

Supervision in Northern and Remote Child Welfare Practice

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Child welfare is influenced by a number of factors including public policy, the economy, culture, and the prevailing social values. Child welfare practice is also shaped and formed by the geography of the work location. This paper considers ways in which geographic location influences the practice of social work supervision in the field of child welfare.

Social Work Supervision

There is an abundance of literature and research pertaining to supervision in social work. Barker (2003) defines social work supervision as, "an administrative and educational process used to help social workers further develop and refine their skills, enhance staff morale, and provide quality assurance for the clients" (p. 424). Kadushin and Harkness (2002) build on some of Kadushin's earlier work (1992) and frame the activity of supervision within the bounds of a generalist approach to social work supervision. The generalist approach does not focus on one field of practice or one component of supervision. It addresses the broad functions of social work supervision, which include administration, education, and support.

A second body of literature examines methods or styles of social work supervision. For example, Shulman (1993) describes a style that he calls interactional supervision. The approach draws primarily from organization and systems theories. Cohen (1999) argues for a strengths-based approach that departs from what he believes is the traditional problem or deficit focus of social work supervision and O'Donoghue (2003) uses a method or style derived from narrative therapy. These approaches loosely represent a number of different paradigms found within social work including systems or ecological theory, strengths-based and anti-oppressive theory, and constructivism.

A third body of literature explores supervision within specific fields of practice such as public welfare (Erera, 1991), elderly populations (Greene, 1991), the justice system (Kemshall, 1995), and child welfare (Waters, 1992). Within this approach the broad skills and knowledge required for supervision are discussed along with the specialized skills and knowledge needed in a specific field of practice.

A forth body of research and literature addresses clinical supervision. Much of the material is American and applies to the general area of counseling or psychotherapy. It examines style as well as supervision process issues (Ganzer & Ornstein, 2004; Greene, 2002).

Finally, there is research and literature that examines student supervision within social work field education (Bogo & Vayda, 1998; Kenyon & Power, 2000; Ward & Sakeena Mama, 2006). Effective supervision of students concentrates on the educational and supportive aspects of supervision.

Kadushin and Harkness (2002) suggest that supervisors are responsible for ensuring that clients receive the best possible service. This is accomplished through application of skills and knowledge in the areas of administration, education, and support. Additional knowledge and skills that are functions of specialized areas of supervisory work may be added to these basic elements. The relative importance of core skills is a subject of debate, just as there is debate regarding the importance of care versus control (Cockburn, 1990). Brashears (1995) challenges the very notion that social work supervision is something different or separate from social work practice. She reviews the history of social work supervision in the United States and demonstrates that social work supervision has often been seen as a form of social work practice rather than a separate function in and of itself. Whether social work supervision is a form of social work practice or whether it is a distinct area of work may be an important question, however, there is at least some recognition that social work supervision involves skills and knowledge that are related to direct service but are somewhat different in application and process.

Supervision is an important part of an organization's structure and environment. Agency and organization environments that deliver a high quality of service tend to be organizations in which there are good levels of perceived supervision and support for workers (Glisson & Hemmelgarn, 1998). This is true across fields of practice as well as disciplines. For example, Folwer (1995) noted that good supervision in nursing requires knowledge, teaching skills, and the personal skills necessary to develop supportive relationships.

Supervision and Geographic Location

Some aspects of supervision are generally not examined or explored. One of these is the idea of geographic location and the effects this might have on supervision. A large part of social work theory is based upon a person in the environment model but the environment tends to be seen almost exclusively as the social environment rather than the physical environment (Zapf, 2001). Within the field of social work, the physical environment as it pertains to rural practice has received limited attention.

Kim Zapf (1985) developed the idea of northern social work as a distinct variation of rural social work practice. Isolation, climate, the northern economy, and travel represent a number of the elements that make northern social work somewhat unique. However, Zapf (2000) argued that despite the dominant "person in environment" paradigm of social work, the idea of geographic location is seldom considered in the social work literature. This is certainly true of social work supervision. Even some research articles that look at social work supervision within a rural context do not examine the issue of geographic location to any extent. For example, Gibbs (2001) studied retention of front-line workers in rural Australia and examined supervisory qualities that promote retention.

Northern and Remote Supervision

The question arises then as to whether northern and remote social work supervision is different from supervision in an urban context? In order to address the question, 22 social work supervisors from British Columbia, Alberta, and the Yukon Territory were interviewed. All the supervisors provided supervision to child protection workers. Ten supervisors practiced in large urban centres. Calgary, Alberta and the Greater Vancouver area in British Columbia were used as the urban sites. Twelve supervisors were recruited from small northern communities. The northern locations included communities situated in northern Alberta, northern British Columbia, and the Yukon Territory.

