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**Construction of 'a good parent/good parenting' by social workers**

**In different child welfare systems: An integrative review**

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# Contents

Abstract

The current research aimed to explore how social workers are constructing who are good parents and which factors were associated with good parenting in the different child welfare systems. Being a good enough parent is one of the main concerns for the all countries to protect the children from the possible harms and not sufficient caring because the children are the future adults for the society. Children are considered the vulnerable group who might be victims of the parents in their home even in the early years of their life. They require support and protection in their life. the primary caregivers sometimes (mothers and fathers) who the children trust and need them to live safely and healthy might suffer harm, abuse, and neglect. It does not mean parents are considered the bad parents from the society's viewpoints, especially child welfare systems, are evil and they do not at all care about their children's physical, emotional, and safe life. The social and cultural structures have a key role in the definition of good parenting or who can be regarded as good parents. Also, in this process of construction 'being good parents' child welfare systems regardless of which kind of orientation they follow, have the power to determine this concept for the families as a social reality. Social workers are officially responsible from the states to provide well-being to the children by following the guidelines and rules of the child welfare system in the society.

Their power comes from this idea: Children who grow up in a safe environment and have better caring in varied aspects can become healthier adults in the future.

Although they believe the responsibilities of caring for children firstly belong to their own families, the child welfare system has its right to monitor and control the families and children to reduce possible risks and harms. So, social workers 'viewpoints as frontline and who are in direct connection with the parents and children have the most effective role in constructing normal or bad parents. They have professional experiences, educated, skills, and knowledge for judgment and deciding for the parents.

In my opinion, it is so significant to focus on the other side of the reality of good parents or normal parents, the social worker's perception because it will help to improve the system and prevent misjudgment and even misunderstanding of social workers about being good enough parents.

So, in the current review study, I studied social workers 'understandings of what good parenting and a good parent entails and how they construct this concept in different child welfare systems. The integrative literature review as the method was chosen to reach a comparative perspective by reviewing and synthesizing the previous studies. These selected researches belonged to the different child welfare systems. The findings indicated social workers of three child welfare systems had more similarities than differences in their understandings. Good parents were understood by social workers in similar viewpoints. It means that parents who care and provide for the essential needs of their children such as physical, emotional, safety, and protection from harm and abuse, were considered good parents. The main points resulting from my reviewing articles indicated that social workers have a key impact on determination what will be normal or abnormal in the child welfare context and the power that exists in the child welfare system and especially social workers have the main role in the construction of reality of the normal parents in the societies so they make decisions and judge the qualification of parents by their power. Indeed, the gender-based views about the parents cause different expectations from the mothers to compare to the fathers in caring for the children and the mothers are the primary responsibility to meet the needs of their children.

**Keywords:**

Social worker, parents/parenting, welfare systems, power pastoral, normality, and mother blaming

1.0 Introduction

during years, children's well-being has received more attention from the states the reason of "rapid increase in reports of child maltreatment from 1980to the early 1990s so the countries conducted to make social policies and professional practices"(Gilbert, Parton, and Skivenes 2011:3)[1] to protect the children from the abuse, violence, and harm in the families. In the mid-1990s countries (nine countries included: U.S, Canada, England, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Germany) had arrangements in child welfare systems. As Gilbert(2011) noted "the important variations among the countries concerning the extent to which their child abuse reporting systems were characterized by a child protection or a family service orientation"(p.4)

1.1 Background to the study

These two orientations had different perceptions about how to characterize the problem of abuse in those countries and the role of state and families in the protection and well-being of the children (Gilbert 2012[2])

Gilbert (2012) distinguished them in four dimensions:

"1. the way of framing problem of child abuse: abuse conceived as an act to protect the children from harm by degenerative relatives in child protection oriented or as a problem of family conflict or dysfunction from social and psychological difficulties in family-oriented

2. Operation of response either as a mechanism for investigating deviance or as a service-oriented

3. Different functions of child welfare professionals so in the child protection orientation in a highly adversarial way or the family service orientation in a spirit of partnership, particularly with the parents

4. High rate of voluntary arrangements with parents in making out-of-home placements in family service orientation and the child protection orientation, the majority of out-of-home placements were through the coercive power of the state, usually in the form of court orders. "(p.5)

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[1] Gilbert, N., Parton, N., & Skivenes, M. (2011). *Child Protection Systems: International Trends and Orientations*. Oxford University Press.

[2] Gilbert, N. (2012). A comparative study of child welfare systems: Abstract orientations and concrete results. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *34*(3), 532–536

These two orientations 'results in child protection and services showed that it required shifting in some policies to reach a balance between serving families and protecting children. So, the third approach emerged in emphasizing the state's role in promoting the development of children (Gilbert 2012).

These regimes varied in their approaches to the role of the state, vis-à-vis the family also Gilbert (2012) added: "particularly in the degree to which social welfare family benefits reduced the individual's dependence on a kinship-a process known as defamiliarization (Espring-Andersen, 1999)."

According to Gilbert categorized, there are three child welfare regimes:

1. Anglo-American countries(the U.S and Canada): focused on child protection (delayed intervention and were less optimistic about the effectiveness of intervention)(Hetherington 2005)and has general consistency on family policy spending among the other regimes and the degree of defamiliarization. (Gilbert et al. 2011:6)

2. Continental European: the problem of maltreatment from a family service orientation (did more preventive work, and offered more family support more readily and at an earlier stage)(2005) and also less spending on family policies, stress the role of a traditional family, and discourage female labor force participation reflecting a modest level of defamiliarization(Gilbert et al. 2011:6)

3. Nordic countries(Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Norway ): same as for Continental Europe but have a difference on the policy of mandatory reporting (Gilbert et al. 2011)and family policies exhibit the highest defamiliarization, emphasizing a strong government role, stressing the goal of gender equality and child well-being (Gilbert et al. 2011:6).

By regarding different child welfare systems and policies, the main aim of the current study was focused on the social workers' perceptions and understandings as front lines in the child protection context and on their opinion of who will be good parents and how social workers perceive being good parenting in their practice. So, I explained, "good parenting or good parent "to clarify it more.

1.1.1 Good enough parenting

The concept of a good parent or good enough parenting is complicated and will be determined by society. From by social construction perspective,' reality'  is socially constructed, and "it is the

world that originates in their thoughts and actions, is maintained as real by these" (Berger and Luckmann 1991:35)The reality of good parents or good enough parenting is constructing through interaction between people in their everyday life. It means that "do not assume pre-existing world waiting to be discovered . Rather, it is through social interchange that what we take as the realities of the world come into being"(Witkin 2011:2[3]0)  this is a key point in the definition of good parenting by social construction perspective emphasizes" the historical, cultural, and social contexts of beliefs"(Witkin 2011:37)

Good parenting for the first time, by Adcock and White (1985) stated in child protection context "government and society have to decide what level of parenting is unacceptable (Choate & Engstrom, 2014, p. 369)[4]. The level of acceptable or unacceptable parenting competencies depends on the social, cultural, political standards which will differ in each county and even each generation. However, some standards may be basic in the well-being and protection of children. According to of study by Kellet and Apps (2009) offered general principles for consideration good enough parents by social workers in their practice" 1. meeting the child's health and developmental needs: 2. putting children's needs first; 3. providing routine and consistent care;4.parental acknowledgment and engagement with support services.(Choate and Engstrom 2014:370)

These universal standards may be obvious for every society to follow, but the issue will occur when social workers should make the decision and apply the standards in their practice, in the reason of there is "a lack of consensus around key terms such as what is abusive or what is or is not normative" (DePanfiles& Girvin,2005; Voight,Tregeagle&Cox,1996) and we should consider that lack of consensus in good enough parenting will be more clear when the social workers face the cases and should judge about them. As Wrennall (2010) called this situation "a Trojan horse where, in the name of doing good, society is more closely monitoring and interfering in the lives of the weaker" ( Choate & Engstrom, 2014, p. 370).

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[3] Witkin, S. L. (2011). *Social Construction and Social Work Practice: Interpretations and Innovations*. Columbia University Press.

[4] Choate, P. W., & Engstrom, S. (2014). The "Good Enough" Parent: Implications for Child Protection. *Child Care in Practice*, *20*(4), 368–382. Academic Search Premier.

Social workers are a front-line of monitoring and judging the parents in the context of child protection and it will construct or even reconstruct the concept of being good enough parents. Their construction is important for how children and their families' situations are understood.

Indeed, it should be regarded that good enough parenting also follows the standards as mentioned above, but there is no consensus on these terms in social work practice. It means that "there is a lack of consensus around key terms such as what is abusive or what is not normative "(Depanfilis and Girvin 2005:354)

This lack of consensus will show up in deciding by social workers when encountering the cases and judge about being good enough parenting, as Murno (1996) stated that " workers need to make case decisions about when a parent is good enough despite the lack of definitional consensus and, typically, with unreliable or incomplete data." (Munro 1996:800)

Nevertheless, Engstrom and Choate determined the elements of 'good parent' by reviewing other researches that mentioned here:

1. Physical care: provision of reasonable housing, clothing, food, and other forms of the basics of life (Budd et all., 2011)

2. Community safety: the safety of the neighborhood may not be good but is beyond the capacity of the parent to solve( Jarret,1999; Pinderhughes, Nix, Foster & Jones, 2007)

3. Family safety: interpersonal violence (physical, emotional, sexual) is a prevalent issue within child protection.

4. Substance abuse and addiction

5. Mental and physical health of the parent

6. Nurturing: this includes the basics of being emotionally and physically available for the child at a basic level (Budd et al., 2011)

7. Using external networks: the family and children are connected to and utilize resources that may be available in the community and school

8. Capacity to change: using the Stages of Change model (Norcross, 1992)(p. 374-376)

## 1.2 Aims and research questions

The current thesis aimed to review and synthesize previous researches from 1985 till 2020 on the social workers' perspectives about good parenting/good parent

The research question was formulated for my study was:

How is "good parents/good parenting" constructed by social workers in the various child welfare system?

## 1.3 Structure of a thesis

Chapter one describes the background of the thesis, aims, and research question. Chapter two explains the theoretical background of child welfare systems and the concept of good parenting in a child protection context. In chapter three is the methodology section that presents the integrative literature review as the method, significance, and limitation of integrative review, quality appraisal, strategies were regarded for selecting the articles to review and synthesize, and constant comparison method for analyzing the findings. Chapter four covers the synthesis of findings, also on chapter five discusses the findings and the last chapter is the conclusions.

## 2.0 Theoretical background

This chapter presents the theoretical background of the mother blaming perspective, pastoral power, and normality /abnormality in the social construction perspective.

## 2-1 mother blaming in social work practice

A child's wellbeing and proper care always was one of the main goals of the states for centuries and meeting the physical and psychological needs of the children were the social values that were followed by the health professionals to assure the families can provide the sufficient necessities and safety for their children or not.

In the child welfare context, nuclear family has the key role to protect, rear, and support the children in societies, although their qualifications of being good enough are always monitored by the states by health professionals such as social workers, it will not decrease the effectiveness of the role of mothers and fathers in well-being the children.

