

Localization of Social Work Knowledge through Practitioner Adaptations in Northern Ontario and the Northwest Territories, Canada

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ABSTRACT. Social work is only just beginning to adapt knowledge and practice to the realities of a geographically diverse world. Within the social services, one of the most exciting diversity-related initiatives is a localization movement that calls for a social work knowledge base that is fundamentally different from one geographic milieu to the next. Few, if any, studies to date have considered the Canadian North (an area populated by diverse aboriginal cultural and linguistic groups) as a basis for localizing social work knowledge. This study reports on interviews conducted with social work practitioners in northern Ontario and the Northwest Territories to gain insight into how changes in the current social work knowledge base could be the locus for meaningful and contextually sensitive social work knowledge and intervention. This initial exploratory study presents a number of key findings that aid in developing an understanding of social work practice and knowledge specific to the Canadian North. These findings identify geographical areas where social work knowledge requires adaptation, changes in the personal and professional behaviour of practitioners, or modification of mainstream knowledge; use of appropriate and inappropriate social work theory and practice; specific challenges faced by agencies; ways agencies can modify programs to meet community needs; ways for clients to access service; and the relationships between practitioners and the surrounding communities. We conclude with implications for the Canadian North related to social work, allied disciplines, and social welfare structures.

Key words: social work practice, northern Canada, localization, social work knowledge

RÉSUMÉ. Le travail social ne fait que commencer à adapter les connaissances et les pratiques aux réalités d'un monde géographiquement varié. Sur le plan des services sociaux, l'une des initiatives les plus intéressantes en matière de diversité prend la forme d'un mouvement de localisation faisant appel à une base de connaissances en travail social qui est fondamentalement différente d'un milieu géographique à un autre. Peu d'études, voire aucune, n'ont porté sur le Nord canadien (une région peuplée par des groupes autochtones linguistiquement et culturellement variés) en tant que base de localisation des connaissances en travail social. Cette étude fait état d'entrevues réalisées avec des praticiens du travail social dans le nord de l'Ontario et dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest afin d'obtenir un aperçu de la manière dont les changements caractérisant la base de connaissances actuelle en travail social pourrait être le centre d'interventions et de connaissances significatives en travail social, interventions et connaissances tenant compte du contexte. Cette première étude exploratoire présente un certain nombre de constatations importantes qui permettent de mieux comprendre les connaissances et les pratiques en travail social propres au Nord canadien. Ces constatations identifient les régions géographiques où les connaissances en travail social doivent faire l'objet d'une adaptation, de changements du point de vue du comportement personnel et professionnel des praticiens ou de modifications des connaissances primaires. Elles portent aussi sur l'utilisation de théories et de pratiques adéquates et inadéquates en travail social; sur les défis particuliers auxquels les organismes ou agences font face; sur les manières dont les organismes ou agences peuvent modifier les programmes afin de répondre aux besoins des collectivités; sur les moyens d'accès aux services par les clients; et sur les relations entre les praticiens et les collectivités environnantes. Nous concluons en présentant les incidences sur le Nord canadien sur le plan du travail social, des disciplines connexes et des structures du bien-être social.

Mots clés : pratique du travail social, Nord canadien, localisation, connaissances en travail social

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INTRODUCTION

This article is written for an audience of scholars and community development personnel working in Canada's North, as well as for social work and allied disciplinary

practitioners and scholars seeking to gain better insight into social work practice there. Many issues affect the way social workers approach practice in remote northern towns (Delaney et al., 1996, 1997; Schmidt, 2000; Brownlee and Graham, 2005). While these towns may never receive the same level

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of services offered in large urban centres, the considerations for social work practice extend beyond resources. Inevitably, unique considerations and challenges emerge from the context, for which established social work practice guidelines and theory are often not sufficient. The situations encountered by social workers in isolated northern towns can result in practices that urban social workers consider unacceptable, or even unethical (Brownlee, 1996). Yet the knowledge base for northern social work is sparse: students and beginning social workers have little practice research to draw from when preparing for a career in northern social work. The present study explores how social work practitioners adapt their social work knowledge in order to practice effectively in remote northern contexts.