The concept of "north"

The concept of "north" or "northern" is somewhat difficult to define. Louis Edmond Hamelin (1979), a Canadian geographer, attempted to use a series of quantitative measures to define north or what he called "nordicity." While this work was useful, even Hamelin had to admit that the idea of north is highly subjective and relative. Certainly many Canadians regard the Yukon Territory as meeting the general image of north. In the United States, Alaska represents the same type of construct, just as parts of Norway adjacent to the Norwegian Sea are considered "north" within the European context.

Latitude and climate considerations alone evoke some popular images or conceptions of the north. However, in the case of British Columbia and Alberta, the definition or determination of north is ambiguous. For example, a resident of Vancouver might regard Prince George, which is located in the central interior of British Columbia, as a northern community. However, Prince George is at a similar level of latitude as Edmonton, the provincial capital of Alberta.

For the purpose of this study, communities that were predominantly dependent upon a single industry, communities located north of 55° latitude, communities that had promotional literature referring to the community as being in the north, and communities at least two hours drive from a major population centre (more than 50,000 people), qualified as "northern" locations. The concept of single industry dependence is somewhat heterogeneous as the various communities in the study ranged from those that were primarily dependent upon mining or forestry through to communities dependent upon seasonal tourism.

Method

Child welfare services at all the research sites were delivered by a government agency or government ministry. A senior representative from the relevant employing authority was contacted to discuss the research proposal. The purpose of the project was explained and approval for the research was requested and subsequently received. The employing authorities also provided contact information for the supervisors. The supervisors were then recruited through an initial letter of introduction and explanation. The supervisors had to be engaged in providing supervision to social workers delivering child protection services. A total of 31 letters were sent to prospective participants. Two weeks after sending the letter each supervisor was contacted by telephone to see if they would be interested and available to participate in the research. It was reiterated that their participate.

An interview guide was used to elicit responses from the supervisors and the interviews were taped and later transcribed. The guide included 15 questions. Ten of the questions were developed within a SWOT framework. The acronym "SWOT" stands for: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats. This type of organizational format is generally associated with strategic planning exercises (Burkhart & Reuss, 1993; Mintzberg, 1994) and it has been widely used with social service and health delivery organizations (Sharma & Bhatia, 1996). While the SWOT format provides an organizing structure, it is open and flexible enough to support free discussion and generation of ideas and material. The SWOT analysis is also useful as it is structured to consider positive as well as negative aspects of a question under investigation. A completely open discussion asking participants to raise issues or concerns risks generating a series of negative responses or complaints. While negative or critical comments are important to hear, there should also be a clear opportunity for expressing positive ideas and opinions regarding the question under exploration.

Prior to the interview all supervisors signed a consent form. The interviews took place in the supervisors' work offices and were generally conducted in a relaxed manner. The interviews ranged in time from 40 to 70 minutes. The transcriptions

were read to gain a general sense of the interview content. The transcriptions of the taped interviews were read a second time to identify manifest content in the form of thematic units (Krippendorff, 1980). The most frequent responses to the questions were coded, quantified, and noted. A third pass of the transcripts was used to identify latent content themes. These were also coded, quantified, and noted before final analysis. The transcripts were read a fourth time to identify any thematic ideas that might have been missed during the first three readings of the material.

Results

The following table provides selected descriptive information relevant to the study participants' experience in a supervisory role.

Urban and Northern Supervisors				
	Urban		Northern	
Male	3		6	
Female	7		6	
	Mean*	Range*	Mean*	Range*
Supervisory experience	6.5	1-15	7.4	1-17
Child welfare supervision	6.3	1-15	7.4	2-17
Front-line experience in child welfare protection	10	3-16	4.3	2-8
Total child welfare experience	15.8	5-25	11.7	4-25

Table 1

Urban and Northern Supervisors

*In years

There are some differences between the urban and northern supervisors involving the amount of front-line experience in child welfare protection work. Northern supervisors had an average of 4.3 years experience on the front-line before moving into a supervisory position while their urban counterparts worked an average of 10 years on the front-line before moving to a supervisor's position. This suggests that the career trajectory toward supervision will be a slower in urban areas.

Following initial rapport building and gathering of descriptive information, the supervisors were asked to comment on what they saw as the greatest challenges in their current job. The emphasis among the northern supervisors clearly focused on the issues of staff turnover and retention. One northern supervisor stated this very briefly and clearly:

I think the challenges are mainly around a lack of staffing, dealing with inexperienced staff, and spending a lot of time training.

