((fact)) social work or social agencies in general are associated with taking the children away ((under the custody))?* 1.3.31.

1.3.32   burdens very much. <u>very much</u>. and the most horrible is THAT >if if when <u>there sometimes</u> are people who work even in this field and,< who thinks so. > as for example recently then there was such a situation when, (.) mother having <u>dependence</u>, (.) and and and simply because they did not pay-((d)) did not pay for the rent for the flat tenancy (.) and we addressed child <u>protection</u> ((agency)), (.) and and and to solve this situation. actually the situation is <very, very very bad. (.) as there are three children. ↓one teenager, and two younger children. (.) and that boy already had, so he directly was involved into a criminal act. and it is obvious how everything really goes to to, rolls into the bad side. because mother absolutely <u>neglects</u> them, and, (.) and this family was <u>observed</u>, and that girl attended day care <u>centre</u>, and we tried to establish the contact, although that was very complicated with the mother because she practically <u>avoided it</u>. (.) anything. as, as,> so to be short that was real <u>avoidance</u>, that was (.) more-or-less child comes, and with me you <u>nothing</u>. >(.) so then in this situation when ((they)) found themselves on the street, (.) we hitched on with children rights ((protection agency)), child protection had come, had taken interest and all the rest, had said we would help, we would look. (.) and I think if that, if that happened, if that was allowed, to come. I suppose that would be solved and the problem. eventually

vaikai, na tai ką nei nu prižiūrėti, nei mokyklos lanko, nei ką. (.) tada nu tikrai kas belieka, tada imtis drąstiškų priemonių tokių. kad būtų vaikai apsaugoti šeimoj. (.) nes irgi dėl nepriežiūros viena mergaitė buvo netgi su, labai labai smarkų sužalojimą turėjusi. (.) va ir ir tuomet jinai ieškodama, vienur kitur eidama, (.) ↓šnektelėjo su su su su su viena. (.) ir ta pasakė, NEIK TENAI, neik tenai nes, (.) gali atimti iš jūsų vaikus. (.) tai ta mama su- susirinko vaikus, ir išvažiavo į Prienų rajoną nežinia kur, nežinia kaip. ir dabar tai atvažiuoja į Kauną tai mato Kaune ubagaujant, ir panašiai. ir dabar, ir dabar jau tą žmogų pamatyt, tai šeimai jos tu nebematai. ir tu nežinai, ir ir tikrai situacija blogėja. 1.3.32.

1.3.33   *Prienų rajonas tai nesirūpina?=*

1.3.34   =Prienų rajonas. mes kalbėjom su vaikų teisėm jie sakė mes duosim užklausimą ir panašiai, (.) bet aš manau Kauno mieste dar gali sugaut. rajonas yra didelis. žinant rajono galimybes, rajono darbuotojų skaičių, ir visa kita ta. (.) ta prasme tai yra nusėdimas į dugną. (.) dabar ieškot ir visa kita, >nes dabar ir vaikai sako tai matėm. (.) tai matėm geležinkelio stoty su mama ubagaujantį. (.) ↓mergaitė turi lankyti mokyklą.< (.) reiškias,] 1.3.34.

1.3.35   *[o kiek mergaitei metų buvo?]*

1.3.36   [mergaitė dabar yra penktokė.

1.3.37   *ta prasme mama įtraukė į tą veiklą?]*

1.3.38   [>taip. nes nes jinai turi priklausomybę jai reikalingi pinigai, ir ir reikalinga gert, ↓jinai aišku vaikus įtraukia. ir tie vaikai, ir tie vaikai yra būtent. paskui sakykim tas paauglys berniukas, nuo nepriežiūros, dėl to kad tikrai sako nepriežiūra, ir nesirūpinimas visiškas. jis įsitraukė ir į mokyklos nelankymas buvo. (.) čia buvo paskui reketų netgi:i, (.) vieną vieną berniuką mokykloj nureketavo. sakykim buvo visokių situacijų. ir va dabar sakykim tą šeimą, jeigu jeigu tada tu būtum ją matęs, tu būtum turėjęs, tu būtum galėjęs stebėt, tu būtum galėjęs eit. dabar šita šeima nežinia kur.<= 1.3.38.

1.3.39   =*jinai apsisaugojo.=*

1.3.40   =jinai apsisaugojo. ji dingo.

that would be solved and the problem. eventually temporally take away children under the custody and then that would be. as we had such situation. < when when also situation was uncontrolled. (.) and that temporary taking ((away)) the children, it made effect on the mother. (.) ((she)) found the job, (.) found a place for rent, (.) and and and and. as every so often when you see situation heads to worse, and that children, so then they are neither taken care of, nor attending school, nor anything else. (.) then so the thing left is to take drastic measures such. that children would be protected in the family. (.) as also because of neglect one girl even was with, had very very strong injury. (.) so and and then while looking, here and thee going, (.) ↓talked with with with with one ((women)). (.) and that ((women)) told, DON'T GO THERE, don't go there as, (.) they can take away the children from you. (.) so that mother gath- gathered the children, and left for X region who knows where, who knows how. and now she comes to Z town so is seen begging in Z ((town)), and so on. and now, and now already to see that person, for that family you do not see it. and you don't know, and and the situation is certainly going worse. 1.3.32.

1.3.33   *X ((another town)) region does not take care? =*

1.3.34   =X region. we have talked with the children rights ((protection agency)) they told that they would inquire and likewise, (.) but I think in Y town you still find her. the region is big. knowing possibilities of region, number of workers in region, and the rest so. (.) in that sense that is staying on the bottom. (.) now look for and the rest, >as now even children are saying so we have seen. (.) so we have seen in railway station begging with mother. (.) ↓girl should attend the school.< (.) thus,] 1.3.34.

1.3.35   *[and how old was the girl?]*

1.3.36   [girl is in fifth form now.

1.3.37   *you mean the mother involved into that activity?]*

1.3.38   [>yes. as as she has dependence ((alcohol)) and she needs money, and and necessary ((for her)) to drink, ↓she of course involves children. and those children are exactly. afterwards suppose that teenage boy, because of neglect, due to the fact ((they)) say neglect, and unconcern complete. he got involved into and there was absence from school. (.) here was afterwards racketeering even:n, (.) one one boy at school ((he was)) racketeering. suppose there were odd situations. and so now suppose that family, if if then you would see it, you would have, you could ((have possibility)) to observe, you could go ((there)). now this family no one knows where it is.<= 1.3.38.

1.3.39   =*she protected herself.=*

1.3.40   =she protected herself. she disappeared.

After telling the case of the alcohol addict mother of the family, the research participant shifts the story to another case, where a mother changes residence from one town to the village to avoid intervention of social workers in day care center and potential possibility to loose children by their placement under the custody. This case serves as an example for the need to observe and supervise families that are considered to be clients of children day care center and tend to neglect children. According to the research participant, changing the residence from urban to rural creates more possibilities for the family to escape the control and measures of the child protection system intervention. In this case, Joana blames the mother for using the children to gain money for alcohol consumption. The research participant repeatedly mentions family issues related to children's involvement into small crimes and absense from school.

It is noteworthy that Joana also applies gendered meaning to the issues faced by teenagers of client families. Nevertheless, teenagers are rarely users of services of children day centers, but Joana believes that not attending the centre, especially in case of boys, leads to involvement with local delinquent groups as a form of uncontrolled friendships. In case of girls, to early sexual life as a search for love that would replace the love not felt during early ages and currently remaining as an issue in a girl's life. Classification of the issues and attribution of the issues to specific gender roles reveals research participants' expectations in relation to socialization of the roles by gender. Thus issues resulting from absence from Children's Day Centre are associated with the relationship issues and, according to Joana, they are always negative with some exceptions.

As a result, women addicted to alcohol are perceived as women abandoning their families and consciously rejecting the very essence of womanhood, femininity. Given the stigma associated with women's addiction, women are perceived as being reluctant to 'confess' and seek treatment. Secrecy is crucial to decision making concerning seeking of treatment for women (Murney 2007, 141). Thus, the research participant does not mention alcohol addiction treatment-seeking process, but rather emphasizes the complexity of situation with regard to the control over the children. Mother and her issues are not so important, as she has already lost her moral dignity, and her inabilities just illustrate the basis of the problems. Mother should seek help by herself, secretly, and start to understand that her alcohol consumption is perceived as causing problems for people around.

Murney (2007, 144) has also presented the position of professionals working in an in-patient addiction treatment centre. Social suffering among women who are addicted is not met with sympathy, because addicted women have not overcome their personal circumstances to embody the role of the mother and protector.

It is noteworthy that all families introduced in extract [1.3.32] have the same structure – single alcoholic mother with two or more children and absent father. The research participant is considering family as mother with children, the issue of children's relation with father and his role is not taken into account

by the research participant. Thus, the mother is the bridge and the only parent between the child and the outside world.

Joana shares more situations where family issues emerge because of alcohol abuse. According to the research participant, this issue requires special treatment, as in most cases alcohol abuse is related to violation of morality.

I tried to identify the specifics of alcohol issue andasked about the frequency parents consumed alcohol. The answers given by each research participant were quite different and controversial. None of them dared to name frequency. Daily consumption of alcohol is related more to men or fathers. Only Justina reported some cases, when she met a drunken mother at home. Other research participants were told by others about existing cases. Extract [1.1.50] reveals perception of alcohol addiction, when parents are addicted as they binge every weekend, as their way to spend leisure time.

The extract creates the impression that mother is the central figure of the family's situation. Mother's abilities to handle situation is uplifted by research participant. The way she cares about the children and the children's character signal her care and good *mother-child* relationship with symptoms of attachment, clean clothes. However, poverty as lifestyle seems unacceptable for Joana.

1.1.50   nu ką. o su, o su vaikais mes paprasčiausiai jie nu, jie tie vaikai kaip pažiūri, kaip kiek kalbėjom, kiek bendraujam su vaikais. (.) šitie vaikai, na kaip. (.) ten, situacija. pats šeimos klimatas atrodo nėra, nei smurtaujama, ir iš tikrųjų vaikai, be galo švelnūs, be galo nuoširdūs. ta prasme tu jauti kad, (.) kad kad myli- jie yra mylimi toj šeimoj. kad problema yra. gėrimas yra. (.) bet vaikai yra mylimi. (.) vaikais yra rūpinamasi. aš neikada nesu mačiusi kad jie ateitų, murzinais rūbais. kad jie ateitų, netvarkingi. (.) kiek įmanoma mama stengiasi juos ir aprengti, ir tinkamu laikui tai sakykim kad ir šiltai, ir susirgus tikrai buvo čia apsirgę abu gripu. kai prasidėjo čia ta gripo epi- epidemija. iš tikrųjų mama jais labai labai labai rūpinasi. (.) labai rūpinasi. (.) o kažkaip ir ir ir taip sakykim kalbant su vaikais jie, jie jie vieną kartą, kitą kartą išsitaria kad pavyzdžiui ten vat buvo ten dėdės atvažiavę, giminaičiai, kad buvo geriama. bet kad jiems ten žodžiu, (.) JIE bet jie tos problemos kažkaip per daug irgi nesu] *1.1.50.*

1.1.51   *[o ką jie daro tada kai jau išgeria tėvelis su mamyte?*

1.1.52   aš taip ne- ne- nesu girdėjusi, kad ten būtų smurtaujama, kad būtų kažkaip tai. tiesiog prisigeria išsimiega. (.) ir esu klaususi ar pavyzdžiui jūs pavalgę, ar valgot. mama tikrai rūpinasi jais kaip begalėtų. tai aš manau, tiesiog kad ta prasme, pas mus daug tokių šeimų yra, kurios (.) kurios turi tą priklausomybę bet. nu (.) kaip bebūtų stengiasi tuos vaikus tempt į priekį.= *1.1.52.*

1.1.50   so what. and with, and with children we simply they so, they those children depends on how you look, as much as we talked to those children. (.) those children, so how. (.) there, situation. the family climate seems not, there is no violence, and really children, tremendously gentle, tremendously sincere. in that sense you feel that, (.) that that love- they are loved in that family. that the problem is, there is drinking. (.) but children are loved. (.) children are taken care of. I have never seen that them coming in dirty clothes. coming untidy. (.) as much as it is possible, the mother tries and to dress them, and for the right season so suppose that also warmly, and when got sick really they were both there sick with flue. when here started that flue epi- epidemic. really mother cared after them very very very much. (.) very much. (.) and somehow and and and so suppose talking with the children they, they they once, and again babble out that for example there were uncles came, relatives, that there were drinking. but that for them there in one word, (.) THEY but they that problem somehow too much I haven't] *1.1.50.*

1.1.51   *[and what do they do when it is daddy and mammy who get drunk?*

1.1.52   I so ne- ne- have never heard of any violence there, that there would be somehow. just get drunk sleep off. (.) and I have been asked if for example they are fed, if they eat. mother really cares about them as much as she can. so I suppose, simply that in the sense, we have many families, which (.) which has this dependence but. so (.) whatever happens tries to push children forward.= *1.1.52.*

This extract reveals the schemata of multidimensionality of the expectation the mother faces. The presented extract includes only part of the topics such as 'Father does not earn money' and will be presented in next subject 'Aim of social work support – keeping the child in education system'. The story of the family starts from description of the poverty the family is striving. In the story, the mother is not described as having issues with alcohol, but occasionally drinking together with her partner. The alcohol issue within the family has unrolled out of the relations with the outside world. Father drinks alcohol at the workplace, and both parents are drunk after visits of relatives, while relations between children and mother are described as excellent. Social worker's help is needed in terms of relations with others and outside world in order change lifestyle thatdetermines the extreme poverty.

Justina [2.2.346] is telling about women responsible for care of children and maintenance of the household, while men are intoxicated and abusive. Research participant emphasizes the side of women being able to plan budget, maintain household, and at the same time keeping the distance between the and from the money so that he wouldn't steal or drink on family income. Justina is discussing imbalanced relationship between man and woman inside the client family. Again, the extract repeats the schema of a man, who is abusive or distant, passive, and a woman victim or commander leader who has the same features of abuse or defiance towards men. Research participant emphasizes the difference between men and women in terms of alcohol consumption, which does not involve the discussion over its impact on performance of parental roles. Certain gender expectations are exhibited by client families with particular extremity.

2.2.345.   *jam labai patogu. (.) ir žodžiu dažniaus-, bet, nuo ko daugiausiai viskas priklauso nuo moters pavyzdžiui, nuo moters ar nuo vyro?* 2.2.345.

2.2.346.   nuo moters. (.) nu jeigu jinai ta moteris labai užguita, ir vyras tada tada žinai dominuoja. bet dauguma atvejų tai moteris yra:a, nu kieta moteris, ir pavyzdžiui ta moteris žinai su tais aštuoniais vaikais tai jinai, patvarko reikalus ir maždaug ten nepaimsi tų iš manęs tų pinigų tam vyrui. nebent jisai pasižiūrėtų kur padėta pavogtų žinai. bet šiaip tai jie:e ant jos galvos visi pinigai nes jeigu būtų ant jo tai viską pragertų supranti. bet yra (.) atsiprašau, viena šeima kad, moteris gauna pinigus ir vyras viską iš jos paima supranti. nusiperka valgyt, nusiperka bendzino, nusiperka mašinai detalių, ↓ ir tada visi sėdi nevalgę supranti. ko tu ten sėdi maždaug. nes jinai jo bijo supranti. [0]nes jis ją sumuša.[0]2.2.346.

2.2.345.   *that is very comfortable for him. (.) and, to put it simply, most oft((ten))-, but on whom it depends everything mostly depends on women for example, on women or on man?* 2.2.345.

2.2.346.   on woman. (.) so if she that woman is very oppressed, and man then then you know he dominates. but in most cases that is:e awoman, and for example that woman you know with those eight children so she, arranges things and kind there you will not take away this from me this money to that man. unless he saw where it was placed would steal you know. but otherwise they:e on her shoulders all money because if it was at his discretion he would drink away all you know. but there is (.) excuse me, one family where awoman earns money and man takes all from her you know. ((he)) buys ((for himself)) food, buys petrol, buys components for the car, ↓ and then all sit with their empty stomach you know. why are you sitting there. because she is afraid of him. [0]because he beats her.[0]2.2.346.

2.2.347. *bet dauguma tai yra]*

2.2.347. *but mostly that are]*

2.2.348. [daugumoj yra moterys.

2.2.348. [mostly that are women.

2.2.349. *stiprios moterys kurios]*

2.2.349. *strong women which]*

2.2.350. [jo jos tokio uch žinai kariautojos.

2.2.350. [yes they are such uch you know fighters.

2.2.351. *vyras ten, (.) o vyrai kaip?*

2.2.351. *man there, (.) and how are men?*

2.2.352. vyrai daugumoj sugyventiniai kurie ten pavyzdžiui ten keisis po kažkiek laiko žinai. (.) vyrai daugumoj nu:u yra tokie:e nu jau:u pas, nu moteris tai <u>dar geria</u> ir taip ir dar nu taip. (.) geria negeria, o vyrai ištisai geria žinai. ↓daugumoj atvejų. 2.2.352.

2.2.352. men mostly are cohabitees who there for example there will change after some time you know. (.) men in most cases so:o are such:h so already at, so women <u>still drinks</u> hereof and hereof and still so. (.) either drinks or does not drink, but men are drinking consistently you know. ↓in most of the cases. 2.2.352.

2.2.353. *tai yra ta silpnoji grandis kuri keičiais. (.) o moteris ten bando išsi- išsilaikyti?*

2.2.353. *so that is the weak link which changes. (.) and women there tries last- last out?*

2.2.354. ↓nu jinai visus keturis kampus laiko žinai

2.2.354. ↓so she supports all four corners of home you know.

Strong mother able to govern all the family is Justina's preferred client. A woman who is strong and preserves the family needs only support rather than guidance during the helping process. Research participant remains an observer in the relationships where man is dominant. A strong woman able to maintain family, who, in fact, needs no guidance, only support from social worker, becomes the desired client. This is the client whois able to overcome crisis, control consumption of alcohol and assure stability, the client who does not need help from social worker. Social worker's satisfaction would be important for women.

Green, Holloway, Fleming (2000, 395) indicated that male drunkenness lacks social stigma, although substance misuse has been treated through the models of medical care based on Pavlovian approach, focused on aversion therapy. On the other hand, women have encountered certain aspects of social stigma in case of alcohol abuse.

The importance for women to have control over family budget is crucial in Justina's understanding. The situation when a man spends all family income to satisfy his own needs, failure to ensure that children are not hungry are transposed to the mother role. She is not able to protect children and assure their safe development.

In the Soviet Union, these strong women able to have control over child upbringing were supported by self-regulation facilities available through trade-unions inside the workplaces, especially in the case of men whose alcohol consumption was perceived as troubled. Dragadze (1994, 146) has pointed out that in the Soviet Union, drinking was mainly a male preserve. One of the measure brought into practice to limit consumption of alcohol involved direct payment of factory wages to the wife so that her factory-worker husband did not spend it all on drinking. Thus, a woman's ability to control budget for the husband to not spend it all on alcohol was the wife's prerogative. Research participant keeps distance and does not intervene into relationship if the man abuses family

members. Social worker does not take over mother's role that has to fix unbalanced relationships between adult family members.

In the last part of the extract [2.3.79], traditional medical treatment on alcohol dependence is reflected. There is implemented distrust to change the attitude of the client to alcohol, and it is expected that it would help change the behavior. The extract discussed more comprehensively in the next subchapter reveals that mothers that have problem of alcohol abuse will perceive only the controlling behavior and relations of social work professionals. They would aim to make mother name the issue of alcohol. The naming itself will obligate to change lifestyle, which at present results in neglect of the child. Neglect of the child is primarily perceived as child's reluctance to attend school and involvement into a local criminal gang. It is expected that child's development will be directed and controlled by mother.

Much of understanding of alcoholism as a social issue and methods to its treatment originate from the Soviet Union. One attitude that alcohol consumption troubled upbringing of future society existed. Therefore, much attention was paid to prevention and changing the understanding on the issue. Alcoholism as an issue during the Soviet period was related to the past experiences, including habits, family customs, and relationships within society. In choosing life without alcohol, a client should choose the future, but not the present. The research participant, on the other hand, does not consider the way out of this lifestyle in the present, but focuses on the consequences for the children's future. Alcohol abuse is an obstacle for future society that undermines employment or income, as well as future prospects for the children. Alcoholism in terms of the Soviet Union, according to Efron (1959, 307), is disease of capitalism. The understanding was that alcoholism – pernicious vestige of the past, was engendered by bad customs, examples with no rational basis and, as a result, with no place in the Soviet reality. The essence of alcohol problem is socio-economic problems, problems of the Soviet morality. It is also important to take into account that treatment of alcoholism was based on Pavlovian perspective that emphasized personal choice to react to the conditioned reflex.

Wortis (1963, 1649) notices that the Soviet physicians held the opinion the alcohol abuse was the issue coming resulting from the undisciplined and morally lax individual. The means to deal with the issue was primarily by educational means. Extensive program of the measures was implemented: constant encouragement of social criticism and correction with particular emphasis on the role of the *comrades courts,* operated by trade unions, and provision of a setting where a worker accused of immoral, unethical, or otherwise reprehensible behavior can be called up in front of his fellows workers to accept criticism or punishments for his misdeeds. The issue for Joana is that the client-mother is exhibiting avoidant behavior. Changing the place of residence can be understood as evading separation of family as of a unit taking children into custody, as well as avoidance of critisism, correctional moralizing of relation with the

child protection agencies. Therefore, much attention is put on punishing in order to make parents recognize that they abuse alcohol. This identification of issues should provide chance to change lifestyle for the sake of children.

Efron (1959, 307) emphasizes special attitude towards alcoholism, which was considered by the Soviet propaganda as a disease of capitalism that will disappear in a non-exploitive society. Another important aspect emphasized by the researcher is that great majority of the Soviet patients were suffering from continuous or intermitted drive to alcoholic excesses, while alcoholic psychoses, as such, constituted a definite minority. Connor (1971, 573) pointed out that although in the Soviet Union drinking was male activity, alcohol consumption referred to drinking culture, which was more related to 'unofficial' value to alcohol as an indispensible adjunct to many events and refuge from tension and pain causing situations. Therefore, alcohol can be assumed as the symptom of continual tension, when research participants link alcoholism to the issue of a weak-willed personality.

Wortis (1963, 1653) noticed that alcoholism problem in the Soviet Union had social, moral, legal, psychiatric and medical aspect. Alcohol abuse has special meaning for the research participants implementing the role of social worker. As mentioned previously, alcohol consumption was treated as a social issue that formed moral feature of the Soviet citizens. Special measures were implemented, especially during 1980s when alcohol consumption in the Soviet Union was increasing. Ivanets, Lukomskaja (1990, 250) linked alcohol consumption to improvement of labor and living conditions, as well as providing attractive alternatives for leisure time not involving drinking. Anti-alcohol program implemented in the Soviet Union during 1985–1987 had two target groups: young people with the strategy to involve them into scientific, technical creative work, and middle age people for whom clubs of various interests were organized, and city dwellers had more possibilities as there was allotted rural land for gardening. In the Soviet Union's social policy there was an understanding that alcohol consumption was related to the leisure time or sponger. That conflicted with the proclaimed values of the Soviet man whose main value and obligation was work. Thus, measures of prevention were constrained with productive and active leisure related to sport and creativity for young people, and gardening for the older ones. It should be taken into account that alcohol consumption was defeated implementing work therapy, as all means were focused on a person's activity.

When research participants asked about the issues families were facing the immediate answer was parental figure's alcoholism. However, neither Leonas, nor Indrė, or Kristina did not have any detailed stories about mother's alcohol abuse, taking into account that they emphasized that most of the children were from single parent families. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, single father families are exceptional cases. Thus, single parent families are maintained by mother. Research participants link alcohol abuse with father's abandoning behavior, and a child's behavioral issues at school, in children day

care center. Kristina [5.1.168] and Indė [4.1.91] say that they have never met a drunken mother. Women's alcoholism is linked with sloppiness, and that is considered more a moral than a psychosocial issue of the mother. During the interview, Leonas was avoiding naming and specifying family situations that would illiustrate mother's alcohol abuse issue.

In cases where the issue of alcohol abuse within the family is present, a mother is responsible for control of alcohol consumption in the family. Research participants prefer to see a mother as a central figure in communication with the family and the person responsible for relationships within family. In case the mother abused alcohol, the research participant would initiate control process, but would not provide support in the process of treatment. When mother is able to control alcohol consumption and, as a result, the family situation, research participants would gratify mother's attempts, but remain distant to the developing family situations.

An understanding is present that in the case of mother's inability to control alcohol consumption, strong shake-up is needed in order to accomplish quick change required for keeping family as a unit, and change neglecting behavior towards children. Mother should deal herself with the issues of alcohol dependency. Research participants keep distance with the mother in the helping process, and the controlling intervention is passed on to the municipality agencies.

7.3. Child's Failures at School – Replacing Neglectful Mother

Engagement with these differing social class contexts produces differing models of agency: implicit understandings of how to be a normatively 'good' person in the world, including how to relate to others (Stephens, Markus, Townsend 2007, 815)

This chapter will concentrate on the attempts of research participant to keep a child inside the education system. Research participants emphasize the importance of afterschool activities at first have seemed understandable per se: creating an alternative and controlling space for the street relationships and culture for the children. On the other hand, research participants providing supplementary role involving services in relation to school and education activities. Child protection professionals associate child's performance at school with the neglectful behavior of the parents.

I tried to search for the social work research conducted in Lithuania to discuss parent's role in relation to the child's educators; however, I have not managed to find any. I realized that much of the practices implemented by the research participants would depend on the research participants' attitude towards their own roles and the perceptions of a child and parental figure.

Reading research reports on issues of school attendance, it seems that this theme is part of the childhood discourse (Kvedaravičiūtė 2007, 131). There are no discussions on long lasting consequences of school unattendance within Lithuania. School attendance is related to obligatory or natural part of the child-

hood. However, issues at school are considered as the sign for possible obstacles in the child's future (Barkauskaitė Žadeikaitė 2006, 39). There is also discussion whether failure at school originates from the learning process at school or is biological in origin (Barkauskaitė, Indrašienė et al. 2004, 32). Research has revealed that unwillingness to attend school is the most actual for the pupils at V-VI grade (12–13 olds). Thus, the issue of children coming to the day care centers is unusual for the age group of children day care center, where most of the children are at primary school. The responsibility of parents in relation to school is to be 'gatekeepers' and relate child with the school and assure quality of education. In the case of parent figure's unwillingness to take care about child's school performance, they are considered as neglectful. Parents' neglectful behavior towards children is considered to be a social worker's concern.