Our research represents two widely separated areas in Canada's North, one in the Northwest Territories and the other in northwestern Ontario, both of which are distinct in several ways from southern Canada. The aboriginal population in the Northwest Territories makes up over half of the total population for the territory (Statistics Canada, 2001a). Similarly, the aboriginal population of Ontario (16% of total; Statistics Canada, 2001b), located primarily in the northwestern part of the province, is nine times as high as in other provinces (Government of Canada, 2002). These northern communities include many different languages, cultures, and spiritual practices. Dene, Metis, and Inuit make up the majority of the aboriginal population in the Northwest Territories (Statistics Canada, 2001a; Department of Justice Canada, 2007), while Ojibway and other Algonquian groups, along with the Metis, form the majority in northwestern Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2001b; Natural Resources Canada, 2004).

So striking are the differences between southern and northern areas that Zapf (1993) argues we must include practice in remote areas in our repertoire of social work skills and preparation for practice. McKay (1987) agrees with Zapf that the North requires relevant theoretical perspectives and creativity in developing new practice and policy initiatives. Similarly, Lindholm (1988) concluded that sufficient commonalities of practice among five Nordic countries exist to warrant a search for a distinct northern social work identity.

The inclusion of a chapter on geographical factors in the most recent texts on Canadian social work practice (Turner, 1999; Turner and Turner, 2001) is a testimony to the emerging distinctiveness and importance of this concept for Canadian social work. The historical adoption of the person-in-environment metaphor by social work has not enabled it to surmount prevailing and dominant influences such as an urban centric bias. Geography, it is beginning to be argued, must be taken seriously as introducing a unique influence upon practice (Coates, 1994; Zapf, 1999). Yet research provides only broad and largely unprobed insights into the limitations and conditions of practice in northern regions, with little emphasis on developing a social work knowledge base that is localized to the communities of practice.

Social work remains a patently southern- and urban-dominated profession. Indeed, a clear illustration of the southern and urban bias within social work, and an example of how little emphasis is placed on developing a localized knowledge base, are the concerns expressed in the literature about non-sexual dual relationships between social workers and their clients. A dual relationship is considered to exist when, in addition to their professional relationship, a social worker and client have another meaningful relationship (employer, friend, family member, or business partner) with clear role expectations and obligations (Gottlieb, 1993). Craig (1991:49) stated that, "No matter how thoroughly rationalized or well intended, dual relationships cloud the counsellor's clinical judgement and lead to client abuse." Kagle and Giebelhausen (1994:218) adopt an even stronger position: "Practitioners found to have engaged in any dual relationships should have their licences revoked and their memberships in professional associations terminated." Avoiding dual relationships has become a sound rule for practitioners, but the smaller the community becomes, the more difficult it is to uphold: it may be all but impossible in a small, remote community context. If practitioners were to take seriously the view that all dual relationships must be avoided completely, they would most likely not be able to practice in such settings. Such dilemmas require further clarification and call for the development of a knowledge base that more appropriately informs social work standards of practice without marginalizing the rural or remote practitioner.

METHODS

The study area included the communities of Detah, Fort Providence, Rae Edzo, Fort Resolution, and Hay River in the Northwest Territories, and Kenora, Marathon, Red Lake, Atikokan, Sioux Lookout, Geraldton, and Nipigon in northwestern Ontario. The population size of the Northwest Territories communities varied from 247 people in Detah to 3648 people in Hay River (Statistics Canada, 2007a). The communities in northwestern Ontario were larger, ranging from 1752 people in the Nipigon Township to 15 177 people in the city of Kenora. On the basis of the 2006 census data, and according to Statistics Canada (2007b) definitions of "urban" and "rural," all sites of data collection within this study are considered rural areas. Although many have population bases large enough to be considered urban areas (in Canada the requirement is 1000 people), their population densities are well below the required level of 400 people per square kilometre.