The considerable point in this process, the different views between the role of mothers and fathers have existed in society for years. "The 17th century was a turning point in the history of child and

family life in terms of the increased importance of the nuclear family unit, the development of flectional bonds among members, and the perception of the mother's role"(Aries, 1962; Stone, 1977).In the 18th century, "It was assumed that a mother would derive great pleasure, health, and happiness to nursing her infants. Not only would her child develop an undying attachment to her, but she would have earned the love and highest esteem of her husband, and the family would be a close, loving unit with the optimum outcome of the child as its priority (Badinter, 1982) and in the 19th century, this idea was more serious in scientific researches. As Sommerfeld [5](1989) noted that "The 19th century produced several notable developmentalism whose writing influenced efforts to provide improved physical and psychological health and education of children from all social strata and not only in the child legitimate source of scientific information but also, by implication at least, reaffirmed the 'natural' maternal role described by their predecessors and added further to the expectations and responsibilities of being a good mother" (p. 19)

History showed that as long as the children became more important in the society, mothers' role will be more paid attention the reason of "Natural maternal feelings were exploited by the economic, political, religious, and sexual pressures of society, thrusting the responsibility on the mother for the process and judging her on the product"(Sommerfeld 1989:22)

2-1-1 Mother blaming by varied perspectives:

Mother blaming is a phenomenon in the child welfare context studied by different theories such as cognitive development theory, Freudian theory, attachment theory, and feminist theory. In all of these theories, mothers are central subjects related to the health and well-being of their children.

Lamb(1975) claimed the reason for it in cognitive development theory: "Numerous theories of infant and child development focused solely on the mother as an influence on the child and considered the father to be of minimal importance"(Phares 1992:660)[6]. Also, Phares(1992) stated that the most reason was "In the child development theories and empirically tested the assumed insignificance of fathers in this domain"(p .660)

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[5] Sommerfeld, D. P. (1989). The origins of mother blaming: Historical perspectives on childhood and motherhood. *Infant Mental Health Journa*

[6] Phares, V. (1992). Where's poppa? The relative lack of attention to the role of fathers in child and adolescent psychopathology. *American Psychologist*,

Moreover, from a mental health perspective, Phares described "mother blaming as a sexist bias toward studying mothers 'contribution to child and adolescent maladjustment and at the same time ignoring similar contributions by fathers"(Jackson and Mannix 2004:150)

Sigmond Freud viewed it by different perceptions. He developed his theory of childhood sexuality as means to rationalize these stories (Oedipal theory, embarrassment of inferiority by the young girls because of not having a penis, and the connection to their contempt for their mother) as fantasy ultimately paved the way for victim-blaming, and in particular, mother blaming "(Ehrmin 1996:253)[7]

Attachment theory illustrated it with different aspects: "Attachment theory underscores the profound influence of early attachment experiences, particularly loss, separation, and trauma, on development and attachment patterns across the lifespan. Early attachment hypotheses offered an alternative psychodynamic conceptualization to traditional psychoanalytic theory, with greater attention paid to live experiences, thus analysis beyond biologically based motivational drives and unconscious processes."(Azzopardi, Alaggia, and Fallon 2018:255)[8]

Bolen(2000, 2002) noted that "Assumptions of attachment theory was originally hypothesized to be an infant's biologically rooted bond with a primary caregiver(i.e., mother) satisfying the instinctual survival mechanism of protection through proximity and accessibility, a universal component of human nature, intergenerationally transmitted from the maternal attachment figure to her infant via consistent physical and emotional responsiveness, and predictive and dynamic yet largely stable across the lifespan". (Azzopardi et al. 2018:254)So, the mothers perceive as the primary caregiver or the best one.

Feminists analyzed mother blaming in another way. They believed that this phenomenon came from "social construction of mothering that has exposed some of the beliefs about good mothers which permeate our attitudes toward mothering" (Davies and Krane 1997:5)[9] mother who "not just the biological bearer of children, is ascribed the social, legal, and ideological responsibility

[7] Ehrmin, J. T. (1996). No more mother blaming: A feminist nursing perspective on the mother's role in father-daughter incest. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursin*

[8] Azzopardi, C., Alaggia, R., & Fallon, B. (2018). From Freud to Feminism: Gendered Constructions of Blame Across Th Davies, L., & Krane, J. (1997). Shaking the Legacy of Mother Blaming: *Journal of Progressive Human Services* eories of Child Sexual Abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*

[9]

for the care and upbringing of children (Mandell,1988) or children are assumed to require full-time care by mothers and mothers are thought to be uniquely equipped to care for them(Contratto,1986).

The phenomenon of mother blaming constructed a particular image of a mother who should be selfless, healthy, full-time caring, and primarily responsible for the children in the family.

2-1-2 Idealized mothers:

Mother blaming is defined as "a serious and pervasive problem, and is a term that describes mothers being held responsible for the actions, behaviors, health, and well-being of their (even adult) children. (Jackson and Mannix 2004:150)[10]

Mother blaming may be resulted from two key points: first, the idealized mother, and second invisibility of the actual labor of mothering(Davies and Krane 1997:4).

Who are the ideal mothers? Allan (2004)[11] mentioned the characteristics of ideal mother:

"1. Natural mothers: the mothers are in tune with their bodies, attentive to their infant's signals, and available to respond appropriately (Everingham 1998, p.227)

2. Effective mothers: are available 24 hours a day, enjoy this role and view it as aiding in their children's development.

3. Responsible mothers: raise well-behaved and educated children who can participate in the wider culture (Everingham 1998, p.229). This model of experience for the feelings and behaviors of their children, consequently they can blame themselves should there be any problems (Chafetz, 1995) "(p. 59)

The second point is the normality of the mother's labor in the home and especially encounter the children. In other words, "the best mother is one who is seen, but not heard" (Graham, 1982, p105 ).

All of these characters of being mothers will make ideal mothers who are the main role in the child's life and provide his/her needs.

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[10] Jackson, D., & Mannix, J. (2004). Giving voice to the burden of blame: A feminist study of mothers' experiences of mother blaming. *International Journal of Nursing Practice*

[11] Allan, Julaine. 2004. "Mother Blaming: A Covert Practice in Therapeutic Intervention." *Australian Social Work* 57

In the mother blaming's phenomenon, I emphasized the attachment theory too to reach a comprehensive understanding of it in the social work context and answer my research question.

2-1-3 Mother blaming by attachment theory:

Attachment theory focused on "the maternal-infant bond as vital in the psychological and emotional development of infants and young children" (Bowlby 1984)[12]. Bowlby (1969, 1988) as an evolutionary theory of attachment believed that "Babies are born with the tendency to display certain innate behaviors (called social releaser) which help ensure proximity and contact with the mother or mother figure (e.g. crying, smiling, crawling, etc.) and He hypothesized that" both infants and mothers have evolved a biological need to stay in contact with each other and this relationship with the mother is somehow different altogether from other relationships ".

Hence, this can result in emotional and psychological development problems in children. (Crittenden 1995) so this perspective emphasizes the role of mothers in rearing and caring for the children from the beginning of the child's life even until being adult and the main responsibilities and expectations in parenting will be related to the role of the mother. However, Bowlby's theory defined this role as a primary caregiver for well-being and caring for the child, in social work practice, this expectation has continued for caring and providing needs of the children by a particular focus on the mothers.

Whilst, in social work practice, parents regularly have the same responsible roles for providing the essential needs of children such as physical, emotional, safety, and protection from harm, but the past studies showed that health professionals(in the current study ) role of mother in caring the children was influenced by traditional gender roles. Allan(2010)claimed that this perception of the mother's role was "socially constructed around a gendered perception of sex-role stereotypes"(p.57). These stereotypes define the role of the mother who bears children, breastfeed, rears, cuddle for sleeping, and the all needs of the child that should be provided by them. As Hobson(2002) claimed" mothers and fathers are positioned as different and complementary are met with different requirements and expectations when it comes to the ability to care for their

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[12]Bowlby, J., Ainsworth, M., & Bretherton, I. (1992). The Origins of Attachment Theory. *Developmental Psychology*

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children (Storhaug 2013:1757[13])so the responsibilities, duties, and expectations would differ between father and mother.

Mothers usually are the central subject that will be monitored on child's caring issues by social workers. Although child welfare practice in theory focused on the needs and interests of children, the bulk of child welfare activity entails the evaluation of women_as_mothers and mothering functions or capacities. (Davies and Krane 1997:22)It means that the mother's behaviors and actions are subject to scrutiny in ways that men as fathers are not, and these behaviors and actions are often linked to family and child health outcomes in ways that male activities are not(Jackson and Mannix 2004:150).

It will be more problematic when the family encounters the health professionals and in the current study, child protection systems who monitored and made the decision about good parenting. Davies and Krane (1997) stated that "child welfare is no stranger to mother blame. When children come to the attention of child welfare authorities, more often than not it is their mothers who are "scrutinized and held accountable" (Hutchison, 1992, p. 72).

In a good parenting process, when children were the victim of abuse and neglect, the mothers might be more criticized because of the mother blaming idea compared to the fathers in the first step. "This is because women are positioned as primary carers of children and crimes like child sexual abuse are considered to be related to a lack of care"(Jackson and Mannix 2004:156) and it is " shifting of responsibility for child abuse to the mother, based on the presumption that a ' good mother' knows what is occurring in the family and has some power to stop anything harmful"(Breckenridge and Baldry 1997:69)

Indeed, Sommerfeld noted," social workers often address the mothers in their perceptions of good parents and health care professionals perceive mothering as a linear process in which child behavior is a direct outcome of maternal behavior alone" (P. 15).

On the other hand, prioritizing the mothers in social work practice for caring and meeting the needs of the children can be related to "child's tie to the mother and its disruption through separation, deprivation, and bereavement" (Bowlby, Ainsworth, and Bretherton 1992:752)

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[13] Storhaug, A. S. (2013). Fathers' involvement with the Child Welfare Service. *Children & Youth Services Review*

2-2 Theory of Power

Power is an interchangeable concept that can be defined by different viewpoints in different concepts. It exists everywhere and every relationship on the micro and macro level, individual relationship or collective relationship and has a key impact on the human relationship regardless it is obvious or hidden or even can be functional and useful or dysfunctional or harmful. Reynaert explained that "many relationships seem at first sight to be free of power, or we think that we act without any recourse to power. However, this is impossible. Where we consider or expect no power to be present, power is subtly at work " (Reynaert 2014:180)[14]

In the current study, I focus on two theories(Lukes and Foucault) about the power that can illustrate the research question and to clarify how social work's understandings construct the concept of "good parent" for the family and in this process, what is the role of power in context on social work or in macro level, child welfare system ?!

 Power from Lukes' view (1974) developed in three dimensions. These three dimensions consisted of:

"1. Decision-making power: This dimension of power focused on seeing who prevails in cases of decision-making where there is an observable conflict. The pluralists involve in decision-making as the central task. As Polsby wrote: one can conceive of 'power'-'influence' and 'control' are serviceable synonyms_ as the capacity of one actor to do something affecting actor, which changes the probable patter of specified future events. This changes the probable pattern of specified future events. This can be envisaged most easily in a decision-making situation. ([30], pp.3-4). Also, he added: the pluralists see their focus on behavior in the making of decisions over key or important issues as involving actual, observable conflict. The conflict of interests is equivalent to a conflict of preferences by political participation. (p. 13-15)

2. Non-decision- making power: The second dimension is that power involves examining both decision-making and non-decision-making. A decision is a choice among alternative modes of action' (p. 39); a non-decision is a decision that results in suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-maker (p.44) this non-decision-making

[14] Reynaert, M. (2014). Pastoral power in nurturing the spiritual life of the child. *International Journal of Children's Spirituality*,

means that 'demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced or kept covert or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena. This will be set by the political system or rather by elites within it. The resources of power or authority of those who currently dominate the process by which policy outputs in the system are determined. (p. 18-19)

3. Ideological power: power is socially structured. The bias of the system, most importantly, by the socially structured and culturally patterned behavior of groups, and practices of institutions, may indeed be manifested by individuals inaction. There might be a contradiction between the interest of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude. (p.22-25)

For Lukes, power is 'socially and culturally located' (Hugman 1991:32)Also, consequently power is not equally distributed throughout society and it is the cultural norms of the majority population that dominate the social agenda. (Jupp 2005)

2-2-1 Foucault and power

As Jupp (2005) noted about the concept of power in Foucault theory: "knowledge and power are inseparable (Foucault, 1980), and the value placed upon professional knowledge marginalizes local knowledge, or 'subjugated knowledge 'and He referred to the focus on professional knowledge as professional discourse".

