

Faculty of Health Sciences - Regional Center for Child and Youth Mental Health & Child Welfare

Family and community involvement in Indigenous social work

A comparative study

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Reidunn Håøy Nygård

A dissertation for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor – August 2018



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UiT the Arctic University of Norway Faculty of Health Sciences Regional Center for Child and Youth Mental Health & Child Welfare

Tromsø, August 2018

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the relevance of family and community involvement for culturally adequate social work in Indigenous communities. The study is qualitative and comparative. I contrast social work within Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana with the aim of adding to the available knowledge regarding culturally adequate social work in these communities. The premise of this thesis rests upon the acknowledgement that there is a need to adjust methods and approaches towards Indigenous communities. The past shows clear examples of how social work has continued colonization of Indigenous peoples. Both social workers and researchers are united in their call for increased knowledge and awareness on how to adjust social work culturally.

This research project started out as a response to a request from the Regional Sami
Competence Center (RESAK) inquiring about information and knowledge on cultural
adequacy within social work in Sami communities. RESAK was particularly interested in
Family Group Conference (FGC). FGC is a method developed by the Maori people. I started
the research project investigating the implementation of FGC in Sami communities. However,
the scarcity of empirical examples of FGC within the Sami community soon became evident.
This necessitated approaching the research theme from another angle than a evaluative study
of the practical use of FGC. With the core aim of contributing to the knowledge production
regarding culturally adequate social work within Indigenous communities, I decided to study
one of the core principles in FGC: family and community involvement.

Investigating the culturally adequacy of FGC in Indigenous communities, I conducted a meta-synthesis of the research literature. The meta-synthesis included studies theming FGC in a cultural context and suggested that the theoretical base of FGC rather than the method itself seemed to enhance the development of culturally adequate social work. Based on this finding, I argue that the implementation of the theoretical principles in FGC needs to be grounded in

the local context. In the discussion section, I ask how the FGC's core principles – family involvement, restoration, and revitalization – enhance FGC as a culturally adequate model in Sami communities. Discussing the core principle of family involvement, I conclude that a Sami FGC model would benefit from greater awareness and incorporation of the central role of the community fellowship, in addition to the family kinship. Concerning, the core principle of restoration, I conclude that restoration in the Sami FGC model should facilitate the restoration of both family ties, and the wounds from the assimilation politics. With regard to the core principle of revitalization. I argue that a Sami FGC model should keep the contemporary Sami communities as a platform in order to revitalize the Sami traditional family system. In other words, the FGC model should develop in-between the old and the new Sami cultural expressions.

Investigating family and community involvement in social work within Indigenous communities involved interviewing social work professionals. I explored what can be learned about culturally adequate social work from the social work professionals in Sami and Native American communities. I studied the similarities and differences in the reflections of the social workers about how to adjust social work culturally. Social workers in both the Sami and Native American communities aim to involve family in their social work practice. The social workers argue that closeness and connection with the community facilitates family and community involvement. Based on these findings I propose the theoretical concept of 'professional closeness' and argue that deep insight into the local communities and culture is vital for providing culturally adequate social work

Within social work practice, the involvement of the service user is considered essential for good practice while in Indigenous research methodology, involvement of the community is indispensable for qualitative good research. Hence, in this thesis, I discuss how Indigenous communities can be respectfully involved in strategies to improve the cultural adequacy of

social work. I argue that social workers, and other relevant community members in Indigenous communities, should be involved in the development of social work. At the end, I offer specific and practical recommendations for the process of developing models for family and community involvement in social work within Sami communities.

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List of Articles

1. Nygård, R. H., & Saus, M. (In review). Is Family Group Conference a Culturally Adequate Method outside the Origin of New Zealand? A Systematic Review.

2.

- 3. Nygård, R. H., Saus, M. & Nicolay, S. S. (In press). Conceptualisations of Culture and Ethnicity within Social Work in two Indigenous Communities: Implications for Culturally Adequate Social Work. *Journal of Comparative Social Work*.
- 4. Nygård, R. H., & Saus, M. (2016). Emphasizing indigenous communities in social work research ethics. *International Social Work*, *59*, 666-678. doi:10.1177/0020872816646815

1 Introduction

This thesis is about family and community involvement within social work in Indigenous communities. Through a comparative qualitative study, I investigate social work practices within Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana, the United States. The aim of the study is to generate knowledge on the relevance of family and community involvement for culturally adequate social work in Indigenous communities.

My study is a part of the research project 'Family Group Conference (FGC) in Foster Care' at The Regional Centre for Child and Youth Mental Health and Child Welfare at UiT, The Arctic University of Tromsø. The project 'Family Group Conference in Foster Care' followed the implementation of the decision-making model 'Family Group Conference (FGC)' by the Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs (Bufdir). The research group involved in this project investigated various aspects relevant for the implementation of FGC, such as the situation of the children involved, different experiences of the actors involved, and the collaboration between the private and public network. The data in the main project collected both qualitative and quantitative data and had information from 92 child welfare cases (Sending, Strandbu, & Thørnblad, 2015).

Although a part of the research group, my study did not use data from the main project. The reason for this was that my study intended to investigate FGC within Sami contexts. I had initially intended to include Sami families that had experience from participating in FGC. However, scant few Sami families have participated in this decision-making model. Therefore, I had to rethink the study design. Instead of evaluating the experiences of the different actors involved in FGC, I changed my attention to studying cultural adequacy in social work. Thus, the focus of the study became family and community involvement within Indigenous communities. The reason for choosing family and community involvement as a target of investigation, lies in family involvement being a key element of FGC and

community involvement being a key element in Indigenous methodology. Indigenous methodology is research that aims to be appropriate and respectful towards Indigenous communities. By starting with these two key elements, I could fulfil the initial ambition of contributing knowledge that is relevant for research concerning FGC. Additionally, I could base this knowledge on the experiences of social workers within Indigenous communities that endeavor to work in line with best culturally adequate practice.

In the following introduction chapter, I explain the story of this changing approach in detail and outline how my research question evolved from this process.

1.1 From Family Group Conference to family and community involvement: Developing research questions

This research project started out as an investigation of FGC in social work within Sami communities. The project was initiated by the Regional Sami Competence Center (RESAK) requesting more knowledge of FGC within Sami contexts. Through interaction with the research field, this study developed from a study of FGC in Sami communities to a study of family and community involvement within Indigenous social work. I will present the proses forming the research questions in the following sections.

1.1.1 Family Group Conference

FGC is a method developed by the Maori people in New Zealand. During the 1980s, Maori leaders and communities addressed a cultural mismatch between mainstream social work and Maori traditions (Love, 2002). According to the Maori people, the mainstream social work failed to recognize the place of the child within the Maori community, and the significance of the child's relationship with the extended family and tribal group (The Maori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1998/2001). The FGC method is a direct outcome of this Maori social work revolution (Love, 2002). The central idea within FGC is to involve extended family, sub-tribal groups of extended families, and larger tribal groups of several sub-tribal groups,

into problem-solving in child welfare, and youth justice (The Maori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1998/2001).

Approximately 30 countries have implemented the FGC model (Havnen & Christiansen, 2014). In a child welfare context, the model identifies three phases; the preliminary phase, the participator phase, and the review and follow-up phase. The preliminary phase prepares the family for the FGC meeting. An external coordinator helps the family invite and prepare the extended family members for the conference. The coordinator is a person from outside both the family group and the child welfare system. The participator phase is holding the FGC meeting; in this phase, the family meets for a conference. This meeting is further divided in three parts. The first part of the meeting provides the family with information regarding the concerns for the child. This information is usually provided by the child welfare professionals. After the information has been received and acknowledged, the conference moves on to the second part; private family time. The family sits together, without interruption from professionals, discussing the issues that have been presented. Through this discussion the family comes to a decision and formulates a plan for what they see as good safeguarding of the child. In the third and last part of the meeting, the family present their plan for the child's welfare. The child welfare services and the family come to an agreement on the family plan. After the FGC meeting, within the review and follow-up phases, the family and the child welfare services follow up the plan made in the FGC meeting. Often one or several FGC meetings are held (Connolly & McKenzie, 1999; Havnen & Christiansen, 2014).

The FGC method attracted international attention as an Indigenous-based approach in social work. With the origins of FGC lying in one group of Indigenous people, the cultural adequacy of this method for other Indigenous populations is often assumed (Henriksen, 2004b; Holkup, Salois, Tripp-Reimer, & Weinert, 2007; Maxwell, 2008; Pennell & Anderson, 2005; Zehr,

2002). The government in Norway intendeds to implement FGC in social work within Sami communities.

1.1.2 Regional Sami Competence Center initiation of research on FGC

The foundation of this research project lies in an initiative from the Regional Sami Competence Center (RESAK). The competence center requested more knowledge about FGC for its use in social work in Sami communities. RESAK is committed to strengthening and evolving culturally equivalent social services for the Sami people (Bufdir, 2018). The center is a highly qualified social services agency, providing guidance to social workers on the Norwegian side of Sápmi. The staff work actively locally, regionally and politically to inform social services regarding cultural relevance within Sami communities. In addition to being a regional competence center, RESAK also serves as a local Child and Family Agency for the inner regions of Finnmark. In this role, the staff at RESAK work as social workers, providing direct social services to children and families.

RESAK initiated the implementation of the FGC model in a Sami context. The agency claims that there is a clear link between the focus on family involvement in FGC and how the Sami people have traditionally involved extended family in problem-solving. In 2013, RESAK began implementing FGC in their work, in cooperation with the Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs (Bufetat). Simultaneously, RESAK requested more knowledge of the cultural adequacy of FGC in social work within Sami communities and invited our research group to collaborate.

1.1.3 Changing the approach

In line with the request from RESAK, at the outset of this thesis, the research goal was to gain knowledge about the suitability of FGC in Sami communities. However, soon after beginning my inquiry, the scarcity of empirical examples of FGC within social work in Sami communities became apparent. Consequently, in order to continue with the objective of

producing relevant knowledge for the development of FGC, I needed to approach the research theme from another angle as opposed to a study of the practical use of FGC.