Sampling was based on the use of key informant interviews that identified social work practitioners who had practiced in the North for more than three years, were now practicing in these communities, and were well respected for providing outstanding social work service to clients and the community. Further community sampling criteria related to attaining a representative sample in terms of

gender, age, academic level, and service environment (as defined by agency mandate and auspice; i.e., public or private service).

A combined total of 37 social workers participated in one-to-one interviews with the researcher and a graduate student in 2005. Eleven participants (9 female, 2 male) were practicing in the Northwest Territories, and the remaining 26 participants (18 female, 8 male) were practicing in northwestern Ontario. The majority of participants were 31 to 40 years of age. Their experience ranged from 3 to 30 years of service, with the mode in the distribution consisting of social workers with 15 years of experience. Practitioners interviewed worked in a variety of program and service delivery environments, including programs related to child welfare, children's mental health, adult mental health, assault care and treatment, addiction, and young offenders, as well as in hospital and health settings.

Data were collected following standard ethnographic research techniques outlined by Seidman (1991) and Holstein and Gubrium (1995). Most of the respondents were interviewed twice for a period of one to two hours. Interviews were conducted either in person, over the telephone, or using a combination of the two. A semi-structured, open-ended interview guide was used. As outlined by Coulon (1995), the interview protocol was incrementally revised from one respondent to the next to reflect previous respondents' input. Furthermore, to ensure consistency, random sample interviews were compared. Most questions in the interview protocol related to ways in which social work practitioners localize social work knowledge within the context of their present northern practice environments, for example: "How have you adapted your work to accommodate the influence of locality upon practice?", "What aspects of your training serve you well with clients in northern communities?", and "What are the most important pieces of knowledge a practitioner needs in order to work in a northern Canadian context?" Other questions related to ways of implementing ethno-religiously sensitive practice techniques, practicing with clients of the opposite gender, and still others related to the role of agencies in these northern contexts. All the interviews were transcribed and then entered into ATLAS/ti for Windows.

Textual coding and analysis performed with ATLAS/ti for Windows used standard procedures for qualitative research, as similarly outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998). We identified a number of general themes and topics, and from these created a list of descriptive codes. Pattern coding was then conducted using ATLAS/ti's query tool, which examines the relationship between codes (Muhr, 1997).

The second interview allowed respondents to reflect on the process of determining these themes and decide whether the themes were consistent with what they had stated in their interviews. Furthermore, we used "memoing" (a process involving short, descriptive headings based on the patterns identified by the quotations) to ensure we were correctly capturing the meaning developed by the respondents.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Adapting Social Work Knowledge to Northern Contexts

Localizing social work knowledge requires a concerted effort on the part of the social work academic community, practitioners, and the agencies of employment (Bradshaw and Graham, 2007). When asked how social work practitioners accomplish this task in northern communities, respondents stated that they are challenged to adapt the social work knowledge base they have to meet the needs presented in northern communities. Respondents identified conditions at various levels—regional, community, cultural, and individual—in which social work knowledge is adapted to meet the needs presented within northern contexts.

At the regional level, in the context and physical structure of remote, rural northern locations, respondents identified several issues related to the presence and availability of sufficient resources. For example, they identified the need to have an exceptional knowledge of available resources and means to acquire them. Emphasis was also placed on the need to be flexible and creative in providing services. The relationship between practitioners and their supervisors was also categorized as being different than in urban locales. Access to other professionals is limited, and social workers must relate well to their supervisors for support in terms of service delivery and professional consultation. Some respondents also commented on the nature of agency mandates and the role that social work practitioners must take in balancing government requirements with those of community needs, and more specifically, the continual need to challenge and evolve policies relating to northern practice.

At the community level, respondents identified some characteristics that determine the uniqueness of practicing in northern contexts. For example, respondents had suggested that community collaboration, community education, and being responsive to community needs were important areas in which social work knowledge is adapted to align with the conditions and expectations of northern communities. Community collaboration was considered important because resources are limited in northern communities, but also to facilitate knowledge exchange between organizations and to promote greater cultural sensitivity within organizations. Respondents also identified facilitating community education programs and practices, another aspect of knowledge exchange and community collaboration, as a core component of practice in their communities. Respondents are challenged to survey local needs to tailor service to the specific issues faced in their community.