Moreover, Gosvami (2014) about this relationship between knowledge and power explained that "I think there is of power on knowledge and knowledge on power. We should not be content to say that power needs for such- and- such a discovery, such- and- such a form of knowledge, but we should add that the exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information".(p. 16)

The important point that will be related to the current study about this relationship between power and knowledge is " All political and social forms of thought are inevitably caught up in interplay of knowledge and power. Knowledge and power interpenetrate in certain types of practices, such as the regulation of the body, governing bodies, and the formation of the self. Thus, it asks how people govern themselves and others through the production of knowledge. Foucault pays particular attention to the techniques that are developed from the knowledge and to how they are used to control people"(Goswami 2014:17)

The professional knowledge of health professionals and in the current study social workers. It means that their skills, abilities, and educated knowledge as experts in the society put them in a powerful position in the society compare the others: families, parents, children to monitor and control their life.

2-2-2 Pastoral power

Foucault viewed a new form of pastoral power in modern society that can no longer be understood as a hierarchical form of power, that is characterized by the direct exercise of power by authorities. (Reynaert 2014:181)

Foucault's definition of 'pastoral power' can also be called a power of care(Foucault2004,131 cited in Reynaert, 2014, p. 181). From this point that caregivers(authorities, states, and child welfare systems in the current topic) have to care for the individuals (parents and children), and as Reynaert(2014) stated "under the guise of care, the caregiver can control the life of the child. Moreover, Foucault makes clear that pastoral power is both an individualizing and totalizing power.(181) Also it has a disciplinary aspect(Smith2006,101;Gartner2009,175-180)

This power will be applied by the health systems and the social workers in the context of controlling and monitoring how parents behave, rear, and even breastfeed their children. This power consisted of both exercising control and assisting.(Björkhagen Turesson 2020a:371)

This power is resulted from "the linkages between expert knowledge and power, regulatory practices and systems of thought in modern societies, and the capacity of discourse to create new forms of controls and surveillance. (Witkin 2011:183)

Social workers have the responsibility to monitor and care for the children from the risks and dysfunction of the parents. Their assistance and treatment process will make the power for social workers to determine the discipline and norms how can be good parents. The role of social workers in this context is complicated in the reason of "the social work has taken over the role of the church as both helper and moral guardian(Foucault 1990; Järvinen 2002) and it should be regarded that it is obvious that "power and power relations are an inevitable feature of professional social work as an expert strategy and at a most basic level, there is the power of the profession to use language to define social problems in a certain manner" (Witkin 2011:184).

2-3 Power in the social work context

Power is a considerable part of social work practice. It is not possible to ignore the fact that social workers and clients (parents) use power in their interactions toward their cases. Hasenfeld (1987) categorized three appropriate sources of power in the social work practice: "social workers rely on the power of expertise, which is derived from their access to and command of specialized knowledge. Second, they use referent power of persuasion, which emanates from their interpersonal skills, particularly their ability to develop empathy, trust, and rapport with the client., Third, they evoke legitimate power, which is an appeal to dominant cultural values and authoritative norms "(Hasenfeld 1987:470)

However, should be regarded that these sources which used by social workers in their practice, apply by the state in macro-level and especially in children context, with child welfare systems." Because social work is primarily an agency-based practice, the organization determines how resources will be allocated and to whom and it is the fact that the power of the agency is reinforced that clients must yield some control over their fate to the agency when seeking help from it "(Hasenfeld 1987:472)

 Parents and families always are the most important subject for the state and they always are one of the main targets for health professionals and at higher levels, welfare systems to monitor and control them. When the subjects are children as vulnerable that need others to support and provide the essential needs of life and become healthy adults, the child welfare system focus on parenting in the best model and the best way to care for the children. In the first step, social workers as the frontline in the assessment process and helping the children are the observable conflict and use their power by their professional knowledge to decide who can be good enough parents, although the child welfare system gives them this power by their policies and guidelines to determine the qualification of the being parent or even staying parent(in the cases children take away from the families). The social workers in monitoring the parents for assuring the appropriate caring for the children go through the details of how should be cared for example time of breastfeeding, sleeping, evidence of neglect, and decide it can be acceptable or not from their views. However, it should be considered that this power makes in the society and culture of that society. It means that the power of social workers has an impact on the norms and values of society.

2-4 Social construction of normality or abnormality

Normality is what people imagine as social norms in their societies and cultures. The behaviors, beliefs, and expectations are structured by the society in their daily life. This normality is changed over history and will be influenced by social, religious, cultural structures and in the recent century more social media to be considered normal such as homosexual marriage accept in some societies as normal, but some other societies regard it as completely abnormal and negative.

Meaning of normality can refer to two definitions: "1. whenwidespread condition is imagined by people and refers to social norms, for example, I have a normal sex life" (Freud 1999:335). This definition considers normality in the situation that most people accept it "in the sense of average and have reference group in mind and this reference group may not be considered normal by other people" (p. 335).

As Freud stated the second meaning of normality refers to "normality as high positive values and desirable behavior that is closest to our common use. It is driven by our values about the good life and all rather modern ideas. (Freud 1999:336)

2-5 Social construction theory

Berger and Luckmann (1991) explained these three stages: Externalization, Objectification, and Internalization for the construction of reality in the society.

"1. Externalization means" Man's self-production is always, and of necessity, a social enterprise. Men together produce a human environment, with the totality of its social-cultural and psychological formations. (p.69)

2. Objectification is" The experiences that are so retained become sediment, such sedimentation took place the individual could not make sense of his biography. Intersubjective sedimentation also takes place when several individuals share a common biography, experiences of which become incorporated in the common stock of knowledge. Intersubjective sedimentation can be called truly social only when it has been objectivated in a sign system of one kind or another, that is when the possibility of reiterated objectification of the shared experiences arises."(p. 85)

3. Internalization: the immediate apprehension or interpretation of an objective event as expressing meaning, that is, as a manifestation of another's subjective processes which thereby becomes subjectively meaningful to me. (p. 149) "

Also, they believed that in the process of the social construction of reality "individual member of society, who simultaneously externalizes his being into the social world and internalizes it as an objective reality. In other words, to be in society is to participate in its dialectic."(Berger and Luckmann 1991:149)

Moreover, we constructed, accepted, and renewed the reality in our society. However, it should be considered that "the relationship between the individual and the objective social world is like an ongoing balancing act "(Berger and Luckmann 1991:154)

So, I can regard by an above explanation about the social construction of reality that people in a dialectical relationship by the others in the society and also their own experiences as an individual will shape the reality or in the other words normality in their society. This reality construct in every day of life

2-5-1 The reality of Good or bad parenting

Good parenting is one of key-value in each society where parents are expected to behave their children based on the social and cultural norms are constructed. In the dialectic relationship between the parents and society, parents as an individual (mother or father) have their reality for being good enough for their children in caring and protecting the children's needs, and on the other hand, the child welfare system as an institution has the key role in producing or reproducing the reality of good parents or who can be normal parents or what should parents behave in caring their children for regarding as normal parent in their context.

Normal or good ways of parenting and abnormal or bad parenting ways will be distinguished by social workers in their practice. However,  every society has its norms and values regarding being good parents and social workers have the main role in this context. In social work practice, they follow guidelines of their child welfare system, "skills and theories learned in their education and by personal experience" (Payne 2020:5)[15].

Also, Payne (2020) noted that professionals use personal knowledge that comes from their interpretation, intuition and similar skills and practical wisdom"(p.5). It means that social workers'

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[15] Payne, M. (2020). *Modern Social Work Theory*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

perceptions about the good enough parent were resulted in what society and especially the child welfare system were defined and constructed for them.

.In the current context, I focused on the social realities about a good parent, which was constructed by social workers in their practice so they judge and make a decision what will be normal or good and abnormal or bad about the children's life.

The social construction of reality is defined as a social process through action and interaction in which the individual (or group of individuals) creates continuously a reality that is owned and experienced together subjectively(Charles R.Ngangi,201). As Berger and Luckmann (1966) stated that there is "a dialectical relationship between objective and subjective reality and this is "dialectic between individual and society" (p.174).

Society is formed by individual actors who produce society based on a subjective reality that guides their actions and at the same time, individuals are formed by society and its objectivities (Dreher, 2016, p.10). what we call 'reality 'is a social knowledge that has been agreed upon between people(Payne, 2020, p.20).

In my opinion, Social workers will be constructing the reality of good parenting for their clients by their educated knowledge (theories), personal experiences as professionals, and principles of their child welfare system where they are representatives of that system. All of these factors have an impact on the being good enough parenting socially constructed or reconstructed in the societies. This power of social workers (in the current study child welfare protection) will be created the concept of normal or good parent /abnormal or bad parent that can be understood by the theory of normality. Theory of normality is "the dominant discourse of normality constructed by a culture into which a person may have been recruited into accepting(knowingly or unknowingly)internalizing and consequently self-subjugating around ideas of what he or she is supposed to be and do to be considered 'normal' and this is a description of a relationship of power between dominant cultural discourse and individual of that culture"(Witkin, 2011, p.71). The parents will be judged with the construction of normality that was presented and expected by the child welfare systems. Witkin(2011) wished clients(parents)"to be subjectively understood as unique, dynamic individuals in contexts rather than objectified and compared through assessment to an expert-oriented, culturally biased idea of normalized self"(p.53).

## 3.0 Methodological approach- Integrative review

## 3.1 Literature review as a method

A literature review is a method to review and summarize what is known about the particular topic. To research with this method, the researcher should review and synthesize the studied literature according to the research question and aims of the study. "For a review to be considered rigorous, a comprehensive method needs to be followed and reported and This allows readers the ability to evaluate the reviewer's attempt to mitigate bias and, if Desired, replicate the same review procedure and draw similar conclusions" (Torraco 2005:2).

Also, relevant literature is "an essential feature of any academic project and an effective review creates a firm foundation for advancing knowledge, it facilitates theory development, closes areas where a plethora of research exists, and uncovers areas where research is needed"(Webster and Watson 2002).

Indeed, the literature review is "an excellent way of synthesizing research findings to show evidence on a meta-level and to uncover areas in which more research is needed, which is a critical component of creating theoretical frameworks and building conceptual models." (Whittemore and Knafl 2005:547)) Reviewing and synthesizing varied findings and perspectives will help inform social work education, policy, and practice for reaching the best decision–making and more comprehensive understanding of the specific phenomenon or and it will be translated into the best practical decisions to improve health (Steglitz et al., 2015).

To address the aims of the current research, the literature review is chosen as the method. According to the research question, this method makes more possibilities for me to study this topic comprehensively. Research 'good parenting and social worker's understandings' can be studied with the other methodology, but for comparative study of this subject in different welfare systems, the literature review can be more functional to reach the aim of my study.