Because of its origin in an Indigenous community, the cultural adequacy of FGC for other Indigenous communities is often taken for granted (Henriksen, 2004b; Holkup et al., 2007; Maxwell, 2008; Pennell & Anderson, 2005; Zehr, 2002). In the Sami context, while there is high engagement in FGC as being culturally suitable, there is a lack of practical examples of the method in use. This discrepancy aroused my interest. The theoretical foundation of FGC values participation and involvement of children and family in decision-making (Havnen & Christiansen, 2014). RESAK claims that the theoretical foundation of family involvement in FGC is in line with the role of extended family in Sami tradition. I questioned if the theoretical idea of involvement might be central for the idea of FGC as being culturally adequate in Indigenous communities.

During this process, I changed the focus of the thesis. From being a study of the practical use of FGC in Sami communities, the thesis become a study of family and community involvement related to cultural adequacy. FGC is a method that has aroused international interest as an Indigenous-based approach. Internationally, Indigenous social work research is showing a growing interest in family involvement (Belone, Gonzalez-Santin, Gustavsson, MacEachron, & Perry, 2002; Drywater-Whitekiller, 2014; Henriksen, 2004a; Saus, 2008b). Involvement of kin and families is thought to be essential when adjusting social work to meet the needs of Indigenous communities (Henriksen, 2004b; Herzberg, 2013). Involvement is a core theoretical principle in FGC. Following this rationale, I argue that gaining knowledge of involvement related to cultural adequacy in Indigenous social work will add to the knowledge of FGC.

Investigating the family and community involvement in Indigenous social work, I found an international comparative study suitable. By comparing, we see one context in relation to another, creating a possibility to identify new aspects. Comparing social work in Indigenous communities provides new insights on both the national and international level. In this study, Indigenous communities in Norway and in Montana are included.

1.1.4 Involvement

Involvement is defined as 'to participate in something, to be emotionally or personally engaged in something, or to be in emotional or personal association with someone' (Oxford dictionary, 2018). It is about a relation between two persons, or a person and an object. Furthermore, it is related to participation. In health and social services, *involvement* is increasingly gaining attention and is associated with the quality of service (Eide, Josephsson, & Vik 2017). In order to provide good quality services, user involvement is crucial. The experiences and reflections of the user are important to improve services. Health and social services link involvement to democracy (Larsen 2006). Involvement is people's right to be involved in decisions regarding their own life. Thus, democracy in health and social work requires participation. In other words, involvement is a practical way to ensure both quality and democracy in health and social services.

In Indigenous politics, involvement is considered just as important as in the field of health and social work. Many Indigenous politicians and researchers consider involvement as one of the main means to oppose discrimination and racism (Schattan, Coelho, & von Lieres, 2013). Involvement in decision-making processes in society ensures the inclusion of the voices of Indigenous people, thereby allowing Indigenous people to influence society at large (Black & McBean, 2016; Horn-Miller, 2013).

Hence, it is not incidental that I place involvement at the forefront in my study of cultural adequacy in social work within Indigenous communities. As discussed above, the involvement of extended family plays a leading role in the development of Indigenous social work. Furthermore, within Indigenous research methodology, involvement is a core principle.

In Indigenous methodology, involving the target group of the research is essential. In her classic 'Decolonizing Methodologies', Smith (2012) raises the danger of undertaking research without including the subject of the research in it. She asserts that researchers from outside of Indigenous communities often fail to ask relevant questions while researching issues within Indigenous communities. As she writes: research by outsiders 'told us things already known, suggested things that would not work' (Smith, 2012, 3). Including Indigenous communities in all parts of the research project is one way of validating the relevance of the project. An essential part of the methodology in this thesis is to establish a dialogue with community members and social work professionals thorough all parts of the research process. In this thesis, both community involvement in social work practice, as well as community involvement in social work research, will be the subject of investigation.

1.2 Research questions

In this study, I investigate family and community involvement within social work in Indigenous communities. My aim is to contribute to knowledge production regarding culturally adequate social work in Indigenous communities. In this thesis, my main research question is:

What is the relevance of family and community involvement for culturally adequate social work in Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana?

Inquiring this question lead me to three main discussions. First, I discuss how the Maori process of developing FGC serves as an inspiration for providing culturally adequate social

work in other Indigenous communities. Second, I discuss what we can learn about culturally adequate social work from the social work professionals in Sami and Native American communities. Third, I discuss how Indigenous communities can be respectfully involved in strategies to improve the social adequacy of social work. To develop these areas of interest I have formulated three clusters of research questions.

- 1) How can FGC's core principles; family involvement, restoration, and revitalization enhance FGC as a culturally adequate model in Sami communities?
- 2) What are the experiences and reflections from social workers in Sami and Native American communities regarding family involvement in culturally adequate social work? What can we learn from their experiences and reflections?
- 3) What role can communities have in the development of social work research? How can Indigenous voices be respectfully involved in research processes?

In the first research question, attention is directed to the theoretical core principles in the original FGC model; family involvement, restoration, and revitalization. I ask how these core principles are relevant for the implementation of FGC in social work in Sami communities. This question became increasingly relevant after I changed the approach of the study. Initially I planned to gain knowledge of the practical implementation of FGC in social work in Sami communities. However, despite the high expectation of this method as being cultural sufficient, there were few empirical examples of FGC in Sami contexts. Consequently, I adapted the approach and directed my attention to the theoretical origins of the model. Another reason for the interest in the theoretical principles of FGC stems from the fact that both researchers and social workers tend to assume that FGC is a culturally appropriate model. In the first article of the thesis, I question this taken-for-granted assumption.

I investigate the core principles for culturally adequacy in the original FGC model. FGC draws from several theoretical and practical principles. RESAK marked the theoretical principles of family involvement, restoration, and revitalization as essential for cultural adequacy in Sami contexts. My research questions draw from the experience-based knowledge of RESAK and highlights these three core principles. I ask how family involvement, restoration, and revitalization can enhance FGC as a culturally adequate model in Sami communities.

In the second research question, I direct the attention toward social workers in Sami and Native American communities, and their reflections on culturally adequate social work. I asked social workers about their experiences with family and community involvement. The specific focus on family and community involvement stems from the claim by RESAK that the FGC principle of family involvement is in line with the role of extended family within Sami tradition. To shed light on cultural adequacy, I asked social workers in Sami and Native American communities about their experiences with family and community involvement in social work. I was interested in how they talked about *involvement* as part of their social work practice and wanted to investigate the similarities and differences between their reflections. Furthermore, I paid attention to how social workers reflect on closeness to culture and local community because I consider this to be an essential element in involvement. The purpose of mirroring these two thoughts was to ask what can be learned from social workers in Sami and Native American communities. Article two addresses these questions with a discussion of the themes identified from the reflections of social workers.

In the third research question, I investigate how Indigenous voices can be respectfully involved in social work development. I use social work development in a wider context, including social work research along with other strategies that aim to improve the practical field of social work. The research strategy of this study was constructed in collaboration with

ethical research committees in both Norway and Montana. The communication with Tribal ethical committees in Montana challenged this research project towards incorporating extensive dialogue with the communities I visited through all the phases of the project. In the third article of this thesis, I question whether a greater emphasis on communities in research ethics could benefit the development of Sami social work. In the discussion part of the thesis, I elaborate on the role of community participation and dialogue between Indigenous communities in this research project. I further investigate practical approaches for grounding social work development in the local context of social work practice.

1.3 Body of thesis

This thesis is organized in eight chapters, and I will present these chapters here. In chapter two, I place the study within the research field of Indigenous social work. I present the Indigenous people of Norway and Montana, in addition to why social work in these two Indigenous communities are suitable for comparison. I also present social work in Norway and Montana, in addition to why there is a need for a decolonization of social work.

In chapter three, I elaborate on the theoretical foundation of this thesis. I present the theoretical foundation of the FGC model, modern and Indigenous ideas of family and community, historical trauma, in addition to culture and ethnicity in social work. Further, I reflect upon how both Indigenous and critical research paradigms inform the research strategy of this thesis.

In chapter four and five, I discuss methodology and method used in thesis. Central methodological principles in this thesis are Indigenous methodologies and comparative methodology. This thesis build on focus group and individual interviews with social work professionals. I present the research strategy of how data are constructed and analyzed.

The results of this comparative study are presented in three research articles. In chapter six, I presents the result of these articles. The first article is a meta-synthesis of FGC in a cultural context. The starting point of project was a request of more knowledge of FGC as a cultural adequate method for Indigenous populations. FGC is often taken for granted as a culturally adequate method, in this article, we question this assumption.

The second article investigate how social work professionals, in Indigenous communities in Norway and Native American communities in Montana, conceptualize culture and ethnicity. I have investigated social work professionals' interpretation of culture within social work in Indigenous communities in Norway and in Montana, the United States. How culture are constructed will influence on what perceived as cultural adequate. Studying social work in two contexts facilitates for investigating difference in construction of culture.

The third article elaborate on ethical regulations in Indigenous research. Doing a comparative study, I realize that the ethical regulations of research in Sami communities in Norway and Native American communities in Montana differ. We ask whether a greater emphasis on communities in research ethics could benefit the development of Sami social work.

In chapter seven, I discuss the results for the articles in light of theory and other research contributions. In chapter eight I make a conclusion.

2 Placing the study within the research field

2.1 Indigenous peoples of Norway and Montana

The Sami in Norway and the Native Americans in Montana have status as Indigenous peoples. The term *Indigenous* refers to diverse groups of people with culturally significant differences. They share a history of oppression and colonization (Anaya, 2004; Béteille, 1998; Kymlicka, 2002; Niezen, 2003). There is no unified definition of the term Indigenous; however, Article 1 of the UN ILO Convention No. 169 contains a statement describing identification. The convention describes;

- a) Tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;
- (b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or the geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.