In any community practice, culture is a significant component in determining how effective and meaningful the intervention or interaction between practitioner and client will be (see, for example, Lacroix, 2003). Our respondents also found population culture to be an important

consideration when adapting social work knowledge to the communities in which they practice. Respondents identified the incorporation of ceremonies into service as beneficial in helping clients to feel comfortable in the service environment. They also found that they needed to use a mix of traditional aboriginal and Western practices and to forge a balance between the two. Incorporating aboriginal culture into their clinical practice was identified as providing the most benefit in creating rapport with clients.

Respondents stated that their relationships with clients were more informal than those they expected from their training or experienced in urban practice environments. Some respondents also had a degree of personal relationship with some of their clients. This situation challenges social work practitioners in northern communities to present an image of themselves and their practice that will allow them to be accepted as members of a particular community. The result is that practitioners maintain an informal, personal presentation and structure their lives in a manner that allows for multiple roles within the community. Some respondents perceived that it was equally necessary to integrate other professional models, which would not normally be used in social work practice, to be able to follow the needs of the client.

One respondent captured some of these findings by stating:

I think they need to feel you out as a person. I think the small talk is really important at the start. They are not as hung up about you being a professional in a suit and tie. I drive an old pick-up and they can relate to me better. When I worked in Children's Mental Health, you never got dads in. It was always the moms. I created an offshoot of an image and dads started getting involved. They needed to be able to relate to me as a man in the community. And regarding the violence issues, you model a way of being a man that is non-violent.

Individual Behaviour Change

Within mainstream social work knowledge (defined as what is being taught in universities in largely urban settings), there are general guidelines that determine the way social workers act in their professional setting and the capacity in which they interact with their client base. These interactions are significant to the values and ethics of the profession (Dietz and Thompson, 2004). Some participants in this study identified ways they have to change both their professional and their personal individual behaviour when working in Canada's northern regions. Respondents identified changes that must occur in their interactions with clients and the community, along with the roles and practices related to their professional setting and relationships.

Some respondents emphasized the need to respect clients' confidentiality in informal meetings or interactions within the community. Furthermore, respondents noted

that practitioners' social interactions were limited by their perceived role within the community. Further recognizing the impact of community on their practice careers, some respondents pointed out the significance of being aware of the familial ties and cultural roots that form the community, as well as understanding the power dynamics that exist. Social work practitioners hold power that is more evident here than in more populated areas, and they must understand their power position within a community. All of these modifications are primarily aligned with the ethical guidelines of the profession, but the concerns are heightened given the low population density of northern regions and the constant visible presence of the practitioner in the community.

In contrast, the established ethical guidelines of professional practice are also challenged within northern communities. Some respondents said that they need to be independent in their practice in relation to other resources and services, and that practitioners need to be open about their personal relationships outside of the work environment to create clear professional boundaries and to lessen the presence of conflicts of interest. Modification of individual and professional behaviours when working in remote northern rural communities illustrates the impact of the community on social work practice in these environments. One respondent's statement captured some of these findings:

The [social] workers have to be open and transparent about where their relationships are in the community. So, we as workers have to be pretty transparent with our colleagues. You probably would have to share more with your colleagues than you would in other settings.

Appropriate Social Work Theory and Practice

Respondents were asked to identify appropriate social work theory and practice that they perceive as being useful when working within their respective communities. With regard to social work theory, some respondents emphasized the importance and usefulness of the general theoretical background they received in their training (for example, development theory and feminist theory). Some respondents commented that specific courses in rural social work practice were of primary use in preparing them to work in their respective northern communities. Furthermore, practitioners reported the usefulness of having a basic framework that they could modify to meet the needs of the clients and communities in which they work. Practitioners found that specific training in suicide prevention and trauma was of great value to their practices, given the high incidence of suicide and various forms of abuse that occurred within their communities.