Another northern supervisor said:

The biggest challenges are recruitment and retention of staff. We tend to get very young new grads that have limited experience and education.

Every northern supervisor mentioned the challenges of staff retention and recruitment. Other issues that emerged as challenges included resource shortages, working with aboriginal communities, and broad program responsibility. One northern supervisor described the latter challenge this way:

I am the only supervisor for all programs in this region. That's a challenge because you have to know all the programs and try to give direction. Orientation of new staff is very difficult.

A northern community's relative isolation, combined with a small population, limits the extent and availability of specialized resources such as psychological assessment and therapeutic foster homes. Many of the northern communities have a high number of aboriginal people who are often poor and bear the psychological and emotional scars of the Canadian residential school system that separated children from parents and extended family.

By contrast, the urban supervisors raised entirely different issues as challenges. The main issues for urban supervisors included the workload carried by their supervisees, organizational frustrations, and budget challenges. One urban supervisor described it this way:

We seem to experience constant change and right now reorganization and changes to budget management are the biggest challenges.

Recruitment and retention were also discussed by the urban supervisors but were not regarded as serious challenges. Turnover in child welfare protection work can occur at alarming rates in urban areas (Salovitz & Keys, 1988) but there is generally a large pool of replacement workers. This is not the case in northern remote locations where recruitment is costly and time consuming and the pool of available and eligible local workers may be small or even non-existent. The supervisors were asked if they believed there were differences between northern and urban supervision. The northern supervisors believed that there were a number of key differences. They spoke of having to deal with younger, inexperienced staff. They also believed that staff turnover was a more difficult issue in northern areas as compared to urban settings. One northern supervisor said:

I think you have greener staff so there's a lot of training and people get tired of training. You just feel like you've got someone up and running and independent and they leave. So the fatigue sets in for the workers who do stay and for the supervisor the fatigue is intense.

While most of the supervisors saw this as a key difference, it was not always seen in a negative light. One northern supervisor who also had fairly extensive past experience supervising in an urban setting had this to say:

I've worked in an urban area for many years and what I know is that having an older more entrenched group of workers makes it harder to get people to look at their values and beliefs and how these impact on their practice. Whereas with a younger group of workers and good mentoring and good supervision you have a group that is not so entrenched in how they practice.

Supervisors also described other differences. For example, the issue of work with First Nations or aboriginal people in northern locations was noted as a difference. New workers, especially those educated in the urban south, may not have extensive knowledge about aboriginal culture and the supervisor has to ensure that they learn quickly or they may struggle in their work with First Nations communities and people. The historic relationship between First Nations people and social work is not positive and initial practice can reinforce and validate this negative history.

A number of supervisors also indicated that northern practice afforded more flexibility and choice in the work. Urban practice was regarded as specialized and rigid in terms of work boundaries. One urban supervisor described it this way:

I think you have more latitude to do what you want to do in the north and when you're working in a city you're more constrained.

A northern supervisor said:

I guess the real focus for me is the opportunity for a worker to get involved in a generalist practice.

This comment represented one of the positive strengths that emerged for northern supervisors. They saw great value in the generalist nature of northern practice. One supervisor who had both urban and northern experience said:

I think the ministry [employing authority] has generally moved over the last several years and decades to more specialization. So what you have in the larger cities are offices that devote themselves to one particular aspect of practice and so you become very narrow in your focus. Whereas in the north you tend to have more integrated offices and more of a generalist practice. And so that's the difference and I think that actually one of the reasons that brought me back north was because of wanting to experience the cross-over of services that the ministry offers that you don't really get in the south. So my practice in the south was very narrow.

By contrast, the urban supervisors talked about the maturity, experience, and ability of their staff as strengths.

The northern supervisors cited three key weaknesses. The first related to geographic location, particularly the social and physical isolation. A higher cost of living, limited training and education opportunities for supervisors and workers, and professional isolation were associated with living in an isolated community.

A second weakness cited by the northern supervisors related to staff shortages and staff turnover. For example, one supervisor noted that 70 social work staff had come and gone in a three-person office during a 10-year period. This creates stress for supervisors as it contributes to the futile feeling of trying to do a job that cannot be done according to standards because the human resources are simply not there. One supervisor noted that they often carried a small caseload because of the turnover and staff shortages.

The third main weakness discussed by northern supervisors was that of personal/ professional boundaries and high personal visibility that comes with living in small communities. This is clearly a function of geographic location. For example, a supervisor who moved to the north from a southern urban setting said:

It's been a big struggle for me – maintaining my boundaries and my privacy. I'm accustomed to that sort of urban anonymity. Whereas some people would perceive a small community as supportive and it's nice to know your neighbor, I find that

intrusive and I don't want people to come up to me in the mall and tell me stuff about child protection intakes when my spouse is there and people are walking by.