The precise definition of the term *Indigenous* is subject to a deeper debate. This debate reveals that what is perceived as Indigenous varies depends on peoples and their history within different contexts (Friedman, 2008). A United Nations (2004) protocol argues that Indigenous or Tribal peoples are too distinct for one definition to encompass and cover them all. Consequently, the UN recognize that a formal universal definition of Indigenous is not desirable. Instead, the protocol highlights peoples' right to self-determination. In line with the protocol, I highlight the groups' right of self-identification as an important aspect of

understanding Indigenous communities. The aspect of self-identification is central for Indigenous communities that struggle to gain acknowledgement as an 'Indigenous people.

The Indigenous identity of the Sami and Native American peoples is somewhat different considering that the relationship between the 'settler' and the 'colonizer' differs in significant aspects (Friedman, 2008). In Norway, the Sami people have lived alongside Norwegians for generations (Friedman, 2008; L. I. Hansen & Olsen, 2004). Between 1550 and 1750, the Sápmi were divided and subjugated by the nation states of Norway-Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Russia (L. I. Hansen & Olsen, 2004). Through the national state, ethnic Norwegians held a dominant position over the Sami population. Political processes in the second half of the twentieth century brought about a change in the politics of the rights of the Sami people in Norway (Minde, 2003). Through this process, the Sami people were acknowledged and accepted as an Indigenous people.

The United States is a country of immigrants. European settlers began to colonize the country from the end of the fifteenth century. The relationship between European settlers and the Native peoples inhabiting the land was characterized by battles where large parts of populations were killed or forced into reservations (Friedman, 2008). From 1828-1887, reservations were established through treaties between the U. S Government and the tribes. Through the negotiation of treaties, the Native Americans were forced to cede large amounts of land for the continued right to self-governance (National Congress of American Indians, 2005). As sovereign nations, tribes in the United States have a tri-governmental relationship; between the tribe, the federal, and the state governments (National Congress of American Indians, 2005). Today Native Americans live both on and off reservations (Utter, 2001). There are 567 federally recognized tribes in the United States (U. S. Department of The Interior Indian Affairs, 2017). Members of the tribes are recognized by the government as Indigenous persons.

The historical background for the Sami and Native American peoples differs with regard to relationship with the colonizer, politics and jurisdiction governing the Indigenous population, along with recognition of what is viewed as Indigenous land.

The terminology used to describe Indigenous peoples was constructed within the context of colonization and is loaded with meaning (Kramer, 1994). For Indigenous groups in the United States, the European settlers first used the term *Indian*. Before contact with the European immigrants, the 'Indian' were not 'Indian' but were, for example; *Salish*, *Kootenai*, *Pend d'Orielle*, *Assiniboine*, *Sioux* or subgroups of these tribes (Utter, 2001). The participants in this study use the term *Indian* for themselves, even though the term is loaded with meaning. Translated into Norwegian, the term 'Indianer' has an exotic undertone full of potential for creating stereotypes. The terms *Native American* and *Native* are other terms used to refer to themselves by the Indigenous people in the United States. Therefore, in this thesis, I use the term *Native American*. The Indigenous people in Norway use the term *Sami* to refer to themselves. I use the term *Sami* in this thesis.

2.2 Sami and Native Americans shared experiences within colonization

Despite the differences in Sami and Native American Indigenous identity, these two peoples share some similar experiences. Both have experienced land loss, loss of language, loss of traditions, enforced boarding schools and significant cultural assimilation (L. I. Hansen & Olsen, 2004; Mann, 2016). Both have been marginalized by a majority population.

In their comparison of the history, politics, practices and laws of child welfare services aimed towards Sami and Native American populations, Jacobs and Saus (2012) find significant contemporary and historical similarities. They note that the political viewpoints in both Norway and the United States changed in approximately the same historical period, resulting in very similar effects. Jacobs and Saus (2012) find the parallels especially apparent in the

history of mission and boarding schools, in the child removal, and in the legal responses.

After the subjugation of Indigenous people within the state system, in both Norway and the United States, the prevailing policy was the assimilation of Indigenous children through boarding schools (George, 1997; Minde, 2005; Reyhner & Eder, 2017). In both Norway and the United States, child welfare politics changed in the 1950s, towards focus more on poverty and abuse (George, 1997; H. Thuen, 2002). As a result of these policies a large number of Indigenous children were removed from their homes. The outcome of assimilation of Indigenous children through out-of-home care was subtler than assimilation through boarding schools. Regardless, the end-result was the same; children were removed from their homes and cultural affiliations, and assimilated into a Norwegian or American family (George, 1997; Minde, 2005). Legal initiatives in the late twentieth century in both Norway and the United States forced these countries to secure the rights of Indigenous children (Garner, 1993; Skogvang, 2009). Despite having historical and contemporary experiences within child welfare, there has been little communication and dialogue to share experiences between the Indigenous peoples of Norway and the United States (Jacobs & Saus, 2012).

Shanley and Evjen (2015) and Nicolai and Saus (2013) provide research contributions that elucidate the relevance of comparative projects between the Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana. Shanley and Evjen (2015) edited the book: 'Mapping Indigenous Presence', as a collaborative and comparative project. The book includes contributions from researchers located both at Native American institutions in Montana and at a Sami institution in Norway. The project highlights the similarities in experiences and the usefulness of sharing these between the two Indigenous populations (Shanley & Evjen, 2015). Within social work research, Nicolai and Saus (2013) find similarities in social workers conceptualization of children's trauma in Sami and Native American social work.

These significant comparative contributions inspired the research strategy of this research project. I argue that sharing contemporary and historical similarities may be mutually beneficial and facilitate reciprocal learning. In this thesis, I investigate the potential of learning when sharing and comparing between communities.

2.3 The international Indigenous movement

Comparing social work between the Sami and Native Americans places the study within an international Indigenous discourse. Globalization, with the flow of goods, capital, people, images and ideas, is generally considered by scholars as having a negative impact on Indigenous peoples (Minde, Gaski, Jentoft, & Midré, 2008). However, globalization also facilitates international laws and conventions, thereby securing the rights of Indigenous peoples. International law, rooted in western jurisprudential and legal thought, was forced through international debate to accommodate and adapt to Indigenous voices and interests (Anaya, 2009). Thus, globalization has had the effect of empowering Indigenous peoples within their own state (Minde et al., 2008). International mobilization and dialogue among Indigenous peoples have proven to be highly effective in promoting Indigenous interests both nationally and internationally.

International laws and conventions influence the construction of the concept 'Indigenous' both in Norway and the United States. Three international conventions are of particular relevance while studying the rights of Indigenous people within the field of social work; The International Labor Organization Convention (No. 169) Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO 169), latest revision dated 1986, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples dated 2007, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) of 1989. These UN declarations establish cultural belonging and cultural protection as fundamental rights. Article 30 of UNCRC declares a child's right to cultural belonging. Norway ratified the ILO convention Indigenous and Tribal Peoples

Convention 1989 in 1990 (No. 169) (Selle, Semb, Stømsnes, & Nordø, 2015) and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in the same year (United Nations Human Rights, 2017).

To date, the United States have not ratified these international conventions. International law influences the norms and values prevalent in society through their ideas, emphasis and terminology (Anaya, 2004). Even though the United States have not yet ratified the international conventions, international law and international discussions have discursive influence.

2.4 Social Work in Sápmi and in Native American Communities

Comparing social work in Indigenous communities in Norway and the United States requires an awareness of the national differences in welfare conditions and social work systems. The socioeconomic status of the respective Indigenous populations and the way the welfare state is organized are different in the USA and Norway. Furthermore, national laws within social work and child welfare in Norway and the United States differ in structure and content.

The Human Development Index (HDI) provides an overall indication of socioeconomic conditions. Both Norway and the United State have a high HDI score. In 2015, Norway ranked as number one and the United States as number ten in the global HDI (United Nations Development Programme, 2015). In the United States, the Human Development Index is disaggregated by ethnicity, some ethnic groups being above the national average and others below. The Native American peoples receive the lowest score among all the ethnic groups (United Nations Development Programme, 2016) laying bare a society where opportunities and prospects are largely dependent on ethnic affiliation. The UN report does not report any such differences in Norway. Other sources describe the differences in living standards within

Norway as being relatively low compared to other countries (NAV, 2016). These indicate that the Sami, overall, enjoy a higher economic standard of living than Native Americans.

The organizational differences in social services in Norway and the United States are described as 'social democratic welfare regime' and 'liberal welfare regime' respectively (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The Nordic countries, are characterized by 'social democratic welfare regime'. The political system of social democracy builds upon an ideology of equality, justice, freedom, and solidarity (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Comparing child welfare systems, Gilbert, Parton, and Skivenes (2011) characterize Norwegian child welfare as *family service oriented*. The Norwegian child welfare system is concerned with the welfare of the child, having the family in focus, and aims to help parents provide good care for their children (Križ & Skivenes, 2013). The Nordic welfare model has evolved within a social policy exhibiting strong universalistic and solidarity traits, and seeks to provide equal services for all rather than specialized services addressing specific groups or problems (Olsson & Lewis, 1995). Consequently, there are no separate or specialized services directed toward the Sami population.

The Norwegian Child Welfare Act protects Sami children in the same manner as children from other ethnic groups in Norway. The legal system does not distinguish its legal subjects on the basis of ethnicity. Section 4-15 of the Norwegian Child Welfare Act explicitly states that when the state intervenes in a family by placing a child outside the home, weight shall be given to 'continuity in the child's upbringing, and to the child's ethnicity, religion, culture and language' (The Child Welfare Act, 1992). Apart from this statement, culture is not a central theme in the Norwegian Child Welfare Act.

Social workers have advocated for the need for culturally adequate social work within the Sami area (Boine, 2007). The first public document putting the Sami social work on the

agenda was the Official Norwegian Report of 1995: 'Plan for health and social services for the Sami population', acknowledging the need for attention being given to Sami social work (Blix, 2013; Boine, 2007; Henriksen, 2016; Saus, 2008a). In 2005, a governmental action plan supplemented the report (Boine, 2007). These governing documents frame the development of social work directed toward Sami populations.

In Esping-Andersen (1990) description of welfare regimes, the welfare state in the United States is characterized as a 'liberal welfare regime'. This welfare regime embraces an ideology of low interference by the state, providing modest social-security and help. Gilbert et al. (2011) characterize the child welfare system in the United States as *child protection oriented*. In line with the ideology of low interference, child welfare is oriented toward protecting children from risk and securing the safety of the child (Križ & Skivenes, 2013).