Respondents also identified practical training areas that were appropriate to working in their present environments. The first involved the basic interviewing skills of being empathetic and attending to the needs and stories of

the client. These skills, used in a generalist practice approach, were also identified by Riebschleger (2007) in his study of the unique characteristics of rural social work practice. Training in community development was also identified as beneficial because many respondents were faced with challenges in accessing necessary resources. Finally, practice training in cultural sensitivity and awareness was found to be appropriate to working in their present communities. Respondents mentioned on numerous occasions the benefits of receiving formal training in working with aboriginal people, and having a commanding knowledge of the history of aboriginal people and the specific communities in which they are involved. One respondent stated:

We have a high First Nations population, and I do remember [name]'s course on aboriginals and rural communities. I would have to say that because we did the ecological theory, I apply that. You cannot work with First Nations without understanding the effects of colonization. You can learn about it in class, but [you don't really understand] until you actually see it every day, the long-term effects of it. I think that is what I hold in my work here when I am confronted with First Nations. I really hold that true, the effects of colonization on them, and apply the ecological theory to that.

Inappropriate Social Work Theory and Practice

The theoretical framework behind social work intervention or assessment is directly related to the outcomes created by the helping relationship between practitioner and client (Heinonen and Spearman, 2006), which can range from positive to negative consequences. Mainstream knowledge exchange of social work theory and practice guidelines suggests they have universal applicability to individuals across all communities. Our participants, in contrast, identified a number of areas related to theory and practice that they perceived as being inappropriate to working within northern communities. They also identified deficient areas in the training of practitioners that, had they been expanded, would have better prepared the practitioners for working in northern contexts.

The relationship between the worker and the client is a vital component for successful intervention and overall quality of service (Perlman, 1979). In cross-cultural practice settings (such as social work practice in Canada's northern region), where the worker and client are of different cultural, ethnic, racial, or religious backgrounds, these relationships become of utmost importance (Al-Krenawi and Graham, 2003). Participants identified limitations in their formalized training in social work theory. A stronger theoretical background would have better equipped them to work in cross-cultural settings (in particular with aboriginal clients), to develop appropriate relationships, and to respond to confrontation appropriately and effectively. Respondents identified a need to understand the historical

presence of social services within aboriginal communities and the impact of this history on appropriate methods of intervention. They also commented on the applicability of some social work models in northern communities. For example, they questioned the appropriateness of fostering a casework model, which primarily seeks to intervene in the individual, whereas many of the problems presenting are systemic and environmental, with direct correlation to the culture and history of northern communities.

Respondents also reported on discrepancies between the social work practice in their communities and traditional teachings of what social work practice should resemble. They emphasized the increased role of counseling services in their present situations. A related issue identified was the need for workers to become involved with clients in areas for which they lack specific training. Because of the long waiting time for experts trained in those areas, they are challenged to attempt interim interventions that will help their clients until the specialized services become available. Respondents also identified limitations on client privacy, separation of relationships, termination processes, and supervision requirements arising from the working conditions in northern communities. One respondent identified some of these conditions:

There needs to be understanding that the services found in the south or in larger, urban centres are just not available in the small northern communities. In my training, it was assumed that we would have access to services. And there is not the financial backing that is needed to send these clients out of the community to receive the services in the larger centres.

Agency Modifications

A constraint in the present social welfare structure in Canada, as well as in many other countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), relates to the large cutbacks in government funding for social services. The reduced funding has led to a situation in which intervention strategies are offered over shorter time spans (Shera and Bogo, 2001), and rigid formal processes of accessing and receiving services have developed (Hardina et al., 2007), essentially resulting in generic types of service delivery. These factors, along with the finding that agencies typically have minimal guidelines to define culturally competent practice with the communities being served (Dana et al., 1992), place limitations on the practitioners' attempts to offer appropriate service. Essentially, agencies become a key player in determining the effectiveness of social work practice in diverse communities.