3-2 Different types of literature review

There are different types of literature review methods such as" systematic reviews, meta-analyses, integrative review, and qualitative review that each has a distinct purpose, sampling frame, definition, and type of analysis" (Whittemore and Knafl 2005:547)[16]

1. Narrative literature review: "Narrative literature reviews form a vital part of most empirical articles, theses, and grant proposals, and of course many articles and book chapters are devoted specifically to reviewing the literature on a particular topic".(Baumeister and Leary 1997:311)[17]

2. Systematic literature review: "A systematic review refers to the process of systematically locating and collating all available information on an effect. (Davis et al. 2014:2) a systematic review has a single narrowly focused clinical question, usually formulated in a PICO (P = population, I = intervention, C = comparison, O = outcomes) format"(Torraco 2005:2).[18]

3. Meta-analysis literature review:" Meta-analysis refers to the statistical techniques used to combine this information to give an overall estimate of the effect in the population. Together, systematic reviews and meta-analyses can help to clarify the state of a field of research, determine whether an effect is constant across studies, and discover what future studies are required to demonstrate the effect. Advanced meta-analysis techniques can also be used to discover what study-level or sample characteristics affect the phenomenon being studied."(Davis et al. 2014:1)[19] and also" Meta-analysis is used to statistically synthesize data from several included studies to provide a single more precise estimate of the effectiveness of an intervention" (Conner 2014).

4. Integrative literature review: Integrative reviews are the broadest type of research review methods allowing for the simultaneous inclusion of experimental and non-experimental research to more fully understand a phenomenon of concern. (Whittemore and Knafl 2005:547)

Determination of the relevant method between different types of literature review methods will depend on factors such as the research question, scope, and purpose of the research, time limitation, and inclusion strategies for types of literature that will review in the research (Toronto and

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[16] Whittemore, R., & Knafl, K. (2005). The integrative review: Updated methodology. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*,

[17] Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1997). Writing Narrative Literature Reviews. *Review of General Psychology*,

[18] Torraco, R. J. (2005). Writing Integrative Literature Reviews: Guidelines and Examples. *Human Resource Development Review*

[19] Davis, J., Mengersen, K., Bennett, S., & Mazerolle, L. (2014). Viewing systematic reviews and meta-analysis in social research through different lenses. *SpringerPlus*

Remington 2020). So, between different types of literature reviews, in the current study integrative literature review is chosen for conduct the research for the reasons that will be explained in the following part.

## 3.2.1 Integrative literature review

According to the integrative review method's characters in comparison to other types of literature review methods, is selected for conducting the current research review. These characters include:

1. This review is the broadest type of review and has the potential to capture the complexity of varied perspectives and emergent phenomena (Hopia et al., 2016). The purpose of using an integrative review method is to overview the knowledge base, critically review and potentially re-conceptualize, and expand on the theoretical foundation of the specific topic as it develops. (Hanna Synder 2019:341)

2.Inclusion of diverse methodologies (i.e.experimental and non_experimental research) (Whittemore and Knafl 2005:548)

3. Synthesizes research from diverse sources make more possibilities for a reviewer to address the current state of the special phenomenon, quality of the evidence, identify gaps in the literature, and the future steps for research and practice. (Russell $20^{20}$05:9)

4. Synthesizes sampling from empirical research (quantitative and/or qualitative studies), methodological and theoretical studies (Whittemore et al., 2014: 450). Combining the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative studies can provide robust insight into a complex phenomenon as well as the development of an intervention. (Whittemore et al. 2014:456)[21]

To address the research question, the integrative review method can enable depth and holistic understandings about the phenomenon of interest. Also, the integrative review has the potential to play a greater role in evidence-based practice and the presentation of varied perspectives on a phenomenon of concern (Whittemore & Knafl, 2005b).

Due to all characters of integrative review and the type of research question and aim of it, the integrative review was more appropriate for conducting the current research. As Syndre (2019)

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[20] Russell, C. (2005). An overview of the integrative research review. *Progress in Transplantation*
[21] Whittemore, R., Chao, A., Jang, M., Minges, K. E., & Park, C. (2014). Methods for knowledge synthesis: An overview. *Heart & Lung*

noted "to determine what approach is most appropriate for a specific type of review, the research question and specific purpose of the review always determine the right strategy to use" (p.336). In the following, I explained the limitations of other types of literature review in the study of the current research question.

The research question was how social workers' understandings construct good parent or good parenting in the different child welfare systems. Due to it, meta-analysis can be chosen in the reason of "each primary study is abstracted, coded, and entered into a quantitative database. Findings are subsequently transformed into a common metric to calculate an overall effect size" (Whittemore and Knafl 2005:457) and " to be able to perform a meta-analysis, the included studies must share statistical measures (effect size) to compare results" (DerSimonian and Laird 2015:140)[22] The systematic review has not qualified the aim of the current research too, because the "systematic review process is used to collect articles, and then a qualitative approach is used to assess them". (Hanna Synder 2019). Moreover, the qualitative review method (e.g. narrative literature review) also cannot be practical as the method in this research, for the reasons of narrative literature review method's aim is to describe and synthesize the available literature on a topic (Green et al., 2006)

So, integrative literature review as the method can answer my research question broadly, my samples (chosen articles) were not limited the articles were conducted by qualitative methods only and mix methods (qualitative and quantitative) were included, also as a specific topic (construction good parenting by social workers compare to the other topics that mostly focus on how can be good parents or who is good parent, this method has more functional and useful for searching by topic.

3.3 Strengths and limitations of an integrative review
Russel (2005) stated advantages of integrative review for the scholar reviewers such as "evaluating the strength of the scientific evidence, identifying gaps in current research, identifying the need for future research, bridging between related areas of work, identifying central issues in an area, generating a research question, identifying a theoretical or conceptual framework, and exploring which research methods have been used successfully."(Russell, 2005, p.1)

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[22] DerSimonian, R., & Laird, N. (2015). Meta-Analysis in Clinical Trials Revisited. *Contemporary Clinical Trials*,

Also, the absence of standards or guidelines for a reviewer in conducting an integrative literature review is an obstacle for researchers." the coverage in research textbooks on the process of conducting an integrative literature review is more limited and is often presented in a summary or chapter. (Toronto and Remington 2020:5)[23]To conduct a well-prepared review requires following the systematic process that Cooper conceptualized in 5 steps:1. problem formulation 2. data collection or literature search 3. evaluation of data 4. data analysis 5. interpretation and presentation of results (Russell, 2005). These systematic steps will follow in all reviewing methods except the narrative review as mentioned above, it does not follow a systematic method for locating and analyzing selected studies in the reason of this method captures a 'snapshot 'of a clinical issue (Toronto and Remington 2020:3).

3.4 Quality appraisal

Quality appraisal of research evidence in integrative review is one of the main steps to enhance validity, reliability, and value of data. A quality literature review must have both depth and rigor, that is, it needs to demonstrate an appropriate strategy for selecting articles and capturing data and insights and to offer something beyond a recitation of previous research(Palmatier, Houston, and Hulland 2018)Snyder claimed factors for evaluating the quality of literature review: "needs to be replicable, that is, the method must be described such that an external reader could replicate the study and reach similar findings and lastly literature review must be useful for scholars and practitioners"(Hanna Synder 2019:337–38)[24].

A well-identification research question will determine variables, concepts, and target groups for the sampling data and particularly the ability to differentiate between pertinent and extraneous information in the data extraction stage (Whittemore & Knafl, 2005).

Furthermore, there are some tools for determining the quality of research evidence. Because the current research is an individual student project and it requires work independently, so it is not feasible to build a team for scoring the articles to evaluate validity and reliability them, although my supervisor monitors the process of conducting a literature review and specialized UIS librarian

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[23] Toronto, C. E., & Remington, R. (2020). *A Step-by-Step Guide to Conducting an Integrative Review*. Springer Nature.

[24] Hanna Synder. 2019. "Literature Review as a Research Methodology: An Overview and Guidelines." *Journal of Business Research*

guided to figure out the literature search process. Indeed, the notion and process of quality are complex and there is no gold standard for calculating quality scores.(Jadad et al.1998,Conn and Rantz .2003).Whittemore and Knafl(2005) noted that "how quality is evaluated in an integrative review will vary depending on the sampling frame(p.550).

So there are different critical appraisal tools for evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the selected articles. It is one of the main steps in integrative review (also other types of review) in the reason of the methodological rigor is associated with the quality of the research and minimize bias in the design, conduct, and analysis of the research.(Toronto & Remington, 2020,p.46) also, the validity and reliability of the integrative review depend on reviewed articles for the study can enhance the rigor of the integrative review For these studies, I will follow the definition provided by Whittermore &Knafl(2005) high and low scale and Pilote&Beck's(2004) criteria for evaluating research. Table 1 illustrated based on which factors, the quality of selected articles were evaluated and scored:

Table 1

| Decision | Explanation of critique | score |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Design problem | 1. Is the study question clear in the study? 2. Is the selected article relevant to my research question? | |
| Setting and participant | 1. How was the sample determined? 2. How were they recruited, were the participants invited to join the study for force or choice? 3. Are the sample size described? | |
| Data collection | 1. was the data collected for the study, can explain the rationale for this study? 2. Are the data collection concise to study the research question? | |
| Data analysis | 1. Is there congruence between the research variables were mentioned in the introduction and the method section? 2. Do the findings support the theories were explained in the study? | |
| Ethical consideration | Did the article consider the ethical issue in the study? | |
| Relevance to social work | Has the article potential to recommend for further research investigation? | |

Total scoring will be High =6, Medium =5-3, low= 0-3, the score was based on Whittemore & Knafl(2005) rate that claimed the score will be 0 or 1.

Based on these factors, each article was evaluated and the more explanations about quality of them and their scores were stated in the table 2:

| Author(s) | Year of publication | Country | Quality issues | score |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brigid Daniel | 1999 | UK | limiting the complexity of subject "good enough parenting" in the range of specific statements | 6 |
| Stephanie A. Bryson | 2016 | US | The participation' views werenot separated to reach exact viewpoints of them | 4 |
| Philippa M. Eve, Mitchell K. Byrne, and Cinzia R.Gagliardi | 2014 | UK | being broad of identified categories | 4 |
| Julie Taylor, William lauder, Maxine Moy and Jo Corlett | 2008 | UK | not regarding more variance in judgments and making decision process by health visitors such as characteristics of the health visitors that can impact on their judgments of good parenting | 5 |
| Annelie Bjorkhagen Turesson | 2019 | Sweden | the results did not represent all the work conducted by the child protective services | 4 |
| Anita Skarstad Storhaug | 2013 | Norway | Focus on the topic and relevance between research question and method | 6 |