Education of children is related to the possibilities of choice in the future. Research by Barkauskaitė, Radzevičiūtė (2004, 93) has shown that educators tend to relate school issues with family status. According to the research, the lack of parent's interest to child's education conditions leads to the lack of child's learning motivation. Research by Indrašienė, Suboč (2008, 115) conducted several years later broadens the understanding of a child's difficulties at school, and disucussion of school issues also becomes related to school environment.

Research participants' concern over the entire helping process aimed at keeping the child in education system seems contrasting at the first glance. Investment into the child's future also determines the possibilities to have choices during the adulthood. It could be discussed that research participants do not ask how to overcome family poverty and exclusion, but rather concentrate on preventing drop-out from school.

During the research process I questioned myself about the reason why research participants correlate social services for family of social risk with children involvement into education system.

In the national program of children day care centers, two main activities for professionals working in this setting are pointed out: provision of social and educational services for the children and social work with families in order to prevent custody of the children. Therefore, it can be expected that a professional would concentrate on the task, the results of which are known and recognizable. During the Soviet period emphasis was put on education and shaping the future personalities and the society to be able to meet the needs of a communist society.

Leonas [3.1.83] tells about a case of a boy's school unattendance. The boy should come to day care center after school, but the research participant noted, that the boy has been coming to day care center at the time when the lessons at the school ends, but he was not going to school and mainly he spent the day at the streets. Issues related to attendance of school are perceived by the research participant as violation of norms for a child. The issue of unattendance is related by Leonas to the lack of control at home, when the mother has lost

hope of being able to have control over the boy's behavior. As a result, social worker takes over the situation informing the mother about the issue.

3.1.83.   *nu suprantu. bet aš tada galvoju tada šeimoj, o kaip šeima reagavo į šią, nu į šitą situaciją?=*

3.1.84.   =kad vaikas nelankė?=

3.1.85.   =*jo.*=

3.1.86.   =aš po šiai dienai nežinau <u>mama žino</u> kad jisai nelankė. (.) nes tai tai buvo]

3.1.87.   *[o jūsų neinformavo?*

3.1.88.   mes kalbėjomės atskirai apie jo lankomumą. bet <u>ta</u> mama sako bet tai jisai <u>pastoviai</u> tai eina tai neina, tai eina tai neina. nu sako aš negaliu sužiūrėt. (.) va ir ir kad (.) ten labai žinot taip (.) jautriai reaguotų į tai kad vaikas neina į mokyklą, tai <u>nebuvo</u> tokio labai rūpesčio iš mamos didelio. 3.1.88.

3.1.89.   *tai ta prasme <u>nelabai suinteresuota</u> akademiniais pasiekimais vaiko?*

3.1.90.   ((juokiasi)) *kaip čia pasakius dabar, galvoju.* (.) aš tai sakyčiau kad netgi, (.) nu taip tikriausiai nori kaip kiekviena mama kad ten vaikas eitų bet, atsiranda tas, toks <u>momentas</u> kai tu:u galbūt prarandi <u>viltį</u>, nes žinai kad nieko. nebegali padaryti va, ir tu ar sakysi tam vaikui, ar nesakysi ten kalbant apie tėvus. tai:i nelabai kažkaip tai veikia tas. ir galvoji, ai išeina nu, nu ten tikiesi kad jis nuėjo į mokyklą. va toks.] 3.1.90.

3.1.91.   *[mhm.ir ir nenueina ir eina kur nors kitur.=*

3.1.92.   =va o paskui sužinai kad tas vaikas ne mokyklą ėjo.=

3.1.93.   =*o taip dažnai pasitaiko kad vaikai mokyklos nelankytų?*

3.1.94.   yra toks žinot <u>keli vaikai</u> kur toks (.) nu nepastovus yra lankymas. tarkim <u>dažniausiai</u> jie eina į mokyklą. galim taip įvardint. ne kiekvieną dieną, bet <u>dažniausiai</u>. kartais vat, (.) yra atvejis kur truputėlį tėvai žiūri pro pirštus. (.) į tą vaikų lankomumą, nes tarkim <u>jie pateisina dėl to</u> kad vaikas nėjo į mokyklą. nu:u aš nekalbu ten ligos atvejis ten ar ne, nu:u vaikui buvo sunku keltis tarkim ryte ar ne, ir ten nenorėjo kažkokių ten konfliktų leido ten biškiuką ilgiau pamiegoti, >pamiegojo vaikas pirmą antrą trečią pamoką, paskui pažiūrėjo kad praktiškai į mokyklą net <u>neapsimoka</u> eit tą dieną.< 3.1.94.

3.1.95.   *tai tėvai lei- ta prasme?]*

3.1.96.   [toks jo. žinot nu *vietoj to kad ten kariaut su tuo vaiku ryte, ir jį ten bandyt žadint kad jis eitų į mokyklą ar ne, ten nu būna kad ir tėvai ten patys pramiega pirmas pamokas

3.1.83.   *so I understand. but then I am thinking then in that family, and how family was reacting towards this, so towards this situation?=*

3.1.84.   =that child was not attending?=

3.1.85.   =*yes.*=

3.1.86.   =I still don't know ((if)) the <u>mother knows</u> that he has notbeen attending. (.) as that that happened]

3.1.87.   *[and you weren't informed?*

3.1.88.   we talked individually about his ((school)) attendance. but <u>that</u> mother said that he <u>constantly</u> either goes or doesn't go, either goes or doesn't. so she says I cannot supervise ((him)). (.) so and and that (.) there ((is not)) very you know so (.) sensitive reaction towards that ((fact)) that the child does not attend school, there <u>was no</u> such big concern from the mother's side, not that big. 3.1.88.

3.1.89.   *so in that sense she is <u>not really interested</u> in the child's academic achievements?*

3.1.90.   ((laughing)) *how to express myself now, I am thinking.* (.) I would say that even, (.) so yes probably she wants as every mother does that the child would attend but it seems such <u>moment</u> when you:u probably loose <u>hope,</u> as you kow that nothing. you can do so, and if you say to that child, or doesn't say there in terms of parents. that:t not really somehow works this. and you think, skip it ((he)) leaves so, so then you hope that he went to school. so like that.] 3.1.90.

3.1.91.   *[mhm. and and does not reach ((the school)) and goes somewhere else.=*

3.1.92.   =so and afterwards you get to know that the child did not go to school.=

3.1.93.   =*and how often does it happen that children do not attend school?*

3.1.94.   there is you know <u>a few of such children</u> where is such (.) so unstable attendance ((of school)). suppose <u>mostly</u> they go to school. we can name it so. not every day, but <u>mostly</u>. sometimes so, (.) there is one case where parents are connive. (.) at that child's attendance, as supposedly <u>they justify because</u> that child did not go to school. so:o I am not talking about the cases of sickness there do I, so:o for the child it was difficult to wake up in the morning wasn't it, and there she did not want to have somewhat conflicts and allowed him to sleep some more , >child slept for the first, second, third lesson, afterwards they saw that there is practically <u>no point</u> in going to school that day.< 3.1.94.

3.1.95.   *so parents all-((owed)) in that sense?]*

vaiko nepakelia aišku vaikas, tai nu jam pačiam pakankamai sudėtinga atsikelti jeigu kas nors jo neparagina.* nu ir toks nieko šiaip ten, kažkokių tai reikalų buvo mieste ar ne ir mama vat pasiėma vaiką, kad nu:u ten padėtų reikalus tvarkyt ar kažką tai tokio. ir vat vėl vaiks nenueina ten, net ne tai kad ne į visas pamokas, bet tarkim į dalį pamokų.= 3.1.96.

3.1.96.   [exactly yes. you know so *instead of fighting there with that child in the morning, and ((if)) trying to wake him up to school or no, what happens is that parents also oversleep first lessons, of course ((they)) do not wake the child up, that is so fairy tricky for him to wake up by himself if nobody encourages him.* so he is fine otherwise there, some sort of matters in the town and mother there you are takes child, that so:o he would help with the matters or something like this. and so again child does not attend, if not ((does not attend)) all lessons, then suppose part of the lessons..= 3.1.96.

Leonas discusses the helping process abstractly, focusing on the reasons that condition the unattendance of the children. He emphasizes the importance ofcontrol in a child's relation to school. However, Leonas tells about case being confident that he has not informed the mother about the issues the child faces. Instead, the research participant starts describing the importance of relationship with the child in solving the lack of learning motivation. Involvement of parents in the solution of the issue is not mentioned by research participant.

When describing the situation, Leonas avoids the relationship with parents, devalues their ability to change the situation. His arguments for this position are that the mother has lost hope to control the boy's behavior and she is not taking issues responsibely. Instead of the indifferent mother, the research participant places himself into relationship with child as a caring and strict person, performing the supervisory role allegedly more successfully than the mother. Also, during the interview Leonas talks in outraged voice describing the time the child spends with mother while he should be at school. Lack of discipline and control over school attendance according to Leonas is the sign of the mother's neglectful behavior. The inability to control school performance prompts the research participant to perform the role of mother in the children day care center.

In the extract [1.1.32], which has already been discussed in the topic on mother's alcohol abuse, Joana relates possibility for family to become service recipient of children day care center mainly with the child's belonging to the education system. From the moment that the child starts attending school, there is the possibility that the family, in particular mother. Mother's neglectful behavior is featured by child's irregular school attendance. As a consequence of the failure to fulfill the child's needs, research participant would consider that the situation needs intervention of a social worker.

Child's age and membership in a day care center is measured by belonging to the education system, thus involvement into school. Even when describing the child's age, Joana names the grade the child is going to at school. Parents are responsible for supply, social worker in day care center for the content of the relationships formed by child. Indeed, parents are bridging the relationship with the outside world, this is the domain of their power. Parents also become responsible for the child's behavior outside, education of moral and behavioral

morals by being models for their child. In the case the child breaks the behavioral norms, it is considered to be the parents's fault.

In case a child is a teenager, i.e. not at primary school, the research participant distances herself from personal involvement with the child. She intervenes into the role of the mother, which, according to her understanding, has obvious signs of the lack of control over the child's behavior. According to Joana, in the case of travelling mother [1.1.38], neglectful mother should be replaced by foster care. Research participant is not looking for relationship with child, just taking care of the possibilities to replace the supplier, i.e. the mother.

Extract [5.1.240] refers the understanding of mother's unemployment that has already been discussed in the previous chapters. Edita presents her attitude towards child's ability to fit into educational system. While discussing the child's good achievements she nonetheless emphasizes the child's unacceptable behavior at school. She links the boy's issues at school with the same observed behavior at the children's day care center, which she named as a feature of the a mental disease. The issue for the research participant is the mother's unwillingness to seek prescription and treatment by doctors, as the boy's diagnosis would allow the professionals to apply specific treatment. Resistance to rules of the setting is perceived as the issue of mental health. However, there is contradiction in Edita's understanding of the issue and the ways of dealing with it. At the beginning of the extract, she points out that the boy has good achievements at school as a pupil, but the issue for the professionals is that the child demands good behavior towards him during the interaction. At the end of the same extract, Edita implements the facilitated program, which is used for children with special issues. It is important to notice that adaptive programs are implemented at school for children who face difficulties with learning achievements. Child's inability to manage situations at school is related to mother's inconvenient lifestyle: lonely motherhood, unemployment, jobbing, and alcohol consumption.

When reading the extract, different emotions arise, because the told family situation does not provide clear understanding to the research participant. Evaluation of the child's achievement at school varies from good to poor, mental desease that should be treated manifests itself in reluctant behavior demonstrated by angrily telling orders and requiring attention. The issue for Edita is impossibility to control the boy's behavior and mother's avoidance to follow the instructions. Moreover, the boy's inability to follow daily routines willingly is qualified as consequence of mother's neglect.

If to consider that children day care center as the setting reproducing traditions inherited from extended-day groups which were situated at school, then the research participants should replicate habit and rules originating from the sustaining setting. Tradition, according to which the setting evolves, has educational background. The tradition of habitus originated in the period of the Soviet Union. That was the basis for replication of certain relationships

between children and educators. It can be assumed that parents can be outsiders to the educational system, as it was mainly dedicated to formation of children as future communist society.

Families at social riks could be considered as leading different lifestyle and values than most families in the society. Thus, role of education for normalization was quite important for upbringing a child, and emphasizing the importance and obligation of work. Therefore, in this understanding, school had significant role in development of child. Field (1987, 5) distinguished that, during Soviet times, the process of child's socialization differentiated into upbringing and education. Upbringing was the major task of a family, including conveying to an infant, child, and adolescent of the basic and general aspects of culture – language, culture, values, norms, collective memory and so on. Education was more concerned with specific knowledge and skills of the type necessary for adult functioning and work. Within a child's development education became important component of socialization.

As mentioned previously, during the Soviet period childhood had special meaning in social policy. Childhood was perceived as a special period of a person's development, passive, in need for shaping and control by adults. Childhood had to be constructed, thus big emphasis was put on the role of education. If a child was left alone after school, he/she was considered to be at risk of school failures and malnutrition. Svadovkij (1970, 348) notes that lack of supervision and adequate organization of the day often produced children's hooliganism and misbehavior. One way to solve the issue was to keep children at school for some time after lessons under supervision and guidance of the teachers. Subbostkii (1992, 94) referred to children's pragmatic (rule or consequence guided) moral conduct that depended heavily on external controls. According to the author, for the child's development it was important to examine influential sources for external control: peers and adults.

Thus, the aim of education was to prepare a person for joining work. Another emphasis was put on the aspects of preparation, such as discipline, determination, courageous personality that follows the rule of the collective, thus is obedient to adults and loyal to the communist regime (Zajda 1988, 391). Under socialism, socialization agents included family, school institutions, and public, political and industrial organizations. The role of the state in socialization was stressed as the agent implementing growth of 'social homogeneity' of the Soviet peoples (Subbostkii 1992, 90)

In the Soviet education, much attention was paid to the attitude towards labour, which should be obvious for the Soviet man, closely connected and fostered in the collective. Love to labour, according to the Tudge (1991, 131), was supposed to determine in children very early, certainly during preschool years, to be fostered in kindergarten and not directly at home. Books, articles and television programs were used to describe valuable social role played by any type of labour. They also encouraged parents to accustom their children to

engagement in some 'socially useful work'. At home, that meant at least helping to clean up, with the dishes, as it may be expected from children from any context. The main difference is age at which children are first encouraged into these types of activities, and the fact that the goal is not primarily to assist parents (or more accurately in the Soviet context, the mother) but to introduce attitude of the value of labour. Also, the main emphasis is on the attitude towards work rather towards the work itself.

On one hand, the requirement to take care of child's education resulted from national programs of day care centers. The focus on child, in particular during primary school, also evolved from previous establishments. During the Soviet period, there were prolonged groups for children in every school. These groups were active mostly in primary schools, to support working parents. Groups providing services to children had the same aims as children day care centers – afterschool occupation, provision of nutrition, and accomplishments of homework. These were the task for parents, in particular mothers, but supplemented by those establishments.

Doubt that arose during the research process – the central figure considered as being responsible for control of child's school performance – the mother. Family as a unit is divided into different parental figures depending on gender, where mothers are responsible for afterschool education, as this establishment was dedicated to increase mother's and women's employment. Svadovskij (1970, 342), who discussed the importance of interaction between family and educators, prioritized the needs of the state that had developed the system helping women to participate in labour market. There was also an attempt to help women be active in social and political life. Moreover, emphasis was put on equal rights between men and women; therefore, women was not supposed to be overburdened with her work in the family and at home and be confined to the small family cell only. The policy of the Soviet state and social organizations was to liberate family from everyday work at home and give parents time and conditions to bring up children in proper way. It should be taken into account that upringing of the future Communist society was the main goal given for a family. Education of children and provided facilities were established not to provide support for a family as a social unit, these establishments were rather focused exclusively on the role of mother.

Svadovskij (1970, 342) discussing the importance of interaction between family and educators, brought into priority the needs of the state, which had elaborated the system helping women to participate in labor market. There was also an attempt to help women be active in social and political life. Moreover, emphasis was put on equal rights of men and women, which meant that women were not supposed to be overburdened with their work in the family and at home and be confined to the small family cell only.

This liberation of mothers from daily chores could also be explained by distancing of the parents, mothers, from decision making in the process of child

education. Practices of research participants did not involve parents into solving family situations. As mother is considered neglectful, her role as a representative of the child's interest is replaced by a professional working outside the education system. Another factor triggering provision of social services for the mother is that in this situation the mother becomes a mediator between child and education system. However, mother's responsibility is not to monitor the process of education, but to help educators educate the child. In the case of failure, she is blamed for the irresponsible and neglectful behavior towards the child.

Geiger (1956, 196) has described changing relationships within the family by pointing out that emotional maturation in child-parent relations in the modern industrial societies becomes one of the central issues related to the 'emancipation' of the child from close emotional ties with parents. In cases when parents are considered as deviant, the struggle to overcome dependency feelings is no longer culturally approved. It can be assumed that the dissonance between parents and social workers creates confusion for the child, as worldviews learned at school and children day care center. Child learns to idealize, and parents authority devalue as deviant for the child's development.

Indeed, education as a system implementing family social policy, in the case of conflict with values, had the power to decide on behalf of child's interests. As it has already been mentioned, the entire education system was highly politicized. Thus, differences between societal and family values were considered as having political conflict. Geiger (1956, 188) observed that the totalitarian system of the Soviet Union in the orientation of youth clashes with the traditionally sanctioned attitudes of parents. Researcher also pointed out that the problem areas in the parent-child relationship applied not only to matters considered 'political' or focused to accept socially agreed values. This area had traditionally been central importance to parent-child relationship. Social workers could face the issue of reproducing relation with parents as possibly deviant for youth orientation, and placing themselves into opposition of the parents as moral agents, and challenge parent's worldview towards their children. Educators were taking over the role of parents, replacing the needs of parents with the party strategies. In this understanding, mothers educating children with different understanding were perceived as triggers and interference into child's educational acihievements.

Khliovskaya Rockhill (2010, 54) analyzing the Soviet legislation legitimating consequences for parents in case of child neglect has noted that in the year 1936, together with freedom of marriage, abortion and divorce, parental duty was proclaimed as sacred. Moreover, maternity was treated as the most important function of women, as a state's function, in which case participation in the labor force mandatory, became a subordinate priority. Paternity was no longer treated as biological fact, but rather as a legal obligation deriving only from registered marriage. Legislation introduced parental responsibility and criminal penalties for neglectful parents and guardians. The problem of unsupervised

children was seen as rooted not in poverty but in poor work of the Soviets, the Party, and the Komsomol. The Ministry of Education of the Soviet Union was required to advise social organizations, such as trade unions and parents' places of work, to fill in the gap of the absence of parental supervision and of parents' failure to 'correct' their ways, to initiate proceedings for terminating their parental rights. It was claimed that crime by the state, child neglect was no longer motivated by social condition. Officials sought to make parents responsible for their children's behavior by establishing repressive measures to enforce parents' responsibility.

Tudge (1991, 128) has pointed out that on the basis of 'everyday moral conduct', which is taught until it becomes habitual, the child is supposed to learn the norms of morality that govern the collective – that is to understand and make allowance for the interests and wishes of others and take part in collective efforts to reach common goal. Also, the status of the individual depends on the status of group which individual belongs to.

Another aspect should be taken into account that education system in the Soviet period had the right to evaluate parenting, and make decisions over replacement child from the family. In the Soviet times detection of family issues and procedure for child's replacement began at school. School, not parents, was obligated to care about education of children and teenagers,. Information about pupils who were not attending school or were delinquent was collected and was in concern of special rooms in the militia. Thus, education system was responsible for the issues of childhood.

Field (1987, 27) anticipated that children of every household inherited the privileges and disabilities of their parents' class positions. In such society, it was structurally impossible to provide full equality of opportunity to the children unless they were removed from the family's orbit at a very young age. Thus, family had important role just at the initial stage of socialization process.

Education system was constructed so that there would be facilities to work for parents, but they were not responsible for activation or other form of involving adult parents into labor. Also, school and education system in the Soviet period according to Tudge (1991, 128) had a crucial component – moral education. There were two important components in the communist morality: development of collectivist morality and inculcation of an appropriate attitude towards labor. The new Soviet man was someone who was striving collectively with his fellows to build communism, who was devoted to the Motherland, and had the good of society at heart, who had been educated polytechnic and had love to labor.

During the process of data collection, children day care centers were working according the national program of children day care centers for the year 2005–2007. According to the national program, the children day care centers organized education, afterschool occupation, and were in charge of accomplishments of homework and nutrition. Systemic social work should be done with

the children's parents. Thus the national program is for the pupils – children at school, and research participant aims to engage with children involved in education system.

Inability or unwillingness to control child's performance at school is categorized as mother's neglecting behavior. Child's poor school attendance in many situations told by research participants is related to mother's alcohol abuse and unemployment, which also determines neglect of the child. The main difference between naming the issue of alcohol consumption and child's poor school performance is research participants' failure to inolve mothers into decision making process. Research participants in the referred cases replace mothers if a child is in primary school or is a teenager, a research participant looks for alternative care instead of the mother. In certain situations research participants would inform about the discovered issues of a child at school, but there is no constructed understanding of social work process which would help mother manage family situation.

7.4. Cult of Mothering – Women Dealing with Family Issues Alone

Women's life is closely connected to family life. Absent or distant father's figure brings all focus to the mother figure. However, lack of helping tradition of social work process can bring loneliness to mother's attempts to change family situation. Clients of children day care center are mainly unemployed women. Their main income they are trying to sustain their families on is welfare allowancies or jobbing, which fulfills just basic needs. However, for research participants it is important to employ women, no matter how low-paid the job is. Devaluation of a man of the family creates specific understanding of an exaggerated omnipotent mother figure.

Mother's role in family is devine, which makes process of mothering devine and uninterrupted by professionals, unless there are signigicant consequences of child neglect. In previous chapter, it has been noted that research participants tend to share child care with mother rather than intervene to make changes in family situation.

The research has revealed that research participants in their practice deal with issues of big families. There are 3–8 children in a family. However, not all chidren attend children day care center – there are children who are either too small or teenagers already. In the extract [2.2.319], Justina tells about situation of a mother in a big family. In that family there are 8 children, and research participant discusses her abilities to keep budget independently from the husband and professionals. According to Justina, mother demonstrates skills to plan budget, as the family lives in harsh conditions, but at the end of month there is no lack of food. Lack of food for children is the main measure to evaluate mother's abilities to plan and spend the income. This ability to plan and control financial resources does not create space for any doubts about neglect and

incapacity to take care for the children, thus there is no need for intervention for the social worker.

The abilities to plan budget are one of the main activities of the mother role that help overcome neglect, especially in the case of the big family. The detailed description of the purchase list made by the woman reveals her priorities. Budgeting comes with prioritizing food, bills, documents, clothes for children. Nonentheless, Justina has noted that there are certain points for discussion in that list. One of them is lack of clothes for the youngest children, and alcohol, which is also included in the shopping list.

Research participant considers alcohol to be a part of the cultural norm of the *komunalka*. Moreover, the lifestyle the woman leads can be characterized as a cultural featre of comunal life in the dormitories.

Emphasizing the meaning and importance of conditions and impact of surrounding on the possible changes impose complexity of situation, and allows avoiding client blaming or even moral aspect of the issue of alcohol use when family income is so low. However, father's death is recognized not as children's or mother's disconnected relation with the significant person, which should be followed by grief, but as the source for increased incomes – allowances which the mother is able to manage and fulfill the list of requirements. Children's grief or any emotional issues related to the absence of important person is not considered as an object for concern.

2.2.319.   *bet jeigu vienas kažkas turi tai jau dalinasi ar ne? o atsimenu kur tu pasakojai apie šeimą kuri,* (.) *kur mama nuperka maistą visam mėnesiui, aprangą, drabužius]* 2.2.319.

2.2.320.   [*pavalgyt.*]

2.2.321.   *[jie bendrabuty gyvena?=*

2.2.322.   *=jo.*

2.2.323.   *kaip jinai? išgyvena? nes jinai turėtų būti ta kuri turi.*

2.2.324.   nu:u jinai gal daugiau biški turi, nes vaikų tėvas miręs už tai gauna pinigų žinai. (.) ten penkių tikras tėvas mirė žinai. (.) ką aš žinau jinai iš tikrųjų ne turi gal nelabai turi tiek daugiau negu visi kiti, nes pas ją ir vaikų daugiau supranti. nu bet jinai nu supranti jinai kažkaip viena iš tų kuri moka pinigus susiplanuot žinai. jinai susiplanuoja pinigus, susiskaičiuoja ir, (.) nusiperka valgyt, išsimoka ten:n, ir susitvarko dokumentus žinai, nusiperka (.) ten vaikam drabužių aišku daugiausiai dideliems, nes jie be gražių drabužių į mokyklą neis nes žinai, o mažiukai gali be nieko vaikai. (.) nu ir tada jau reiškiasi gali gert žinai. 2.2.324.

2.2.325.   *kaip* (.) *o ar tu manai kad yra sąlygos, jeigu nori yra sąlygos išeit iš tos situacijos?*

2.2.319.   *but if there is one which has ((food)) they share don't they? and I remeber you told about family which,* (.) *where mother bought food for the entire month, outfits, clothes]* 2.2.319.

2.2.320.   [*meal.*]

2.2.321.   *[do they live in dormitory?=*

2.2.322.   *=yes.*

2.2.323.   *how is she? does she survive? as she should be the one ((person)) who has ((food)).*

2.2.324.   so:o she maybe has slightly more, as the children's fatherhas passed away, and for this she gets money you know. (.) the father of five ((children)) has passed away you know. (.) you never can tell she actually does not have or maybe has not particularly more than all the rest, as she has more children than ((the rest)) you know. so but she so you know she is one of those who knows how to plan money you know. she schedules money, counts and, (.) ((she)) buys food, ((she)) pays there:e, and manages the documents you know, ((she)) buys (.) along clothes for the children of course mostly for the eldest, because they will not go to school without beautiful clothes you know, and little ones can ((go)) without anything chidlren. (.) so and then that means you can drink ((alcohol)) you know. 2.2.324.