Tribal governments have civil and criminal jurisdiction within the reservations. Through self-governance, tribes can enhance health, safety and welfare within the tribal territory (National Congress of American Indians, 2005). Both tribal governments and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) provide social services for Native American people on many, but not all, reservations (Belone et al., 2002). The institutions bearing primary responsibility for providing human services to Indigenous persons are the BIA and the Indian Health Services (HIS) (Kramer, 1994). While the Norwegian ideology of equality result in similar services regardless of the ethnicity, the use of ethnical categorization in management in the United State lead to a ethnical and cultural attention in services. This might indicate a tendency to value culture and ethnicity diversity more in United State compared to Norway.

In the United States, there are special laws aimed to secure the rights of Indigenous peoples.

Hence, social work practices regarding child welfare are often determined by the child's status as a tribal member. Three acts have been vital for the development of child welfare

Indian Country: the Indian Education Act, the Self-Determination Act and the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) (Belone et al., 2002). ICWA are central for social services. This law applies to children who are enrolled members, or whose parents are enrolled members, of a tribe (United States Code: Tilte 25 - Indians, 1978). ICWA provides guidance to child and family professionals in cases where there are grounds to remove Indigenous children from their biological parents (Matheson, 1996). The intention of the law is to 'protect the best interests of Indian children and to promote the stability and security of Indian tribes and families' (United States Code: Tilte 25 - Indians, 1978, § 1902). ICWA came about as a response to the high number of Indigenous children being placed out of home (George, 1997). The law affirms cultural stability as being in the best interest of the child (Weaver & Congress, 2009). When children are placed out of home, preference shall be given to first look for placement within the extended family, secondly with other members of child's tribe, and thirdly with other Native American families (United States Code: Tilte 25 - Indians, 1978, § 1915). Thus, Indigenous children by law shall be placed within a close network.

Services in Sami area and within the Norwegian welfare regime focus on early intervention and protection of the child. For the most part, welfare services are similar for all inhabitants, regardless of ethnicity. Services for Native Americans are focused upon securing the safety of the child. This creates a social system that is less preventive with lower interference in private family life and has services specifically targeting Indigenous populations.

2.5 The special field of social work

In this thesis, I study child welfare as part of the larger special field of social work. The organization and definition of child welfare and social services differ from country to country. The two fields are closely related and therefore, for the purpose of this study, I do not find a separation of the two to be necessary.

According to the National Association of Social Workers (2017), the mission of social work is 'to enhance human well-being and help meet the basic human need of all people, with particular attention to the needs empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty' (preamble). In other words, social services are designed to 'support' socially excluded families (Gillies, 2005). What constitutes 'socially excluded families', 'basic human need', and 'empowerment' is essential for determining what help is provided. Who is defined as being 'vulnerable', 'oppressed', or 'living in poverty' will further determine who receives help and services.

Social work values, norms and methods are rooted and developed within western dominant culture (Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird, & Hetherington, 2013a; Perrin, 1992; Sinclair, 2004; Tracks, 1973; Weaver, 2000). Social work as a modernist intervention has largely silenced Indigenous voices (Gray, Coates, & Hetherington, 2007). When knowledge production is concentrated within one cultural mindset, there is a risk of misunderstanding other cultural groups within the system.

2.6 Indigenous children's right to interdependence

Interpretation of the principles in international laws influence on social work practice. 'The best interest of the child' is the superior principle in the Convention of the Right of the Child (UNCRC). Interpretation of this principle informs the constructions of the concepts of *children* and *family*. In the modern welfare state, the middle class standard of childhood is being upheld as an universal standard for a 'good childhood' (Hennum, 2010). In the modern welfare state, there is an increasing focus on children's rights to express their voices and to be heard. As an expression for this increased focus on children's autonomy, high attention is given to theory building in the Norwegian FGC model on child participation (Strandbu, 2007). The same attention has not been extended to theory building on involvement of the extended family and the community.

International law highlights children's right to cultural attachment, family connection and community belonging. Interpretation of jurisprudence in human rights in tradition of liberal individual ethos often emphasizes rights of the individual. Courts and advocates seem to cling to an individualistic approach toward family and children (Brooks & Ronen, 2006). In modern welfare state and civil law founded within the Eurocentric worldview, the individual rights of a child, the rights to autonomy and a self-constructed identity are often stressed (Brooks & Ronen, 2006; Hennum, 2010). The right to interdependence, of belonging to significant others, is another aspect of the rights of children that can be read out of the UNCRC but is often silenced in its interpretation (Brooks & Ronen, 2006). When silencing the right to interdependence this has consequences for what aspects are emphasized when advocating for children's rights. How children's right to independence is constructed has consequences for the conduct of research, legislative developments and for practical social work.

2.7 What is the problem with social work in Indigenous communities?

There are numerous historical examples of social work perpetuating colonization and injustice towards Indigenous people (de Leeuw, Greenwood, & Cameron, 2010; Lawler, LaPlante, Giger, & Norris, 2012; Lawrence, 2000). Worldwide, Indigenous children are overrepresented within social services systems in high-income countries, relative to the overall demographics (Godinet, Arnsberger, Li, & Kreif, 2010; Shlonsky, Macvean, Devine, Mildon, & Barlow, 2013; Sinha, Ellenbogen, & Trocmé, 2013).

In the United States, Native American children are removed from their families and communities at staggering levels (R. B. Hill, 2007; Lawler et al., 2012). In Norway, welfare services do not distinguish between or count ethnic groups separately (Olsson & Lewis, 1995). Hence, there is no data to enable a comparison between how Sami and non-Sami

children fare within child welfare services. However, several studies have discussed and drawn attention to the necessity of safeguarding culture within child welfare in a Sami context (Saus 2008).

Social workers, researchers and Indigenous communities are united in their call for social work that is culturally relevant and addresses cultural discrimination and colonization (Bennett, Zubrzycki, & Bacon, 2011; M. A. Hart, 2010; Herring, Spangaro, Lauw, & McNamara, 2013; Järvensivu, Pohjola, & Romakkaniemi, 2016; Weaver, 2004). If the rights of Indigenous people are to be for filled there is a need for culturally appropriate services. In this thesis, I introduce the concept *culturally adequate social work*, framing social work that is culturally competent, humble and contextual.

2.8 Decolonizing social work

Decolonizing social work is a response to social work practices that developed within the western paradigm and that are characterized by a lack of cultural adequacy and an overrepresentation of Indigenous children in welfare services.

The theories of decolonizing social work addresses two main aspects. First, social work as a tool in decolonizing communities and society. Critical social work addresses inequality at the personal, group and community levels (Williams, 2006). This school of thought within social work considers it the social worker's responsibility not only to serve individuals in need but also to work on a structural level to change circumstances that set individuals on paths where help would be needed eventually (Calma & Priday, 2011).

Second, researchers and communities advocate for a need to decolonize the ontological and epistemological basis of social work. This aspect of decolonizing social work espouses the view that in order to provide culturally adequate services, it is critical to reshape social services in line with the values, norms and methods from perspectives and worldviews other

than those of the dominant West (Belone et al., 2002; M. Hart, 2003). The knowledge production base in epistemology and ontology is largely anchored within western paradigms (Johnston-Goodstar, 2013), with consequences for the identification and definition of social problems and the development of methods that can address these problems.

The two aspects – decolonizing communities or societies and decolonizing the ontological and epistemological base of social work – are closely related. I argue that in order to achieve the first – decolonization through social work –, one needs to build on the second, namely basing social work theory and practice on multiple ontological and epistemological perspectives.

3 Theoretical perspectives

3.1 Family Group Conference as an Indigenous-based approach

With the aim of decolonizing social work, Indigenous communities debate revitalization of traditional methods within welfare systems. FGC, traditional problem-solving, mediation, peace circles, and the Medicine Wheel are examples of such methods that involve community gatherings or family participation in different ways (Boyes-Watson, 2005; Mangena, 2015; Marcynyszyn et al., 2012; J. a. F. Meyer, 2002; Sheu & Huang, 2014). To investigate socially adequate social work, I use the development of FGC in New Zealand as a framework for how traditional methods can be included into contemporary welfare systems.

3.1.1 Family Group Conference – revitalization of Maori tradition

During the 1980s, Maori leaders and communities called for a social work system that would work for and with, rather than against the Maori communities. This resulted in a transformation facilitating Maori voices in multiple forums and arenas (Love, 2002). One concrete outcome from the Maori movement was the establishment of the Ministerial Advisory Committee, established by the Minister of Social Welfare in 1985, commissioned to investigate the Social Welfare from a Maori perspective (The Maori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1998/2001). The Committee members traveled through New Zealand visiting and talking to thousands of Maori people, hearing their life stories first-hand. The Committee studied and analyzed both the history of the Maori people during the last 150 years, as well as contemporary politics and practices within social work, and concluded that there was a need for a fundamental change in service delivery and in the laws regulating social work. Seeing social services from the Maori perspective, the Committee saw a need to strengthen community and tribal networks. It saw the 'community' and 'family' as vital for children and stated that within social services: '(there) is a profound misunderstanding or ignorance of the

place of the children in Maori society and its relationship with whanau, hapu and iwi structures' (The Maori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1998/2001, 7). Whanau, hapu and iwi is defined by Love (2002). Whanau refers to extended family. Hapu to sub-tribal groups of extended families, and iwi refers to tribes composed of hapu groups.

The Ministerial Advisory Committee presented its recommendations to the Department of Social Welfare in the report 'PUAO-TE-ATA-TU' (daybreak). The report recommended designing politics, practices and laws in line with Maori traditions. Through the process of Maori communities advocating for culturally adequate and decolonized social work, New Zealand enacted a new law in 1989 called the 'Children and Young People and their Families Act'. The new act recognized the importance of whanau, hapu and iwi, and facilitated the development of FCG as a practical and theoretical change in social service towards involvement of whanau, hapu and iwi (Love, 2002).