| Author(s) | Year of publication | Country | Aims | method | Data material | sample | Findings |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brigid Daniel | 1999 | UK | explored social worker's beliefs and opinion about good enough parenting and about decision-making in child care and protection | Mixed method | Q sorts methodology | 128 SW | : the results show that there were consensus of agreement and lack of consensus in relation to parenting environment and decision-making. About parenting environment, there are consensus agreement about damaging for children to live in an atmosphere of violence and it will effect on self-confidence and self- esteem. Also, consensus of neutrality about physical abuse and priority to their own professional judgments (social workers) than to guidelines and procedures. The consensus disagreement about issues of judgment of parenting environment ,living children in extreme dirt and untidiness situation although they can be perfectly happy, the level of neglect, damaging for children that their primary career are abuse alcohol. The level of consensus about some statements indicates that they have become part of received body of practice wisdom. Assessment of children's situations is not straightforward and involves 'balancing conflicting and sometimes contradictory views of good parenting, good enough parenting and parenting which falls below acceptable standards of care |
| Stephanie A. Bryson | 2016 | US | investigation the construction of the good enough family by social workers and judges in one Midwestern US state | Qualitative | Semi-structured interviews, court observation | 30 CWP Caseworkers,7 CWP supervisors | parents (mostly mothers) must accumulate credit with decision makers in the form of private and conspicuous 'care capital'— a concept that extends Bourdieu's notion of social capital. Care capital refocuses the care and control debate on the accumulation of capital,material and symbolic |
| Philippa M. Eve, Mitchell K. Byrne, and Cinzia R.Gagliar di | 2014 | UK | Explore the convergence and divergence of different professional group's opinions on good parenting. The study was included investigation on 19 professionals(social workers were included) with experience in parenting capacity assessments | mixed-methods | with semi-structured interviews and rating scales | Participants = n:19 Social workers:5 Psychologists: 5 Lawyer:5 Magistrate: 4 | the research found six main categories that were agreed by the professionals :insights, willingness and ability ,day to day versus complex, long-term needs, child's needs before own, fostering attachment and consistency versus flexibility. The professionals had agreement on the broad themes of good parenting and no professional group differences emerged. Between social workers participants ,their idea about the relative importance of different parenting dimensions.3 of them chose physical care(health and safety),1 person chose emotional care and the other one physical and emotional care |
| Julie Taylor, William lauder, | 2008 | UK | o measure health visitors' professional judgments on "good enough" parenting and identify what factors and | Quantitative | Survey based on vignette | health visitors: n=200 | The results showed that health visitors' judgments about mothering and parenting came from significant factors such as boundary setting in sleep behaviours, health behaviors and the type of housing inhabited and other factors like family context, |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maxine Moy and Jo Corlett | | | combinations of these are important when making such judgments | | | | age of the mother, medical history and child behavior were not significant predictors of either mothering or parenting judgment. Although parenting and mothering are often conflated, health visitors appear to separate these aspects when making judgments based on type of housing. |
| Annelie Bjorkhagen Turesson | 2019 | Sweden | identify conceptions, norms, and values govern the social workers' work in the child protective services. | Qualitative | Diaries of social workers during 2years | Social workers : n=3 | This article discussed four themes :The Janus Face of child protective services, client hood and its conditions, child protective services and good or bad parenting ,and the fathers. The results indicated that families were subjected to extensive discipline. The diaries also expressed strong value judgments regarding how children should be raised. The parents' desires and wishes were redefined by the social workers, making the parents powerless. The fathers were marginalized, which meant that an important resource within the families was lost. The social workers' texts show that the help given by the child protective services to the families contained strong elements of control and discipline |
| Anita Skarstad Storhaug | 2013 | Norway | identify central discourses on fathers among CWS workers in Norway .There were two central questions: 1.how CWS workers understand fathers 2. From social workers' perspectives, what promotes and inhibits the involvement of fathers | Qualitative | semi-structured interview | Social workers n=14 | Four central discourses on fathers were identified :mothers and fathers as gender neutral, fathers as little involved, fathers as(more) involved ,and mothers and fathers as different. Factors that promote the involvement of fathers were society's increased focus on gender equality, society's and fathers' own changed perception of fathers' role, and increased focus on children's networks. Factors identified as inhibiting involvement were lack of resources, fear of conflicts, negative descriptions of fathers ,and uncertainty regarding legislation. Explanations for fathers' own lack of involvement were fear of confrontations, prioritization of a new family, and lack of understanding of their importance for the child. |
| Johanna Woodcock | 2003 | UK | Social workers' conceptualization of parenting ,and seek to make observations of the relationship of this construction with the conduct of practice in the area of assessing parenting | Qualitative | in-depth interviews | Social workers N= 15 | social work expectations of parenting include : to prevent harm, to provide routinized and consistent physical care, to know and be able to meet appropriate development levels, to be emotionally available and sensitive |

Table 3: Profile of the 7 empirical studies included in the review

### 3.4 Literature search strategy

Searching relevant articles is the more significant in collecting data and it requires determining adequate strategies of searching to get reliable and valid results. Whittmore and Knafl (2005) noted that for a comprehensive search for an integrative review, at least two or three strategies should be used to identify the maximum number of eligible primary sources. After clarifying research question of the research, the reviewer identify inclusion and exclusion strategies. Inclusion criteria are characteristics that literature must have in order to be included. Exclusion criteria are the characteristics that would make a study ineligible to be included in the review.(Toronto and Remington 2020:17) .This is important in conducting integrative review, because of integrative reviews address broad questions, it is likely that a search will retrieve a large volume of literature. Application of inclusion and exclusion criteria can make the amount of literature that needs to be screened more manageable and help to identify relevant papers for the review.(p :17)The search strategies of this research follow1.a literature search of the electronic databases Academic Search Premier,ERIC, and SocINDEX with full text and,2.scan manually reference lists of the selected articles.
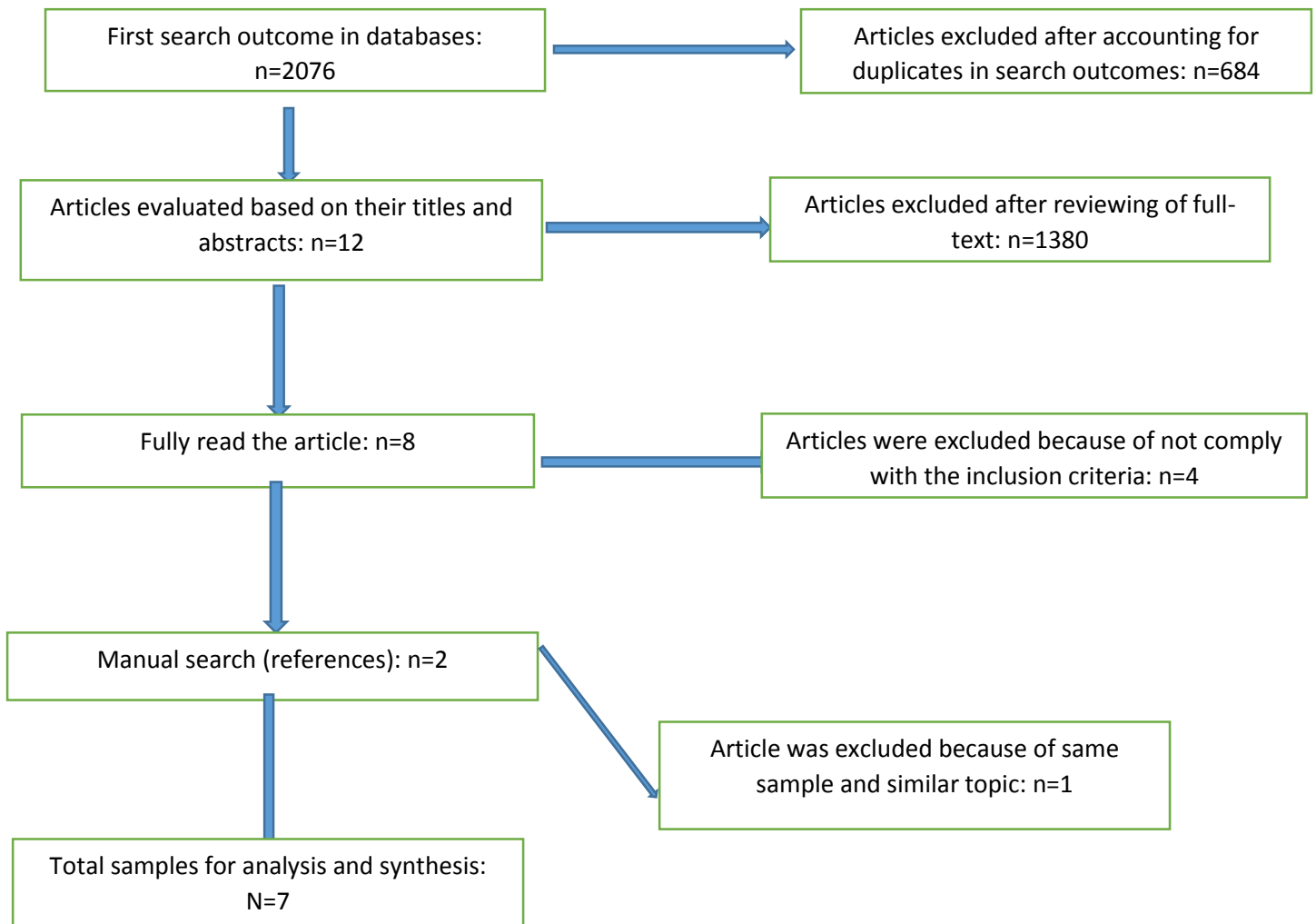
As mentioned above the steps of conducting the integrative review, in collecting data step, identifying the target and accessible population are 2 key steps in this step. (Russell, 2005b) so in this study, my target group are social workers who are in association with parents (biological parents include fathers or mothers or both of them) in the child protection systems and where social workers 'attitudes/perspectives/construction or even reconstruction of parenting or good parenting was the research focus.

Besides, inclusion criteria were established in this process, it held four criteria: 1. Peer-reviewed articles published in English from January 1985 to December2020, 2.empirical studies (qualitative and quantitative) 3. Samples of social workers in child welfare systems and encounter with biological parents (father or mother or both of them), 4.studies were focused on social workers' perspectives about good parenting. (table 2)

Based on these inclusion criteria, the articles were searched through electronic databases. Firstly I applied the following words and also a combination of search words: social worker, social worker practice, social services, child welfare system, child protection, children's services, Good parenting, or good parent to find relevant articles. I used Boolean operators as one of these

techniques 'AND/ OR' for searching words in the electronic databases. The operator 'OR' will expand the results and is usually used to combine similar terms and look for articles that include any of these search terms, or phrases. (Coleen E. Toronto & Ruth Remington, 2020, p. 30) and the operator 'AND' will identify articles that encompass ALL of the search terms joined by AND. When looking for relevant literature in the databases, I first conducted a pilot search, with the search words, but the result of this pilot search were unsufficient articles for sampling in the research.so, I replaced the adjective "good enough parents" to "good parents". As Russell (2005) noted, "the reviewer may need to modify the conceptual and operational definitions if the targeted reports utilized broader or narrower definitions. "Then, the searched word "parenting or parenting capacity "was replaced with "good parenting "to identify and be able to include more related articles in the collection data.

**Flow chart of the search outcomes and selection process**

| First search outcome in databases: n=2076 | → | Articles excluded after accounting for duplicates in search outcomes: n=684 |
|---|---|---|

↓

| Articles evaluated based on their titles and abstracts: n=12 | → | Articles excluded after reviewing of full-text: n=1380 |
|---|---|---|

↓

| Fully read the article: n=8 | | Articles were excluded because of not comply with the inclusion criteria: n=4 |
|---|---|---|

↓

| Manual search (references): n=2 | | Article was excluded because of same sample and similar topic: n=1 |
|---|---|---|

↓

| Total samples for analysis and synthesis: N=7 |
|---|

3.5 Search outcomes

The first database search' outcome was 2076 articles, after removing duplicates, 1392 articles remained. After reviewing the titles and abstracts of the remained articles, 12 articles were relevant to the research. Next, full-text of the remained articles were reviewed according to inclusion criteria,7 articles were selected as the sample for analysis and synthesis through a database search. Also, through manual scanning of reference lists of selected articles from the first database search,2 articles were found that fulfilled inclusion criteria so they were added to the samples. (Table 3)

The selected articles, authors, and the citation is mentioned to access easily to the articles :

| Citation | Topic of article | Authors |
|---|---|---|
| http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uis.no/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=76b1a325-8ad9-450e-9417-c4d9832a911e%40sdc-vsessmgr03&bdata=JnNjb3BlPXNpdGU%3d#AN=120561526&db=sih | **A Credit Check of Maternal Assets: 'Care Capital' and the Construction of the 'Good Enough Family' by Child Welfare Caseworkers and Courts** | Stephanie A. Bryson |
| https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.ezproxy.uis.no/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1099-0860.1999.tb00123.x | **Beliefs in child care: social work consensus and lack of consensus on issues of parenting and decision-making** | Brigid Daniel |
| https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.ezproxy.uis.no/doi/full/10.1111/fcre.12074 | **What is Good Parenting? The Perspectives of Different Professionals** | Philippa M. Eve, Mitchell K. Byrne, and Cinzia R.Gagliardi |
| https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.ezproxy.uis.no/doi/full/10.1111/j.1365-2702.2008.02661.x?sid=EBSCO%3Aaph | **Practitioner assessments of 'good enough' parenting: factorial survey** | Julie Taylor, William lauder, Maxine Moy and Jo Corlett |
| https://www-sciencedirect-com.ezproxy.uis.no/science/article/pii/S0190740913002624 | **Fathers' involvement with the Child Welfare Service** | Anita Skarstad Storhaug |
| https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.uis.no/stable/23716428?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents | **The Social Work Assessment of Parenting: An Exploration** | Johanna Woodcock |

3-6 Analytic approach

The analysis step is the fourth step in the integrative review process and also, challenging and essential stage for the reviewer in conducting the research. The results of the integrative review

should not be a "data dump" (Torraco, 2005) or a series of summaries of each piece of literature (laundry listing), instead, the goal is to make a new whole by integrating smaller pieces of data from different literature sources in the sample (Booth 2012 cited in (Coleen E. Toronto & Ruth Remington, 2020, p. 58).