2.2.326. nu:u nelabai. nebent ten kažkaip tai per supranti per kokias „TV pagalbą" ar per kažką tai, ta prasme buto normaliai tu vis tiek negausi žinai. tai nebent kažkokiom super ten sąlygom, (.) per „Bėdų turgų" ar per kažkoką tai žinai, nes aš manau jeigu, ta moteris kur aštuoni vaikai kreiptųsi į bėdų turgų gal tikriausiai padėtų žinai. bet jinai sakė aš nesikreipsiu žinai. ir jinai tikrai gal gautų butą žinai. bet normaliai be jokių specialių ten kažkokių pagalbų, be televizijos, be filmavimų ir be tokių dalykėlių tai (.) nea. 2.2.326.

2.2.327. *kodėl?*

2.2.328. >nu tai nesupranti jeigu tu buto negausi kaip tu? (.) nieks nepasikeis.<

2.2.325. *how (.) and but do you think that there are conditions, if there is a wish, are there conditions to escape the situation?*

2.2.326. so:o not so much. unless there somehow you know through some 'TV help' ((tv show which helps to solve personal issues)) or through something else that, in that sense normally still you will never get a flat you know. then unless some super condition there, (.) through 'Market of misery' ((TV show on national TV aimed at providing material support for those who are in need)) or through something else you know, as I suppose they if, that woman with eight children applied to the 'Market of Misery' maybe((they)) would help you know. but she said she would not apply you know. and she for sure maybe would get flat you know. but normally without any special there sort of help, without television, without video shooting and without any other sorts of things so (.) no. 2.2.326.

2.2.327. *why?*

2.2.328. >so you don't understand if you will not get flat how you? (.) nothing will change.<

Indeed, Justina perceives situation as inevitable because there are no resources to improve the living conditions. The only way to implement change for Justina is to change the community the family lives in. According to the research participant, the situation can be changed not by social worker's individual intervention, but by publicity and mainly entertaining programs. This powerlessness experienced by the research participant does not construct strategy for intervention which would promote family inclusion. The despair of the family's current daily situation highlights the importance of mother's responsibility to maintain stability for family. Family for the research participant is exclusively just children.

In the extract [4.2.100] Indrė tells about the amounts of income of several families. Interestingly, while naming particular clients the research participant relates the mother's surname with concrete income of the family. This Indrė's concentration on the mother may mean that the contact with whole family is held via the mother. Children and fathers are considered as secondary and passive family members. Indeed, a father can be active or distant, he gets supplementary role next to the mother as responsible for family maintainance. Research participant does not take into account women's working experience.

Indrė also describes family situation without projecting possibilities for changes in the family situation for the family as a social worker's client and recipient of welfare alowancies. When naming family poverty as an issue, the research participant does not consider the source of lack of resources to be an outcome. Poverty as a fact produces need for social support, but not the need for social work intervention. Status of big family makes them deserving this status to receive the welfare money. Indeed, Indrė does not rebuke the mother for the improper lifestyle. She also does not accentuate the nurturing role of the mother to stay

at home with children as an alternative for participation in labor market. Again, calculating the income does not construct thinking strategy for intervention.

4.2.100.   *nes tarkim, kiek aš, nu kaip nebūtų keista, tose privačiam sektoriuj tiek tos, algos ne nevisada labai mažos.*

4.2.100.   *because suppose, how much I, so no matter how strange it would be, in those ((agencies)) in private sector, both those salaries are not always are very low.*

4.2.101.   va mama gauna per mėnesį apie du aštuonis septynis,

4.2.101.   so mother gets during a month around two eight seven,

4.2.102.   *mhm. vaikų yra?*

4.2.102.   *mhm. are there any children?*

4.2.103.   vaikų keturi, tėtis per mėnesį gauna, (.) tūkstantį šimtą.

4.2.103.   ((there are) four children, father gets (.) one thousand one hundred a month.

4.2.104.   *mhm į rankas ar ne?*

4.2.104.   *mhm ((this is) net pay, isn't it?*

4.2.105.   taip. (.) šeši asmenys šeimoj.

4.2.105.   yes. (.) six persons in the family.

4.2.106.   *tai gaunasi?*

4.2.106.   *that amounts to?*

4.2.107.   tai::ip, tūkstantis kažkur trys šimtai dalinam iš šešių,

4.2.107.   yes::s, about one thousand three hundred if to divide by six,

4.2.108.   *tai gauna šį bei tą,*

4.2.108.   *so there is something they get,*

4.2.109.   tai jo vienu žodžiu kad]

4.2.109.   then yes to put it simply]

4.2.110.   *bet čia ta jūsų geresnė šei-, ta prasme ta* <u>*kur]*</u>

4.2.110.   *but that is your better fa-((mily)) in that sense* <u>*that which]*</u>

4.2.111.   [ta kur vienu žodžiu,]

4.2.111.   [that which to put it simply,]

4.2.112.   <u>*tik dėl to*</u> *dėl to kad mažos pajamos?*

4.2.112.   <u>*just because*</u> *low incomes?*

4.2.113.   jo, mažos pajamos jo,

4.2.113.   yes, low incomes yes,

Further in the extract further [4.2.114], which has already been discussed in chapter 6.3, statement 'Father hasn't earned enough money' shows that research participant appears to be more accentuating the role of mother who is the subject of welfare allowancies. That is she who applies for state money and collects evidences on family poverty. Mother's honesty during evaluation of family situation is important. The low income and household conditions create favourable conditions for becoming a service user, emphasizing importance of children day care centers activities for children's development, but not for adult family members, whose lack of abilities to maintain family's wellbeing at a certain level creates the need for social services.

The second aspect which may become evident in this extract creates more dilemmas for the research participant. This is a big family: a single mother with seven children. Income of the family is relatively big, taking into account that the social worker's salary is same. On the other hand, this income is too low for such a big family. Calculating and assessing the family budget, blaming the mother that she is keeping relations with children's father creates certain tension between Indrė as a social worker and the mother of the family. Reference to family budget helps the research participant evaluate the situation of the family, but does not create prerequisites for social work intervention, as children day care center is a nongovernmental agency that has no means to regulate family bud-

get: no legal rights or sources to support families. Therefore, if it is important for a social worker to measure parent's abilities to provide for the family as the most significant aspect of child care, the research participant should consider the measures for intervention, otherwise the social worker remains a helpless observer, disappointed with own powerlessness to provide professional help for the family. At the same time, the only help, which might be considered, is sharing day care of children between two women: the mother and the social worker.

However, I would like to emphasize that the woman in the described situation is blamed for the inability to keep clearness and steadiness of family situation. Man's and father's presence is the mother's decision related to status of welfare recipient. Moral aspect – honesty is important for the implementation of child welfare providing financial and social support for the family.

In the extract, both mothers are heads of their respective households, the ones who count, plan, and spend the income, thus who are liable for the whole family. However, inside the extract, there is no projected condition for change and involvement of social work in searching for the possibilities to escape the circle of poverty and leaving the status of client. Mother is responsible for management of houselhold, while children day care center as a facility providing services is responsible for sharing care of children with the mother.

Another research participant Leonas does not talk much about professional relations with parents. In general, Leonas do not tell much about details on working adults, as his professional activities are more related with after-school occupation of children. In the extract [3.2.33.], Leonas also discusses the mother's situation by accentuating her knowledge of law on benefits for poor families as a way of gaining income for the family. Research participant tries to reveal the importance of mother's role of a supplier, under which she uses her legal knowledge to enjoy the privileges provided for by the law and to use the welfare allowances to maintain the family. These allowances enable client families to survive at the certain level of living conditions. Mothers are perceived as as the main change agents, although helpless in their situation, as there are no possible directions to leave the situation.

This extract also suggests discussion of whether the research participant is willing to take position of a helping consultant or only a provider of information. Leonas focuses on mother figure and her abilities to maintain children. Nonetheless, there is no action or emotional content of the parent named by research participant, except for evaluation of mother's daily habits. In that case possessing and providing information, professional power over situation of the intervention. It is very important for the research participant to have this professional power. Social work should actively support families, but he sustains family's current situation and avoids possible crises. However, research participant does not plan any intervention strategy for promoting family welfare, and such approach leads to furtherdependence on welfare benefits.

The extract also reveals the powerlessness of the research participant in the cases where the client knows legislation better than him. Leonas admires moth-

er's knowledge. However, according to the research participant, this awareness justifies their lifestyle – living on the allowances. When Leonas talks about client family, he refers to a single divorced mother, who is able to use resources for sustaining the role of a supplier. However, the description of the situation is told from the perspective of an observer. He is picturing situation of the family by staying at a certain distance and separating professionl life and mother's daily life struggles. There is lack of planning of the professional activities, which would enable mother to change status of welfare recipient. Leonas' admitration over the women's attempts is not an impulse to ask if social services of the children day care center for the family are needed. Women manage situations without any professional support and it seems that he feels that a professional worker just provides day care for the child, thus sharing care with her.

3.2.33.   *kaip tai o kaip tai nu iš teisinės pusės jų galimybės. (.) ar tekę pavyzdžiui kad jos apgautų kas, nors ar dėl to kad neturi teisinių žinių?* 3.2.33.

3.2.34.   žinokit. a:a (.) ar tai buvo vieną kartą toks na:a iš darbo praktikos, n:ne per seniausias atvejis, >kai mama atėjo ir labai puikiai pademonstravo savo visas teisines žinias ir netgi pasakė kur yra nemokami advokatai jeigu reikia kreiptis.< tai čia:a, (.) tarkim, (.) kas piniginiu aspektu pavyzdžiui, išsirūpint pašalpas, nu kur iš valstybės gauna ar ne?, >tai labai puikiai žino visą tvarką, sistemą, *ir tiesą sakant kartais net socialiniam darbuotojam reiktų pasimokinti.* (.) nes labai puikiai žino nes realiai iš to gyvena. kur eiti, kokius dokumentus, kada kreiptis, labai labai puikiai.= 3.2.34.

3.2.35.   =*ir šita sistema vis tik,]*

3.2.36.   [ne kiekviena mama, bet. (.) tikrai didžioji dauguma, tai labai puikiai žino. nes realiai eilę metų gyvena iš tų pašalpų, tarkim kur už tuos vaikus gauna, ar ne ten kompensacijas, ten už būstą gauna, tai labai gerai žino kaip su šituo visu dalyku susitvarkyti.= 3.2.36.

3.2.37.   =*ta prasme visus įstatymus, poįstatyminius aktus, kurie palankūs jam jų situacijai jos žino?=*

3.2.38.   =aš neįsivaizduoju ar ten pažįsta tuos žmones kur tvarko šitus visus reikalus ar ne? ar (.) ar kaip jūs sakot grynai teisinę bazę visą žino, bet susitvarko labai puikiai. (.) nes realiai kito pragyvenimo šaltinio nėra. yra vaikai:i. elimentų negauna, pati darbo neturi, nu kaip kuri. kaip kuri ten tarkim pusę etato ar kažkiek tai turi ar ne. va, ir iš ko gyventi? >gyvena iš dedi- kokį ir taip gyvena taip nu ir gyvenimas paprasčiausiai priverčia. iki to kad tu puikiai į viską sužinotum.< 3.2.38.

3.2.33.   *how that and how so that from legal side their possibilities. (.) if had happened to you, for example, have there been cases for them ((feminine gender)) to have tricked someone, because ((they)) have no legal knowledges?* 3.2.33.

3.2.34.   you know:w. a:a (.) if that was one time such so:o out of ((my)) work experience, n:not so old case, >when a mother came and perfectly demonstrated all her legal knowledge and even told where to find a free lawyer if there is need to apply.< that here:e, (.) supposing, (.) how, for example, from financial aspect to handle allowances so that to get them from state?, >so she perfectly knows all procedures, system, *and as a matter of fact sometimes even a social worker should learn from her ((mother)).* (.) as she very perfectly knows as in fact this is how she lives. where to go, what documents ((are needed)), when to apply, very very perfectly ((knows)).= 3.2.34.

3.2.35.   =*and this system still,]*

3.2.36.   [not every mother, but. (.) truly the vast majority, knows it perfectly. as they have been actually living for several years on those allowances, supposing those for the children , if not for them, then there are compensations, for accommodation, so she knows very well how to deal with all these issues.= 3.2.36.

3.2.37.   =*in that sense all laws, bylaws, which are beneficial for them, their situation, do they know?=*

3.2.38.   = I cannot imagine whether they know there those people who manage those issues, yes? or (.) or as you say they ((they)) know straightaway all laws and procedures, but manage perfectly. (.) as in reality there are no any other source of income. there are children:n. who do not receive separate maintenance, she herself does not have a job, so some. some there suppose has a part time job or something she has. so, and on what to live? >lives on dedi- something and so lives so and lives simply forces ((them)). to that that you would perfectly get to know everything.< 3.2.38.

Interestingly, Leonas, a male social worker, feels incompetent when meeting with the client-mother. Also, in the extract, the research participant explores the fear to loose the social worker's power in front of the client. During the interview, it was possible to sense certain irony in his voice, especially when telling that sometimes there is something to learn even for social workers. Likewise, while telling the situation of the client, the research participant changes the speed of the speech. This loss of efficiency might also denote Leonas' confidentiality in his work with children's parents, in particular, women.

What are the welfare recipient's resources? The mother primarily must know the laws, be able to find a voluntary lawyer, know where to go to receive the welfare allowance, know the required documents, and maybe has contacts that could inform her about changes in procedures. Indeed, this way of life conflicts with the mothers-workers role. This is just a more contemporary way for the families to look for alternatives to maintain their families by using the welfare system.

Two extracts [4.3.345] and [5.1.168] reveal research participants' negative attitude towards mother's inability to care about their children adequately. Indrė notices that some mothers whose children attend day care center are of a particular type. They are dependent on men financially and emotionally. Ambiguity and disrespect expressed by the research participant emphasizes mother's reliance on emotional safety with the men living with them, who are changing. In both cases, research participants resent. At the same time, there is no intent to help change the mother's behavior. Research participants relate with the women's unwillingness to control husbands or boyfriends' behavior which is disrespectful of women. Indrė's extract has already already been mentioned in the Chapter 6 'Father as a caregiver'. Men are sometimes idealized as being able to provide clothes and food to children, support family, but at the same time be violent with women, abuse alcohol. Such men remain more preferred than women who are abused, helpless, unable to take care of themselves and children. Indrė emphasizes the importance of attempt and effort to make changes. On one hand, she agrees that women resign to existing circumstances, on the other hand, they plea for help without visible attempt to lead different lifestyle. Based on the fact that women ask for social worker's help, Indrė's attitude is that women should manage the situation themselves for no one around to support.

When asked to describe situations where women would attempt to change their life, Indrė [4.2.340] does not specify any particular case. Research participant has no detailed stories of women illiustrating professionally supported attempts to change family situation. Short answers, absence of detailed descriptions of the situation reveal absence of experience in helping process with adult family member. It also reveals reveals another phenomena – the difference of the client's and social worker's expertise.

Decent womanhood is important for the research participant. Depreciating women who are unable to maintain themselves, economical dependency on men, and vulnerability of women also create conditions for the family poverty.

Indrė considers mother's dependence on men as a sign of lazyiess and obedience. The research participant cannot accept the mother's lack of will to be independent and participating in social life.

4.2.340.   *nes aš galvojau kaip, (.) dar man klausymas, kas yra, tos moterys bando pakeisti savo situaciją, kada nors bandė nu išeiti iš to kad* <u>*nevargtų,*</u> *nes visą laiką reik skaičiuoti pinigus, kiek, kas, kur, šalia vyras, kuris. (.) nebandė ar ne? 4.2.340.*

4.2.341.   ⁰nea⁰.

4.2.342.   *lyg tais susitaiko su ta situacija kokia jinai yra?*

4.2.343.   taip. (.)

4.2.344.   *ir nemato?]*

4.2.345.   >[ir aš tai, pavyzdžiui nežinau kodėl susitaiko. taip geriau, taip paprasčiau. (.) pripratę. (.) daugiau nieko nesitiki. stengiasi aišku jau ten padėti <u>kažkaip kitaip</u>, kad pradėti žiūrėti, bet tai čia.< *4.2.345.*

4.2.346.   *bet kažkaip į jus kreipias, tik kai yra krizė, nu jau stipri krizė, kur gyvent nebegalima. kai vyras primuša?,] 4.2.346.*

4.2.347.   [taip, jau tada, jau labai reikalingi ir prašau man padėti.

4.2.348.   *aha.*

4.2.349.   ↑o kaip ten normaliau būna šeimoj, tai niekam:m, niekas.

4.2.350.   *bet esminė problema, smurtas šeimoj?*

4.2.351.   smurtas. alkoholizmas ir smurtas. ↑⁰nu vienodai gi jie⁰

4.2.352.   *kartu vaikšto?=*

4.2.353.   jo kartu.

4.2.354.   *Petrašiūnuose yra pavyzdžiui nu, tam tikra, aš galvoju jeigu, tiek daug moterų ar ne krizėse, ar yra kažkokia tolerancija smurtui? 4.2.354.*

4.2.355.   aš kaip sakau:u irgi, yra tokia rūšis moterų, (.) kuriom turbūt taip gerai. (.) jos jaučiasi nepajėgios išlaikyti tarkim išlaikyti save ir savo vaikus, tas vyras gal ir ten dirba nelegaliai ar kaip, bet jis parneša pinigus ir, ir vis tiek turi tų pinigų. (.) o kur:r staiga tas vyras dingsta, ir tie pinigai dingsta, ir joms per sunku atrodo, ir atrodo jau geriau, muštų, (.) bet, būtų pinigų. čia daly- vos ne tokia filosfoja kad muša reiškia myli. (.) nes yra tokių sakau, <u>susitaiko</u> paprasčiausiai, taip gerai. nes aš viena negaliu. (.) tarp kitko yra tokių moterų. (.) kurios, (.) nemoka, negali gyventi be jų. (.) ⁰tiesiog.⁰ *4.2.355.*

4.2.356.   *ir tas kuris nemuštų?*

4.2.340.   *because I am thinking how, (.) besides the question for me, who are, those women ((which)) try to change their situation, if ever tried so leave that* <u>*misery,*</u> *because ((they)) need to count money all the time, how much, who, where, there was a man nearby, who. (.) did not make an effort, didn't he? 4.2.340.*

4.2.341.   ⁰nope⁰.

4.2.342.   *as if they accept that situation as it is?*

4.2.343.   yes. (.)

4.2.344.   *and don't see?]*

4.2.345.   >[and I then, for example don't know why they accept this. that is better, that is easier. (.) they are accustomed to ((that)). (.) there is nothing more they expect. they of course try to help <u>somewhat in another way</u>, in order to start looking, but in this case.< *4.2.345.*

4.2.346.   *but somehow they apply to you, only when there is crisis, strong crisis already, where that is impossible to live. when husband beats?,] 4.2.346.*

4.2.347.   [yes, already then, then we are very needed and 'please help me'.

4.2.348.   *yep.*

4.2.349.   ↑and when the situation is more or less normal in the family, then nothing:g, no one.

4.2.350.   *but they key issue, family violence?*

4.2.351.   violence. alcoholism and violence. ↑⁰so they are equal⁰

4.2.352.   *they occur together?=*

4.2.353.   yes together.

4.2.354.   *in x district there are for example so, certain, I am thinking if there are so many or not so many women in the crisis, is there certain tolerance toward violence? 4.2.354.*

4.2.355.   as I say:y also, there is such kind of women, (.) for whom it is good as it is. (.) they feel they can maintain themselves and their children on their own, that man maybe works illegally or whatever, but he brings money and, and anyway has the money. (.) and when:re suddenly that man disappears, and that money disappears, and then it seems to be difficult, and seems it would be better if he was beating, (.) but at least they would have money. that is matt((er))- almost philosophy that if a man beatsm it means that he loves. (.) because there are such as I say, who <u>accustom</u> simply, it is fine as it is. because alone I cannot (.) by the way there are such women. (.) who (.) don't know how to, cannot live without them. (.) ⁰just.⁰

4.2.356.   *and the one would not beat?*

The attempt to understand personal motives and resentment does involve Indrė's personal affiliationsrather than professional. In disclosed family situation, father is the hero, while mother lacks skills to accomplish daily household chores. As a professional, Indrė places herself in the rescuer's role. According to the research participant, mothers ask for help just at the moment when family life becomes impossible for them to bear. Indrė meets those mother's requests for professional with dissatisfaction, as mothers are involved into child care irregularly. The abandonment of mother's role is interpreted as sharing care of the children with the man.

Another issue discussed in the extract by the research participant is women entering into relationship with abusive men. The only explanation of these relatiohsips is a man's financial position. The money which is important for the family maintainance allows not only to overcome poverty, but also to achieve stability. Women's need for intimacy with men is judged by reasonable consequence of these relationships. According to Indrė, these women interpret domestic violence as the sign of love. The phenomenon of women's economical and emotional dependence on men is unacceptable for the research participant. Indrė does not attribute intimacy to parent's needs, but separates this need and attributes it to a woman's and a man's need. However, Indrė also does not see possible areas where she could act as a professional social worker and provide the required social services and achieve change in a specific case.

This attitude towards help seeking women creates obstacles for helping process, as research participant is concerned about provision of goods rather than support and parenting skill assessment. Kristina [5.1.167] starts the extract with the idea that she has never faced a case when she would deal with a drunken mother. Indeed, at the beginning of the interview she mentions that alcohol abuse is the main issue for the client families. Research participant considers provision of supply for the child and the child's tidiness as the key feature of motherhood. In case of failure to fulfill the image of good enough motherhood and unemployment at the same time renders the mother to be considered as a sponger and idler. Thus, motherhood is understood as fulfillment of child's needs, which are considered to be child's clean clothes, maintenance of the tidy family image.

5.1.167.   *nes kažką veikti kartu. per veikimą dažniausiai yra,* (.) *ir toj šeimoj irgi tas pats ar ne?*

5.1.168.   nu nu negaliu sakyt kad aš:š, (.) nė sykio neradau mamos išgėrusios. (.) na jeigu tuo, apie tą atvejį. (.) nu mama yra jauna, (.) sėdi sau namie ir tiek. 5.1.168

5.1.169.   *vaikai prižiūrėti?*

5.1.167.   *as to do something together. by acting most usually is,* (.) *and in that family also the same isn't this?*

5.1.168.   well well I cannot say that i:i, (.) I have never found mother drunk. (.) and if in that, about the case (.) so mother is young, (.) stays at home and that's all. 5.1.168

5.1.169.   *are children taken care of?*

5.1.170. ⁰prižiūrėti vaikai.⁰ ↑tikrai prižiūrėti net, (.) kaip kada yra tokių atvejų kad mama tik <u>vieną</u> vaiką teturi, ir jo nesugeba <u>rūbelių</u> išplauti, prižiūrėti vaikai tvarkingi ateina. 5.1.170

5.1.171. mhm. (.) *bet skurdas yra yra viena iš tų problemų toj šeimoj ar ne? bet <u>nesiruošia</u> nei dirbti, ir nemato galimybių ar?* 5.1.171

5.1.172. nu dabar tai, su ta šeima toks, yra nežinau galiu sakyti ar ne, nes mama dar aš net .hh pati neinformavau atitinkamų institucijų. <u>mama</u> paliko vaikus saugoti kaimynei. (.) pati išvažiavo į užsienį uždarbiaut. 5.1.172

5.1.170. ⁰children are supervised.⁰ ↑they are really supervised even, (.) as there are such cases when mother has just <u>one</u> child, and is not able to wash his clothes, supervised children come tidy. 5.1.170

5.1.171. *mhm. (.) but poverty is one of those issues in that family, isn't it? but she is neither <u>ready</u> to work, nor sees possibilities or?* 5.1.171

5.1.172. so now that, with that family such, there is I don't know if I can say it or not, as mother I not yet .hh i myself have not yet informed appropriate agencies. <u>mother</u> left children to be looked after by the neighbour. (.) she herself left to foreign ((country)) to earn money. 5.1.172

Kristina reveals another issue related to performance of mother's role – attitude that all mothers at social risk are considered to be drinking alcohol. However, research participant points out that she had never faced such a situation. At first sight, Kristina related the mother's alcohol use and unemployment with child's neglect. Child's neglect is identified by external features: untidy clothes, dirtiness. When assessing mother's parenting skills, Kristina points out the importance of hygiene for children, but skips evaluation of the emotional content of the relationship between the mother and the child.

Another aspect that can be discussed is that mother's devotion to stay at home with children is not valued, as it would be in the case of paternalistic perspective. Research participant does not consider clothing to be a feature for neglect or maltreatment – it is rather viewed as negligence. Mother seeks to maintain household in such a way that it does not show signs of personal or social issues. Normalization of child care does not concern the question of upbringing of the child's personality, but focuses more on external appearance. Indeed, the research participant does not question her ability to place child to the center of her life, but child care focuses on provision of the basic needs required for the child's physical development. Personally I find it strange to focus family assessment on external appearance and identify it to the family issue. That could be perceived as symptom of an issue and not the issue itself.

At the end of the extract, Kristina tells about the latest event, when mother emigrated, leaving children to her neighbour. The boy of the family was attending children day care center on daily basis. The research participant links the lack of involvement with children's parents with the lack of information about current family situation, concerns the mother has to deal with. Lack of information causes emergency situations, in which Kristina must act decisively by reporting to children protection services. In those situations, social worker's actions are aimed at ensuring child's welfare, but not keeping the family as a unit.

Indrė and Kristina related child neglect with the mother's immorality. Lack of parenting skills is not the object of involvement of a social worker into mother-child relationship. Research participant judgement's on mother's abili-

ties to care of the children and perform parental duties decently are related to morality or will to follow a morraly acceptable way of parenting.