Kim Zapf implicitly addressed this issue through the ideas and experiences of culture shock and role adjustment (1993). Delaney and Brownlee (1997, 2009) examined these issues from an ethical perspective, and Schmidt (2009) considered the factors from the perspective of geography and space.

Several of the urban supervisors talked about not having adequate support or the right resources to meet particular client needs. One of the urban supervisors who had worked in the north as a supervisor stated that urban resources were not as rich or abundant as social workers in the north might expect. The supervisor believed that resources were less accessible and workers often ended up using resources that were not entirely adequate for the particular needs of a child. Urban supervisors cited lack of senior management support combined with perpetual reorganization as other major weaknesses.

The opportunity most often mentioned by supervisors from the north was career advancement. For example, one supervisor said:

If you were interested in supervising you'd probably find more opportunity in the north because the competition to act is a lot lower.

Career advancement included promotion to more senior positions as well as the opportunity to move laterally into other kinds of positions.

Another supervisor made the following comments:

Social workers stand a better than average opportunity for career advancement. Similarly I would say that probably exists for supervisors as well, an opportunity to move up.

The northern supervisors in this sample believed the opportunities for career advancement were relatively abundant in the field of northern child welfare social work practice.

The urban supervisors did not mention career advancement as an opportunity in the urban child welfare setting. From the urban supervisors' perspectives, social workers do not enter child welfare practice in an urban setting to move quickly up a career ladder. However, the supervisors noted that there are opportunities for workers to be seconded to special projects that create variety and give a break from protection work. Three of the supervisors mentioned training and education as other areas of opportunity. Location in an urban setting created many opportunities for formal professional development and training.

Northern supervisors mentioned visibility and safety as major threats that affected the supervisor and their workers. Descriptions of visibility and safety as threats varied. For example, a supervisor said:

The first threat I would bring up is that fish bowl effect. Everyone knows who you are and what you do. There are a lot of angry feelings toward the ministry that get directed at us.

Another supervisor at a different location made the following comments about the same issue:

I mean, you can't go downtown without seeing one of your clients - you can't go out for a social evening without running into one of your clients. It's very easy to be continually working. You can't get away from it, that's right. You have to be very, very good at setting boundaries between your personal and your professional life and if you struggle with that at all then this is a place that will burn you out very fast.

These comments are a function of space and geographic location. Accessibility, visibility, and lack of anonymity are realities of living in small isolated communities. The nature of the physical place or physical environment is clearly a concern that has to be reckoned with by northern supervisors as well as the social workers they supervise. Social workers who move to the north from an urban setting find this to be a difficult characteristic of work in the north. Even workers who are from small isolated communities may experience difficulty because of their role as a social worker.

Two other issues that were discussed by northern supervisors included the economic uncertainty of living in a single industry town and a lack of support from senior management. The latter issue was connected to other issues such as negative media attention and the constant challenge of trying to meet standards that are impossible, given staff shortages and workloads. This concern was

particularly apparent among the supervisors from northern British Columbia.

Safety was mentioned as a concern by two of the urban supervisors, while two others noted personal health and the health of workers as being threatened by the stress of the work. The issue of boundaries was not mentioned as a threat by the urban supervisors.

Urban and northern supervisors were asked what they might do to improve their work situation. Northern supervisors emphasized the need to break the cycle of attrition in that constant staff turnover and resulting shortages were seen as creating poor morale, high stress, and burnout among workers and supervisors. So long as there are staff shortages, resource shortages, and heavy workload demands, retention will be an issue. One supervisor had this to say about how staff turnover affects their supervisory role:

I don't do supervisory work. I'm a supervisor but reality is I'm a front-line worker. I'm doing the actual job because I don't have staff to do the job.

One suggestion for improving retention was described as the need to provide a safe and supportive work environment. A safe work environment meant keeping the work demands at a reasonable level. A number of supervisors also mentioned the importance of recruiting from the north as much as possible. For example, one supervisor said:

I think we need to look at finding students out of high schools in the north to come and job shadow for a month. This is what you do and it may encourage them to think about going into social work.

This suggestion was based on a sense or knowledge that people recruited from the north were more likely to stay. Supervisors also talked about engaging in better career planning with staff. This strategy might result in planned movement and shifts in job responsibilities. The supervisors who raised this issue suggested that the strategy could produce social workers less likely to burn out and more likely to retain a strong interest in their work.