Torraco (2016,p 58) noted that "by using rigorous methods of data analysis, a reviewer will be able to recast, combine, reconstruct, and integrate concepts across a body of literature to create new knowledge about their topic of interest".

Due to the integrative review could be useful and productive in new knowledge is important to select the best strategy to analyze results of the synthesizing and reviewing samples. There are three strategies for analyzing: 1. creating a data matrix: it means that "the creation of a review matrix that provides a structured document to use during analysis and supports the writing of a narrative synthesis".(Garrad2017)

2. Constant comparison method: This method consisted of four phases: "date reduction, data display, data comparison, and conclusion drawing and verification"(Whittemore and Knafl 2005).

3. Content analysis: Content analysis is a form of analysis used with either qualitative or quantitative data and is orientated toward summarizing the informational content of data (Eloand Kynga 2008; Sandelowski 2000).

 Among the various analysis methods, the constant comparison method was chosen by following Whittemore and Knafl (2005). This method is one overarching approach used in a broad array of qualitative designs and also mixed methods that particularly applies to the integrative review method allowing for iterative comparisons across primary data sources (Palinkas et al., 2015).

In the process of analysis by constant comparison method, the data were abstracted and extracted from the primary resources than by considering the research question of the study there were categorized to subgroupings (Whittemore et al., 2014). It allows a reviewer to process a large amount of information from the sample and begin to synthesize the body of literature. Then, by comparing the extracted data from the primary sources, meaningful and important themes and patterns were identified. Then identified themes were abstracted (Whittemore & Knafl, 2005b) These themes were produced from analyzing findings and synthesized this knowledge organized the result stage of research. The organization of the synthesis of results is dependent on

methodological decisions made in the research process (Toronto and Ruth Remington, 2020, p. 68). So, concerning it, the thematic synthesis was more correspondent to this study so according to it, the results were explained based on the developed themes for the conclusion.

3.7 Ethical consideration

Conducting integrative review like the other types of quantitative and qualitative research requires ethical considerations. Although the method's effort is summarizing findings from past studies, the researchers will face ethical issues in synthesizing knowledge and data from the other primary sources to conduct valid and reliable research.

Regarding the specific guidelines for conducting secondary data analysis, Brown and Hedgas (2009) stated three points as ethical dicta for meta-analysis research, which may also be relevant for integrative reviews: "1. accurately in extract and analyze data,2. apply consistently inclusion and exclusion criteria,3.test for publication bias. In the current research, I perceive all these ethical considerations in conducting and reporting the findings and consider the proper and relevant titles from the literature that are correlated to our research question and more, there were no contradictions between evidence that is attached to the research.

4.0 Summary of findings

In the current study, 7 articles were reviewed and synthesized by focusing on the understandings/perceptions and opinions of the social workers about good parenting or good parents. The reviewed articles were from different countries: 4 articles were from the UK and the other articles were from Norway, Sweden, and the United StatesCollectively, the articles provide two main themes. The first theme was 'care capital' which consisted of three sub-themes:1.physical care 2. Psychological care and 3. Neglect. The second theme focused on "gender roles" in the perception of good parenting.
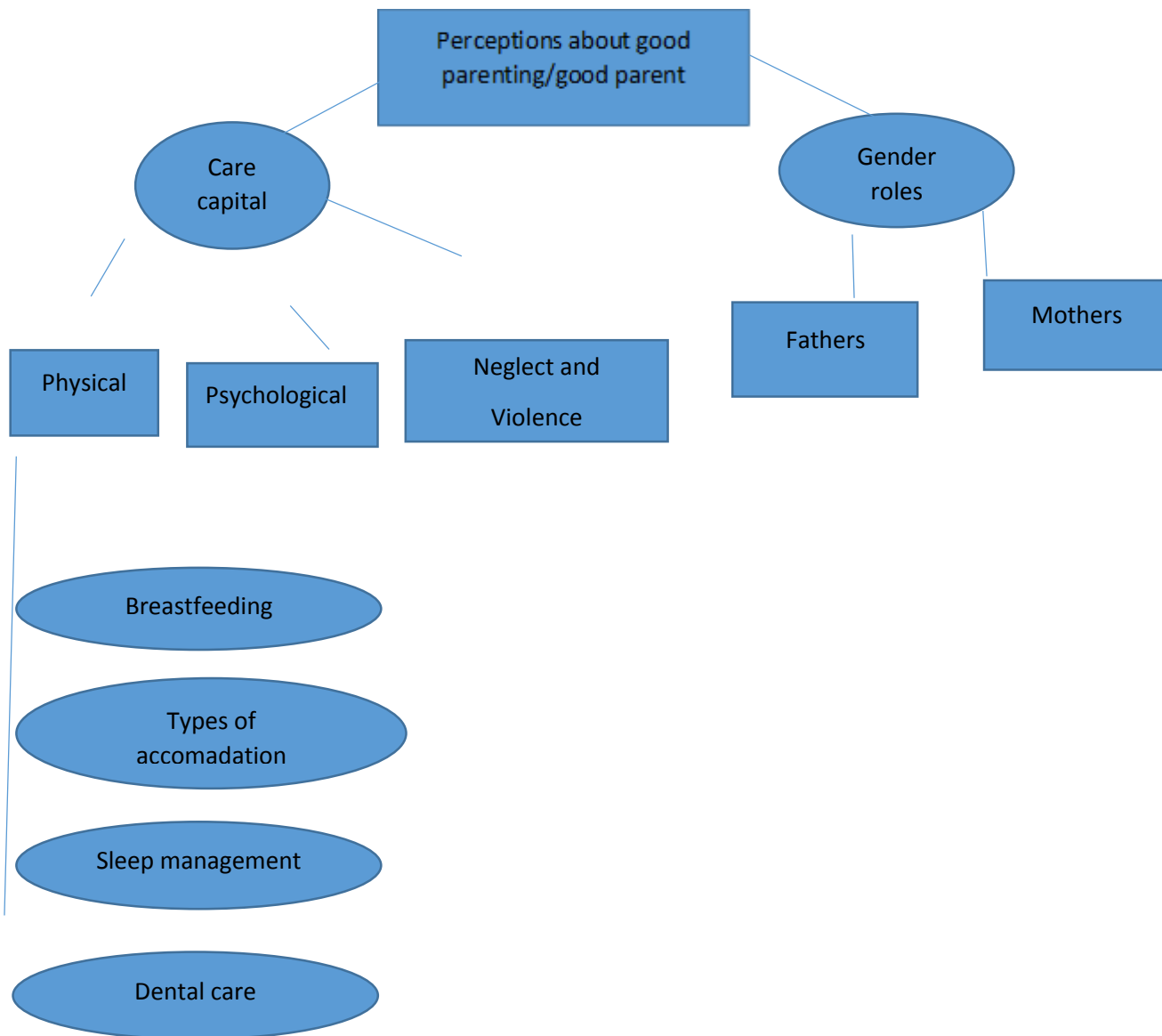
## 4.1 Care capital

### 4.1.1: Physical care

Physical care was found as one factor emphasized by social workers for being good parents in the articles. physical care includes the provision of reasonable housing, clothing, food, breastfeeding, and medical care(Choate and Engstrom 2014b:374).

Social workers' understandings of physical care emphasize parents' potential to meet the needs of the children at home. Based on Woodcock's findings, social worker's perceptions about physical caring was "parents were expected at least to be able to communicate that routines are important,

what those routines should be and to demonstrate their capacity to carry out these routines"(Woodcock 2003:95) :

*'Social worker: he'd need to be able to demonstrate that he can provide the children with a home environment in which their needs were met.*

*Researcher: what would those needs be?*

*SW: Um… security, stable environment… um….being able to use him as a secure base, upon him being there. Being put to bed at night washed. I would have to expect to see some sort of … structure a bit there, I mean is chaotic a child cannot live in that. If you ever make an appointment or anything with her she'd never possibly turn up on time, and not turn up at all. And it would be the same with Jane (child) she couldn't possibly get her to nursery on time. Sometimes she would. And it would be your fault because you hadn't rung the nursery… and I would say 'yes, she is booked in. (p. 96)'*

After reviewing the selected articles, four subjects (breastfeeding, sleep management, dental care, and types of accommodation) were mentioned by social workers for consideration of physical care of the children:

*4.1.1.1 Breastfeeding:*

The habit of breastfeeding of the child follows the standards which are influenced by the culture and idea of normality. In the child protection context, social workers had a key role in this habit in various aspects. Reviewing the articles illuminated that social workers determine the duration of breastfeeding for mothers. It means that they have a particular schedule for how long it should be or when it will be the best time for stopping. "They should not breast-feed too often or too seldom, or for too short or too long a period"(Björkhagen Turesson 2020b:375)

According to the diary of one social worker wrote about her case: *'her child is over 1 year old. I am thinking, for example, about how I think that Cecilia should stop breastfeeding, but you can't say that; yet, it's kind of thing I think about. I met her three or four times before I was able to say it."* (Björkhagen Turesson 2020b:375)

Also, they (social workers) mentioned the best interest of the child should be regarded:

*'Eric has slept four times without breastfeeding. I wonder whether mum intends to continue with this over the weekend. She doesn't know, can't answer. I wonder if she is thinking about what is best for Eric. I say what I think, and that she has an opportunity to help him. She looks upset and does not want to stop herself'* (p.376)

Björkhagen and Turesson (2020) claimed in their research in Sweden "breastfeeding and its occurrence or non-occurrence appears to be an issue that is circumscribed by powerful moral conceptions and focus on ideas of normality "and they added in their findings that "social work is a practice that aims to distinguish what is normal and what is abnormal and bad "(2020)

*'Anne (social worker in research) is concerned because she believes that Asta is not getting enough food because she quickly tires of sitting in her highchair, thus not eating enough. Anne tries to compensate for this by feeding her a banana while she is playing on the floor'*

Social workers' understandings about the best way of feeding the child determine the parent's behaviors can be problematic or normal:

*'she has been advised not to use the bottle , but she tells me that it's working fine; you don't always have to do what other people say'* (Björkhagen Turesson 2020b:376)

*4.1.1.2 sleep management*

sleeping habits of the children was one of the important predictors in the judgment of good parenting in social workers' practice. Sleeping habits is important in the social worker's practice, in the reason of it has relation with breastfeeding the children so the mothers were advised not to sleep with their children"

*'Li says that Johannes is not ready for it; she thinks he is too little not to sleep with her. Hm, maybe it's most difficult for Li? I say that Johannes would cope, that it could be good for both of them, but she doesn't want to. I try again to give her support in being consistent'*(Björkhagen Turesson 2020b:275).