The extract [4.2.230] reveals dichotomy that Indrė experiences in relation to parental figure, and more specifically to gender images. Previously Indrė concentrated on social work with women, where women's image was related to housekeeping and budgeting. Men, as already discussed in the previous chapter, were related to imprisonment and violent behavior. Women of those families needed protection from professionals. Research participant tries to emphasize that in those families there is need for control function by the social worker. The control function, which, according to Indrė, does not belong to children day care center constant violating the private family life and stepping into relations and conflicts of parents as couple. This involvement into privacy is linked with women's insufficient role within the family relations, as she is the one who is responsible for the relations. Women's obligations are to settle the family in such a way that the family issues are not noticeable in the public.

Exaggerated motherhood results in dichotomy between women's and men's role within the family. In case of father, avoidance and reluctance to provide relationship with professional is sensed, as their role for the family and children is secondary. Father's role is to assist the key person in the family – the mother. This attitude is not only linked with marginalized client families of social worker, but involves women and men in the family.

4.2.224.   *bet daugiausiai jūsų klientai yra du dvi grupės kaip girdėčiau, tai yra vaikai ir moterys, ar ne?*

4.2.225.   taip, taip]

4.2.226.   *vyrai tai jie ten kažkur plaukioja,*

4.2.227.   ee jo, o daugiau va tais vyrais ten tais va grįžusiais iš įkalinimo įstaigų, .hh užsiima vargšų valgykla. ^{0}socialinė^0 ( ) *4.2.233.*

4.2.228.   *bet tie tie žmonės būna, irgi šeimos nariais tai jie kažkaip ten yra, bet kitos organizacijos,=*

4.2.229.   =NE. (.) vyrai pas mus kažkaip tai, (.) jie likę nuošaly. kažkaip aš nežinau kaip pasakyti, (.) .hh jie viskas jie (.)]*4.2.235.*

4.2.230.   *[jie ten yra ((juokiuosi))]*

4.2.231.   [jie ten ateina, (.) domisi, nu tokių kad labai didelių problemų tarkim dėl vyrų tai, (.) keletas yra, (.) yra keletas. *4.2.237.*

4.2.232.   *tai problemos kokios?*

4.2.233.   ↑alkoholizmas. ir smurtas. (.) šeimoje, yra va keletas. (.) bet vėlgi jau kaip yra ta problema, automatiškai įsijungia vaikų teisės (.) ir vėlgi tada jau jie, jau jie siunčia, jau kas prižiūrėtų tą šeimą, jau tada su ja dirbtų ir psichologinį darbą, ir viskas jau eitų į tą šeimą ištįsai. nes vėlgi mes tai negalim, man

4.2.230.   *but in most cases your clients are two two groups as I would hear, there are children and women, aren't there?*

4.2.231.   yes, yes]

4.2.232.   *men so they are somewhere there,*

4.2.233.   ee yep, but more so with those men there those returning from imprisonment, .hh engaged in canteen for the poor. ^{0}social^0 ( ) *4.2.233.*

4.2.234.   *but those those people are, also family members that they somehow there are, but other agencies,=*

4.2.235.   =NO. (.) man in ours somehow, (.) they are inclined to stay away. somehow I don't know how to say, (.) .hh they whole they(.)]*4.2.235.*

4.2.236.   *[they are there ((I am laughing))]*

4.2.237.   [they come there, (.) are interested, so that such that have really huge problems suppose because of men that, (.) some there are, (.) there are few. *4.2.237.*

4.2.238.   *so what are the problems?*

4.2.239.   ↑alcohol abuse and violence. and violence. (.) in family, there are thus some. (.) but again then if there is that prroblem, automatcally children rights also become the issue (.) and again is then they, is then they are sending, is then that

reikia ir su vaikais dirbti, ir aš nepajėgi ten lankyti, (.) tarkim kiekvieną dieną, kontroliuoti kaip ten, kas ten. ar ar ar tėtis parėjo neišgėręs, ar kaip?, o yra (.) valstybinės tos institucijos kurios ↓ = *4.2.239.*

4.2.234.   = *jos prisiima kita, daugiau kontrolės ar ne?,]*

p

4.2.235.   jo jo jo. nu jiem vis tiek, (.) kitokios jų yra funkcijos ⁰pagal mane⁰. mes einam:m, lankom tas šeimas, praktiškai, buvo kad kokioj pradžioj tai aš labai <u>dažnai</u>, <u>į</u> <u>savaitę</u> kartą važiuodavau į šeimas. (.) bet paskui aš pasižiūrėjau, kad to poreikio tokio labai <u>nėra</u>, kad važiuoti, kas ↑savaitę ir žiūrėti grynai, dabar važiuojam visos per dvi savaites ar kartą. (.)*4.2.241*

someone supervises that family, is then would work with their psychological issues as well, and all they would go to that family continuously. as again we cannot, I need to work with children as well, and I am not able visit there, (.) suppose every day, control how it is there, who is there. if if if father came back not drunk, or what?, and there are (.) governmental those institutions which ↓ = *4.2.239.*

4.2.240.   = *they take on other, more control aren't they?,]*

4.2.241.   ye ye ye. thus for them it is same, (.) they have different functions ⁰according to me⁰. we go:o, visit those families, basically that was at some point at the beginning that I was very <u>often</u>, once a <u>week</u> I was driving to those families. (.) but after I looked that the need was <u>not</u> that big, that to drive there every ↑week and just look at them, now we all are driving there every two weeks or once. (.)*4.2.241*

Indrė identifies the dichotomy between genders in client families by conflicts within the family. According to the research participant, the essence of dynamics of these family conflicts does not guarantee long lasting results if a social worker provides daily support for the family. Thus, focusing on support to children as future society, it guarantees the social worker steady employment in children day care center with clearly defined task and responsibilities. Indrė relates social worker's supportive role to care of the child. Intervention and change is embedded into daily control over parents' decent lifestyle and punishment if that required lifestyle is violated. Research participant does not see herself being capable of intervening into mother-father or parent-child relationship to promote long lasting results in the child's welfare. Indrė separates areas of adulthood and childhood, and relates her professional responsibilities to the child.

However, gender dichotomy between the parents resettled into the setting of social services: children day care center – nurturing (mother – women), and municipality agencies – controlling and punishing and at the same time protecting (father – man). Research participants commit child care and houselhold maintenance to a mother solely, as naturally intrinsic of the motherhood. Research participants do not relate the lack of parenting skills to lack of knowledge on child care.

Kiblitskaya (2000, 65) relates the issue of absent father and responsible mother to different behaviour assigned to gender roles within a family in the Soviet society. According to the researcher, drinking and spending time with other men was a crucial component of masculinity for many Soviet men. It is notable that within the Soviet institutional framework it was possible for women to take on what they perceived to be a male role. In doing so, they often ended up fulfilling all the main roles in the family, while their husbands were

becoming increasingly marginalized. The gender dichotomy could be recognised as the sign of the patriarchal family structure.

However, within this division of gender roles in the family, the state had significant role and impact. The state also had declared having own interests in the children's upbringing. Jagudina (2009, 129) specified that motherhood in the Soviet Union was politized. Women were believed to raise the children not for the individual life, but for the socialist state. Mothers were to act as mediators between the state and the child. While the position of men within the family was undermined, women were thought to be liberated from the patriarchal family and protected by the state. A new understanding of female virtue was related to obligations of wife and mother with the active contribution to the building of socialism. That was declared as great achievement for the socialist society – women were liberated from patriarchal family structure. The issue for today's social work with families has been inherited from the institutional tradition which did not perceive family as unit in relation to childcare. Consequently, a mother experiences strong pressure to perform carer's role with restricted resources and ultimately no support.

Also, during the Soviet period certain range of expectations important to implement the Soviet social policy was proclaimed. Jagudina (2009, 129) highlighted two aspects of women's tasks within the family in the Soviet Union. On one hand, it was the obligation of the state women to increase the birth rate. Thus, birthgiving sustained future Soviet society. It becomes evident from the extracts that in case of disadvantageous father who was distant or abused alcohol, the state would take over the father's role. On the other hand, it was important for data interpretation that the Soviet policy aimed to convert patriarchal family into modern industrial family, thus the role naturally became indistinct. In this case the important role for the State facilities was filling of the father's role. Thus, emancipation of women from the reliance on family was guided in two directions only by providing opportunities for active participation in labor market, but at the same time by putting emphasis on the importance of procreation. Social workers of day care centers displaced the gap between the undesirable fulfillment of father's role and mother-victim of the situation by sharing children's care with the mother, and uphold her role as supplier. Elevation of motherhood, devaluation of fatherhood, and at the same time intervention of the Soviet state into relationships construct disbalanced family picture.

Mother's loneliness in the family was also supported by the understanding that man was not perceived as active member of family life, but more often as the source of family issues. Kay (2006, 153) researching women's attitudes towards men within family noted that women despised in their assessment the men's attitudes towards their families, critisizing them for just earning money and not being active parents, for scarcely seeing their children. Such expression of women before the collapse of the Soviet Union was, in part, a response to well-documented problems resulting from men's heavy drinking, non-payment

of maintenance or failure to help at home. Such attitudes reflect the overriding emphasis in the Soviet family life on the supremacy of women in the private sphere and, in particular, on the importance of motherhood. The whole Soviet family legislation underlined central position of mother's role within the family, relegating fathers to what sometimes can be described as an assistant role. Researcher also noted the importance of social policy during the Soviet Union, which attempted to regulate family life, especially accentuating the role of mother. If motherhood came to be seen as being intrinsically greater worth than fatherhood, this owed much not simply to long-standing cultural traditions noted by Kay (2006, 154), but to deliberate official promotion of cult of maternity by the government that was concerned over the birthrate.

State was providing child care facilities while mother was in labor market. The issues family members used to face were mother's concern, her tasks and initiative to make family life unexposed to the bad external influence.

The same observation was made by Kiblitskaya (2000, 64) who presented the research carried in Russia following the collapse of the Soviet Union studying attitudes of 3 generations of women breadwinners. I could find similarities in my research concerning depreciating attitude towards men. Researcher observes that women and men were seen as having duty to work. But while they saw their involvement into work as "parental", such women missed males as breadwinner figures. Their critique of their husbands was based on the idea that a real man provided for his family. This was idea which Bolsheviks sought to combat: women were supposed to look up to the state and work for support and not for individual man. Nonetheless, as a result of deliberate state policy, Soviet men rarely earned enough money to support non-working wives; the idea of man-breadwinner lived in popular consciousness only.

Kiblitskaya (2000, 65) also noted that there was understaning that the women who performed such roles in the family always resented and believed that they were forced into such position by their husband's failure. This was situation many women resented: the role of men defined by state policy did not match the women's aspirations. In many instances, the survival of the family in Post-Soviet Russia (it can be assumed that in Lithuania as well) depended on women's ability to find work. Although women became "divorced from the state" and lost support, many of them still waited for breadwinners. This would not induce leaving work altogether, they rather claimed that this would simply liberate them from the feeling that all concerns of the world rested upon their shoulders.

In this chapter research participants discuss the understanding and emphasis on mothers in the role of breadwinners and suppliers. Budget planning abilities are one of the main activities of the mother's role, which helps overcome neglect, especially in case of a big family. This requirement for clear and planned budget could be related to Reid's (2002, 219) assumption about the post-war period, especially under Chrushchov's government, when the Soviet society was strug-

gling with shortages and poor distribution. The Soviet government had the goal in the context of those shortages to control and provide reasonable consumption of even basic products. Thus, Party program adopted in 1961 socially integrating both creation of abundance for all and at the same time socially integrated and self-disciplined person as essential preconditions for transition to communism. The idea was to combine consumption and morality, constructing the notion of the Soviet person and aiming to control daily consumption. This policy included family budgets as well. Reid notes that interest in family budgets was prompted by the party's new emphasis on consumption needs, and by its attempts to introduce a minimum wage adequate for a modest standard of living for typical, i.e. normative, urban family. It was important not only to understand the consumption patterns but also prescribe a normative consumption budget. During 1960's, the normative consumption budget they set was very modest: it included allowances for certain durable consumer items such as refrigerators, televisions, but no other electrical domestic devices, carpets or car.

There was ideological emphasis that under communism the attitude of people toward material things will change, and people would acquire for personal use only those things what is enough to wear. The collection of clothing's, footwear's was understood as unsuitable for the morality of Soviet person. There were promoted reasonable needs determined by climate conditions, time of the year and sex, type of occupation and social activities. Rational needs were those that rendered self-development of individual compatible with the development of society as a whole. Rational consumption was an aspect of communist morality, which in general entailed self-discipline and voluntary submission of individual to the collective will. If individual desired to come into conflict with the best interests of the collective, they were, by the definition, irrational. Women and young people were most probable to submit to ostentatious consumption and irrational desires.

On the basis of official opinion of the party, Reid (2002, 220) suggested that the consumption was gendered, and disciplining discourses of daily life addressed primarily women. Consumption and household labor continued to be naturalized as female concerns. Researcher pointed out that despite the party's commitment to sexual equality, a number of studies showed that there were stereotypical notions of gender difference, assuming women to be most heavily imprecated in mundane matters of household, thus to have lower level of political consciousness and rationality.

Thus, rationality as a feature of social morality and especially of women is important aspect in constructing nowadays social work helping process. Of course, fulfillment of the children's basic needs is an important task for parents. Indeed, ability to be a rational consumer is bound to the poor families with limited incomes. Families with higher incomes do not have such an issue as irrational consumption, as they have wider possibilities for consumerism and fulfillment of needs. Consequently, the issue is not the abilities, but the empha-

sis on a stand towards children's needs. Social workers do not construct help, but requirement with the goal to change views and liabilities and client's abilities to follow irrational societal values.

Thus, institutional *habitus* has been inherited with the family matters focusing on the mother and keeping the father from involvement. Research participants can become disoriented in evaluating, naming and intervening into into family matters, as traditionally the mother was responsible one, and the state was involved indirectly and supported this gender division. The habit to keep this gender division in the family even in those situations originating from society of market economy – unemployment, lack of services for poor families – results in mother's solitude in family matters.

Lack of mother's moral decisions to take proper care of the children leads to neglect of the children, empowers research participants' understanding to provide help for adult family members and especially for mothers. In the family situations which are related to child care, research participants' attention focuses on mothers. There is the idea that lack of parenting depends on mother's commitment to accomplish better care of the child. Social worker would name the issue of child care, but would not support mother through the process of change.

During the Soviet period, families tried to keep privacy of their families as the individual and personal realm. For the public life certain family issues as domestic violence, abuse, and exploitation were taboo topics. There were no means to solve these issues, so in most cases they remained unrecognized. The conflict between privacy of the family life and child protection as violation have become new phenomena for society and conflict with the profession of social work. Violation of privacy was allowed to just some officers like police and school responsible for supervision of household conditions for development of children. Violation of privacy in order to provide help was controversial in terms of public attitudes. There was understanding that women were responsible for the household, and they should be able to manage the family situation. Social worker entering family privacy was witnessing failure of the women because inadequate morality. Therefore, social workers try to avoid this role and intervention process with parents, as they understand social services for adult family members as punishment for failures and inabilities.

7.5. The Distinctiveness of Social Worker's Relationship with a Mother

Helping relationship is also mentioned and discussed by research participants. It was interesting to notice that helping relationship was established or attempts were made solely with mother. That also reveals certain understanding on possibilities to achieve change and recognise the responsible ones for accomplishing that change. The constructions of helping relationship understanding with client families and especially with the adult family members are important for disclosure of social work inclusive practices. In my understanding, one of the

aspects of helping relationships is that they are established for provision of help and social services. The aim of services is to promote and develop child welfare and sustain family as unit, avoiding separation of children and parents by placing children into foster care. For social worker's inclusive practices it is also important to promote change in family situation. Though non-interventive attitude and maintain family situation are not supported, as they are unappropriate for child's wellbeing according to research participants.

However, the role of social worker should be monitoring obstacles to child welfare appearing in family situation. Reciprocity in the helping relationship is crucial from both client and social worker. At the same time, leading role in this relationship should be commited to social worker as having professional knowledge and power to decide, this advantage professionals make to take commitment for helping process. However, the power over client's situation should not be so evident, as the aim of the relationship is to minimise client's loss of control and powerlessness over changing family situation. Therefore, empathy in this relationship is crucial for social work.

Relationship between social worker and adult family member in my opinion is crucial for providing help. In several studies, mainly carried out in the UK, the U.S., it is pointed out that success of intervention depends much on the ability of a professional to establish relationship with the client. Kadushin, Kadushin (1983, 100) noted the importance of relationship between people. The researchers are using the symbol of bridge implying that it is not so easy to pass information between different sides of the bridge. Much of the success passing the messages during interaction has emotional context. Good relationship facilitates active involvement and participation of the interviewee not only during conversation, but also in implementation of the so needed change. Relation also fosters feelings of trust, security and safety while dealing with anxiety, tension and threat, thus emotional content of the family situation.

Indeed, as Lonne, Parton et al. (2009, 82) stated, procedures and bureaucratized systems investigate rather than provide help for families, many parents find contact with child protection workers as negative experience. Predominant systematic approach has influence on shaping social relations between social workers and parents, at the end result too often being counterproductive to effectively protect children. Researchers designate that successful engagement with parents requires skills for professionals.

Investigating the research participants' understanding and considerations of the helping relation with the client needed to provide help as a topic seems indirect, unspecified and diffuse. When telling the client stories, research participants' actions were focused on collecting information and investigating family situation as gathering the facts about family situations or their family life rather than specifying development of relationship or change. The open helping relation of research participant as social worker with parent is emergent phenomena in the helping process.

Extract [1.3.31] has already been discussed in the 7.2. chapter on mother's alcohol abuse. Joana's attitude towards alcoholic mothers was specified. In the extract, three different cases are presented, where Joana emphasizes the importance of power to realise child welfare. This power over mother's unwillingness to change life style is critically important. The issue according Joana was mother's avoidant relation with research participant as social worker, who is related to attempts to escape from possible changes, shifts and relations with professionals. There is certain sequence of events which seems preferable for Joana, when social worker observes that mother needs help, but at same time she denies having issues and does not enter into the collaborative relation with professional. Therefore, according Joana, avoidance to accept relation with social worker, should be punished in order to make her accept requirement. Separation of family as a unit is seen as the effective, legitimate way to force mother to make change.

Indeed, for Joana the described situation is related to children's behavioral issues which are specified quite broadly: care and control of children and school attendance. Issues that arise as the results of addiction are mentioned just at the beginning of case description. Research participant describing family issues and solved situations emphasizes moral tasks for the family and parents: have job, live in certain place, control and educate children. No circumstances where relations between family members would be described as an issue are described, and only living conditions and inability to fulfill the tasks are emphasized. Bonding between family members is used as a source to make mother accept requirements for the change and face real consequences of her lifestyle.

Another big issue discussed by Joana [1.3.34] is the beggary of the children on the town's streets, but due to lack of cooperation between municipalities and lack of workers, family situation remains unchanged and distant for possibilities of control. Taking into account changes of speech during the interview with research participant, the stressed words describe relation between mother and day care center: rights, neglect, observed, center, avoid, avoidance, temporally, temporal. Indeed, during narration of the second case, the words that describe inaccessibility to solve children issues for the children day care center are stressed: you loose right, x town, we saw, nonattendance, should, have seen, should. Changes in speech reveal the complexity of situation and hopelessness and helplessness of research participant to act in this case.

Joana also expresses the need for certain exhibition of power and punishment in respect to women, by taking children into custody, thus creating certain stimulus for change. Neglectful mother, in particular in the case of alcohol abuse, is perceived as not being able to make change without intervention from the outside. Intervention is recognized as certain list of requirements which should be changed without professional direction and guidance. Separation of family as a unit is the most effective way to have rapid change and make parents accept reality and change. There are no other alternatives for a mother who has the issue of alcohol dependence.

Attempts to help mother name the current situation is not considered as part of helping process, but the fact of avoidance of change. Family situation which is preferable for the research participant develops from hopeless situation into the fact when children are taken into custody. This fact forces mother to be active in changing family situation – find a job, find a new place for living, which again are reflections of the living conditions, but not bonding between family members. However, Joana does not question consciousness and lasting changes which have been achieved.

It is quite popular among research participants to justify separation of the family as a unit, when mother is reluctant to act according to the request she is given by officials or provided information. In extract [2.3.73] Justina presents situation of two families that at first glance can seem paradoxal and unclear. There was one woman avoiding meeting with officials, and after several visits, municipality social worker decided that the work with family was done. Another family, the problems of which are more known, has contact with a municipality social worker who informs about the required changes. As the woman has not achieved any changes, her family has been separated and children taken to custody.

2.3.73.   bet, tai jo tai ta moteris kuri visiškai nieko nepasikeitė, (.) visiškai nieko. ↑tai nu (.) >nu tiesiog supranti nu socialinė darbuotoja jeigu nėra namie nieko arba nieks neįsileidžia vėl vieną kartą. antrą kartą nueina. ten nueina trečią kartą ir viskas darbas baigtas supranti.< 2.3.73.

2.3.74.   *nu tarkim aš tarkim kažkur]*

2.3.75.   [gal tas noras pasibaigs.

2.3.76.   *aš tarkim kažkur tai išėjau. (.) būtent tuo metu kada kada ji tarkim atėjo?=*

2.3.77.   =nu tai gali būt. gali būt kad ir išėjo, gali būt kad ir neįsileidžia, gali būt ir taip.]

2.3.78.   *[nu iš esmės tai jo.*

2.3.79.   nu tai ir viskas. supranti viskas taip ir baigiasi supranti. tu pas ją paeini, ten tarkim buvo moteris kuri labai jo kaip ji labai gerdavo žinai, tenai užgėrė ten reikėjo susirasti darbą, ten užsikoduoti, jo lankyt anoniminis žinai, (.) ir ir įdomu taip ir būdavo nu nu arba neįsileidžia arba jos nebūdavo žinai. ir finalas toksai kad jinai nieko neįvykdė ir iš jos paėmė net be jos žinos ten tą vaiką žinai. ( ) atėjo žinai. ta prasme jai niekas nepadėjo žinai. (.) kad kažkaip pasikeist žinai. 2.3.79.

2.3.73.   but, that so that women who has not changed absolutely anything, (.) absolutely anything. ↑that so (.) >so directly so you understand social worker if there is no one at home or nobody answers the door again one time. second time. there goes third time and that's it – work is done you understand.< 2.3.73.

2.3.74.   *so suppose I somewhere]*

2.3.75.   [maybe that wish will end.

2.3.76.   *Let's suppose I went somewhere. (.) exactly at that time when when she came?=*

2.3.77.   =so that can be. it is possible and that she left, can be that she does not let in, can be and so.]

2.3.78.   *[so basically that yes.*

2.3.79.   so that and all. you understand everything ends you understand. you trace her, there suppose was a women who very yes when she was drinking you know, there she busted there she needed to find job, encode against alcohol, yes attend anonymous alcoholics you know, (.) and and interesting that so and she was ((at home)) so so or she did not let in or she left you know. and final was such that she accomplished nothing and they took away the child from her even without her presence you know. ( ) came you know. in that sense no one helped her you know. (.) to somehow make change you know. 2.3.79.

There are several unclear aspects in comparison of these situations of the family. The criteria are misbalanced and unclear for strong intervention separating family as a unit. It seems that avoidance of interaction with social worker could be perceived as attempt to avoid displacement of the family as a unit. The meeting point – social worker's meeting with the client – is the event that makes intervention is launched and provides the expectation to change the client's life style. Avoiding the meeting and therefore not meeting the social worker may mean escaping the risk for parents to loose their children.

Indeed, if a social worker meets an adult client and establishes contract with her, intervention process is launched, which must change client's behavior, and parents would create conditions for maintaince of children. Therefore, there are requirements to find a job, find treatment from dependence in order to maintain the family. Starting help provision with the contract as the event with social worker, meeting with professional worker, and then avoiding contact with her, avoiding to fulfill the contract lead to penalty – separation of family as a unit and, in this case, making the mother change personal attitude towards supervision of children.

Another aspect important for the interventional event besides meeting between a social worker and a client, is that more information is gathered about family issues, thus creating longer list of family issues than mother who avoids contact with a social worker. The 'open door' of the family life for social worker can make their unity vulnerable to external interruptions. Social worker gathers information in order to have evidences for punishment, but not for creating conditions for help. Individuality and specifics of family issues are not investigated as being unimportant, and emphasis is put on mother's behavior in relation to social worker. Mother's avoidance of the meeting with social worker has crucial effect on the interventive event. Mother's submissive behavior and following the requirements set by the social worker is what a professional might expect. If the mother avoids or performs reluctantly, the meeting event can be crucial for the family's future.

Is client advocated or lead in the case of interventive action by a social worker or research participant? Justina tells the case of mother having problems with alcohol abuse, unemployment, confronting the municipality social worker as a passive observer. She does not interrupt or involve into the told sequence of events. Again Justina faces helplessness and powerlessness sharing client family with municipality officials.

Justina has the conflict in the attitude keeping the distances between social services and private-intimate life of family. Social work intervention and status of welfare recipient eliminate intimacy of family life and especially wife-husband interaction. From the extract it may seem that the entire social system makes attempts to protect women from men not by actions, but by suggestions on legal aspects. High expectations and requirements for women provide the basis for the helping relationship between mother and research participant. Jus-

tina [2.2.355] differentiates between two kinds of families: father dominating – mother as victim and mother dominating – father perpetrator. The research participant finds it more acceptable the families where a woman is dominant as man remains aggressive, but aggression manifests passively by stealing money, not participating in family life. In case a man exercises violence against a woman, social worker feels not being able to help the mother as she consciously admits her taken role inside of the family. Extract [2.3.222] reveals diverse understanding of the service providers on wife's role as one of the essentials of women roles, which conflicts with municipality officials' understanding. The extract has already been discussed in the chapter 7.2. *a father without regular income*

After several attempts to understand this segment of text told by Justina, I couldn't relate the position which municipality worker took over the mother, and there was no legal basis for this kind of actions. Another aspect of the text which made me inquire was the distance of research participant in the described case, when she was telling with disgust, still staying as an observer and not taking active role to advocate client's interest, and she indeed takes the role of victim together with the client in the situation. It is important to notice that all actors in the situation were women. Therefore, it could be suggested that the power delegated unconsciously to the municipality worker transfers experience of power earlier exercised by the State agencies.