The process initiated by Maori leaders resulted in a paradigm shift from 1974 and 1989, when the Children and Young Persons Act (1974) and the new Children and Young Persons and Their Families Act (1989) respectively were enacted. In the former Act, the underlying principle sees the state as the primary caregiver carrying responsibility for the child. In the latter Act, it is the Tribe and the Whanau who are the primary caregiver (Kaye, 1997). This represented a significant paradigm shift towards the recognition of the Tribe and Whanau.

3.1.2 Family Group Conference – a restorative approach

FGC and Restorative Justice are two simultaneously emerging movements that address some of the same issues in modern welfare systems (Connolly, 2009). The ideology of restoration has resonated with a growing concern regarding professionalization and individualization of services within the mainstream welfare services. The movement of Restorative Justice emerged as a response to the professionalization of trials by the court system and the

exclusion of both the victim and the offender from court proceedings (Christie, 1977; S. Green, Johnstone, & Lambert, 2013). Originally, the Restorative Justice movement focused on changing both the society's way of thinking about and acting upon crimes and wrongdoings. The theory of restoration has been incorporated in schools, work places and other social systems (S. Green et al., 2013; Zehr, 2002). These methods of restoration influence and complement the way FGC is used in child and social services (Van Wormer, 2003). The terminology of Restorative Justice has since evolved to reflect its extension in other arenas than the criminal systems, such that we now use terms such as restorative 'practices', 'approaches' or 'solutions' (S. Green et al., 2013; Zehr, 2002). In this thesis, I use the collective terms 'restorative practices' and 'restorative approaches'.

An important aim of the FGC and restorative approaches is to restore and empower family and community relations (Connolly, 2009; J. a. F. Meyer, 2002; J. F. Meyer, 1998; Pranis, 2015), while challenging the traditional role played by professionals in problem-solving (Brown, 2003; Burns & Fruchtel, 2014; Christie, 1977). The restorative movement has a vision of interconnectedness and claims to strive for a holistic way of thinking. Archibald (2006) describes *holism* in this context as a concept that 'extends beyond the mental, physical, emotional and spiritual aspects of individual lives to encompass relationships with families, communities and the physical environment'. The approach facilitates participation and gives importance to making people and communities whole through a process of healing and reparation (J. F. Meyer, 1998).

3.1.3 Family Group Conference – the risk of Tokenism

Tokenism is a theory developed by Kanter (1977) describing the symbolic superiority one group holds over another. The theory provides a tool to see how structural relationships between the majority and minority camouflage power inequality. In her analysis, Kanter shows the dynamic between men and women in a male-dominated work place. The company

where the study was conducted was chosen based on the company's socially conscious philosophy. However, even though there may be equal terms for all employees at the organizational level, the female employees do not necessarily experience equality of terms as their male colleagues. The women in Kanter's study experienced an 'only women' status, that is, being seen as representatives for all women and what-women-can-do. I use the term tokenism to highlight the risk of upholding 'symbolic' culturally adequate social work. If social work creates an impression of building on the values and norms of the minority groups, while in reality failing to achieve that, it is symbolically culturally adequate but is not culturally adequate in its consequences.

The correspondence of FGC and restorative practices with Indigenous traditions might be tokenistic with implementation of models rather than values (Hollis-English, 2012; Moyle, 2014; Vieille, 2012). The close connection between traditional methods for restoration on the one hand, and FGC and other restorative approaches on the other, makes the cultural adequacy of these methods an easy assumption. However, critics claim this is a too easy conclusion to make towards a complex filed.

The philosophy and theoretical foundation of FGC and restorative approaches has caused a paradigm shift within the western welfare system (Burns & Fruchtel, 2014; Munford & Sanders, 2011; Zehr, 2002). This shift in paradigm acknowledges Maori traditions and philosophy as worthy perspectives that must be included in the development of social welfare (Love, 2002). Even though this shift is significant, Maori values and norms are still valued and 'measured against' the norm of Pakeha (European descent) (Love, 2002). Vieille (2012) cautions against the Restorative Justice movement being embodied and driven by 'westernized' ideas of Maori norms and traditions. She contends that these ideas are often contrary to the values and norms of the Maori people and lead to methods standardization when implemented into the western welfare system.

The western paradigm rests upon an idea of universalism and accumulation of knowledge. The 'one-size-fits-all' approach may camouflage important cultural differences. In this way, the method may seem culturally adequate while in fact reproducing and perpetuating power inequalities. There is also a risk of oversimplifying Indigenous cultures through the identification of shared values while overseeing local differences. Culturally adequate methods need to be rooted in local culture, language and traditions (Archibald, 2006).

3.2 Community and family participation – a contrast to modernization and individualization

Conceptualization of 'family' within social services is vital for practical child welfare work. Social agencies' definition of family structure determines who is provided with services, where a child is placed, and who is identified as support for the child (O'Neill & Gonzalez, 2014). When ideas and meaning of 'family' in community differ from those held by mainstream social services, this has consequences for the children and families served.

3.2.1 Modern ideas of family and community

Social work has developed within the western traditions and values of the twentieth century (Soydan, 2012). Western and modern cultures are characterized as 'individualistic', valuing independence (Lay et al., 1998; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Østberg, 1999). Industrialization changed the set-up of society. Modernization affected the organization of families, traditional community ties along with the duty and rights of the citizens. During the nineteenth century, the concept of family changed from an organic unit with a colonial family ideal toward that of a unit of individuals with specialized roles and duties. The family was transformed from a public to a private institution (Grossberg, 1988). In this process the role of men, women and children changed, and the nuclear family became the standard conception of family. This privatization of family separated the family from the surrounding community. The family unit came to bear the primary responsibility for child-rearing, a task previously

shared with the community (Grossberg, 1988). The concept of family consisting of a provider man, a home-bound woman, and their children has informed the development of family law (Grossberg, 1988). This view of family persists within the legal system even today (Brooks & Ronen, 2006). The change of the relationship between family and community, and the regulations within the laws has influenced the development of social work.

In the same process wherein the family is separated from the community, the policies of the welfare state moves the responsibility of welfare of family members from the family to the state (Leria, 2004). This defamilization reduces the individual's dependence on family and kin. The level of defamilization differs between different welfare regimes. Defamilization is most marked in 'social democratic welfare regimes', as in Norway, where early intervention with family help and maximizing individual interdependence is an ideal. Defamilization is lower in 'liberal welfare regimes', as in United States, where low state interference within family is an ideal (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Gilbert et al., 2011). In both Norway and the United States, the changing conceptualization of family and community along with the emerging welfare state, restrains and limits the caring responsibility of the wider community.

3.2.2 Indigenous ideas of family and community

In many Indigenous cultures the bonds between family and community are more fluid than the modern welfare state's construction of family. Even though influenced by industrialization and modernization, research within Native American and the Sami communities continues to find a close connection with the extended family and the community (Juuso, 2000; Peers & Brown, 1999). Where the modern welfare state seems to relieve the community of responsibility and duty, it seems these Indigenous communities continue to occupy a position in child-rearing and socialization.

Both empirical and theoretical research contributions within Native American communities considered the extended family an important cultural element (Duran & Duran, 1995; O'Neill & Gonzalez, 2014; Peers & Brown, 1999). In some Native American languages, for example the Ojibwa language, there is no proper translation for the word family. The word is adapted from the English language. In the English language, the word family refers to nuclear family containing parents and children, or household to indicate co-residency. Some of the closest term in Ojibwa language is *oode*, meaning lodge or household, *oodena*, village or town, indooem meaning my clan (Peers & Brown, 1999). In the Lakota language, the word for family system, Tiopaye, means 'a small piece out of a whole' (White Hat Sr., 2012). These words indicate a family unit larger than the nuclear family. Within this family system, there is no concept of an orphan or an only child; relatives take care of children in the same way as biological parents, and a child can have brothers and sisters from other relatives (White Hat Sr., 2012). Within the Lakota language, there is no word for parenting; the closest is Oyate Ptayela, translated as taking care of the Nation (Brave Heart, 1999b), in other words indicating a wider family organization than the nuclear family. These forms of organizing family continue to persist today (O'Neill & Gonzalez, 2014; White Hat Sr., 2012).

Within the Sami research literature the extended family is upheld as an important part of Sami culture (Henriksen, 2004a; Juuso, 2000). The Sami kinship structure differs from the Norwegian in organization, expectations, rights and responsibilities towards the roles and relations (Erke, 1986). Henriksen (2004b) describes forms of kin relations within the Sami language and culture. *Báiki* and *fuolkkit* are described as the household and traditional kinship through generational belonging. The terms *Gáibmi* (naming), *risváhnen* (godparents) and *skuvlaviellja/-oabbá* (school-brother/sister) describe relational kinship. *Siida* and *verdde* describe a trade fellowship. *Ránnját* describes a neighborly kinship. The social structures of

family and community closeness is both present and changing in the Sami community today (Balto, 1997; Henriksen, 2004a; Kemi & Boine, 2004).

In the Sami and Native American traditions, community contributes in the socialization of the child (Balto, 1997; Terry L. Cross, 1986). This stands in contrast to how children are socialized within the complex societies represented by modernization and specialized separate systems such as: daycare institutions, schools and educational systems. The social control mechanisms in a complex society divided into different institutions will be less holistic than within the less-complex and traditional community where community, kin and family overlap with each other (Balto, 1997). The modernization of socialization and family life have changed the role of the community in child-rearing.

Within social work today, it is often seen that structural or collective analyses of social problems are placed in a secondary position to individualized forms of practice (Ife, 2012). As a contrast, social work with Indigenous people highlights involvement of community, network, kin, and family as necessary components (Belone et al., 2002; Drywater-Whitekiller, 2014; Gray et al., 2007; Henriksen, 2004a, 2004b; Herzberg, 2013; O'Neill & Gonzalez, 2014; Stewart, 2008). When aiming to deliver culturally adequate social work, this contrast needs to be recognized within local communities.