Social work practitioners in this study presented information relating to modifications that social service agencies must undertake to meet community needs. In northern communities, the dynamics related to community framework, cultural make-up, and the nature of service within

an isolated context present a unique environment in which agencies must continually reflect on—and modify regularly—not only their policies, but also the roles of staff members, their relationship with the community, and their responsiveness to the cultural needs of community members.

With regard to policies within agencies, respondents identified the need to foster an anti-racist policy framework and to provide service immediately, without waiting lists. Furthermore, agencies offering services should undertake them with a proactive philosophy. Some respondents commented on programming within these agencies, describing the need for some intensive programming options, in which the practitioner provides an element of shadowing in clients' homes. Others commented on the need for intake processes that aid in providing immediate service to those most in need or presenting the most pressing issues.

Respondents also identified the need for staff members to be able to work within the context of many disciplines. The agency personnel also have to be visible out in the community to help diminish suspicion and doubts about the services offered. Some respondents noted that to be responsive to the needs of a community, agencies may have to balance the mandates presented to them by way of government funding with the requirements presenting within the specific community of practice. As one respondent stated:

I would say that because we are all fairly versatile, we can get together and work in groups on whatever needs are determined by the community... We work in conjunction with other agencies. We are very involved in integration and flexibility in working with other agencies in hoping that our resources will stretch as far as they possibly can.

CONCLUSION

It is widely understood within the literature that social work practice in remote northern communities is characterized by conditions distinct from those of practice in more urban centres. Schmidt (2000) advocates developing a social work framework based on social development theory for practice in northern communities. This view suggests the need to create a single model of social work for practice in all northern communities, with a primary focus on changing practitioner behaviour during interactions with clients. Al-Krenawi and Graham (2003), alternatively, argue for the creation of a model of social work that is premised on the concept of localization. This view allows the creation of a separate social work knowledge base for each community of practice that is consistent with the needs of that community. We acknowledge that within the literature there are consistencies among the findings in studies of rural social work practice that suggest commonalities of the conditions of social work

practice in these settings (see, for example, Green, 2003; Saltman et al., 2004; Turbett, 2006; Riebschleger, 2007). The question then becomes one of identifying which theoretical approach consistently meets the needs of the communities and individuals accessing social services in northern, remote regions.

The present research sought to determine which approach or ideological framework is the most useful to address the needs of people in northern settings. Our research responds to a scarce body of proactive literature promoting the development of a social work knowledge base that is applicable to northern practitioners. Although still exploratory, it provides unique insights into the practice of social work and identifies important areas to include in a training program for individuals planning to practice in northern communities. Ultimately, the findings from this preliminary study suggest that practitioners are localizing their social work knowledge bases to meet the needs of the communities and individuals they serve.

Practicing social workers in northern communities have deep insight into how their environment affects service delivery, and ultimately, how they adapt social work education and training to become effective workers in remote, rural northern contexts. Additional research could usefully provide more insight, through detailed case studies and vignettes, into the various strategies used by different northern communities. As one respondent noted: "All rural communities are different, and you have to be aware of each community's make-up." Throughout data analysis, it has become evident that understanding the community is a key concept in effective and appropriate practice within rural northern environments. The role of community development in social work practice seems to be heightened in rural communities. This fact poses challenges to schools of social work, whose present curriculum fosters the person-in-environment approach in its generalist degree programs. Furthermore, in order not to defeat the purpose of localizing social work knowledge, we need to understand that community development techniques must be defined and formulated on the basis of their applicability to practice in individual northern communities, and not generalized across all communities either between north and south or within the North.

In addition to emphasizing community-related factors, most respondents also referred to the importance of culturally sensitive practice. This insight from respondents has implications for the relationship between social work and allied disciplines and the general social welfare structure of program delivery in remote rural regions of northern Canada. Given the geographical barriers between northern communities, greater collaboration between the helping professional disciplines is required to meet the cultural needs of the people. Essentially, we are suggesting the need for increased interdisciplinary training for social work practitioners and a more collaborative relationship between what have been considered distinct sectors of the Canadian social welfare structure.

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