This attitude supports the ideas of Voronkov, Zdravomyslova (2004, 104) that a family was conceptualized as the primary social unit that had constitutive similarity with the working *kollectiv*. Thus, in the Soviet social science the working unit was perceived as the extended family and the family was a proto-*kollectiv* penetrable by the Party and state regulations. However, regulation by the Soviet state was assimilated with family life, thus family life was controlled publicly with the help of working *kollectiv.*

Official organizational principle of the Soviet *kollectiv*, as Voronkov, Zdravomyslova (2004, 104) stated, was copied from the Communist Party and was based on democratic centralism, which presumed subordination of minority to majority and lower organizational bodies to higher ones, electivity from bottom to top, and accountability from top to bottom. Regulation of family life assimilated with family life and controlled publicly with the help of working collective.

In her article, Marcinkevičienė (2009, 56) discussed the norms and motives for marriage in the Soviet Lithuania. One of the main messages of the Soviet propaganda was to emphasize that marriage of Soviet people was dedicated for education of future generations rather than for fulfillment of men's and women's sexual desires. It is important to take into account that during the years of Krusciov's governance, a lot of attention was given to formulation of appropriate and inappropriate motives for marriage. One of the positive motives for marriage could be formulated by kollectiv. Forecast for these marriages was very

positive. Soviet propaganda promoted the idea that most of responsibilities for mutual intimate personal relations could be absorbed by kollectiv.

Construction of power exercised by state agencies and facilities in order to regulate family life, as well as the norms for appropriate marriage allowed a municipality worker have implicit power over marginalized family women and social workers of nongovernmental agency.

The extract reveals tradition of meetings of the former trade-unions, where women were protected from the sponger or violent man. During the meetings, it was generally a woman who was suggested certain measures to influence the man's immoral behavior. When these suggestions or directions are related to the possible changes in family structure, a woman become especially vulnerable, as her relationship with the man has evaluated from the pragmatic and moral side. Moral side comprehends with man's alcohol consumption and inability to supply the family. These two sides are related with the morality of the Soviet man related to productivity of working man. Cohabiting and frequent change in partners also refers to morality, but this side of lifestyle is not questioned in public.

Fischer, Ravizza (2000, 1) point that when someone is accepted as morally responsible agent, this involves more that holding a particular belief about that person. It also entails willingness to adopt certain attitudes towards that person and to behave towards him in certain kinds of ways. For many people questions of moral responsibility are associated with wrong doing. According to them, questions on who may legitimately be held responsible are seen to stem from more practical questions on who should be blamed and punished for their misdeeds. Thus, morality is accentuated in situations where families deviate from social norms. When motherhood is deified, there is imperfection of father figure related to immoral and omitted responsibilities for family. Therefore, father's behavior approves need for punishment, which means his elimination from family decisions.

Another extract [2.3.44] illustrates crisis the woman faces during intervention of municipality center of social services. Justina understands different ways of keeping relationship with mothers, thus providing social work services for families at social risk. Indeed, she gives decision making power to municipality's social worker, although she understands that the chosen method is too aggressive for the mother. Fast change, pressure to loose family by not only displacing the husband, but also the children are the consequences the mother has to face. The woman is suggested during the meeting at the Child Rights Protection Agency to achieve certain action which can be understood as long lasting process, implemented consciously. None of the actors argues or feels powerful to change the imposed case plan.

Throughout the interviews Justina opposes attitudes of the official social workers and politicians and presents it as illustrative case. Understanding how possible changes can affect children and parents also required resources for accomplishment of intervention. It was interesting that all the actors in the case

were women: mother, research participant and municipality social workers. Men in the case were just facing consequences of intervention process, where fathers were eliminated as the sacrifice to keep the children and family a as unit.

2.3.43.   =*o yra buvę situacijų kur tu pajautei kad jau kažkas kažką darė panašaus?* (.4)

2.3.44.   nu tai supranti <u>buvo</u> nes dėl to kad tarkim aš socialinė darbuotoja ir dar kitur yra socialinė darbuotoja ir:r, nu tarkim socialinių paslaugų centre ar ne? ir ir, ir pavyzdžiui ateina vaiko ten mama kokia nors ir sako, aš negaliu sako:o socialinė darbuotoja sako, kad tipo mes turim pasiekti pokytį <u>per du</u> mėnsesius žinai. (.) o jinai nu:u @taip <u>negali</u> taip savęs priversti kad taip staigiai supranti ten kažkas įvyktų žinai. ir aš supratau kad žmogų SPAUDŽIA žinai. (.) tai aš supratau kad <u>daro tą patį dalyką</u> ką ir <u>mes darom</u>, bet jis nori greičiau žinai tą padaryti.@ ↓nu žmogus kažkaip atsiduria žinai tokioj nu situacijoj nu, net nežinau.] 2.3.43.

2.3.45.   *[o kaip jie pavyzdžiui man man kažkaip kilo klausimas, kaip jie, kaip klientas suvokia pokytį?*

2.3.46.   nu tai kaip jam <u>liepia</u> supranti. pavyzdžiui per <u>du mėnesius</u> tu turi <u>susirast</u> darbą, <u>lankyt</u> anoniminius, <u>užsikoduot</u>, <u>išmesti</u> vyrą iš buto, tenais <u>vaikus</u> prisiregistruoti pas gydytoją. nu <u>kažkas</u> tokio, nu <u>duoda terminą</u> žinai, ir tu turi <u>iki to termino</u> ten padaryt kažką žinai. 2.3.45.

2.3.47.   *<u>išvaryti vyrą užsikoduoti</u> bet gera krizė gaunasi, tokia tvarkinga*. (.) *išvaryt vyrą, užsikoduoti*.

2.3.48.   ↑nu <u>supranti</u> tenais aš kai ir buvau peržiūroj aš <u>girdėjau</u> kaip jie sako, jie <u>duoda</u> ten tarkim mėnesį laiko ir, surašo ant lapo ką žmogus turi padaryt. >ir ir ten supranti susėdę ten penki kokie specialistai tas žmogus aišku <u>išsigąsta</u> ir jisai pasižada supranti. o paskui kai reikia vykdyti jisai nu, ten kokį vieną ir įvykdo žinai. nu ir <u>nieko</u>, paskui jį spaudžia žinai. (.)< kad turi vykdyti.

2.3.43.   =*and there were situations where you felt that someone had done something similar?* (.4)

2.3.44.   so you see that <u>was</u> because of that as suppose me ((I am)) social worker and there is another social worker elsewhere and:d, so suppose in center of social services ((municipality)) aren't they? and and, and for example there comes any mother of a child and says 'I cannot' she says:s social worker says that suppose 'we have to achieve change <u>within two</u> months' you know. (.) so she thus:s @that ((she)) <u>cannot</u> so make herself that so impetuously you understand something would happen you know. and I realize that this is PRESSURE on the person you know. (.) so I realize that ((they)) <u>are doing the same thing</u> as we do, but he wants you know to do it faster.@ ↓so the person somehow find herself you know in such situation so, in situation so, actually I don't know.] 2.3.43.

2.3.45.   *[so how they for example for me for me somehow I have a how they, how the client perceives the change?*

2.3.46.   so like how she is <u>ordered</u> you understand. for example within <u>two months</u> you have <u>to find</u> a job, <u>attend</u> ((alcoholics)) anonymous, <u>encode against alcohol</u> ((special treatment for the alcohol abuse)), <u>throw</u> husband out of the apparment, there register <u>children</u> at the doctor's. so <u>something</u> like that, so ((they)) <u>set the time</u> you know, and you have to do some things <u>by that time</u> you know. 2.3.45.

2.3.47.   *<u>throw husband ((out of their home)), encode</u> but that is good ((intense)) crisis, so neat*. (.) *throw away the husband, encode*.

2.3.48.   ↑so you <u>understand</u> there when I was there in ((case)) conference I <u>heard</u> how they said it, they <u>gave</u> there suppose a month and, put down on the paper what person had to do. >and and there you understand about five specialist sitting there and that person of course <u>became scared</u> and she undertakes it you understand. so after when ((they)) need to implement so, there any of it and accomplishes you know. so and <u>nothing</u>, afterwards they put pressure on her you know. (.)< that you must to do ((the duty)). 2.3.48.

Another paradox discussed in the extract that makes Justina oppose is disavowed female, wife role which is still an important sphere in any women's life. Expulsion of the man from the family as a parasite, changing job and residence

for women again emphasizes her role of a suppler, denying importance of emotional relations and bonding between family members. Development of relations between family members is not perceived as part of child's welfare. However, in most situations a woman is also blamed for inability to create house and home for children and inability to manage household.

Reading the transcript and changes in voice during the data collection, Justina tries to emphasize the words that carry the meaning of contradiction between intervention process of two agencies: her agency on one hand and municipality agency on the other hand: two months were given to find, to attend, encode, throw, children, something, give term, by that term. Research participant uses the words that imply tasks and terms, thus impossibility to achieve given tasks in particular time, and also sequence of events where agencies confront with each other over the client family. In the second part of the extract research participant points out the woman's helplessness after she faces the influence of municipality's agency, and the research participant takes the side of the client, but again feels the same helplessness as the mother.

Another extract [3.2.194] provides the discussion on the possibilities for social work with the parents at the initial phase of intervention, when the child attends the day care center. Leonas emphasizes that one of the biggest groups he works with is mothers. First contact with parents is made by contract, where day care centers are required to sign documentation with the client families. Research participant emphasizes that it is important for him to sustain collaborative relations with clients. 'Good' relationships form the value for Leonas. Topics which would be important for the social worker to discuss with the parents are related to children education or non-specified topics. According to Leonas, parents should be motivated to come to talk with a social worker. He initiates relationship with the client, an adult parent, and that is the only way for successful social work. This way to have relation with the client as a process is illustrated with the example of a mother who comes to meet social worker quite often, indeed relationship between client and social worker becomes intervention per se.

Leonas [3.2.188] disclosed his opinion about interventive social services for parents, which would aim at change. When talking about social services for parents, the research participant first of all points at the lack of time for development of the helping process. According to Leonas, certain time span is needed in order to establish relationship between social worker and parent. Leonas believes that time is needed for parents to make investigation about the center and professionals, it is important for a social worker to step back and give time for parents to collect responses of other parents independently. This time allows parents create basis for trust in relations with agency workers.

The aim of provided services and entering into clienthood of the family are not clear for Leonas. His talk about establishing relationship between the service provider and receiver is not clear. Quite often his statements or con-

siderations are told as assumptions. He tries to prove that professional relation should evolve naturally without forced interruptions. Research participant waits for the client action by arguing that mutual trust is formed by collected good responses on the children day center. Thus, there is set indirect relationship by event in the children day care center, where parents gather. Relationships between social worker and parents is value at itself, which should be treasured and reached, as being very fragile phenomena. There is expectation that parents would motivate themselves for change and look for social work help. Acceptance of this need for change is what helping process. The research participant does not specify the preferred gender for relationship.

3.2.187.   *bet bet ar ne per mažai paslaugų tėvams?*

3.2.188.   ⁰labai geras klausimas.⁰ (.3) aš sakau vėlgi tam kad galėtum su tėvais vystyti tolesnį darbą visų prima reikia pagauti tą gerą ryšį. (.) o tam reikia laiko. (.2) ↓⁰tam reikia laiko.⁰ ir kartais to laiko neužtenka todėl kad, klientai keičiasi. (.) nu ta šeima tiesiog ne tai kad pabėga, bet jau pakeičia gyvenamą vietą ar ne, ir jos jau nebėra. viskas. 3.2.188.

3.2.189.   *ir tas tas užtrunka? (.) ir nepasitiki jumis?*

3.2.190.   iš pradžių taip. aš negaliu sakyt kad nepasitiki negaliu sakyt, kad pasitiki. ateina jie pirmiausiai taip, (.) na, (.) atsargiai truputėlį išsiklausinėja. kas čia? kaip? (.2) jeigu būna iš anksčiau čia gyvenę ar ne, tarkim centro rajone. yra pažįstami žmonės, ten tarkim kaimynai. gal ten kažką tu girdėjai apie tą dienos centrą, ar kažkas tai tokio. taip po truputėlį. kodėl tas dienos centras nori kad mūsų vaikai ateitų? kodėl jis nori kad mes lankytumėmės jame? nu toks lyg ir apžvalgomasis toks ir po truputėlį vyksta. a:a labai yra faina tarkim pabendrauti su tėvais per kažkokias tai šventes. nes tada susirenka daugiau tėvų, ir jie pabūna tokioj grupelėj, jie tarkim ir neformaliai pasišneka, tarkim be socialinio darbuotojo, ar tai atvykstant ar tai išvykstant. (.) va ir, nu po truputėlį užsimezga toki santykiai. (.) kartais ir tėveliai vyksta su mumis tarkim į keliones. (.) nu kur nors netoli mes ten kažkur tai ar mieste, Kaune, vyksta. ar ne kaip aš minėjau ten gatvės piešimo akcijos. va:a ateina dar tėvai ten. 3.2.190.

3.2.191.   *bet tai vyksta viskas po truputį, žingsnelis po žingsnelio?*

3.2.192.   taip. iš tikrųjų tai jo, po truputėlį žinokit. nes (.2) ta tokia staigi intervencija visų pirma tu taip staigiai ir ne nepamatysi visų problemų kurios, kurios yra toj šeimoj. tu gali matyt tas išorines. o vidinių, dėl ko ten tarkim (.) geria ar ne, dėl ko su tais vaikais blogi santykiai,

3.2.187.   *but isn't there too little services for parents?*

3.2.188.   ⁰very good question.⁰ (.3) I say again in order for you to develop further work with parents develop further work first of all there is need to catch that good relation. (.) and that requires time. (.2) ↓⁰that needs time.⁰ and sometimes that time is missed because, clients are changing. (.) that family just not that they run, but already change their residence don't they, and that is absent. that's all. 3.2.188.

3.2.189.   *and does that take long? (.) and ((they)) do not trust you?*

3.2.190.   at first yes. I cannot say that ((they)) do not trust I cannot say that they do trust. they come at first yes, (.) so, (.) slightly carefully ask questions. what is it? how? (.2) if they used to live here earlier or not, suppose in ((name of certain town district)) district. there are acquaintances, there for exmaple neighbours. maybe there you heard something about that day care center, or something like this. so little by little. why this children day care center wants our children to come? why it wants for us to come to it? so such kind of reviewing and little by little happens. a:a it is very nice supposing to talk with parents during some festivals. because more parents gather, and they stay in such small groups, they informaly talk to each other, supposing without ((presence)) of a social worker, or when the worker comes and goes. (.) so and, so little by little relationships are established. (.) sometimes parents also go on trips with us. (.) so somewhere nearby we there somewhere so or in the town, X ((name of the town)), take part. don't they as I mentioned there are campaigns of street drawings. so:o parents come there as well. 3.2.190.

3.2.191.   *but all that happens little by little, bit by bit?*

3.2.192.   yes. actually that is yes, little by little you know. because (.2) such sudden intervention first of all you so out of sudden and you will

arba ko tų pinigų nėra. hh tu matai kad taip yra, bet kodėl taip yra taip greit neišsiaiškinsi. (.) dėl to po truputėlį viskas, taip žingsnis po žingsnio, ir galų gale jeigu staigią intervenciją kažkokią taikysi numatęs tik tai tą išorinę problemą. tai kaip jūs ir minėjot gali prarast tą šeimą dėl staigios intervencijos. 3.2.192.

3.2.193. *nedarot jūs kažkokių specialių žingsnių tam kad užmegzt ta kontaktą? nu ta prasme, (.) planuojat- nu daugiau planuojant?=* 3.2.193.

3.2.194. =aha nes turim apsirašę sutartis. (.) kaip ateina vaikai tai ten yra priėmimo į dienos centrą dokumentai ir, ir ir aš turiu tokią formą nustatęs su tėvais, kad mes pasirašom lyg tai tokią ir bendradarbiavimo susitarimą kad ten, (.3) kas kažkiek tai laiko, šitie vaikų tėveliai lankysis dienos centre, ten tarkim ar tai vaiko kažkokias auklėjimo klausimais, ar jiem iškylančiom kažkiom tai situacijom aptart. (.) ir dažniausiai na:a kitą kartą ten užmiršta ar ne, tai tada ten, paragini kad nu mes lyg ir buvom susitarę ar ne, kad būtų labai malonu pasimatyt galėtume pasišnekėt. tai jo kitą kartą tai tėvai netgi savanorškai ateina pasišnekėt, yra viena mama kuri taip tiesa sakant net nereikia kviest. nu vat ateina pasišnekėt apie vaikus. ir ir nu tikrai jau yra stiprus ryšys su ta šeima nes, realiai pati šeima jau tampa motyvuota jinai ateit po truputėlį. (.) va tai, mes to ir siekiam. tiesą sakant kad turėtumėm tokius, glaudžius ryšius.] 3.2.194.

not see all the problems in that family. you can see those external ones. and for the internal, what's why there supposing (.) drinks don't they, that's why there are bad relationships with those children, or why or why there is lack of the money. hh you see that ((situation)) is such, but you don't get quickly why is that so. (.) that's why little by little, so step by step, and if eventually you apply sudden intervention predicting just only that external problem. so and as you have said you can lose family because of the immediate intervention. 3.2.192.

3.2.193. *don't you do any special steps in order to set that relationship? so in that sense, (.) by plan-more planning?=* 3.2.193.

3.2.194. =yep we have signed the contracts. (.) when children are coming so there are admission documents to day care center and, and and I have such form settled with parents that we sign as a certain agreement for collaboration that there, (.3) every some time, the children's parents would attend day care center, there supposing for discussion of some kind of child's upbringing siuation or somewhat situation they face. (.) and generally so:o next time ((they)) forget don't they, there is need to urged that we kind of agreed didn't we, that it would be nice to meet we could talk. so yes next time so parents even voluntarily come to talk, there is one mother who in fact does not even need to be invited. so ((she)) comes to talk about children. and and actually there is already strong relationship with that family because, realistically that the family on its own becomes motivated to come little by little. (.) so that, we seek that. to be honest in order to have such close relationships.] 3.2.194.

However, there is relationship with one mother naturally initiated by the mother that he referres to. A boy's mother was coming to day care center specifically for the relationship. In the described situation, research participant had no specified and professionally identified activities with adult family member. For Leonas, showing interest in child's issues signalled the achieved trust and understanding. Child's interests are the object of the communication between a social worker and a professional. Entering into private family life is highly restricted for the research participant, thus intervention into the adult's life is impossible.

Reading the extract there is feeling that the research participant lacks actual practice and experience in helping process with parents, so he tries to talk about it by supposing situations and obstacles for the starting of helping relationship. Research participant talks from general understanding disclosing the situations which would need intervention. Leonas tells that alcohol abuse is the main issue for the family which leads to troubled parent-child relationship. Interesting to notice is that according to Leonas, the main issues of this relationship are children's reaction. Finally, alcohol use leads to family poverty. During the

interview there was feeling that Leonas was behaving as if he was at an exam, where all answers had to be positive. The way he was talking led me to thinking that he was trying to find reasonable excuses for having no stories of helping with parents. Children as the main client goup is so in need for the facility that one could feel precaution to display obstacles of child's wellbeing that make a family become a recipient of social work services.

Joana and Leonas have common understanding about the mission of the children day care center. This understanding of social work services purpose Geeraert, Noorgate, Grietens et al. (2004, p. 278) presenting meta-analysis of early prevention programs for families with young children presents prevention as process on different levels: *primary prevention* (prevention at universal level) includes all efforts targeted at population in general that address the underlying societal causes of child maltreatment. Authors present such examples as violence, approval of corporal punishment as a form of discipline, poverty. *Secondary prevention* (at the selective level) focuses on specific groups identified as being at risk of maltreatment and attempts to decrease the influence of risk factors. Authors present the causes for social work services, such as poor parenting, social isolation, parental personality problems. *Tertiary prevention* (at the indicated level) includes strategies targeted at groups, in which child maltreatment has already occurred. Its major aims are to stop maltreatment and to minimize the negative consequences on the child, the family and the society.

In extract [1.3.14] Joana tries to describe the type of services children day care center provides and the challenges faced by social workers. On one hand, this extract provides more declarative message about importance of services which would be obtained by an active client able to solve issues on their own, emphasizing the psychosocial aspect of help. At first glance, it could seem that psychological and social aspects are obvious considering the client situation. Indeed, these are incoming ideas in service provision and they have no experience to be told by research participant. Therefore, Joana tries to prove the importance of the relation with parents providing social services for them.

1.3.13.   *kaip jūs manot kaip tą konkrečiai o galima būtų siekt pavyzdžiui?* (.) *ar tai turėtų būt šalia* programos *kažkokios?, ar tai būti ir kokios jos?* 1.3.13.

1.3.14. ^{0}nu aš manau kad^0, (.) turėtų būt, ↑turėtų būt visų pirma kažkokia tai, (.) >aš nežinau, aš vis vien vis vien turėtų būti kažkokia tai išdirbta irgi bendra strategija (.) šitam dalykui. ir programos ir ir kurios, (.) nu aišku čia yra tos tos dabar kol kas tai tikrai (.)< tikrai daroma kaip, kaip pasakyt, kaip infekcijos kurios tiktai gelbsti. (.) kurios gelbsti tą situaciją, tam kad visiškai blogai nebūtų. (.) bet aš manyčiau kad, < kad iš tikrųjų žiūrėt ir ir ir kad tai būtų, (.) kaip čia pasakius, >tos programos daugiau daugiau< (.) ne tiek, (.) kiek sakykim (.) ne tiek sakykim tos,

1.3.13.   *what you think how that could be specifically or how it could be carried out for example?* (.) *does that have to be close to some* program*?, or that would be and of what kind are they?* 1.3.13.

1.3.14. ^{0}so I think that^0, (.) there should be, ↑there should be first of all somewhat, (.) >I don't know, I nevertheless there should be somewhat worked-out also common strategy (.) for this matter. and programs and and which, (.) so of course here are those those now for a while for sure (.)< for sure it has been done how, how to say, similar to infections which only rescue. (.) which rescue that situation, for it not be absolutely bad. (.) but I suppose that,< that actually look and and and that it would be, (.) how to describe it,

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>aišku ir inetervencinės bet bet kažkokia kaip prevncija būtų daroma tam visam dalykui. (.) ir ir darbui su šeimom, (.) sakykim gal daugiau tiktų toks modelis labiau bendradarbiaujant su, su tais žmonėmis. ne tiktai duodant lėkštę sriubos bet, ir, bet ir juos įtraukiant į kažkokią veiklą. į į į tą veiklą kuri juos labiau sudomintų. (.) žodžiu tokią kaip savotiška būtų. >arba arba sakykim tokiu atveju arba kaip savotiška kaip kaip kaip gydymo terapija. bet (.) bet tų (.) bendravimo nes. iš tikrųjų kaip kaip kaip sakykim tenka matyti daugeliu a:at-, daugeliu atvejų yra to bendradarbiavimo stoka, (.) nes iš tikrųjų kiek, kiek sakykim, (.) dabar kai kai matai kiek kiek tenka kalbėt ir ir ir su tom šeimom, su mamom, tėvais tai dažniausiai jie mato, (.) tą tą kaip pagalbą kaip sakykim, tą >ateinu, kai reikia konkrečiai kažko:o (.) na vat išspręst kažkokią tai sakykim ten ar ar kažkokią tai problemą.< (.) bet bet, (.) bet tą problemą kuri iš tikrųjų nėra giluminė problema. (.) nes pavyzdžiui jeigu žmogus tikrai blogai jaučiasi, (.) sako blogai jaučiasi nėra ten su kuo pasišnekėt, ir kam aš esu reikalingas, kam rūpi mano bėdos (.) ir ir tikrai vat sakau, o ir ką? ir lieki pats su savo savo bėda, su savo savo savo tuo skausmu, o tada eini į tas orga-, eini sakykim į įstaigą tam kad konkrečiai ką turi. dokumentą parašyt, jeigu ten pašalpą kažkokią, (.) ar ką. nes nes nes ir jų (.) toksdabartinis tas požiūris yra kad, kad tos organizacijos yra reikalingos tam kad padėt sutvarkyt kažkokią tai materialinį dalyką. (.) kažkokį tai įstatyminį dalyką. (.) bet kad padėtų (.) pačiam išeit iš ten iš savo iš savo problemų, arba padėt galų gale. ne tik išeit, bet padėt pačiam suvokt tas problemas ir paskui ieškot kažkokių išeities taškų. aš galvoju kad gal gal būt daugiau vat vat tokio va ir tokio kad, būtų modelio. 1.3.14.

>those programs more more < (.) not that much, (.) as suppose (.) not that much suppose those, >of course and interventional but but somewhat as prevention should be done for this whole matter. (.) and and for work with families, (.) suppose such model would be more suitable by collaborating with, with those people. not only by giving a plate of soup but, and, but involving them into some activity. into into into into that activity which would immerse them. (.) to put it simply in that as odd would be. >or or suppose in such case as odd as as as treatment therapy. but (.) but those (.) communication because. actually as as as suppose you happens to see in most c:ca-((cases)), in most cases there is that lack of collaboration, (.) as actually how, how suppose, (.) now when when you see how how you happen to speak and and and with those families, with mothers, parents so largely they see, (.) that that as help as suppose, that >I come, when there is need for something:g specifically (.) well to solve somewhat that suppose there or or somewhat a problem.< (.) but but, (.) but that problem which is not deep problem. (.) as for example if human feels really bad, (.) says that feels bad there is no one to talk to, and who needs me, who cares about my problems (.) and and for sure then I say, so and what? and stay alone with own with own problems, with this own own own suffering, and the you go to those orga-, you go suppose to those agencies for that to solve particular ((issue)) which you have. to write a document , if there is allowance somewhat, (.) or so. as as as and they (.) have such current that attitude is that, that those organisations are necessary for that they would help solve somewhat material matter. (.) somewhat legal matter. (.) but that would help (.) to escape on their own from own problems, or would help at the end. not only to go out, but help on one's own to realise those problems and look afterwards somewhat baseline. I am thinking that maybe maybe more such such that and that, there would be such model. 1.3.14.