3.2.3 Social workers' relationship to client and community

In small and rural communities, social workers often live and work in the communities they serve. Consequently, social workers develop dual relationships with service users more frequently than in urban communities (R. Green, 2003; Haugland, 2000; Pugh, 2007). Welfare institutions and social services move between the private and the public sphere (Leria, 2004; Thørnblad, 2011). In small communities, the division between public and

private are more fluid than in urban areas. The client might be a neighbor or a relative, resulting in the professional and personal parts of life merging into each other (Fenby, 1978).

Within social work literature, the professional and ethical aspects of maintaining objectivity and professional distance are under discussion. In traditional social work, the practitioner-client relationships are largely influenced by theories claiming that professional distance and separation are necessary for the provision of sound services (R. Green, Gregory, & Mason, 2006; Pugh, 2007; Shulman, 1991). Chong (2016) argue that professional relationships have a different connotation within Indigenous communities than is common within the mainstream tradition of social work. For social work to be relevant in a local, Indigenous contexts, it is vital to place the professional relationship within the local understanding of relationships (Chong, 2016; O'Leary, Tsui, & Ruch, 2012).

Kemi (2004) discusses the importance of community connections for social workers in Sami communities. She claims that if practitioner-client relationships are held at a 'simplistic level' in a small community, the social worker will be locked in an 'outsider position'. Such a position does not give access to local knowledge and relationships to the same extent as an insider position. Kemi (2004) writes from a position as social worker and community member; showing how combining these roles provides flexibility. A social worker rooted within the community makes it possible for both the clients and their family's resources to be brought into the social work practice. This is a relationship-centered approach where relational connection is emphasized over relational separation (O'Leary et al., 2012), thus providing a framework for a more active involvement of clients within the social work process.

3.3 Historical trauma and cultural pain

Indigenous people share a history of oppression. The concept of historical trauma theorizes on the manner in which historical wounds continue to manifest in people's life even today. Historical trauma is defined as cumulative trauma, accumulating over a life span or across generations. The trauma is a personal or collective compounding of emotional and mental wounds (Brave Heart, 1998). Duran and Duran (1995) call for recognition of the historical effects of colonization on individuals in the present times, contending that the therapeutic systems within the European hegemony are too narrow.

'The past five hundred years have been devastating to our communities; the effects of this systematic genocide are currently being felt by our people. The effects of genocide are quickly personalized and pathologized by our profession via the diagnosing and labeling tools designed for this purpose. If the labeling and diagnosing process is to have any historical truth, it should incorporate a diagnostic category that reflects the effects of genocide' (Duran & Duran, 1995, 6).

In understanding and working with populations with a history of oppression or shared traumatic experiences, the theoretical framework of historical trauma has become an important approach (Evans-Campbell, 2008). The discourse of historical trauma has been widely used in both scholarly discussion and Native American grassroot communities in the last two decades (Kirmayer, Gone, & Moses, 2014). The work of Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart and colleagues at the Takini Network has been groundbreaking in exploring the historical trauma phenomenon in a Native American context (Brave Heart, 1999a, 1999b; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Evans-Campbell, 2008). Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) transfer the theoretical contributions developed through identifying historical and collective grief from survivors and descendant of the Jewish Holocaust into a Native American context. Unresolved grief and chronic trauma across generations are phenomena arising from the loss of life and culture through colonization. Massive loss of lives, lands and culture has brought

on Native Americans a number of social ills including visibly high suicide and homicide rates, alcoholism, child abuse and violence (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Trauma is often transferred from one generation to the next. Duran and Duran (1995) label this 'intergenerational trauma'.

Evans-Campbell (2008) divide the effect of historical trauma on Native Americans into three levels: individual, family and community. On the individual level, some of the symptoms are different forms of mental disorders such as depression, higher level of anxiety, mistrust or guilt, and difficulty handling anger. The family-level impacts are subtle; these are influences passed on from grandparents or parents to children. These can take form as guilt feelings, children trying to compensate for the parent's loss or being 'good children' so as not to cause more stress on parents. Through enforced boarding school, parents have lost confidence in their parenting skills and in their own culture. Children living in families who have lost their ability to parent often undergo neglect. The community level is the most invisible, and the least studied. Impact on this level is a collective loss of culture, language and belonging (Evans-Campbell, 2008). When addressing historical trauma, all three levels of loss need to be included.

The literature on historical influences on individuals, families and community is less extensive in social work within the Sami context than the Native American. According to Minde (2005), the boarding school experience in Northern Norway is a taboo among Sami people, much like rape or incest has been in other western countries. Even today, the experiences of assimilation are connected with shame. Johansen (2004) describes feelings of grief, loss, sadness, anger, injustice, guilt and shame attached to the experience of assimilation of Sami people in Norway. Grief over loss of language and Sami identity; sadness because the loss is irreplaceable; anger because the loss was unnecessary; injustice because the minority groups are the ones that are losing language and culture; and guilt and shame because the loss

becomes personal. Loss of identity is taboo, making the loss an individual problem (Johansen, 2004). It is also worth observing that the Sami experience more discrimination and violence than ethnic Norwegians (A. Eriksen, Hansen, Javo, & Schei, 2015; K. L. Hansen, Minton, Friborg, & Sørlie, 2016; K. L. Hansen & Sorlie, 2012). It is possible that the reach of historical oppression on people stretches further than research been able to pinpoint to date.

In the Sami context, the concept *cultural pain* describes the social-psychological consequences of assimilation (Minde, 2005), and the shared experiences of assimilation within a community (Saus, 2008a). Communities in Norther Norway are shaped in different ways by their history of oppression and conduct cultural pain. All members of the community share the pain, even though it affects individuals differently (Saus, 2008a).

Within Native American literature attempting the healing of trauma is integrated into social work theory and practice. Central elements of this emerging curriculum are recognizing historical and contemporary subjugation, mourning losses and reconnecting with traditional cultures (Archibald, 2006; Brave Heart, 1999b; Noreen Mokuau, 2011; N. Mokuau & Peter, 2013).

3.4 Culture and ethnicity in social work

Social work is not value neutral; rather it is a product of leading ideologies and cultural ideas in our contemporaries. In this thesis I define *culture* in line with Bernardi (1978), as an acquired whole of the individual's reality, community, environment and time conceptions. I view the individual as both a culture creator and bearer of culture, fulfilling the indispensable functions of creating, maintaining and transmitting culture. Human collectives are shaped by the dynamic and systematic articulation of the cultural activities of all individuals. When culture becomes integrated in human collectives, it grows out of its individual sources, and becomes the common value of the collective (Bernardi, 1978). In this thesis, I investigate

culture as it is expressed in human collectives identified within the ethnic groups Sami or Native American.

Constructions of culture are often defined on a continuum ranging between a static or dynamic interpretation. Static definitions of culture identify culture as generational, inherited values and behavior. Viewing culture as static makes characterization and division of cultural groups possible. Dynamic definitions of culture identify culture as created and reinterpreted interactions between people. Within this interpretation, culture is shared ideas and experiences of people enabling communication amongst each other (Benhabib, 2002; T. H. Eriksen, 1997; Križ & Skivenes, 2010; Martinussen, 2004). The definitions of culture as static or dynamic are typologies. Viewing culture as a static entity, slowly changing, results in a locked understanding of culture with little room for individual change. Viewing culture as dynamic with constantly changing social interactions makes it impossible to capture the experiences and exchanges between individuals from different ethnic backgrounds (Križ & Skivenes, 2010). In everyday communication and interaction, people move between these two dichotomies, thus applying both perspectives of culture.

Taking the abovementioned definitions of culture (Bernardi, 1978), I argue that there is room for both the static and dynamic perceptions of culture. In such a definition, culture consists of social patterns that are both constant and changeable. The collective shares common values and norms, and over time individuals will both reproduce and change these patterns. Whether the ideas of culture lean toward the static or dynamic construction is dependent upon the social context of its construction. When discussing culture in this thesis, I present the concept 'culture' as a social construct, changing in relation to the context where the culture is playing out.

Ethnicity is another concept that is socially constructed. In the social world and everyday life, we often talk of and understand ethnicity as fixed categories, perceiving ethnicity as a constant and independent variable (Comaroff, 1987). However, ethnic categories are not immutable numerical values and the categories of ethnicity cannot be identified analytically solely with descent or emic descriptions of an ethnic group. Ethnic categories should rather be analyzed as 'ideas of descent', changing over time (T. Thuen, 1995). In line with the anthropological discipline, I regard ethnicity as a relational phenomenon and not a categorical unit in itself (T. Thuen, 1995). The term ethnicity is a concept that captures relationships and interactions between cultural groups. Ethnicity becomes relevant when groups identify them self or are identified by others as culturally different (T. H. Eriksen & Sørheim, 2006; Jenkins, 2008).

3.4.1 Different constructions of culture and ethnicity

In this thesis, I view culture and ethnicity as socially constructed phenomena. Hacking (1999) makes a distinction between social constructions and objective realities. He argues that an objective reality exists, but how we talk about and understand this reality is, however, formed in social constructions (Hacking, 1999). In other words, how we think of the world will affect how the world appears to us. Within social sciences there is not necessarily a single truth, but several ways of classifying, labeling and create meanings, thereby rendering truth a relative concept. Nevertheless, this does not make all aspects of the world relative (Hacking, 1983). The conditions Indigenous people live under have objective truth, whereas how Indigenous people are labeled, what narratives are created, the structures of possibilities, and what knowledge is produced, are social constructions.

One classic example of how ethnicity and culture is constructed by the dominant group is presented in Said (2001) work 'Orientalism'. Through his analysis, Said shows how the West created an exotic 'other' through literature, art and science with the Orient being described as

distinct from the 'Occident'. The writing of the 'Orient' took place within imperial Britain,
France and North America (Said, 2001). The constructed narratives and 'thoughts' legitimize
and uphold the dominant position of the Occident. Within the Indigenous context, Smith

(2012) shows how western research has constructed 'truths' about Indigenous people.

According to Comaroff (1987), the construction of ethnicity is a question of power. Ethnicity becomes relevant in asymmetrical relations, where one group legitimizes its power and hegemonic position over another group. In this view, ethnicity is shaped historically and influenced by economic and political processes. Comaroff (1987) claims; '(...) ethnicity has its origins in the asymmetric incorporation of structurally dissimilar groupings into a single political economy' (307).