Taylor (2009) in the findings from the quantitative research in the UK resulted that "In sleep behavior dimension showed means which varied from a low for cuddle child on Sofa until he/she drops off *(x =4.31)* to a high for 'night light and story' *(x =5.97) (p. 1185)* so, cuddling the child

and allowing staying the child to stay up in their room, cuddling is evidence of poorer parenting " (Taylor J et al. 2009).

The sleeping habits mentioned above included cuddling the child until the child drop off to sleep,how long parents(especially mothers)allow the children to stay up in their bedroom, sleeping with the child when the mother breastfeeds(Taylor J et al. 2009) and (Björkhagen Turesson 2020b).

### 4.1.1.3 Dental care

Dental care can be shown good or poor parenting. For the reason of the dental problems in the children, it can indicate dietary concerns, poor hygiene, and also the possibility of not healthy diets and necessary nutrition sources so that makes the possibility of obesity and other problems for the child(Taylor J et al. 2009:1186).

*The result of this research indicated" history of significant Dental caries (x =4.75) to a high for 'Null' (x = 5.45)* (p.1185).

### 4.1.1.4 Types of accommodation

There were differences between private accommodation and rented one. It means that "family living in private and rented accommodation come from a broad distribution of need such as who has been excluded from social/local authority housing because of financial or anti-social behaviors often have to use private rented accommodation. A family may choose to access private rented accommodation as they wish to decrease their visibility with statutory"(Taylor J et al. 2009:1185–86).

The statistical analysis about accommodation in the mentioned research noted that '*Privately Rented Accommodation (x= 4.91) to a high for Local Authority Home (x= 5.43). This was significant (F = 2.949, df =3, p =0.032) and an least significant difference (LSD) post hoc test revealed that 'Local Authority Home' was significantly higher than 'Privately Rented Accommodation' and significantly higher than 'Null'* '(p. 1185)

### 4.1.2 Psychological care

Protection child will not only be provided by physical needs. Reaching the best understandings and recognition from the child and improvement in psychological needs are the other factor through reviewing findings 'articles resulted. Psychological care consist of factors such as

"awareness of one's role as a parent, best acknowledge from the abilities, weakness, and supporting the strength of the individual child and protecting from distressing emotions and conflicts with another partner.(Eve, Byrne, and Gagliardi 2014:118) and also in their research emphasized meeting the needs of safety, discipline for the children deficits based approach to Parenting capacity assessments, Contextualises the key decision making issues affecting assessors and decision-makers in the judicial system, Provides a theoretical model on decision makers opinions regarding good parenting and outlines directions for the development of strengths-based assessments as a contribution to child placement decisions.

In this context, I consider this combination of ability and willingness in concept of psychology caring that social workers expect from the good parents as one of participant (social worker) stated :'After we finished our assessment it was, she can parent, she is just got this massive drug and alcohol problem at the moment that she was not willing to address. So she was able to parent, she just was not willing to change her lifestyle'

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Moreover, Bryson (2015) emphasized the performance of behavioral and emotional change as "conspicuous care capital's definition to remove risk and improve the children's situation in the home by parents.it will provide a safe environment that the child has psychological confidence for his/her life by the parents. It indicated that the understandings of psychological care by social workers followed varied points as mentioned above and make safety and reduce stress and risky for the child in the home.

### 4.1.3 Neglect and violence

Child neglect is regarded as the failure of parents in different needs of children. As Smith and Fong (2003) noted child neglect is" if no one cares" (p.1).Failure of parents in caring the children and not neglect them, from the social worker's viewpoints can be "Recognize or provide an appropriate

level of supervision in relation to the development age/needs of the child, which was often associated with parents actively resisting social worker's expectations of what a child could safely do and not delay in growth and development the child" (Woodcock, 2003, p. 95-96).

'*Social worker: She is (child) not being helped. To her, (mother) discipline was important. She did not feel things like teaching the child, helping the child play with toys, things like that, were not important things. The child could barely play with toys… was what the foster carer said.'*

Moreover, Daniel (1999) emphasized that "the physical aspects of neglect can be damaging in their own right, but it is often difficult to disentangle the physical and emotional aspects of it" (p. 186)

Neglect might have consequences such as harm and abuse in varied aspects: physical, emotional, and sexual abuse. Social workers follow the legal guideline for judgment parenting behavior. Their judgment to recognize harm and abuse situations follow two ways. Woodcock in his research noted:" in terms of the presence or absence of abusive behavior (an aspect of parenting) and the impact on the child."(2003, p. 94):

'*When you get involved in a family … you address those (issues) as they come up or you put them to one side and maybe categorize them. There are different areas, aren't there, of sexual, physical and emotional abuse… and it might depend on what you are looking at… you know… In this case it was neglect and… um… emotional abuse'* (p. 96)

Daniel(1999) found in her interviews with the social workers the more consensus between the participants about this statement "It is damaging for children to live in an atmosphere of violence"(p. 183) She explained more about the perception of social workers about an atmosphere of violence. "Social workers have assimilated research about the kind of environment that can have poor outcomes for children. Divorce, for example, can be associated with poor outcomes for the children, but it is an atmosphere of hostility before divorce that may be the critical" (p. 184)

She stated the damaging environment will undermine "children's self-confidence and self-esteem"(Daniel,1999, pp. 183–185). So this was a serious issue that social workers would consider in their judgment of good parenting in their practice because they believe it can be the elements of violence against children. She added about recognizing emotional abuse by social workers "one of the greatest consensuses amongst different opinion was the issue that is very difficult for the current child protection system to respond to effectively to as cases of emotional abuse and it is

more likely that such factors would be assessed as features of cases referred for other reasons"(Daniel 1999:185)

Daniel (1999) reached the point that "physical abuse is often discipline gone too far and is associated with lax discipline so that difficult behavior is allowed to get out of hand until a breaking point is reached" (p. 185).

Also, for identification between abusive behaviors or not abusive ones in the cases, social workers will follow the social work guidelines of the own child protection system (regarding in the current study, the different child welfare systems included) and Woodcock (2003) noted in the results of her research "the social workers used the law as a lens through which to view parenting and did so in two ways: in terms of the presence or absence of abusive behavior (an aspect of parenting) and the impact on the child"

*'When you get involved in a family … you address those(issues) as they come up or you put them to one side and maybe categorize them. There are different areas, aren't there, of sexual, physical and emotional abuse… and it might depend on what you are looking at… you know… in this case it was definitely neglect and … um… emotional abuse'* (p. 94).

Different types of abuse are more recognizable by social workers especially in the serious ones, but in neglecting relations between children and parents such as failure in protection from harm or provision the developmental needs (skills, abilities, age, sensitivities, feelings), and even "helping the child play with toys "(p.95) (based on Woodcock's findings in the UK) defined as poor parenting.

4.2 gender roles

Through reviewing the articles, I found that the social workers 'perspective about good parenting had been influenced by 'the gender role of parents' .It means that there were different expectations between fathers and mothers in being good parents from the social workers 'perspective. It means that social workers had distinct expectations from mothers and fathers in caring for and protecting the children.

4.2.1 Fathers is a good parent

According to research findings from Norway, the main point for the fathers in being a good parent depended on their involvement in caring for their children, in the situation that if the mothers do not get enough care to the child so the father's role will be clearer and the expectations from him will be more increased. Although, there is any reason for a specific focus on father's involvement and gender should not be relevant for the work of social workers in their case (Storhaug 2013), but the findings of the mentioned study showed in caring for the children, social workers involved in two different experiences about fathers' participation: Fathers as little involved and not commitment and interest to being involved. So social worker faced challenges and different viewpoints about these challenges occurred:

*'If we are talking about taking over the custody of a child who lives with the mother, and we don't know the father, we try to find out everything we can about… to assess the father first, to see if he is an alternative. It is not like we exclude the fathers. 'Or 'we prefer that the children are taken care of by the closest family. So that's where we start. But then we are very quickly confronted with the reality. The fact that there is one part that chooses to pull out'*

The considerable point of social workers 'idea about the challenging of involving the fathers in caring the children was "Several of social workers asked how much time and resources they should use to involve fathers who themselves show no interest" (p.1754):

*'I don't feel that it is my role to run after him and say "Here is the information". Many fathers lean back and we have to run after them. And it is not often we have the time, and the resources to chase the fathers who withdraw'* (Storhaug 2013:1754)

This viewpoint of social workers that how much it will be worth trying of involvement the fathers in the parenting process or if father's involvement have negative influence to the child had impact on more effort to involve or even ask help from other agencies" CWS workers should make an effort to involve fathers and to help them become good enough parents for their children or their possibilities to contact other agencies that can help fathers with their problems"(Storhaug 2013:1754) So social workers tried to involve in the first step, but they did not consider as important they should " we have to consider how we spend the resources and where we put the

pressure. If they don't expect the fathers to be an asset for the child, they put the pressure to other resources, on the mothers". (p.1754)

Also, in the other findings of reviewed articles, social workers considered the fathers as the second role of engagement in the caring role.

*'We expect perhaps more from the mother than the father, that's true. For when you're mom, you are supposed to have that part about caring in place right away, and everything shall be good and perfect. While dad, maybe we don't have the same expectations of him'*(Storhaug 2013:1756)


However, my idea came from this point that if parents included father and mother in the regular family, why the mothers were mostly addressed in social workers 'perception about good parenting? One of the interesting results from Storhaug's research (2013) mentioned some participants expressed "they have the more sympathetic attitude to fathers than to mothers because they did not expect fathers to be there in the same way as mothers; they, therefore, wanted to provide some extra help for the fathers  :

'*It can be a bit funny when one cooperate with the fathers-one tends to help them much more than if one had helped the mother. It feels like- oh, I am so happy that he does something (laughs). And then one gives a little bit more. I hope that they are aware of that'* (p. 1756).

Moreover, Woodcock resulted in the research's findings that "Generally the main case taker was the mother, although there were three cases (total cases were 27cases) in which the social worker perceived the mother and father to be equally sharing the care of the child. Hence the parenting reported in this study is predominately that of the mother" p.121).

Indeed, woodcock (2003) stated "The significance of parenting in the conduct of child-care practice is apparent in a range of legal and policy documents emanating from the government. This has been further emphasized in recent years in the refocusing debate emphasizing issues of need and support. While research in childcare has inevitably involved parenting (for example in relation to child protection), and as the broad concentration has progressed through issues of child protection and family support, this has not generally incorporated the social workers' construction of parenting, and the ways this is incorporated into, and informs, their practice actions. This is

particularly interesting because this focus enables an examination of this construction in the light of broad themes about parenting in the psychological literature. This relates also, therefore, to the debate on (and use of) an Evidence Base for practice. This paper seeks to explore social workers' construction of parenting, and the way this 'feeds into' social workers' practice actions. The paper found that, while some of the constructions reflected themes in the psychological literature, social workers were rarely informed by overt reference to knowledge gained from this literature. The concept of a 'surface static notion of parenting'-one which restricted the social workers' capacity to respond positively to the needs of parents underlying their parenting—was developed as a way of understanding social work constructions and practice actions about parenting. While this is one study, the $r = 0.630, p = 0.0001$). This correlation is high enough to suggest that these two concepts have some characteristics in common (p.1183)

Also, they chose the variables for predicting mothering judgment in their research, the result represented that "location, boundary setting, and health behaviors had significant effects on mothering judgment $(R2 = 0.246$ and an adjusted $R2 = 0.219)$

To clarify these variables of his research, I explained them based on his research:

' *Location :lives local authority/ in three bedroom owner occupied home/ in privately rented accommodation; Health behaviors: child has history of significant dental caries/displays temper tantrums/will only drink frizzy juice she will not take milk or water; boundary setting: in sleep behavior* "(Taylor J et al. 2009:1185)

As Bryson claimed "at the beginning of every CWP case, social workers and judges render an opinion of a mother's creditworthiness"(Bryson 2016).