Thus Joana's extract reveals the amazing discovery of the meaning of relationship in the helping process. It takes quite a lot of time for the research participant to make up her mind what is important for helping the parents. She mentions several aspects important for helping process, such as collaboration between agencies or active client in helping process. According to Joana, in collaboration process between social worker providing help, there is the obstacle in initiation is client's orientation towards material and financial support. Research participant gives responsibility for the adult client to initiate of the helping process. In response to the request, social worker enters to relation with the client to help. Joana would prefer that help requested by client also covered psychosocial issues which the client would like to share with social worker. Social worker in those cases would listen and advise the client; therefore, she

prefers taking the role of a passive advisor in helping process. Joana's disappointment is that parents come to ask for financial support and not for assistance in changing their understanding and lifestyle. Changing lifestyle would be the option for long-lasting result of the helping process.

Another aspect considered in the extract is client's involvement into activity which would interest the client. Research participant mentions dimensions which could give option for collaboration with parents who in fact have no clear strategy what kind of issues should be solved. Treatment therapy, feeling bad, suffering can be related not just to person's psychological crisis, but more to the symptoms of physical illness and its treatment. Thus, it could be suggested that there is lack of professional habitus in recognizing and solving individual's psychosocial problems, creating empty spaces or terra incognita for interaction between social worker and adult client – parent.

As already mentioned, during the Soviet time support was focused on material or financial support, as there were no social issues or issues with relations between citizens of the Soviet Union. Eliminated psychosocial aspects of family issues were treated as individual's immoral behavior. Immoral behavior brings guilt to the helping situation which both parents and social workers, thus both of the actors in the relation, try to avoid or escape from.

Justina was trying to describe the process of establishing the helping relationship with the client family in the extract [2.1.136]. Research participant describe it as self-contained process. Justina characterizes her role in this process as a passive listener. The issue bringing the family to children day care center is divorce crisis and severe alcohol abuse. The mother is a referee searching for help. The woman first found a listener in the research participant, as she was speaking out her mind to the social worker. At certain point she realized that her situation had no sense, then she tried to implement change. The change which was achieved by her was that both parents were registered with the Labor Exchange and became legally unemployed. Mother's jobbing was also considered as a family issue. As husband was drinking, mother was thinking about the possibility of divorce. However, considering the need for change she also changed relationship with husband. The outcome of the change was newborn child in the family. Mother also decided to stop drinking alcohol during pregnancy and, according to the research participant, she kept sober lifestyle afterwards. For Justina it was also important that family had stable income, i.e. allowances, in order to maintain children's needs. The change achieved by the woman changed understanding of the situation she was in. The research participant observes changes in the family together with changes in child's behavior during his stay at the children day care center. Girl's aggressive behaviour towards other children and the professionals was the greatest issue, which was replaces together with tension within the family. However, throughout the case, the man in the family remained as a passive family member, whose decision did not influence family situation. Justina does not question his involvement as part of the

family changes. The changes were implemented outside him. Man again became an outsider in family matters, and his only recognized role is the reproducer.

Research participants also were telling about attempts to involve parents into groups for development of parental skills. According to the research participants, these groups are different in every facility, each having different aims and means to involve parents into these groups. These groups vary from self-help to educational aims. Reading the text I understood that the structure and aim of these groups are closely related to the research participant's attitude towards client's construction. Moreover, implementation of these groups reveals understanding of social work as helping profession. Joana does not mention implementation of group method to work with parents, and Leonas has plan of establishing such groups. Indeed, these groups for parents have different aim, structure and means to involve parents into the groups. The groups vary from self-help to parent skill education.

Justina [2.1.215] organizes groups aimed at self-help for the client. One of the reasons she names as the consequence is her lack of parenting experience, because she is a nun. Thus, she creates the facility where mainly mothers participate in order to share experience and gain practical knowledge. Research participant is applying experience of each mother and helps them look for resort. That creates special attitude about the mother as a service recipient and user. Issues faced by families originate not only from lack of personal will or even deviant morality, but also from lack of resources, knowledge and skills to deal with unwanted family situation. Justina combines subjective and objective aspects of family issues.

2.1.213. *suprantu. (.) ir tada kaip tu, (.) aš galvoju nu (.) kada tau yra pavyzdžiui sėkmingas atvejis? (.) kada tu jautiesi kad nu<...> 2.1.213.*

2.1.214. iš tikrųjų aš geriausiai tai aš skaitau kad tada kai bendradarbiauja žinai tėvai. kai jie patys kažką tai stengiasi daryt žinai. ir jiem nu ta prasme ne tik tu vaiku rūpinies, bet ir jie kažką daro dėl vaiko ir dėl savęs žinai. tai man tai yra nu didžiausias pasiekimas žinai, kai jie eina į kontaktą ir patys žinai bendradarbiaut bando.] *2.1.214.*

2.1.215. *[po kiek laiko tas įvyksta?*

2.1.216. ne tai kad aš turiu jų ieškot. (.3) nu nežinau gal po kokių::ų su kuriuo gal kažkaip skirtingai žinai, nes yra vieni kad jau po kelių mėnesių:ų aiškiai matosi kad yra linkę į kontaktą žinai. nu po kokių pusės metų tai jau matosi žinai. (.) tie patys dabar kurie eina į kontaktą žinai. [0]bet tai žinai yra tokių kurie visai neina[0]. ir pas mus dar yra ta grupelė kas dvi savaites tai kas pasilieka grupelėj irgi pasijaučia žinai kad labai gerai jiem. *2.1.216.*

2.1.217. *koks tas tos tavo grupelės tikslas?*

2.1.218. nu kaip ir savitarpio pagalbos žinai ten informacija maždaug pasidalint, bet iš esmės tai:i jie tarpusavyje žinai pasidalina savo problemom

2.1.213. *I understand. (.) and when how you, (.) I am thinking so (.) when there for you is for example successful case? (.) when you feel that so<...> 2.1.213.*

2.1.214. actually I suppose that the best is when so parents are collaborating parents you know. when they make attempts to achieve you know. and for them in that sense not only you care about the child, but also they do something for the child and for themselves you know. for me is the that is the greatest achievement you know, when they go into the contact and themselves you know they try to collaborate.] *2.1.214.*

2.1.215. *[how much time is needed for it to happen?*

2.1.216. it's not that I am the one who has to look for them. (.3) so I don't know maybe after somewhat::t with whom maybe somewhat different you know, as ones are already after several months clearly show that they are inclined to contact you know. so after half year that is already visible you know. (.) the same who now goes into contact you know. [0]but there are you know those who do not come at all[0]. and we have the group every second week so who stays in the group also appreciates you know ((that this is)) very good for them. *2.1.216.*

ten savo ką jie žino, ką jie pasiekė kaip ten kokioj įstaigoj kokie žinai kokios plonybės kad ten žinai kažką padaryti. bet iš esmės kaip aš sakau kad jie:e <u>išsikalba</u> vieni su kitais žinai, nes vis tiek žinai kai kalbasi daugiavaikė mama su daugiavaike tai jai jau nei ji kalbasi su manim kai aš neturiu vaikų žinai. nu vis tiek <u>jai kažkaip</u> kitaip turėjo žinai. man tai kažkaip <u>savitarpio pagalba</u> ten žinai labai, toks žinai kvepia dalykas. (.) ir labai labai gerai pasijautė kad tie kurie eina <u>į grupelę</u> pradėjo, labai su manim irgi su manim labai geri santykiai pasidarė. ⁰bet aišku yra tie kurie neina žinai.⁰ *2.1.218.*

2.1.219.   *kiek jų yra, kurie nu <...>*

2.1.220.   tai <u>eina tie</u> kurie stengiasi kažką daryt. šeši penki žinai.

2.1.221.   *ir tėvai ar mamos?*

2.1.222.   mamos. buvo:o palauk, buvo vienas vaikas kur ateidavo ir tėtis, bet jis jau išėjęs iš dienos centro nes <...> jo vieno žinau kad yra tėtis žinai. *2.1.222.*

2.1.217.   *what is the aim of your group?*

2.1.218.   kind of self <u>help</u> you know there supposing share information, but basically so:o they among themselves share their problems their own what they know what they got in somewhat agency what you know are thin aspects of that to get there you know something. but basically how I say that they:y <u>speak out</u> ((their comprehensions)) to each other you know, because you know when a mother of big family talks to ((mother of)) big family that is not the same like she talks to me when I have no children you know. so still <u>for her somewhat</u> different ((she)) you know. for me somehow <u>self-help</u> there you know very, such thing you know feels. (.) and very very clear feeling that those who begin attending the <u>group</u>, very with me also became in very good relationship with me. ⁰but of course there are those who don't come you know.⁰ *2.1.218.*

2.1.219.   *how many of them are there, who so <...>*

2.1.220.   so there <u>come those</u> who attempt to do something. six or five you know,

2.1.221.   *and fathers or mothers?*

2.1.222.   mothers. was:s wait, there was one child whose father also came, but he is already out of day care center as <...> yes one I know that is father you know. *2.1.222.*

Justina points out that the aim of helping process for her is the process which aims at overcoming child's abandonment and improving parent's situation. According to the research participant, in those families where a parent has interest to change own situation, the potential to develop collaborative and mutual relationship with social worker appears. Justina, same as Leonas and Joana, emphasizes importance of relationship that she calls the 'contact'. Research participant also has the wish to have relationship facilitated by collaboration. Similarly, Justina emphasizes the importance of time over establishment of relationship with a client.

On the other hand, Joana uses meetings of the parent groups for more focused and controlled sharing of experience. This is controlled sharing of information about possibilities to find and use required resources for family maintainance. Sharing also includes experience of being a welfare recipient, big family. Self-help groups consider the reality of powerlessness and hopelessness of poor families. Mutual help which appears in the group setting also helps Justina in individual work with a family for the relationship to evolve. However, Justina does not recognise her input into the group work. According to the research participant, the self-help group atmosphere comes out as natural, but not contructed and controlled aspect of involvement of a social worker.

Justina's disappointment is related to unconcerned families in involvement into these groups. This is indicated by suddenly quieter speech of Justina when

naming the issue. During the interview, there were 14 families at the children day care center, only 6–5 families were participating in these group activities. The reasons to discuss this extract in this chapter are that it is mostly mothers who participate in the groups. There was one father during the self-help group history. However, that was an exceptional case, when the girl was send to children day care center not because of the family status, but because of her disruptive behaviour [2.1.42]. In that exceptional case, both parents were involved into helping process with the social worker.

Other research participants' group work focuses more on education of parental role, and not on overcoming poverty and social exclusion of families. In parenting skill learning groups, a social worker is a leader for members of the groups, and rarely a supporter.

Leonas has already talked [3.2.88] about the importance for creating organisational facilities and situation for metting. He finds group work as an effective way of working with parents. At the same time, he again raves on appearing or naturally unfolding relationships with mothers. He has not specified any stories of group work with parents.

Kristina and Indrė do not specify the process or effect of the group process. They focus on the group topics which are the most important for them. Such topics are social work professional's role in improving parenting skills – they bring the information the parents lack. Knowledge itself would change parent – child interaction, thus improve child's wellbeing in the family.

During the first interview minutes Kristina was talking about the groups which are established in the facility for parents. Starting point was specification of individual work with a mother whose girls attend the activities of children day care center; however, the mother has issues with interacting with the children. According to the research participant, this troubled interaction led to children's problematic relations and behavior at school and in the children day care center.

In her story Kristina starts with group work and defines the content of the group work. Her task is teaching the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behavior. That is learning decent language words during interaction with children. Research participant does not describe group members, and just accentuates the topics which are acceptable for the parents coming to the group meetings. However, she does not make any link to the deeper issues within the family. Kristina also emphasizes the importace of creating informal atmosphere during the group meetings. She also notes that participation in the group is optional. Short break in the speech describing that activities are unforced might indicate how important it is for the research participant to create specific setting. Description of the group meeting does not indicate emphatic, reflective and understanding relationship, as the activities of the group are structured beforehand. Nevertheless, Kristina tries to avoid formalities in the group setting. Research participant also accentuates the possibility

that parents have to express their needs and expectations to the topics social worker should prepare for.

5.1.11.   *ar ir.ir ką jūs darot tai, nu kaip jūs padedat tai šeima?i ką jūs kaip dienos centras, ką jūs darot?*

5.1.11.   *if and, and what do you do for that, so how do you help that family? what you as children day care center, what do you do?*

5.1.12.   kaip dienos centras tai:i, teikiam:m, mama lanko tėvystės įgūdžių būrelį. ((kažkas įeina, atsiprašo)) tėvystės įgūdžių būrelį. ((užsidaro durys))= 5.1.12.

5.1.12.   as children day care center so:o, we provide, mother attends the circle of the parenting skills. ((someone enters, apologizes)) circle of parenting skills. ((the door closes))= 5.1.12.

5.1.13.   *=o ką jūs ten darot?*

5.1.13.   *=and what do you do there?*

5.1.14.   tai yra:a įvairiom temelėm pravedami užsiėmimai. kad a:a tarkim:m <u>žodžių</u> galia pavyzdžiui buvo toks užsiėmimas, kada tėveliai buvo (.) neverčiami bet pasižiūrėti kokius žodžius jie naudoja, buvo ir sąrašas sakomi paprasčiausiai žodžiai, ir kad tėveliai pasižiūrėtų kaip dažnai jie tuos žodžius vartoja. tiek ir <u>keiksmažodžius</u>, tiek ir apie <u>save</u>, įvarius žodžius apibūdinančius. ir va tada iš to yra daromos įvairios išvados, (.) su tėveliais diskusijos vyksta, (.) ir būreliai būna ir vaikų auklėjimo klausimais. tai yra <u>tokiais</u>, (.) kas yra aktualu patiems tėvams. nes ir tėvai pasako, mes norim va daugiau informacijos apie tą apie tą.] 5.1.14

5.1.14.   so that is:s activities on different topics. that a:a suppose:e the power of <u>words</u> for example there was such activity, when parents were (.) not forced but to look what words they are using, there was also a list given with simple words they use for the parents to see how often they use those words. that much and <u>swear-words</u>, that much about <u>themselves</u>, different descriptive words. and so on then different conclusions are made, (.) there is discussion with parents, (.) and circles are also held on the topics about child's upbringing. that is <u>such</u>, (.) what is relevant for the parents themselves. because parents also say, so we want more information on that on that.] 5.1.14

5.1.15.   *[mhm tai jie tada yra daugiau mažiau suinteresuoti.=*

5.1.15.   *[mhm so then they are more interested.=*

5.1.16.   =jo.

5.1.16.   =yes.

5.1.17.   *pas jus daugiausiai mamytės ar tėveliai?=*

5.1.17.   *are there more mothers or fathers with you?=*

5.1.18.   =mamytės dažniausiai ateina.

5.1.18.   =mommies are coming more often.

Kristina names group work with parents using very specific word 'būrelis' (*circle)*. 'Būrelis' is usually an activity of informal extracurricular informal education for pupils. During the Soviet perdiod this word was used for to name meetings of the informal interest groups. This word also indicates informal involvement into social activities or informal learning. That also designates open group work, where process is not used as tool for implementing change in the family. Activities described by Kristina include lectures and practical tasks for self-evaluation. Interesting to notice that research participant provides detailed description of her part or input into one group meeting. Group work with parents in this facility is controlled by social workers, focusing on clear topics and group members' expectations. There are no requirements or expected achievements listed for the group meetings. Research participants tend to accommodate to the needs of parents rather than follow certain formed program. Group tends to have informal education. I was trying to find research on parenting skill groups conducted in Lithuania, which in fact could not be found. Most of them focus on content, and none analyses the experience.

When Kristina talks about group work, she uses dimimutive words that have the effect to diminish or mitigate a specified object. Diminishing words are used in this case to describe single group meeting and group participants – parents, the group itself. Research participant also notices that fathers' participation is exception rather than norm in provision of social services for families. She also does not describe development of relationship with the parent figure by applying the group method.

Fairly similar setting of social work utilizing group work with parents is described by Indrė [4.2.322]. The effect of the group work she describes is parents' attendance in the groups. Group meetings take place every Wednesday in small groups with 3–4 attendants on average. While topics contentrate on children upbringing, Indrė tries to remember about other topics which were brought up. She has also made a booklet on child care. Research participant tries to emphasize that during the meetings she tries to raise questions that are relevant for the parents. However, the group meeting is not so strictly structured to provide information and practical advice; the meetings focus on child care, avoiding the topic of 'family'. The research participant does not specify changes in relatonsip with the mother after the group meetings. There is still lack of detailed experience of professional role in the group.

Indrė describes group work as activity of the setting solely dedicated for mothers. Mothers themselves, according research participant, displace fathers from children day care center activities. Group work with parents, or actually with mothers, also reveals the specifics of activities performed by research participant. Mothers attending the groupwork live in separate establishment next-door to the children day care center. This establishment aims at providing shelter for homeless mothers or mothers suffering from spousal violence. Thus, participation of men in the group can be tricky for the group dynamics. Mothers who live outside the establishment are not involved into the group work at such level. There are 28 children from 9 families in this child day care center [4.1.199]. Thus, 1/3 of all families with the status of service user are involved in the group activities.

In her story, Indrė combines group meetings with an excursion where mothers go outside the town together with their children and children of the center. Similar to the other research participant, construction of the informal atmosphere during the group meetings is a crucial aspect for Indrė. Indrė names group of parenting skill meetings as 'užsiėmimai' (*activities*). This definition refers to informal group activity, emphasizing importance the content meeting, excluding group dynamics and relations between group members from the subject of concern. Indrė again focuses on content of the single meeting, than on the changes of relations. That allows establishing more open relationship with group members, as they get involved into more than one organised activity of the setting. Parents who are not so actively involved into activities of the children day care center are more exposed to risk. There is possibility that

they may become outsiders, excluded from the helping process, especially from the parenting skill group. As with more experience outside the group meetings, this group has own dynamics and becomes closed, unwilling to accept newcomers. Social worker has important role at this moment. It is the professional who includes non-participative parents into the group dynamics.

Group work with parents is comprised of the activities which help research participants improve at least the child's wellbeing, and at the best – to overcome family's social and economical exclusion. Parenting skill groups are established by initiative of social workers, and they are not obligatory in the National progrom for children day care centers, thus it allows avoiding formality and prefunctional accomplishment of tasks. However, the fact that groups involve women only, and the groups are most likely to unfold their position to understanding of childcare that helping process reveals only one side of the child's development. Nevertheless, there is an assumption that only mothers experience failures in the childcare.

The relationship between professional social worker and family as a service user is just appearing in the family social work. Only Justina utilizes group dynamics for evolving relationship with mother. Performing case work or group work, research participants miss the mutual and understanding relationship, which would promote change in the efforts of the family, and directive support of professional social worker. I tried to look for descriptions which would define the understanding of relationship in the field of social work. I found two definitions, which in my understanding would help realise what research participant's desire. Campton and Galaway (2005) define the relationship as including seven elements:

- Concern for clients;
- Commitment to and acceptance of obligations;
- Acceptance of client as person (as distant from their actions);
- Expectations or belief that people can change;
- Empathy or understanding of client's feelings and point of view;
- Genuineness and congruence (or openness and consistency);
- Appropriate use of authority and power.

Trooter (2006, 32) defines relationship as incorporating interpersonal skills, such as empathy and reflective listening, self-disclosure, use of humor and optimism. It is important to take into account that both definitions accentuate interpersonal abilities of social worker to construct the required helping relationship with the client. However, in most of the told cases, research participants wait for the client to initiate collaborative relationship and ask for help. They recognise this plea for help as motivation for change. One of the insights is that social work as profession has no *habitus* of the helping relationship. Thus,

professional connection with adult family member is laying the foundations for the expertise.

It has also been noticed that research participants concentrate on financial support and material issues of the family, but not on their significant role for development of the child as personality, issues of relations. It also must be noticed that lack of understanding on interpersonal interaction also triggers understanding of nature of the issues that lead the family to the status of a client. The issues the family faces can be understood as combination of individual problems and social and economical arrangements that lead to exclusion and poverty of the single family. Helping process focused on understanding defects of an individual parent turns to stereotypes and client blaming strategy.

Madison (1969, 64) explained that the Soviet Government adhered to the position that all mental processes are based on psychological processes in the brain. The most what was admitted in the Soviet Union was failure to appreciate the significance of the Pavlovian concepts of excitation and inhibition, which led the Soviet psychology to deny or misunderstand the role of the unconscious in psychic life. Unconscious motivation was interpreted in terms of Pavolv's view of conscious behavior as higher nervous activity. Soviet psychology denied Freud teaching accusing him for neglecting the social nature of affects by viewing them as the result of biologically determined drives. Psychoanalysis was regarded as one of the most reactionary manifestations for modern bourgeois ideology: in emphasizing the individual factors in unhappiness and psychic problems it distracted people's attention from the contradictions that were the basis of class struggle.

Sutton (1983, 195) pointed out that consciousness in the Soviet Union was perceived as having biological base, which is social in content. It is interesting to note that there was the parallel made in Pavlovian understanding of mental development between human and animal. The straightforwardness of Governmental attitude did not create possibilities for research and consideration to separate different categories of human mental development. Consequently, according Pavlovian understanding, behaviour of animals depends directly on inherited, biologically fixed experiences, consolidated in unconditional reflexes, or upon own individual experiences of the animal. Human beings share those lower-order influences but also experience indirect form of learning. An overriding or leading role in determining the structure and content of human of the organization of matter from the moment of birth the infant experience is always mediated through relationships with adults, both as a form of social intercourse and as a transmitter of culture, in mediation of speech. The nature of the child's social intercourse, in particular speech, means that the experience is not solely the world's actual properties, propensities and relationships (as in Pavlov's first – signal system, on which animal learning depends), but also properties, propensities and relationships that are detached from actual objects and experiences, and meanings (Pavlov's second – signal system).

Therefore, the value of conditioned response is not in interpreting social behavior biologically, but in modifying biological behavior socially. Our mental characteristic has only indirect or mediated dependence on biological inheritance. Focusing just on biological aspects of human understanding, provision of information has the helping power. The client has two ways to react to the provided information of social worker – on one side, reacting to the provided information in excitation by accepting and changing behavior accordingly; on the other side, there is option for the client to react with inhibition to the received information, which would be rejected without changing the client's unwanted behavior. Therefore, Joana unconsciously searches for the role of consultant to use relation as instrument for helping process, which is unclear, unlimited in relation to adult client.

This has made me realize what the basis for this material attitude is towards the issues and the lack of clearness in relation to psychological and social aspects of the issue and interpersonality in the helping process. One of the aspects is that in the Soviet Union there was not only the denial of social problems in the Soviet society, but also the attitude that the Communist government created harmonious conditions for the society and each individual, and the consciousness of individuals lagged behind those changes.

Sutton (1983, 194) analyzing the understanding of developmental psychology in the Soviet Union pointed out that materialist, dialectical, consistent with Marx's socio-historical principle human mental characteristics were formed in the process of historical and social development. It was materialist in that is found mental processes strictly as brain activity, rejecting dualistic separation of psychological from physiological processes. At the same time it denied that human abilities, traits and voluntary actions, logical memory were 'natural', innate properties of the brain. It asserted that they brought out dialectical interaction of the child and its social world of adults in which it acquired and internalized humanity's collective experience to create qualitatively new mental structures of human thinking.

Another important aspect of intervention is that communication or provision of the information between social worker and client has always a formative character and power to change behavior. It can be assumed that social workers avoid unsuccessful interventions, considering that there is no unconscious avoidance from both actors, and thus client does not react to the stimulus the social worker makes. Professional worker can be blamed for creating stimuli that are not strong enough to make the client change the choice of lifestyle. Thus, it is important to observe that research participants focus on children's upringing in group work and during individual work with mothers. Sharing information, providing practical tasks, and unrevealed expectations for consequences obtain after series of group meetings it remind more on concentrating attention on the construction of stimuli which should promote change in behaviour of the mother. However, taking into account that children day care centers belongs

to child protection system, education of parenting skills is not adequate means for overcoming issues inside the family and looking for ways out from family's social exclusion.

Justina implements group work as means allowing applying each mother's experience and looking for resort from the situations. This creates special attitude for mother as a service user. According to the interview, issues faced by families originate from lack of knowledge about possible alternative resources that could help overcome issues.

Joana has stories about the helping process which have already been discussed in previous chapter. Her main concern is helping the mother to overcome family poverty by finding a job and supporting mother to keep employment [1.1.26]. The helping process in case of mother's alcohol consumption is concentrated on recognizing and accepting the issue. Joana is quite distant from avoidant mothers [1.3.32]. However, according to the stories of open entry into relationships [1.1.50], she initiates the relationship with client families and especially with mothers.

Another issue for development of social work with families is simplifying child development to fulfilment of basic physical needs and requirents of education system. Mother is a significant person for the child, however she is required to fulfill thecertain tasks: financial maintainace of the basic needs, and exhibit normal behaviour that the child fits to education system. Research participants emphasize on spending most of the time focusing on individual work with mothers.

8. REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Social work as helping profession made tremendous changes during the last 20 years. In Lithuania it originated from the influences of the western societies. However, historical and cultural context have insight decisions or attitudes for the family not only in whole society. Family social workers as professional workers are justified into socially acceptable and recognizable decisions and behaviours. *Habitus of* the child care setting hustles professionals into certain behaviour and reactions.

If social work is understood as mean of philanthropy, which according to Donzelot (1979, 55) is depolitizing strategy for establishing public services and facilities at sensitive way between private initiative and the state. They were established by private initiatives, which in the process of development became funded by the state. Assistance pole, which according to Donzelot, was established in order to refer the private sphere the demands which were directed by the state, and formulated to warrant the right to work. Another aspect important for the assistance pole is the need to transmit certain guidelines for precepts of behaviour, turning political right into a question of political morality. Social worker gets involved into family life when the quality of child care provided by mainly mother, and in exceptional cases only by father, is insufficient according certain guidelines set by legislation. The behavioural guidelines set not only for the childcare, but also for the adult life. Big emphasis is put on economical morality – the fulfilling the right and obligation to work, pay taxes and reasonably plan family spenditure in order to carry out basic needs of the child thus protecting child's body, and ensure child's right for education.