The history of colonialism provides a 'discovering of sameness and otherness'. Similarities and differences are not the basis of cultural groups; they are socially constructed articulations of ethnic relations (Comaroff, 1987). Through the process of identifying and creating ethnic groups, similarities and difference are identified and made relevant. The dominant group formulates interconnections and distinctions towards other groups through articulations of characteristics of both 'us' and 'them'. Definitional power lies within the purview of the dominant ethnic group (Comaroff, 1987). Even today, ethnic Norwegians and ethnic Euro-Americans as the dominant groups in Norway and the USA respectively, exert significant definitional power upon the cultural narratives and politics forming the living conditions of Sami and Native American people.

Bhabha (1994/2004) provides a different perspective than Comaroff and Said for analyzing colonization. He claims that postcolonial theories tend to dichotomize the world into binary constructions such as 'us'/'them', 'white'/'black', and 'civilized'/'uncivilized'. He argues that this language is effective in perpetuating colonization because it maintains the separation of

the dominator and the dominated. Such binary construction of the world limits analytical thinking, wherein cultures different from the west are constantly compared to western hegemony.

With the theoretical concept 'The Third Space' Bhabha (1994/2004) proposes an alternative position where cultures negotiate. Within this theoretical framework, Bhabha sees cultures as hybrids. 'The Third Space' is the room in-between the dichotomy the binary structures of imperial power on the one side, and resistance from the subordinated on the other. This 'in-between space' provides the background for studying ongoing negotiations of cultural identities; the in-between cultural expressions.

In an Indigenous context, Dankertsen (2014) applies the theoretical perspective of 'the inbetween space' investigating the Sami people in Norway articulating and negotiating their 'Saminess'. Several of Dankertsen's informants describe 'in-between' experiences. In her thesis, Dankertsen brings a new understanding of the relationship between the Norwegian government as the colonizer and the Sami people as the colonized, moving beyond the traditional separation of the two. The use of the theoretical framework of in-between space provides a place of agency. Dankertsen shows that investigating the in-between space contributes valuable knowledge in understanding contemporary cultural experiences.

Throughout this section, I have attempted to present different examples of constructions of culture and ethnicity. In the article 'The epistemology of Cultural Competence', Williams (2006) claims that epistemological perceptions of culture informs and shapes social work practice. The ontological and epistemological perspectives of social work research and practice that subsequently develop, have implications for the practical performance of the profession. I argue that a phenomenon as complex as culture, demands complexity and plurality in the theoretical and analytical approaches.

3.4.2 Cross-cultural social work; culturally sensitive, culturally competent, culturally humble and contextual social work

Within the specific field of social work, there is an ongoing debate on how to integrate cross-cultural awareness into social work practice. *Culturally sensitive social work, culturally competent social work, culturally humble social work* and *contextual social work* are all concepts developed with the aim of integrating cultural understanding into social work.

The concept *culturally sensitive social work*, calls for the social worker's reflexivity of self and others (Band-Winterstein, 2015; Houston, 2002). The theoretical framework of cultural sensitivity is primarily concerned with the skills and attributes of social workers interacting with clients from different cultural backgrounds (Foronda, 2008). The concept of culturally competent social work is a congruent of the three components: knowledge, values and skills (T. L. Cross, Bazron, Dennis, & Isaacs, 1989; Weaver, 1999). Within the theoretical framework of culturally competent social work, both the individual and the system are accountable for the quality of cross-cultural social work (T. L. Cross et al., 1989; Saus, 2008c). The concept of *cultural humility* acknowledges and counters structural inequalities and power imbalances within cross-cultural social work and requires self-reflection for a deeper awareness of power and privilege (Fisher-Borne, Cain, & Martin, 2015). Cultural humility complements cultural competence by drawing attention and reflection on the context and structural inequalities into practical social work. The concept of contextual social work provides a theoretical framework highlighting the relevance of local context for practical social work (Saus, 2008a). Social work in one local community might look very different from social work in another community. Local knowledge is important when informing and delivering social work in the local community.

In this thesis, I primarily make use of the terms cultural competence, cultural humility and contextual social work. These terms reflect upon the institutional development of cross-

cultural practices in different ways. The concept cultural sensitivity is more concerned with the development of the social workers' attributes and abilities to meet the clients on their terms (Foronda, 2008). I fully acknowledge the importance of the social worker's ability to be culturally sensitive. However, the levels of client-social worker relations do not lie within the scope of this thesis. While investigating cultural adequacy, I am mainly interested in the practice and development of social work on an institutional level.

3.4.3 Critique of the cross-cultural concepts

Baltra-Ulloa (2013) criticizes the concept of 'crossing cultures' and claims that the idea of 'crossing over' reproduces othering. The construction of cross-cultural social work relies on the assumption that 'crossing of cultures' is both possible and relevant. When talking of 'crossing over' it implies that the social worker belongs to the cultural hegemony and 'crosses over' to a cultural minority group. These ideas and ways of constructing cultural social work, provide definitional power to when culture is relevant, as well as what kind of cultural competence is relevant to the social work profession (Baltra-Ulloa, 2013). Cross-cultural social work is epistemologically based in a European worldview and knowledge hegemony (Duran & Duran, 1995). The concepts cultural sensitivity, cultural competence, cultural humility and contextual social work are all developed within this framework.

3.4.4 Culturally adequate social work

Entering the field of social work in Indigenous communities, I am seeking a new term that is not embedded in the idea of 'crossing over' from one culture to another. Rather, I am looking for a concept where the development of social work is rooted within local culture, knowledge and worldview. With the aim of making a fresh start, I am starting to use the term *culturally adequate social work*. At the present time, this concept is not fully developed. I started using the terminology before I had explored the full scope of the concept and its definition. The concept of culturally adequate social work is still a work in progress. Nevertheless, I find the

concept an extremely useful reminder of the importance of grounding knowledge production in the plurality of epistemological approaches.

Development of culturally adequate social work for Indigenous people should involve knowledge, worldviews and traditions from the peoples concerned. It is important to stress that including several worldviews, does not mean to abandon western knowledge within social work. The intent is rather to acknowledge a broader focus including several worldviews in development of knowledge (Noreen Mokuau, 2011). I propose that one way of rooting social work in local culture is by using an Indigenous paradigm in social work research. This research project is based upon ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology from an Indigenous paradigm. I will elaborate on this in the section 'Philosophy of science'.

In developing the concept culturally adequate social work, I was inspired by the concepts of cultural competence, cultural humility and contextual social work. Culturally adequate social work includes taking power inequalities and power imbalances, as addressed in culturally humble social work, into consideration. Such work will require cultural adequacy on all three levels of knowledge, values, and skills, addressed within culturally competent social work. In addition, culturally adequate social work takes the context of social work practice into consideration, addressed in contextual social work. The next step in developing culturally adequate social work takes these different approaches and places the development within the ontology and epistemology of the target cultural group. In this way of developing culturally adequate social work, the component knowledge, values, and skills are situated in local culture. Below, I seek to elaborate on how to secure the development of knowledge, values and methods within social work in Indigenous communities in local culture.

Let us start with the first one, knowledge. How can social work build on the *knowledge* of the community where the social service is placed? Knowledge is information and understanding

about the lifeforms and life experiences within the community (Saus, 2008a). Cultural heritage and description of the cultural group are two of these components. Others are knowledge on what it means to be in a minority situation, on effects of cultural trauma, colonization, identity, oppression, and diversity (Herring et al., 2013; Weaver, 1999). Furthermore, social work needs to include knowledge of how variation, diversity, and multicultural societies affect families and individuals (Weaver, 2004). Culturally adequate social work embraces the insight of how discourses of Indigenous non-conformity play a role in the development of practice and policies (de Leeuw et al., 2010), thereby forming social work that challenges and overcomes these neutralized ideas.

The second component in culturally adequate social work is values. How can social work build upon the *values* of the community where the social service is placed? Saus (2006) divides the theoretical foundation of child welfare into: state of knowledge, view on human life, norms, and ethics. All of these are social constructions. Values and worldviews affect what is seen as good and bad, right and wrong. Searching for values within social work, one can analyze how these components find expression in the social work paradigm related to the community. Culturally adequate social work does not only recognize the values of the community in which it operates, but incorporates the values into theoretical and practical social work.

Skills are the third component for a culturally adequate social work. How can skills and concrete methods in social work be in harmony with local culture? Traditions and cultural practices might be an arena for inspiration. Additionally, the methodological level provides a theoretical framework for the social workers to engage in dialogue and learn from the child and the family they are serving about their situation, their cultural heritage, and their current practice of culture. The manner of initiating and engaging in dialogue with the child and the

family is practical knowledge on how to integrate the individual family's values and needs into the social work practice system.

I do not in any way advocate cultural relativism. A way of acting is not good simply because it is a tradition. Taylor (1994) has a starting hypothesis stating that all human cultures have something valuable that is transferable to other human cultures. However, he upholds that the validity of this hypothesis needs to be investigated and evaluated. The value of 'tradition' must be measured within the standard of the culture, along with norms and ideas of good and bad (Taylor, 1994). Taking traditional values as *a priori* creates a danger of unquestioned theoretical assumptions (Bailin & Battersby, 2009). Prior to being implemented into social work practice, ideologies, values and traditions need to be questioned and validated as normatively good. However, multiple voices should be included into the debate of what is considered as good and right practice in social work.

3.5 Philosophy of science

Perspectives from both Indigenous paradigm and critical paradigm form the research strategy of this thesis. While these two paradigms have differences in ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology; I do not find them mutually exclusive. On the contrary, I find that these paradigms complement each other.

My background as a researcher lies within the discipline of sociology. Through this training and experience, I am familiar with the critical paradigm which is a part of western scientific tradition. This perspective evolved as a response to inequality in society and is based upon the tenet that science has a responsibility for changing power structures and challenging the status quo. My main motivation for doing this research project was to address the inequality within social work towards Indigenous people. As I learned about Indigenous research, and how western research has invalidated Indigenous communities (Smith, 2012), I came to realize that

there was a need to find new ways of conducting research to ensure the validity, relevance and usefulness of my contributions.