Indeed,Storhaug found in the interviews about involvement fathers in caring for children in Norwegian society "we found that several of the fathers were concerned with what we called 'the cultural lag'; they experienced being faced with what they saw as old-fashioned attitudes about the mothers being more able to take care of the children than the fathers"(Storhaug 2013:1757). Based on one of social worker' interview in research in Sweden illustrated the reason of excluded the father from the treatment:

' *The dad is a real asset, but he has not been allowed to participate. I myself come from a world in which you talk about the mother and child. I have personally decided that the fathers should*

*now be included, but I have really had to work on myself. We are not in complete agreement within the treatment group.'* (Björkhagen Turesson 2020a:377)

5.0 Discussion

The study made a synthesis of the 7 selected articles to illuminate how good parent/good parenting is constructed by social workers in different child welfare systems/regimes. For each child welfare system, there were samples as mentioned in the methodology part:

1. Anglo-Americans child welfare system: one article from the United States

2. Continental European:4 articles from the UK

3. Nordic countries child welfare system: 1article from Norway and 1 article from Sweden

The findings from reviewed selected articles presented that social workers of these three child welfare systems follow the same basic standards encountered by the parents. It means that their perceptions and understandings of how can be good parents and which factors will be followed by the social workers to determine the parents as 'normal or good parents'. All of the social workers had the same expectations about providing and meeting the needs of the children in the families such as physical, emotional, safety, health issues, and protection the children from different types of abuse, harm, and neglect. For physical caring, they were expected to have the specific time of feeding their children(breastfeeding), particular type of accommodation, dental as evidence of medical caring, and sleeping habits. Also, psychological caring and protection from abuse and neglect were judged by the social worker's guidelines and knowledge.

Regardless of these obvious factors for being good parents in the context of child welfare systems, the main goal of the current study was how social workers' perceptions will be constructed image of the qualified parents or the other words, good enough parents in the social work practice.

So, through the findings of all articles, I found the key points about the role of the social workers as representatives of child protection systems(regardless of belonging to which child welfare regime)in construction good parents as social reality in their social work practice.

Firstly, I will discuss it from the social construction perspective and how this concept was defined by social workers as normality. From a social construction perspective, 'good parenting' is a social reality that is constructed in a dialectical relationship between individuals and society(Berger and

Luckmann 1991:174). Social workers and also other health professionals who are involved in judgment and making decisions about the parents and children have key roles in how to define this reality. Their knowledge (education), guidelines (depend on their child welfare system), and also personal and professional experiences in their practice will construct good parent as a social reality, and through this process, the concept of normality /abnormality will be produced and in the interaction between individuals and society will be accepted as norms and values.

This normality comes from what the society and culture accepted as norms and regarded as positive values about parenting. Good parents care for and protect their children as the general value in every society and reviewing the findings of the 7 articles indicated that the normal parents follow particular schedules encounter their children such as specific physical, psychological caring and protection them from harms, abuse, and neglect. The main point is that In the social worker's context, the only parents were regarded the normal parents by them who fit their particular caring schedule  (norms and values were defined in their practice).

The question in this process is that how social workers determine their perceptions as the reality for deciding for the parents? Due to Social construction's stages, social workers internalize the social reality of how can be good parents to the society as an objective reality by their particular standards in parenting such as if you want to be good parents, you should have a particular time and long for breastfeeding your child (based on the findings), also this reality is in dialectic with the society and will be renewed during the time such as in the findings, I face some states from the social workers that were not sure about the routines they have for regarding as good or bad parents in their practice. The reality of good parenting in social workers' ideas came from their professional experiences, knowledge, and skills make the power encounter the parents and put the social workers in a powerful position toward parents to consider them as normal or bad parents. Social workers'. This power creates the possibility for social workers to judge the parents in their social work practice as normal/good or abnormal/bad by evidence that the social workers believe as poor parenting. Their responsibility for monitoring and controlling the probable dysfunctions in the families make more spaces to apply their power and it is the new form of power that Foucault defined as the 'power of care'. Also, the power of care can not be understood without regarding it in the child welfare system's context. The child welfare systems with the social workers apply their power to the parents and it was the same topic in all samples. As  Lukes(1974) claimed that

"There is a 'latent conflict, which consists in a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude"(p.25). The social workers have this power by the child welfare system as majority so they jedge, control,monitor the parent's qualification and construct the reality of good parenting and the parents exclude from having power about being enough good for caring their children.

Also, the power of social workers is more clear when they make descion about which factors make the parents as normal and good or bad and poor.

The findings showed how the social workers in their practice used this power of care by determining the idealized parent's criteria and presenting in details moments of families 'life. Although cultural norms and values will also influence the construction of normal parents.

The other point was obvious through reviewing 7 articles, similar viewpoints of social workers in different child welfare systems about the role of the mothers compared to the fathers in being good parents. The findings showed social workers mentioned the mother when they want to describe good parent and high weight of responsibilities and expectations belonged to the mothers in caring and providing needs of the children.

The mother blaming phenomenon was invisible in the social workers' understandings about good parents. As Bryson resulted in his findings "at the beginning of every CWP case, social workers and judges render an opinion of a mother's creditworthiness"(Bryson 2016). While the father will be expected in caring for the children by social workers as the second choice through the assessment process. However, one of the selected articles was studied in Norway and focused on the involvement of fathers in caring for the children, the social workers explained that father's involvement requires more time and resources and the lack of interest from the fathers in caring duties and responsibilities through their children was the issue they faced in their practice(Storhaug 2013). Fathers were indirectly excluded from the parenting process in some cases and the mothers as primary caregivers were considered to protect and provide for the needs of the children. When the social workers mentioned the physical, emotional, safety caring of the children, mothers are mentioned in their practice such as playing with the child, feeding, sleeping, and cuddling. This idea was more obvious in the neglect situation, when the children suffer emotionally and development neglect in their family. Attachment theory illustrates that the mothers are the first person who the children biologically have an emotional and physical bond in their daily life from

the first moment of life and the mothers who can not provide enough needs for their children, can cause harmful experiences, trauma,  psychological, and physical problems for their children. As a consequence, the role of mother is scrutinised to determine the causes of juvenile delinquency, violent crime and teenage pregnancy for example (e.g.Arndt 2000; Eberstadt 2001; Graycar 2001).

The idealized role of the mothers in caring, make the mothers who the main responsibility them is caring the children for the 24 hours enjoy from this responsibility and if any issues happened, they were mentioned and blamed by the social workers and even in the society. As the result of this idea , Allen noted that "It is mothers that are held responsible for the ills and woes of children that lead them to being unhappy, unhealthy, violent, criminal or irresponsible adolescents and adults" (Allan 2004).

According to the findings of reviewing the selected articles, social workers mentioned directly or indirectly the mothers when stated about good parenting and also, the interesting point was topics of the articles were about the parenting, but in the context, mothers more mentioned compared to the fathers.

While the Norwegian welfare system tries more involve the father in the social work process, the findings indicated that this idea, in reality, did not work well so, in the social worker'perceptions, it does not require to make more effort to involve them in the parenting process. In fact, the social workers accepted this social reality that mothers are the main ones responsible for caring for the children and they are the best caregiver compared to the fathers to meet the needs of their children. Although this idea has contradictory with gender equality in the duties and responsibilities between the mothers and the fathers, but they follow the gender-based attitudes in their practice and it will cause a phenomenon of mother blaming as social reality confirm and accept in the parenting context.

and they experienced "the old-fashioned attitudes about the mothers being more able to take care of the children"(Storhaug 2013).In this context, this old-fashioned attitude that mothers have naturally more responsible and abilities to care for the children was perceived in the social worker's outlook into the good parent.

 This chart explained the factors that had an impact on construction social workers' understandings and perceptions about good parents.

Power of social workers and welfare system

Definiation of Normality

Motherblaming
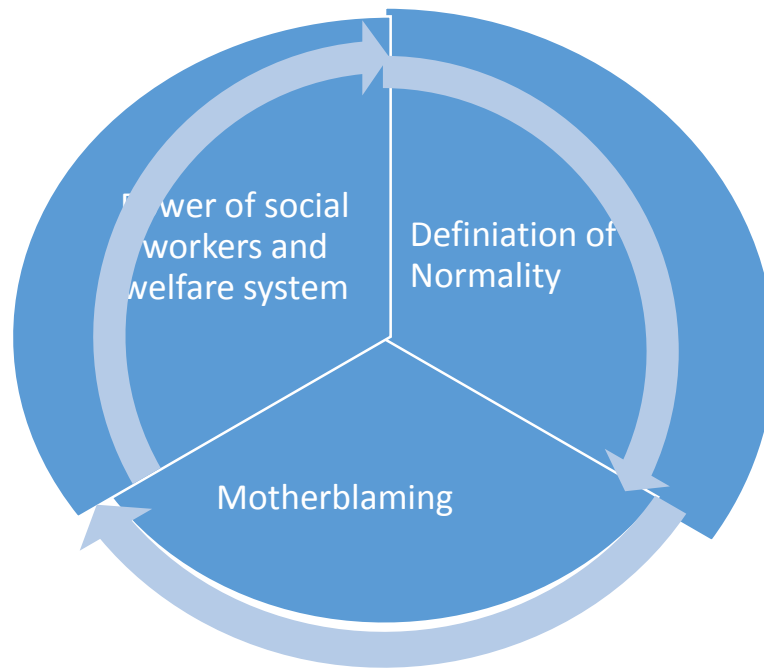
6.0 Conclusion

This review has provided important insights into the role of social workers' understandings in the construction of the social reality of good parents. For decades, all the countries try to improve well-being the of children and follow the best strategies for healthier societies in the future in the reason of these children will be the future adults. While the different orientations were in the child welfare systems between countries, all of them have the same goal "healthier children" and for reaching their goal the state interferes in the family life to control and monitor them. The social workers are the frontlines in this process and have a direct and key role in applying rules and guidelines in the child protection context. They apply the power of the state by following depend on work in which child welfare system and on the other hand, their power by constructing the reality of who can be good parents in the society.

In my opinion, the issue in this process of protecting children, showed up when the parents and children have the limited subjectivity role in their own life. As Järvinen (2002) claimed the pastoral

power lives within the welfare organizations of the welfare state(Cited in Turesson, 2020,p.372)and this power of care steadily diminishes the families own volition in caring for their children in the situation perception of well-being children contradict with the welfare system's guidelines and also social workers 'understanding about being good enough. In this power relationship, the parents' ideas and children about good parenting will be missed and ignored. The authorities make decisions and determine the behaviors of the parents in their private sphere (family). The necessities of monitoring and controlling the parents for protection the children, but not in the powerless situation for the parents and due to efforts of feminists for years to diminish the gender-based approach in the social work, my review indicated that in the real social work practice, social worker's perceptions and understanding were influenced and in the real-life, this idea still exists between them when they face the families.

**Directions for future research :**

This review aimed to provide a comprehensive view of how social workers' perceptions construct good parenting by synthesizing the previous research in different child welfare regimes. In my opinion, conducting another research that studies the understandings of the parents about how can be good enough parent, will be useful to reach a more comprehensive perception about the good parent in the social work context. the comparison between what social workers understand and on the other hand, what the parents understand about good parenting can be functional and productive.

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