Also Donzelot (1979, 66) differentiates philanthropy and charity by naming the choice of subjects of concern, and expectations. Philantrophy, according to the researcher, is based on concern for pragmatism: first of all providing advices which costs noting and focus on assistance of children and mothers, rather than elderly and men. The main assumption of this policy is that the resources will be pay off by averting future expenses. On the other side, charity could be handled in extreme misery. Children day care centers were established as mean of charity, providing food and part-time activities for the street children, which were begging on the streets during the first years of Lithuanian independence. With the progress of this organisational setting appearance of the National programs for children day care centers it became the mean of philanthropy which focus on support and protection of children's body: professionals were providing food, after school and educational activities. Also it is important to emphasize that with this shift to philanthropy children day care centers which

were at the beginning providing innovative services for vulnerable families, fall into transmitting reproduced social relations of extended day groups existed in Soviet period. Strategy of investment into child's future utilising tested means and obtain verified results and process of service provision.

Philanthropy also provides a positive power according Donzelot (1979, 57) through effective advice which would warrant the preservation of the norm. Thus, families are provided the advices by social workers. However, their understanding of the family social work is related more with analysis of situation, than actively advising in order to improve parent's abilities to improve child's wellbeing in the family. Research participants focus on mediating between family issues and children, sharing the care of the child with the mother. They are focusing assessment of mother's abilities to provide sufficient care. Feature of reproduced social relations regarding helping process of social worker with family – focus on child care at the same time placing themselves in between mother and child as professionals able to provide better care and education for the child.

Advice according Donzelot (1979, 65) is the act that evinces the most equality since it follows at the same time from desire to influence in the one who gives it and from the perfect freedom of the one who receives it. Clients are experiencing freedom and possibility of choice in refusing to follow the advice. Social worker in the helping process provides certain advices which aims to promote change in the family situation, and follow the suggested direction is the choice of the client. The main aspects differentiating totalitarian system from democracy – absence of possibility of choice and alternatives, lack of negotiation, which are guaranteed by understanding of human rights, regardless of the suggestion given by social worker has aspect of normalisation of the family. The process of change belongs to mutual self-understanding. The research participants have a desire to make mothers follow the given advices which not always promote the improvement of child-wellbeing within the family. The relationship is set with those mothers who do not show the signs of resistance in following the given advices. Given advices and requirement has certain relation with social policy implemented during the Soviet period: employment of both parents, absence of alcohol in everyday routines of the family, especially of the mother's. For the helping process the obedience to follow the requirements of the economical morality it is important: to have legal employment, pay taxes, warrant education for the child, and seek the management of household income avoiding festive and reckless spenditures. Obedience to the economical morality is unquestioned and unreflected by research participants. Parent's resistance to submit the orders of the professional is understood as abnormal phenomena in child protection. Also, the obedience to ideology is very important feature of moral economy in helping process. The research participant has not told any case there would be crisis intervention, the intervention to the family would be urgent.

Family has external responsibility towards society, regarding the rising children for the future society. The future of the child depends on the attempts

of the parents. To be the winner in the post-industrial society according to Esping-Andersen (2002, 27) it is required to have strong cognitive abilities and social skills, as opportunities and life chances remain powerfully rooted in social inheritance. However, the social worker's concentrate on protection and upbringing of the child's body, important for the work industry. The change promoted in family relations would encourage not only child's body protection, management of his/her basic needs, but also the issue of parent's cognitive and social skills so important in the process of child's development.

Concentration on economical morality, which was so emphasized in the Soviet Union through the total employment, challenged the role of parent – child relation. Development of child's social and cognitive skills belonged to the institutions outside the family. Research participants still struggles for the ownership of these developments, pushing parents, and especially mothers, aside. The research revealed that within transformation process social workers adapts the forms of professional posture gained through understanding of social work, however, the content of their performance is inherited from the past experiences and historical development. Question is for the future researches, how this gained and transformed practice of social work with families in special setting will develop in the future?

Important to mention, the research participants femininity and masculinity recognize as being in opposition within family. Family life, child care and even balance maintenance of the family on daily basis are related to the performance of the mother. The father is making just supporting role in the family life. His presence can be perceived as making more harm, than his absence to the development of the child. For longer time I felt stumbled, as for myself, I had certain expectations to find the patriarchal structure of family relations as the most outlasting and most discussed as family model.

One of the assumptions can be made that family situations which are identified as being at social risk are those where man is not fulfilling the role of the gatekeeper of the private family space. Client families according understanding of the research participant are those families where father is absent or distant in relation to child care and household management. The mothers are responsible parental figure for not only management of the household and providing child care, but also compensate lacking involvement of the father. But still remains question for the consideration which activities should be fulfilled by the father? Mother's inability to to stash away the hardship of family situation makes the entrance of social worker into family matters possible.

The mothers as those responsible for the child care, and they are more approachable for the professionals. Social work practice with mothers is evolving because of the frequency of cases and differences of the specific helping process with the family. Also it is important to emphasize that with the perceived succession of the relation with one mother, there arises professional self-esteem of the social worker to face another family case with more open attitude.

Lyon (2007, 27) points, that Soviet gender rhetoric was situated within a complex approach to gender. Although official emphasis was on women's role as worker in the productive labor force often expanded and contracted under pressure form the state's economic and demographic needs, women's dominant role in the domestic sphere was left unquestioned. As women were constantly working to balance between the productive and reproductive world, men's prescribed roles as breadwinners and heads of household remained relatively static. Also, what could trigger research participants to activate social work helping process, is the point that Soviet rhetoric emphasized equality between the sexes at work and in the marriage, also the deep fake link between the identity and work for both men and women and in particular the idealized dual role worker-mother role for women. Lapidus (1989, 41) submitted the extensive reliance on female labour has been a central feature of the Soviet economic development, which had important consequences for economic and social life.

However, Donzelot (1979, 66) pointed that after setting the forms in which support will be provided, the orders of priorities was set in order to promote family autonomy. Children according to researcher come before elderly, as they are already gone though period of maturity, what makes them undeserving for the f help in the old age. Women come before men, for aiding by them was also aiding their children.

Donzelot (1979, 48) weighted the role of the family in relation to social structures. He specifies that family was the subject and the object for the government. Also the structure of the household of the family was also structured according to internal distribution of power: the wife, and the children who were in respect answerable to the head of the household – the husband and the man. The head of the family was accountable to the family members. In exchange the protection and recognition of the state he had to guarantee the faithfulness of the order, also he had to supply taxes, labour. Researcher points the problem for public order comes when there are persons outside social machinery as beggars and vagabonds which acted as disturbers in the system of protection and obligation. The families, which are considered at social risk, are using support system provided by the state. The family situation which makes family vulnerable concerns violation of societal norms – inability to provide intended quality of the child care. The standards which are violated in these families are related to insufficient care of the child's body as food, shelter and control, which is related with government of child relationships and spaces. The standards of child care are related to provision of hygiene, education, following the obligations through legal employment of parental figure. The involvement of social worker in the family matters is considered in violation of these societal norms. However, in Lithuania the culture and social policy implemented during the period of the Soviet Union in the situation of social risk, when father is not able to manage household, mother or women is replacing and becoming the master of

the household. In those cases she is the parental figure who makes decisions and choices, also is responsible for the consequences of made solutions.

The studies realised in different cultural and social contexts (Tereškinas 2011) states that men within the family life are not related with active involvement into childcare. Tereškinas (2011) in his research notices that childcare is associated with femininity and women's identity, and perceived as threatening for the man's identity. Research revealed that father's involvement into childcare is seen as the last alternative possibility after mother's childcare is evaluated as inconvenient.

There are many discussions about equal rights, family violence, issues of single motherhood, where in most cases the mothers are victimized and in need for protection. Reading the data, I had feeling that this logic is not so simplified where mothers are given the role of carers of the children and household, fathers – suppliers of the family, however the logic of the family relations inside the extracts are quite different.

Nevertheless, to opposite role of father to the role of mother within the family, and at the same time keeping unquestionable values of significance of any parental figure and family as unit to the child's development, this allowed going deeper to the phenomena. Social workers working in children day care centers face challenges in their role of child protector and provider of services for parents. One of the main tasks and priorities for social workers is to organize daily activities for children and then when there is time or need work with parents can make helping process chaotic and aimless.

The emphasis of the child protector role of children day care center creates possibility to divide family members to the weak ones and to the bad ones. There can appear tension between 'weak' and at the same time 'vigorous' mother and 'abusive' and at the same time 'sponger' father. Social worker would place themselves in-between this family tension to protect interest of the child. Just in some cases fathers or family men (they can be not biological parents of children) consented not to have control over life situation.

During the process of analysis I realized that there exists certain understanding and expectations for mother, it raised me a lot of discussions and doubts related to the termination of helping process for family, where helping process in children day care centers is focused on children, and from the beginning of the research seemed endless and without termination. Reading social work research, I found certain similarities mostly with focusing on mother as the parental figure, responsible for the household and child care. Failure to provide adequate care of the child during the helping process there is the mother blamed for inability to maintain the idealized picture of mother.

The policy of the Soviet Union constructed certain understanding of motherhood and the perception of situation which she would need support form the professionals. There exist understanding of the mother as the main breadwinner and caretaker in the household. Social workers inherit certain pattern of *habi-*

tus, which allow them to provide support and intervention safely which would intend certain intervention into family. Presence of mother figure is equal to the presence of the family.

The basis of idea the gender differentiation inside of family appears as creating expectation for gender roles implicating division of duties in the family. Traditionally, according to Swift (1995, 102), there is a talk about 'the family' as unit responsible for children. Indeed, the actual work for caring the children has been allocated to women who are seen as naturally suited to provide nurturing behavior. There is possibility to notice assumptions about mothers' natural suitability to provide care, when fathers are not thought to be naturally suited to care, and therefore exonerated from these responsibilities. The concept of 'nuclear family' thus implies not only idea of two parents living in private dwelling with their children, but it also contains gender-based division of duties inside the family.

There appears controversy in women as mother construction. There is a lot of concern of social workers on mothers who do not follow the exalted construction of motherhood. The focusing on mother figure during the intervention in child protection is not local phenomena having impact on performance of social work services. The gender division and emphasis on the mother are common for the social profession. As an example, close connection and interrelation between women's and children's interests is emphasized by Gordon's (2002, 252) historical research shows that child protectors accepted domesticity. Indeed, not all women's at the beginning of XX century in USA were considered perfect mothers. According to Gordon, women who visibly deviated from the norms of maternity – women who worked, drank, yelled, were dirty were also outside the true womanhood. Agency clients, especially in the first fifty years, appeared to child protectors overwhelming alien, poor, dirty, uncultured, that they might also have been considered as unmotherly and undeserving, so that many women was able to convince agency workers that they are deserving. So, women do actively turn to professional agencies in the hope that they will receive assistance either in dealing with own problems or in regulating of the action of the men with whom they are living. This observation makes to weight that from the social work roots protecting children's welfare were focusing on motherhood issues. Father as parental figure was outside of the domesticity.

Farmer and Owen (1998, 557) points two historical reasons, discussing why there is gender bias in child protection and provision of services are deliberately discussing from abusing or not participative father to responsible for children mother. The first is that, historically, child abuse committed by men tends to remain invisible unless concentrated attempts are made to bring to public attention, in contrast to abuse and neglect by mothers. The second is that even when the significance of male violence to children is recognized, because of the gender divisions in child rearing, in practice paternal responsibility for child maltreatment is generally taken to mean maternal responsibility. Thus, the

mother has obligation to mask the family issues. In the cases when family's situation becomes transparent for the community, and uppermost on child's poor appearance and behaviour, mother becomes culpable for inability to manage the household. Therefore, mother's role is not only providing care for the children, but also become the link between community and family. Relations to mother in the nuclear family arrangements are so familiar to contemporary society. This family form developed along with the process of urbanization which fragmented the extended family and produced growing separation between private and public domains (Swift 2002, 101)

Indeed, in the case of family inability to provide "adequate" care of the children father is eliminated from the scope and all attention concentrates on women's abilities to perform role of the mother. In this case, the aim of the family is to avoid the transparency of the family issues as it produces reasons for intervention and need for social services.

Farmer and Owen (1998, 551) points that assumptions that mothers were responsible for their children's welfare partly because the agencies usually had more information about the mother than the father. Even if the abuse was committed by father, responsibility for the abuse might be seen as shared by mother on the grounds that she ought not to have allowed it to happen. Indeed, the responsibility for protecting the child was then given to the mother. Mother is understood as preferable carer of the children, and men's attempts to fulfil role of the father is taken with certain suspicion and expecting the failure. Father is seen as source of violence, abuse, sponge and careless behaviour. Thus, relation to fathers could be perceived as outsiders or burdens for women, but not as notable resource for mother and children. Therefore, exaltation of motherhood, creating facilities to support this image can be the warranty for women burden. However, separating family members to suffer and offenders, places children outside the family relations, thus triggers provision of services?

According to previous considerations, the Soviet Union's social policy had attitude which created facilities to support this perspective that just mothers of big families and single mothers can receive the support from government, therefore, the most optimal structure of the family for research participants will be single motherhood. This condition allows family legitimately has the status of welfare recipient.

The issue to include father into helping process is the object of discussions not only in the social work field. Addis, Mahalik (2003, 5) overviewed several studies researching involvement into any kind of helping process including health professionals, psychologist or any other kind of help concluded that men are less likely to seek help than women. The researches comment that this reluctant help-seeking process can be related to men's lack of abilities to recognize and label nonspecific feelings emergent in the case of distress as emotional problem. This could be an issue for the fathers to take active role in helping process in any case, as they may unrecognized situation of their family as in need.

Addis, Makhalik (2003, 10) take into account two features important for the constructing masculinity in the context of help-seeking. These features are moderated by basic social psychological processes: perceptions of the normativeness of problems, the perceived ego centrality of the problems, characteristic of potential helpers, characteristics of the social groups to which individual men belong, and loss of control. They point the help seeking as a product of masculine gender socialization. Many of the tasks for men associated with seeking help as relying on others, admitting the need for help, or recognizing or labelling problem and especially emotional, conflicts with messages men receive about the importance of self-reliance, physical toughness, and emotional control.

Thus, important aspect according to the researchers that in order to escape avoidant behaviour of the father and create collaborative relations with him, social workers shouldn't take control over the helping process and make him as central agent of the all issues of the family. These are the important aspects creating peculiarities of the specific social work process with father. Indeed, social work, especially in the field of child protection has right to take over situation of the family and then decide on client choices.

Social work as feminine profession creates expectations in the process of evaluation of the family situation, and possible resources for help might be displaced from personal experience. Indeed these evaluation moulds are not reflecting professional side of the social worker. Edwards (1998, 260) observing situation of social work in United Kingdom, points that social workers perceive lack of support from male partners as a major problem facing many of the women within their work. At the same time, they appear unable or unwilling to include men within ambit of their work, unless fathers are the only carers of their children. Indeed, providers of social services wish that men to be more active in the care of their children and more supportive of their female partners, they provide services affecting predominantly women as mothers. However, there are no studies in Lithuania, which would disclose personal expectations of social workers to their partners what would influence their decisions in the professional career. Also, I decided not to ask during interviews, or analyze the personal experiences of the research participants, just concentrate on the performance of their professional role.

In Great Britain there are research branch which is studying the issue of the father's involvement into the process of child protection, also there are several research on attitudes and actions of the involvement fathers as service users. O'Hagan (1997, 33) identify the most common cases and reasons for social workers to ignore or avoid men in child protection work:

1. *Public and professional roles of men and women.* Men are understood as having insignificant role in child care and child development. There can be discussion if fathers and mothers have not same significance and importance to their children. If they do what are the spheres in child's

care and development. How the roles of the parents are related and intertwined?

2. *Hostility and distrust of men.* Researcher notes that there is branch of feminism in Western Europe which promotes the view of men as the principal source of all women's problems. There is no purpose in workers attempts to engage men in child care issues. The knowledge that many mothers are systematically and routinely abused by male partners may have the effect of worker's distrust and hostility, and strengthen their determination to have nothing to do with them. The complexity of family issues, alack of facilities to solve the issues creates opposition between the parents – victim and abuser. This opposition pushes social worker into protector or rescuer of children and mothers from violent father.

3. *Lack of training.* Some workers become aware that they are not prepared to engage men meaningfully, even on behalf of children they seek to protect. As Lithuanian social work has no long tradition to reflect changing role of the father, there appears lack of knowledge and insights what is cotemporary fatherhood in the families at crisis, and the means to provide help involving them into the role of service user.

4. *Fear of men.* Social workers avoid men because they fear if anticipated violence and intimidation. Their fears maybe based on actual experience, or on the experience of colleagues, or upon acute awareness of the growing level of violence directed against professional people generally.

These can be solid reasons to elude relations with the father. This relation could be confusing, complex, requiring from social worker non traditional access to the helping process. At the same time, there exists certain confidence between social worker to justifying this avoidance which reflects latent norms perceived as normative for social workers in the process of decision making which would be context based.

   The focus on the mothers remains main target in the client families to the social worker while solving family issues or seeking for change in parenting might be reasonable and soft solution. Not withstanding mother then is overburden by responsibilities and fear to make mistakes, thus risk family integrity. Swift (2002, 102) argued about differences inside of the family. She specifies that all responsibilities about care of children are considered to be mother's task. One of the most common reasons for this conviction is that the actual work of caring the children has been allocated to women, which is naturally suited to provide nurturing behaviour.

   Fathers (and more generally men) are not thought to be naturally suited to caring tasks, and are therefore socially exonerated from the responsibili-

ties within family about care of children. The role of men have been the more removed and distant one of breadwinning. The concept of "nuclear family" thus implies not only the idea of two parents living in private dwelling with their children, but it also contains with it with it this gender-based division of labor Swift (2002, 102). As have I mentioned earlier, this gender based division in Lithuanian context seems tricky, and this division is not so accurate.

Interesting that the fusion of old and new habits are expressed differently by research participants. Those social workers, who try to intervene into family on the basis of *habitus* based on the Soviet constructions presents quite intervention and reasoning of it particularly and with certain confidence about their decisions. Those social workers who tries to intervene on the basis of professional work values and procedures, their cases are not so detailed they feel powerless in relations with clients, and especially with adults. For those social workers who try to work valuing family as unit especially confusing is collaboration with state, municipality agencies. In both habitus the importance of mother's supplier's role is emphasized, father remains distant and not essential parental figure for child's development.

During collection and analysis of the data, I noticed that most of workers in NGO are women, and especially in the field of child protection and family. Of course there are slight differences as in my research Leonas. Philips (2002, 2) researching experiences of women directors of organizations, domination of the women directors of NGO defending women, children, and families explains referring to extension of the 'maternal role' accepting the extension of 'natural' roles as mothers and guardians of the home and nation. Researcher points that doing so women define themselves and construct social work as one of the 'female caring professions'. There is danger in this attribution, that better care (social worker) would take over the care of the children from the bad mother, and mould child in a proper way, as it is supposed to be done. This notion does not create space for social work intervention, change, and thus escape from the permanent label of 'bad mother' – a client who does not make any change and has no chance to make it.

It is important for direct social work to take seriously the problem compelling the clients to seek services as well as to work creatively with them achieving solutions that improve upon the initial problematic situations. Social work has a goal to assist clients in coping more effectively with the problems of living and improving quality of their lives (Hepworth et al. 2010, 33).

Margolin (1997, 97) argues tat social work literature in USA from the first half of century blamed the poor for their own poverty: they were lazy, dependent, passive, pleasure seeking. Researcher also observes peculiar circle: social work investigates suspicious population, or at least findings derived from them, make the investigated, and appear then more suspicious. Perhaps the additional stigma is necessary because if social workers are to peer into the homes of people who wants no part of them, if they are expected to visit the poor despite the

latter's and articulated desire to be left alone, they need good reasons, accordingly, the more foreign and perverted clients can be made to appear, the more authority social worker has to visit and keep visiting.

The lifestyle of the mother of poor family and the lifestyle of women working as social worker can be very different. Social worker experiences foreignness to the responsibilities which mothers are carry out with poorly accessible resources, and at the same time instable relationship with men. The huge gap of realities and determinations of what is acceptable for parenting in the contemporary society construct the possibilities of incoherence for family social work practice. The power and authority which research participants so detest, therefore forward it to the state agencies, also can be the reason for foreignness between mother and social worker.

Since children and families in lower socio-economic groups are seem totally unaware of the nature of the society which they live, what it expects from them, and what they can realistically expect from it, social work must supply the knowledge and skills they lack. If the client is apathetic, social work must inspire. If the client is disorganized, social work must provide order. If client is nonverbal, social work must demonstrate how to speak and what to say. If the clients are passive and will not come to social work, social work must be aggressive and go to them (Margolin 1997, 97). The tradition of behaviorism in social sciences has long traditions. Thus, it had impact on social work unacknowledged. Imposing yourself as stimulus of change complicates provision of helping process for social worker. The obligation to stimulate change in families by social workers own personality and authority persuasion makes complex to achieve desirable outcome of the efforts. The creation of stimulus is also complicated due to the lack of knowledge on interpersonal relations, helping process development, the dynamics of the issue the family is facing. Lack of professional knowledge enforces social workers to put reliance on authority and power to force families for change.

Another aspect which triggers inclusive social work practice is knowledge on means utilized by social worker in individual case and reality of the possible resources to implement that change. Cognitive understanding does not assure the implementation and preservation of the achieved change. Acknowledgement of the dynamics of change would safeguard social workers from helplessness in the casework with family and not needed exhibition of power over the family. The central method of justifying the new level penetration, according to Margolin (1997, 100), was to portray the target population as more cognitively and socially impoverished. At the same time language was no so extreme as to warrant persecution. The goal was not to repress the poor. It was to save them. They were lowered only to be uplifted, protected and nourished. For every degrading comment made, there was linkage to modality of help that somehow stripped that comment of its hostile edge. Any suggestions that the remedies

themselves might be to radical, to intrusive or too controlling were nullified by linking of the client's moral and social failure.

There are not so many researches analyzing the impact of experience the Soviet Union for the service provision in contemporary post-Soviet society. During first decade of Lithuanian independence there was huge interest of foreigners about Lithuanian situation. That resulted several acticles introducing historical background and service development.

The only hermeneutical research on transition from post Soviet I found in the area of child protection was Khalinovskaya – Rockhill (2009) researcher discusses the residential care issues in Russian Federation Far East in Maganda area. Researcher points (2009, 313) that in post soviet society there can be witnessed a rapid transformation in the economic policy, but not in the domain of family values and personhood. In these areas the pace of change is different. Social risk is interface between the two domains: they are poor and they are bad in normative value. This category is moral judgement as well as an economic description. Researcher also noticed the focus on mother as care giver of the children and her capacities to maintain family. Expectations for motherhood, she points, are similar to Soviet times, but the economics do not allow women to fulfil their expectations. Researcher notices that continuities in family policy, and institutional care together with the rhetoric of discontinuity, as market economy and politics where models of discontinuity are explicit, giving an impression of total change.

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APENDIX A

Symbols of transcription

Symbol	Explanation in English	Explanation in Lithuanian
[	A single left bracket indicate the point at which current speakers talk is overlapped by another talk	Kairysis laužtinis skliaustas nurodo vietą kurioje kalbančiojo kalba sutampa su kito kalbančiojo kalba
]	A single right bracket indicates the point at which utterance terminates.	Dešnys laužtinis skliaustas nurodo vieta kur kalbančiųjų sutapimas baigiasi.
=	Equal sign at the end of the line and at the beginning of the next line indicates immediate continuous talk without interval between current speaker and next speaker	Lygybės ženklas eilutės pabaigoje ir kitos eilutės pradžioje nurodo nenutrūkstamą kalbą tarp kalbančiojo ir pašnekovo
( )	Empty parantheses indicate transcribers inability to hear what was said	Tušti skliausteliai nurodo transkribuojančio negebėjimą išgirsti kas yra sakoma
(.)	A dot in parenthesis indicate micropause shorter than 2 seconds	taškas skliausteliuose nurodo mikropauzę trumpesnę nei 2 sekundės
(.4)	Number in parenthesis indicate elapsed time in silence tenths of seconds	Skaičius skliausteliuose nurodo tylą sekundžių dalimis
(( ))	Double parantheses indicate the authors descriptions of transcription	Dvigubi skliausteliai nurodo autoriaus pastabas
underlying	Underlying indicates some of the emphasis	Pabraukti žodžiai nurodo nedidelį akcentą
hhh	A row of h's prefixed by dot indicates outbreath. The lengths of the row of h's indicates the length of outbreath.	Eilė h radžiū be taško nurodo iškvėpimą. H raidžių skaičius nurodo iškvėpimo trukmę.
.hhh	A row of h's prefixed by dot indicates inbreath. The lengths of the row of h's indicates the length of inbreath	Eilė h raidžių su tašku parodo įkvėpimą. H raidžių skaičius nurodo įkvėpimo trukmę.
yes:::s	Colons indicate prolongation of the sound. The length of the row colons indicate the length of prolongation	Dvitaškis nurodo užsitęsusį garsą. Dvitaškių kiekis nurodo užsitęsusio garso ilgumą.
YES	Capitals, except at the begining of the lines, indicate especially loud sound relative to surrounding talk	Didžiosios raidės, išskyrus sakinio pradžioje, nurodo labai garsiai ištartus garsus, lyginant su aplinkine kalba
Yes.	Period indicates stopping fall in tone	Taškas nordo intonacijos kritima
Yes,	Comma indicates continuing intonation	Kablelis nurodo besitęsiančią intonaciją
Yes?	A question mark indicates rising inflection, not necessary a question	Klaustukas nurodo kylančią intonacija, nebūtinai klausimą
Yes?,	A question mark and comma indicates weak rise in intonation	Klaustumas ir kablelis nurodo silpnai kylančią intonaciją
↑	Arrow up indicates marked rise in the pitch	Rodyklė į viršų nurodo staigų intonacijos kilimą
↓	Arrow down indicates marked fall in the pitch	Rodyklė žemyn nurodo intonacijos staigų kritimą
da-	Dash at the end of the word means the production of word which is cut off	Brukšnys žodžio pabaigoje nurodo pradėtą, bet nutrauktą žodį

[0]words[0]	Rised circles indicate obviously quieter speach	Apskritimai aplink žodžius nurodo akyvaizdžiai tylią kalbą
words	Asterics indicates laughter in the voice	Nurodo juoką balse
@words@	At indicates animated voice	Eta nurodo pagyvėjusį balsą
→	Arrow to right indicates crucial line, crucial instances for analyzed speech	Rodyklė į dešnę nurodo esminius pavyzdžius, esmines vietas kalbos analizei
<words >	Right/left carters indicate pronounced slower than surrounding sepach	Nurodo, kad tariama lėčiau lyginant su aplink esančiu tekstu.
>words<	Left/right carters indicate pronounced faster than surrounding speech.	Nurodo, kad tariama greičiau lyginant su aplink esančiu tekstu
<...>	Right/left carters with three dots in between indicate cutted speech.	Nurodo nutrūkusį garsą

Represented symbols are used in making transcripts of research interview and are employed throughout extracts. The major part of transcription symbols are taken from David Silverman (2001, 303), Ilkka Arminen (2005, 257–258), Christopher Hall et all (2003, 9–10).