Urban supervisors discussed the importance of keeping work demands at a reasonable level and creating an environment in which workers feel supported. Part of this involved creating a buffer between workers and senior management.

Discussion

Turnover and retention emerged as challenges for northern social work supervisors. These are issues in urban areas as well but did not register as strongly for urban supervisors compared to issues like organization, workload, and budgetary concerns. Turnover and attrition, combined with the recruitment of inexperienced young graduates, emphasize the need for particular skills and knowledge in northern supervision. This is a function of physical place where pools of experienced replacement social workers do not exist. As a result, northern supervisors often work with new graduates and this requires that the supervisor be able to function effectively as an educator and a mentor. This educational function may necessitate a more active level of involvement in direct practice. Younger, inexperienced workers don't necessarily have the confidence or ability to deal with more difficult cases. By contrast, even when there is turnover in urban areas, the urban office may have a deeper pool of social workers from which to recruit. Often these workers have higher levels of education and experience and they can act as mentors for new staff.

Supervision of relatively inexperienced social workers is an opportunity and a weakness. As one supervisor noted, new graduates tend to be much more open to thinking about practice options, values, and beliefs, whereas experienced workers can be rigid in their views. It may be that a northern supervisor has greater opportunity to influence a worker's practice in a manner that is developmental as opposed to employing methods that require surveillance within organizational structures. However, the constant need to educate and develop inexperienced workers exerts a negative effect on other aspects of the supervisory role. Several of the northern supervisors lamented the fact that they couldn't put time and energy into program development or community development as they were constantly dealing with the immediate needs of new staff.

Apart from the educational and training needs of new social workers, northern supervisors also noted that new workers often arrive from urban areas. When a new social worker moves to a remote northern community and they have little or no experience of that environment, they may face serious adjustment issues. Lack of anonymity and privacy, high visibility, isolation, and the poverty of amenities can discourage and dishearten some new workers. The northern supervisor has to be cognizant of issues related to personal adjustment. These matters are easily overlooked when supervisors reside in the north for long periods of time. The every day experience of living in a remote northern community is taken for granted and a supervisor may not be sensitive to adjustment issues experienced by a new worker from a large urban community. It is important to factor this into the selection and hiring process and it is very important in terms of the type of support that the supervisor provides to the social worker.

Northern supervisors and urban supervisors tended to see the northern work environment as less rigid and more flexible. This was stated in a variety of ways. For example, urban supervisors regarded urban supervision as specialized and narrow. On the other hand, northern supervisors recognized that their practice was generalist and they had more flexibility in terms of service delivery. This is important, as some supervisors are only able to function effectively in a clear structure with well-defined boundaries. While boundaries and standards exist for northern supervisors, they are not as rigid and a northern supervisor must be comfortable managing within the ambiguity that may arise out of this context. This is reflected to some degree in comments about resources. Specialized resources are not available and supervisors have to be creative and support their workers in creativity around resource development.

Conclusion

In terms of educating or training northern social work supervisors, a number of priorities emerge. First, it is clear that the constant influx of new graduates with limited work experience requires the development of supervisors who understand the process of adult learning and education. Orientation and training of new staff requires a large expenditure of time and effective education is an important supervisory skill.

Second, northern social work supervisors need to be sensitive to the personal and social needs of workers who may be experiencing isolated northern living for the first time in their lives. The supervisor must have a clear understanding of the boundary conflicts, personal safety issues, and the challenges associated with developing a social life and social supports outside the work environment. Effective management of multiple relationships, high visibility, and accessibility represent a challenge for an experienced worker but for an inexperienced worker these things can create serious problems that affect retention. Third, northern supervisors must have a good level of knowledge and sensitivity when it comes to working with First Nations people and communities. Although First Nations people may be a small minority in Vancouver or Toronto, they are often a majority group in northern Canadian communities. The experience of colonization and the reasons for the poor relationship with social work must be clearly understood and appreciated.

Finally, northern social work supervisors must be comfortable with generalist social work practice. Northern social work is generalist in nature and northern workers have to function as a resource for their clients. They also have to be able to create and develop resources in an environment that offers a limited range of formal specialized resources. As technology develops there are always new and improved ways to connect workers and supervisors in isolated settings. Despite promising developments in the areas of technology and communication geographic location continues to influence and shape the skills and knowledge required to be an effective social work supervisor in northern Canada.

The interviews with 22 social work supervisors in two provinces and one territory indicated some perceived differences in urban and northern child welfare supervision. These differences relate to the nature of the work, which is heavily influenced by place and location. In service training, professional development, and university education programs need to be aware that "one size does not fit all" and training and education for northern supervisors entails some unique needs.

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