Topics of the coded data

THEME	Joana	Justina	Leonas	Indrė	Kristina
'Rumours'	1.2.44 1.3.30 1.3.32	2.1.170 2.2.108 2.2.168 2.2.304	3.2.86 3.2.172	4.2.393	5.1.200 5.2.50
Activities of children day care centre for teenagers are not interesting	1.1.64 1.2.160		3.3.48 3.3.54	4.2.315 4.3.46	
Activities of social worker are limited by the law	1.3.54 1.3.70 1.3.112		3.3.114	4.1.51	5.2.126
Addiction + unemployment	1.1.122 1.2.26		3.1.114 3.1.46		
Addiction to alcohol – the main issue	1.1.26	2.1.8		4.2.351 4.3.159	5.1.32
Adequate time for social work	1.3.126	2.3.95			
Adverse to family social policy	1.2.74 1.2.214 1.3.14	2.2.342 2.3.15 2.3.85 2.3.105	3.2.220		
After intervention clients are leaving	1.2.192 1.3.32		2.3.180	4.1.195 4.3.80	
Alcoholism is normal day-by-day phenomena	1.1.44 1.1.86 1.1.98 1.1.128 1.2.36 1.2.52 1.2.60 1.2.84 1.3.32 1.3.38 1.3.50	2.1.8 2.1.18 2.1.132 2.1.168 2.1.248 2.2.42 2.2.108 2.2.142 2.2.162 2.2.260 2.2.296 2.2.346 2.2.430 2.3.45 2.3.79 2.3.174 2.3.214	3.1.46 3.1.176 3.2.96 3.2.150 3.3.6	4.1.1 4.1.91 4.2.239 4.3.160	5.1.32 5.1.88 5.1.164 5.1.232 5.1.280 5.1.290 5.1.430 5.2.48 5.2.57 5.2.138
Arrange the legitimate – material matters	1.3.14	2.1.218	3.2.34		5.1.280
Attitude of monastery	1.2.148	2.1.146			
Attitude of the system for the client	1.2.202 1.3.6	2.3.212			

Big families	I.1.1.80 I.1.1.92 I.1.1.116 I.1.3.24 I.1.3.32 I.1.3.46	2.1.60 2.1.84 2.1.208 2.2.48 2.2.112 2.2.118 2.2.228 2.2.280 2.2.286 2.2.300 2.2.324 2.2.336 2.3.117 2.3.170 2.3.214	3.2.6 3.2.22	4.1. 4.1.71 4.1.99 4.1.165 4.1.203 4.2.20 4.2.66 4.2.103 4.3.174	5.1.118 5.1.184 5.1.234 5.1.290 5.1.386 5.1.396 5.2.127
Change as fear to lose care of childrens	1.2.48	2.1.232			5.1.298
Change in the case of addiction	1.2.52	2.3.79			5.1.44 5.2.52
Changes promoted by new laws	1.3.18		3.3.80		
Changing men	1.2.44 1.2.192	2.1.85 2.2.222 2.2.352	3.2.28	4.1.171 4.2.70 4.2.355	5.1.290 5.1.388 5.2.138
Charity	1.2.68	2.1.126 2.3.172		4.2.375	
Child came into children day care centre looking for shelter	1.2.52			4.1.97	
Child is alone in the street	1.1.140 1.3.56		3.1.22		
Child's delinquent acts	1.1.70 1.2.28 1.2.152 1.3.32 1.3.38	2.1.232 2.2.216	3.1.120 3.1.188 3.1.196	4.3.174	5.1.46 5.1.214 5.1.232 5.2.162
Child's rights protection agency recommends clients	1.1.70 1.1.122	2.1.42 2.1.56 2.1.112 2.1.180 2.1.226	3.1.138	4.1.29 4.3.142	5.1.232 5.2.48
Children and grandparents	1.1.136 1.1.140	2.1.186 2.2.76 2.2.418 2.3.8	3.1.20 3.1.44 3.2.6	4.1.115 4.1.138	5.1.176 5.1.386 5.1.438
Children are from one district of town	1.3.30	2.1.264	3.1.128 3.2.146	4.1.13 4.1.247 4.2.337 4.2.391	5.2.8
Children are happy	1.1.170	2.2.234			
Children day care centre – alternative for the family	1.1.141 1.1.170 1.3.52 1.3.146	2.1.206 2.2.234	3.1.58 3.1.126 3.1.114 3.2.236	4.2.403 4.3.52	5.1.436

Children day care centre – alternative for the street	1.2.72 1.3.146 1.3.50 1.3.56 1.3.146		3.1.166 3.2.236 3.3.8	4.2.6	5.2.92
Children day care centre – place for start	1.2.72 1.3.14 1.3.52	2.1.146 2.3.125	3.3.14	4.2.6 4.3.78 4.3.146	5.2.200
Children day care centre – school – parental functions	1.2.162 1.3.78		3.1.86 3.2.144 3.3.62		5.1.85 5.1.96 5.1.240
Children day care centre – the mission of church organisation	1.1.160	2.1.246 2.2.236	3.2.228	4.2.223 4.3.124 4.3.124 4.3.150	
Children day care centre for families with low incomes	1.3.54 1.3.82	2.2.10 2.3.113	3.1.132 3.1.158 3.3.14	4.1.1. 4.1.103 4.2.289 4.2.375 4.3.52 4.3.108	5.2.110
Children day care centre for preteens	1.1.32 1.1.114	2.3.109		4.2.12 4.3.20	
Children day care centre until teenage time	1.1.136 1.2.160	2.1.204	3.1.210 3.2.168 3.3.36	4.1.1 4.1.45 4.2.295 4.3.12	5.1.44 5.1.100 5.2.138
Children day care centre's activities – preventive	1.1.152 1.3.14 1.3.54		3.2.236 3.3.28	4.3.78	.1.436
Children day care centre's family income	1.1.36 1.2.16	2.1.18 2.1.150 2.2.48 2.3.258		4.2.95	5.1.42 5.1.308
Children day care centre's professionals	1.3.102 1.3.140	2.3.125 2.3.146 2.3. 196		4.1.239 4.2.167 4.2.183 4.3.4	5.1.38 5.1.100 5.2.50 5.2.62 5.2.78
Children day care centre's services for children	1.1.32 1.1.74 1.1.92 1.1.114 1.1.140 1.1.141 1.2.52 1.2.160 1.2.188 1.3.52 1.3.62 1.3.78	2.1.34 2.1.44 2.2.158 2.2.290 2.2.380 2.2.422 2.3.45 2.3.146 2.3.188 2.3.246	3.1.24 3.1.54 3.1.70 3.1.144 3.2.78 3.2.108 3.2.236 3.3.28 3.3.48 3.3.60	4.1.97 4.1.191 4.1.239 4.2.6 4.2.34 4.2.317 4.2.404 4.3.2.	5.1.38 5.1.70 5.1.98 5.1.102 5.1.244 5.1.288 5.2.24
Children do not have schoolbooks	1.3.80		3.1.54	4.2.377	
Children hardly adapts at school	1.2.38 1.3.62	2.2.390	3.1.78 3.2.50		5.1.2

Children in custody	1.2.52 1.3.46	2.1.38 2.3.8		4.1.23 4.1.71 4.1.119 4.1.183 4.2.157	5.2.52
Children like children day care centre/ children do not feel here exclusive	1.1.74 1.1.140 1.3.54 1.3.66	2.2.292 2.2.376	3.2.156 3.2.166	4.1.215 4.2.249 4.2.289 4.2.408 4.3.136	5.1.88 5.2.84
Children resign to attend children day care centre	1.1.64 1.1.130 1.2.160 1.3.38	2.2.158	3.1.98 3.2.176	4.3.2. 4.3.80	
Children versus teachers	1.3.94	2.2.290	3.2.54		
Children's begging		2.2.62	3.1.6 3.1.188		5.2.162
Children's closure	1.2.40	2.2.390 2.3.192	3.1.140		
Children's harmful habits	1.136 1.2.78 1.2.202 1.3.50	2.2.210 2.3.174	3.1.196		5.1.46
Client with mental illness	1.1.114			4.1.71	5.1.276
Client's do not let in	1.2.186	2.3.73		4.3.80	
Client's initiative	1.1.86 1.2.54 1.3.24 1.3.46	2.1.138 2.2.132 2.3.8	3.2.56 3.3.44	4.2.359	5.1.70 5.1.112. 5.1.288 5.1.320 5.2.166
Clients avoid services of children day care center	1.2.150 1.2.184 1.2.188 1.3.32			4.1.113 4.3.80	5.2.48
Clients going for contact with social worker	1.2.58 1.2.74 1.3.144	2.1.214			
Collaboration with community	1.1.122 1.2.142	2.1.262 2.2.236	3.2.230 3.3.122	4.1.85 4.2.161 4.2.297 4.3.128	
Common clients with municipality's centre of social services	1.2.184	2.1.78 2.2.214 2.3.31 2.3.53		4.1.97 4.1.183 4.3.80	5.2.44
Condemnation of the client	1.3.8	2.1.208 2.2.272 2.3.208			
Contract as base for the contact	1.2.54 1.2.176 1.3.30		3.1.140 3.2.194		

Defending the clients	1.1.28 1.1.86 1.1.114 1.2.28 1.2.30 1.2.52 1.2.116	2.3.236		4.1.97 4.1.99 4.1.191	5.1.332 5.2.134
Denial of violence	1.3.24		3.2.76	4.1.83	
Dependence of children	1.2.38 1.3.62		3.2.52		5.2.52
Disbelief that situation will be better /no hope that situation will change	1.2.32 1.2.42 1.2.58 1.2.68 1.3.50 1.3.62	2.2.98 2.2.326 2.3.6 2.3.27 2.3.135	3.2.60	4.2.345 4.3.84	
Doesn't have food	1.1.28 1.2.60 1.3.50 1.3.64	2.2.304 2.2.314 2.2.346		4.1.115 4.2.6 4.3.78	
Doesn't have profession	1.2.22	2.2.36		4.1.33 4.2.44	5.1.306 5.2.24 5.2.178
Events in children day care canter	1.2.182	2.1.218	3.2.80 3.2.190	4.2.317	5.1.38 5.2.64
Experience of parents in children	1.1.106		3.2.114	4.1.129	
Exploiting client's ignorance	1.2.30 1.2.126	2.1.148			
Families in need for deeper help	1.3.14	2.3.125 2.3.146 2.3.198	3.1.228 3.2.60 3.3.26	4.2.361	5.2.200
Family violence	1.1.80 1.1.114 1.2.52 1.3.24	2.2.220 2.2.344	3.3.6	4.1.63 4.1.97 4.1.101 4.1.183 4.2.199 4.2.263 4.2.347 4.2.355 4.3.142	5.1.108 5.2.52
Family without shelter	1.3.106	2.2.116 2.2.300 2.2.362		4.1.99	5.1.290
Father does not earn money	1.1.40 1.1.80	2.1.130 2.2.36 2.2.132 2.3.224		4.2.127	5.1.396 5.2.146
Father takes better care than mother	1.1.136			4.2.357	
Final stage of the helping process/ Individual finalisation	1.1.130 1.2.160 1.2.188 1.3.150	2.1.242	3.2.62 3.2.176	4.2.244 4.2.307 4.3.80	5.1.422
For teenagers there are other agencies	1.1.147			4.2.297	

Future of children day care centre	1.3.72 1.3.144	2.3.140	3.3.4 3.3.116	4.3.52	
Get in touch with clients	1.1.122 1.2.42 1.2.46 1.2.176 1.2.182 1.3.30 1.3.140	2.1.214 2.3.52 2.3.156	3.2.80 3.2.190		5.2.98
Give me something	1.2.60 1.3.150	2.1.130 2.2.54 2.2.70 2.2.300 2.3.172		4.1.81 4.2.365 4.3.162	
Grandmother is trying to get custody of the children	1.3.46	2.1.192 2.3.8			
Help – mission of monastery	1.3.118	2.1.234	3.2.228		
Help of social worker – foster care	1.2.52 1.3.32	2.3.59 2.3.63 2.3.79			5.1.298 5.2.52
Help parents to understand their children better			3.2.98	4.2.329	5.1.12
History in client's issues	1.1.64 1.1.106 1.1.114 1.3.26	2.2.78 2.2.430	3.1.134 3.2.114	4.1.81	5.2.138
I am nun working with families	1.2.176	2.2.254			
I don't know the laws	1.2.30 1.2.126 1.3.16	2.3.21 2.3.103	3.2.34	4.1.97	5.2.182
I get to know from the children	1.1.50 1.1.96	2.1.76 2.2.158 2.3.190			5.1.200 5.2.52
If they want – there is job	1.1.38 1.2.24	2.2.42		4.2.44	5.1.374 5.2.40
Independence = own property		2.2.98 2.2.310 2.3.170	3.2.6	4.1.99 4.2.359	5.1.290 5.1.352 5.2.146
Individuality of client's situation	1.2.74	2.3.156			
Informality with other agencies	1.1.74 1.1.90 1.2.50			4.1.97 4.1.179	5.1.172
Interest and support	1.3.114	2.1.146	3.2.184	4.3.56	
It is difficult to put children into custody	1.3.50	2.3.73 2.3.173		4.1.117 4.1.183	
It is more difficult to have connection after intervention of other agencies	1.2.182 1.3.30	2.1.228 2.3.53			
Jungle	1.2.76	2.2.242			

Lack of collaboration	1.3.104	2.3.31		4.2.208	
Lives from allowancies	1.1.48 1.1.128 1.2.26 1.2.44 1.2.184 1.3.14 1.3.50	2.2.48 2.3.176 2.3.214	3.2.20	4.1.35 4.2.123	5.1.140 5.1.164 5.1.325 5.2.26
Lone fatherhood	1.1.28	2.3.60 2.3.67	3.1.30		5.1.22 5.1.386 5.1.410 5.2.50
Love of parents – children/ they are living for children	1.2.48 1.2.54 1.3.50	2.1.206 2.2.408		4.1.81	5.2.58
Men are employed irregularly	1.1.26 1.1.40	2.2.36	3.1.62		5.1.62
Money versus help	1.2.76 1.3.112	2.3.89		4.3.72	5.2.12
Mother alone taking care of the children	1.1.76 1.1.110 1.3.32	2.1.18 2.1.98 2.1.110 2.2.108	3.1.12 3.1.36 3.1.158 3.2.6	4.1.15 4.1.89 4.1.99 4.1.141 4.2.60 4.2.123 4.2.229 4.3.174	5.1.112 5.1.174 5.1.232 5.1.288 5.1.386 5.1.398 5.2.126 5.2.146
Mother is looking for the shelter	1.3.24			4.3.146	
Mother is not working, taking care of the children	1.1.28	2.2.120		4.2.79	5.1.136 5.1.168 5.1.396 5.2.26 5.2.142
Mother's illness	1.1.74 1.1.110	2.1.98 2.1.110 2.2.20 2.2.32 2.2.220 2.2.136			5.1.288 5.1.400 5.1.410 5.2.30
Mothers – the clients	1.1.26 1.2.50 1.3.14 1.3.32	2.1 138 2.1.146 2.1.218 2.1.222 2.2.100 2.2.324 2.2.348 2.2.434 2.3.43 2.3.73. 2.3.224	3.2.44 3.2.194	4.1.37 4.2.50 4.2.101 4.2.229 4.2.339 4.2.375 4.3.142	5.1.19 5.1.150 5.1.168 5.1.234 5.1.288 5.1.374 5.1.394 5.2.138
Neglect of children	1.1.136 1.2.44 1.2.160 1.3.50	2.1.12 2.1.188 2.2.406	3.1.172	4.1.1 4.1.167 4.2.357	5.1.232

Neglect of parents – street	1.1.130 1.2.156 1.3.32 1.3.50		3.1.166		
Normal life of the clients	1.2.36 1.2.58 1.3.12 1.3.54 1.3.124	2.2.80 2.2.142 2.2.176 2.2.246 2.2.314 2.2.364 2.3.45 2.3.168 2.3.172 2.3.224	3.2.242		5.1.290 5.2.50
Not enough resources to implement activities	1.1.54 1.2.12 1.3.76 1.3.122 1.3.144	2.2.236 2.3.95 2.3.156 2.3.198	3.3.118	4.1.53 4.1.97 4.1.221 4.2.175 4.2.239 4.2.395 4.3.4 4.3.52 4.3.100	
Number of children at children day care centre	1.1.55 1.2.148 1.3.70	2.3.83	3.1.38	4.1.57 4.1.199 4.2.389 4.3.136	5.1.106
Old – new system	1.2.66 1.2.76 1.2.94 1.2.206		3.3.86		
One of the parents emigrated	1.1.140	2.1.186	3.1.30		5.1.172 5.1.204 5.1.386 5.1.438
Overcome addiction without help	1.2.202	2.3.133			5.2.52
Parents are divorced informally	1.1.134		3.1.10	4.2.129 4.2.229	5.2.146
Parents are looking for children day care centre's services	1.1.122 1.3.24 1.3.54			4.1.87 4.2.289	
Parents are searching for services for children /children need afterschool activities	1.1.122 1.3.30 1.3.56 1.3.146	2.1.14 2.1.120 2.2.254	3.1.22 3.1.114 3.1.106 3.2.164 3.2.236 3.3.8 3.3.28	4.1.29 4.1.89 4.2.6 4.2.289 4.2.401 4.3.82 4.3.110	5.1.114 5.2.88 5.2.92
Parents come for particular help	1.2.46 1.2.176 1.3.14	2.1.122 2.1.148	3.1.106 3.2.184	4.2.345 4.2.365	5.1.194 5.1.288 5.1.306 5.2.136
Parents deny their problems	1.1.20 1.2.152	2.1.16	3.2.162	4.3.160	5.1.240 5.2.48 5.2.50

Parents do not cure their children	1.3.78 1.3.82	2.1.96 2.2.30 2.2.96			5.1.240 5.2.124 5.2.166
Parents to excursions go together with children	1.1.114		3.2.190	4.2.317	
Particular laws	1.3.18		3.2.200 3.3.98	4.3.65	5.2.184
Physical violence against children	1.1.86 1.3.24 1.3.32		3.1.220 3.2.68	4.2.199 4.3.94	5.1.244 5.2.48
Poverty is evident from appearance	1.1.126 1.1.140	2.2.406	3.1.8 3.1.140	4.1.169 4.2.359	5.1.260
Poverty, and children supervised	1.1.50	2.2.324		4.1.169 4.2.359	5.1.170 5.1.400
Poverty/clients seek because of material circumstances	1.1.28 1.1.114 1.2.176 1.3.38 1.3.54 1.3.78	2.1.22 2.2.304 2.3.8	3.1.10 3.1.20 3.1.114 3.1.140 3.2.6 3.3.6	4.1.7 4.1.109 4.1.155 4.2.18 4.2.82 4.2.113 4.2.273 4.2.355	5.1.32 5.1.112 5.1.240 5.1.290 5.1.350 5.2.146
Pregnant teenager	1.1.60		3.1.148	4.3.142	5.1.368 5.2.138
Previous convictions of the father	1.1.76 1.1.100	2.2.204	3.1.110	4.2.70	5.1.110
Provided help with frightening	1.2.94 1.3.110	2.3.43 2.3.59 2.3.218			5.2.52
Reluctance to change situation	1.1.136 1.2.26 1.2.74 1.2.150 1.3.14	2.1.36	3.2.46	4.1.117 4.3.166	5.1.72 5.1.234 5.2.200
Reluctance to cooperate	1.2.42	2.3.53			5.1.44
Restricted by public transport?	1.2.6 1.2.12	2.2.6	3.2.138	4.1.89	5.2.4
Reticence of the clients	1.2.42 1.2.182 1.3.30	2.1.216 2.2.260 2.2.296 2.3.133 2.3.168 2.3.180	3.1.106 3.1.132 3.2.82 3.2.190		5.1.160 5.1.264 5.1.274 5.2.98
Returning clients	1.3.150		3.1.214 3.2.62	4.2.309	
Rules under compulsion	1.2.94	2.3.222			
Salary of social worker is too low	1.3.122	2.3.97			
School is recommending the clients	1.1.122 1.3.30	2.1.112 2.1.136 2.1.176 2.1.224	3.1.6 3.1.130 3.2.120 3.3.82	4.2.197	

Self-help groups	1.3.146	2.1.218 2.2.272	3.2.80	4.2.323	5.1.12 5.2.52
Seminars for the workers	1.2.76 1.2.218	2.3.282	3.2.184	4.2.145	
Services for children	1.1.32 1.1.72 1.1.92 1.1.114 1.1.140 1.1.141 1.2.52 1.2.160 1.2.188 1.3.62 1.3.78	2.1.34 2.1.44 2.2.158 2.2.290 2.2.380 2.2.412 2.3.95 2.3.146 2.3.188 2.3.196	3.1.24 3.1.54 3.1.70 3.1.144 3.2.78 3.2.168 3.2.236 3.3.28 3.3.48 3.3.60	4.1.97 4.1.191 4.1.230 4.2.6 4.2.32 4.2.317 4.2.404 4.3.2	5.1.38 5.1.70 5.1.98 5.1.02 5.1.244 5.1.288 .
Shame, because parets wants to look better	1.2.42	2.2.148			
Social work as new profession – there is no system	1.2.74 1.3.122		3.3.86		
Social work is not safe activity	1.3.122	2.1.170 2.2.244			
Social worker has to have respect for the person	1.3.122	2.3.176			
Talking client	1.1.114 1.2.46 1.3.14	2.1.136 2.1.142 2.1.218	3.2.194		5.1.194
Teenagers comes for particular help	1.1.88 1.2.46		3.2.32		5.1.44
Teenagers have more connections	1.1.64 1.1.132 1.1.136 1.2.160		3.3.54	4.2.315 4.3.16	
Teenagers in children day care centre	1.1.64 1.1.130 1.2.160			4.1.129 4.2.297 4.3.46	5.1.26 5.1.100 5.1.418 5.1.440 5.2.138
Television as possibility for change	1.2.126	2.2.236			
The aim of children day care centre – homework	1.1.140 1.3.54	2.1.36 2.1.122 2.2.364 2.3.146 2.3.160	3.1.24 3.1.82 3.3.60 3.3.68	4.2.190 4.2.315 4.3.2	5.1.94 5.1.112 5.1.240
The children does not change in ours now				4.1.51	5.2.84
The collaborating agencies	1.1.112 1.2.46 1.2.132 1.2.164	2.1.56 2.1.112 2.2.236 2.3.198	3.1.2 3.1.130 3.1.136 3.2.118 3.2.182 3.3.38 3.3.82	4.1.81 4.1.97 4.1.179 4.2.135 4.2.195 4.3.56 4.3.142	5.1.40 5.1.70 5.2.41 5.2.68

The effectiveness of social work	1.2.148		3.1.144		
The emphasis on afterschool activities	1.1.28 1.1.140 1.3.54 1.3.146	2.3.95	3.1.126		
The responsibility of public agency	1.2.30 1.2.76 1.2.114 1.2.144 1.3.106	2.2.30 2.2.100 2.2.116 2.2.242 2.2.270 2.3.116 2.3.212 2.3.315		4.2.241 4.3.78	5.1.317
The support of child's rights protection agency	1.2.130	2.1.246 2.2.236		4.1.215 4.2.143 4.3.59	5.2.72
There is collaboration for the benefit of children	1.1.74 1.1.86 1.1.148 1.2.214 1.3.82	2.1.56 2.3.198	3.1.130	4.1.179 4.2.165 4.2.225 4.3.92	5.2.52
There is discussed common decision	1.2.46	2.1.160			
There is no help for family	1.2.74 1.3.14	2.2.120 2.3.85			
They are needless to anyone	1.3.14 1.3.140	2.1.198			
They are not a family	1.1.38 1.2.44	2.2.416	3.1.176	4.1.171 4.2.70	
They need psychotherapy	1.2.202	2.3.198			
Travelling family	1.2.60 1.2.192 1.3.32	2.1.242			
Tuberculosis	1.3.92	2.1.96 2.2.20			
Unaccountable behaviour of the child	1.1.70 1.2.192	2.1.42 2.1.262 2.2.158 2.2.222 2.2.370		4.2.403 4.3.178	5.1.182 5.1.240 5.1.260 5.2.162
Unemployed	1.2.62	2.2.16 2.2.30 2.2.132 2.2.230	3.2.36	4.1.35 4.2.50 4.2.365	5.1.68 5.1.140 5.1.164 5.1.234 5.1.374 5.1.394 5.2.24 5.2.84 5.2.146
Unreasonable budget spending	1.1.28 1.1.126 1.2.150 1.3.32 1.3.50	2.1.12 2.2.58 2.2.315 2.2.346 2.3.172	3.1.52	4.1.171	

Using public transport without paying/going rabbit	1.2.10	2.2.4			5.2.20
Very little part of parents is asking help	1.3.30	2.1.144	3.1.108		
When you go to their home	1.1.26 1.1.122 1.3.30	2.2.80 2.2.148 2.2.178 2.2.246 2.3.156		4.1.91 4.3.78	5.1.260 5.2.50 5.2.138
Without parent's agreemnet we cannot admit	1.2.188		3.2.194	4.3.80	
Woman has more permanent employment		2.2.48	3.1.62		5.1.400 5.2.32
Woman is unemployed, man works occasionally	1.1.26		3.1.46		
Woman's employments	1.1.34 1.2.22	2.1.98 2.2.44	3.2.18	4.2.38 4.2.117 4.3.176	5.1.234 5.1.374 5.1.400 5.2.34
Work next to home	1.2.26			4.2.38	