The indigenous paradigm evolved as a counter-reaction to the western hegemony within knowledge production. The paradigm highlights that for research to be relevant in an Indigenous context, it needs to be grounded in Indigenous worldviews, knowledge and experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Smith, 2000). Critical theory cannot apply a universal standard to the articulation of resistance, emancipation and critique of inequality. Rather, it needs guiding and correction from an Indigenous paradigm to be relevant in an Indigenous context. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) call critical theory influenced by history, context and agency a localized critical theory. Being a western scholar, I look toward the Indigenous paradigm to inform the ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology, of this thesis.

Rowe, Baldry, and Earles (2015, 299) developed a schema comparing similarities and differences within Indigenous and critical paradigm. I use the schema to visualize and represent how these paradigms influence the research strategy.

Table 1 – Ontology in Indigenous and Critical Paradigms

	Indigenous Paradigm	Critical Paradigm
Ontology (Being)	Human beings are formed in connection with the natural world and kinship groups. Interconnectedness with the physical and spiritual world shapes the human reality.	Human beings are formed in interaction of privileged and unprivileged. Social structures, politics, cultures, economics, racial and gender values shape reality.
	This thesis:	This thesis:
	I investigate how connection with kinship groups is expressed within social work. A central question is how to enable culturally adequate social work.	I investigate how social work in Indigenous communities can be culturally adequate. The premise of the thesis is the claim that social work has the potential to both decolonize and to re-colonize.

We see that the ontology of these two paradigms provides a different place of departure. Research from an Indigenous paradigm springs out from the strengths, experiences and lives in the local community. Martin and Mirraboopa (2003) articulate Indigenous paradigm as 'research from the strength and position of being Aboriginal' (205). Social work professionals in a Sami and Native American contexts have a position to recognize potential for developing social work from the local cultural tradition of family involvement. This thesis springs from the strength and experiences of these social workers within the local community.

The critical paradigm is based in an ontology of inequality, where the aim of knowledge production is to identify and change structural inequality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Rowe et al., 2015). This research project evolved as a reaction to Indigenous people often being unprivileged within social services. The aim is to contribute knowledge towards more socially appropriate social services for Indigenous people.

Table 2 – Epistemology in Indigenous and Critical Paradigms

	Indigenous Paradigm	Critical Paradigm
Epistemology (Knowing)	Construction of knowledge base in indigenous ontology and epistemology. People are experts on their own lives. Indigenous people and communities are experts on Indigenous knowledge. Knowledge is an integral part of being and belonging in relation to others. Knowledge is not value-neutral.	What we know and have knowledge about is not one objective thought. Knowledge production is socially constructed. Social constructions, as well as social relations of inequality, affect how and what knowledge is produced. Research therefore has a role, questioning status quo, not take the social structures for granted.
	This thesis: Knowledge production is placed within the local context by being in dialogue with communities throughout the research project.	Knowledge is not value-neutral. This thesis: Theories enabling analysis of social constructions and of power inequality are informing and influencing knowledge production.

Within the Indigenous paradigm, 'to know' is an integral part of 'being' in relation to the local surroundings. In this thesis, I have specifically focused on integrating local knowledge into the knowledge production. Incorporating the voices of Indigenous people is the leading principle of this thesis. Indigenous methodology, as I discuss later is leading path.

The epistemology within a critical paradigm sees knowledge production as being influenced by social structures. The theories by Said (2001), Hacking (1999), Smith (2012), presented earlier in this chapter all provide theoretical backing for a critical perspective. The theoreticians behind these theories would not necessarily identify themselves as critical theoreticians. However, I find their theoretical tools useful when attempting to uncover social structures camouflaging inequality and injustice. The Indigenous paradigm provides guidance on how to localize these critical perspectives.

Table 3 – Axiology in Indigenous and Critical Paradigms

	Indigenous Paradigm	Critical Paradigm	
Axiology (Values)	Research has relational obligation and accountability. With a view to ensuring relations and raising Indigenous voices, researcher and researched are partners, committed to evolving research that is empowering and healing.	Research has a responsibility to help change power structures in society at large. In the effort for social justice the researcher and the researched are partners, committed to evolving research that is empowering and healing.	
	This thesis: Building relations with participants in study and community members is central throughout the research design. Local voices are integrated both in developing the project and in result analysis.	This thesis: Dialogue with research participants and community members is central throughout the research design.	

The value base of the critical paradigm is the research's responsibility to help change power structures. In order to successfully change these structures, the Indigenous paradigm raises the importance of conducting research in collaboration with the local community. The ontology and epistemology in Indigenous paradigm is placed within relationships with people and nature (Wilson, 2001). Non-Indigenous researchers need to include and incorporate the collective and relational thinking into their research strategy. Rowe et al. (2015) claims that '...if the power differentials are to be challenged, critical Indigenous inquiry must make central the unique features of Indigenous ways of knowing. Non-Indigenous social work researchers therefor need to build these ways of understanding and thinking into their research methodology' (303). Consequently, for a non-Indigenous researcher, learning from the Indigenous paradigm demands a high degree of sensitivity, awareness and reflexivity. The axiology of critical paradigm is not enough to ensure qualitatively good research within Indigenous communities. The Indigenous axiology influences the research strategy to take one step further from the critical paradigm, integrating local voices into the development and analyses of the research.

Table 4 – Methodology in Indigenous and Critical Paradigms

	Indigenous Paradigm	Critical Paradigm	
Methodology (Doing)	Researcher and researched are partners. Indigenous worldviews are valued as vital to Indigenous existence. Indigenous culture and traditions are valued. There is an emphasis on the social, historical, and political context of Indigenous peoples' lives. Privileging Indigenous voices and experiences in knowledge production.	Researcher and researched are partners. Seeking development of participatory research practices that empower the oppressed and support social transformation. Seeking knowledge from worldviews other than the dominant west.	
	This thesis: Data material contains interviews with social workers about knowledge, experiences and understandings. All through the research process, a dialogue with the Indigenous community is maintained. Mini-seminars and giving back seminars are vital part of research strategy.	This thesis: Data material contains interviews with social workers about knowledge, experiences and understandings.	

Methodology refers to the theory of method, the approaches for doing research and the reflections upon selection of these methods. I find Indigenous methodologies an essential tool for doing research within Indigenous contexts. Indigenous methodologies goes further than the critical paradigm. Where critical methodology leans towards participatory research, Indigenous methodologies moves further, providing tools to privilege Indigenous voices in the research design. The research strategy of this thesis is influenced by Indigenous methodologies and leans heavily towards dialogue with community members, and reflection upon analyses and findings throughout the research process. I will provide a full discussion on how I have integrated the Indigenous methodologies in this research project in chapter 4. Methodologies.

The Indigenous paradigm and critical paradigm have both provided significant contributions for the research strategy of this thesis. The critical paradigm addresses power inequalities while the Indigenous paradigm raises knowledge production from the strength and position of

Indigenous knowledge. I advocate that within Indigenous social work research, there is a need for both perspectives. However, while employing the critical paradigm there is a need to accommodate local expressions of resistance, resilience, agency, history and culture. I use tools from the Indigenous paradigm to localize the critical paradigm into an Indigenous context.

4 Methodologies

4.1 'Dialogue is mirroring' – comparative methodology and international dialogue

Minde et al. (2008) advocates the need for international comparative research projects theming Indigenous issues. Research on development within one context may be relevant to shed light on development in a different context. Within the field of social work, international dialogue raises awareness on important themes affecting Indigenous peoples such as colonization, the relevance of western social work approaches, self-determination and cultural rights. International dialogue within the area of social work has the potential to influence social work paradigm and bring new perspectives to the table (Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird, & Hetherington, 2013b). Comparing social work within Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana, I work under the working title 'dialogue is mirroring'. By seeing ourselves in the 'other' we may learn something new and find inspiration for further development.

In this thesis, I compare the social phenomenon 'family and community involvement' in social work within Sami and Native American communities. The comparative methodology used is based in social sciences and reflects the influence from both the anthropological and the sociological disciplines. In this study, I am examining social phenomena within their social and historical context. I compare the construction of ideas, experiences and meanings between the contexts of the Sami and Native American communities. 'Mirroring' one context in the other provides an arena for reflecting on meaning and interpretations. In this section, I present the methodological strategies applied in this comparative study.

Within the discipline of anthropology, Krogstad (2000) identifies three approaches for comparisons: 1) comparison aiming to identify social laws, 2) comparison of human actions, 3) comparison with an interpretative approach. The comparisons undertaken in this thesis follow an interpretative approach. The interpretative approach investigates meanings and

interpretation of social phenomena. It provides an opportunity to reflect upon different meanings and interpretations of social phenomena in relation to its social context, thereby allowing for comparisons between different contexts. Krogstad (2000) further adds that the interpretative approach facilitates the study of the complexity and nuances within social phenomena. One example of a comparative project employing an interpretative approach is the comparison of fatherhood in Italy and Britain. Bosoni and Baker (2015) investigated how the idea of 'fatherhood' forms from the tension between the contexts of family practices and culture. In this thesis, the phenomenon under study is 'family and community involvement' in social work within Indigenous communities. By studying this phenomenon, I can examine and discuss different aspect of *culturally adequate social work*.

Within the discipline of sociology Dogan (2002) divides 'comparison' into fifteen typologies, ranging from replication of single case, to comparison of national statistics, and to longitudinal studies following individuals, among others. These fifteen different ways of conducting comparisons show the importance of comparisons within the discipline of sociology. It also highlights the multiple ways of performing a comparison. To best fulfil the needs of my study, I followed what Dogan labelled as *binary comparison*. Binary comparison is a comparative inquiry of two cases that reflect each other in a theoretically interesting way. The two cases in a binary comparison are not chosen randomly, but are carefully selected based on their contextual similarities. As discussed previously in the thesis, Indigenous peoples in Norway and Montana share similar experiences and challenges. These shared similarities and challenges makes the comparison between the two relevant.

When comparing social phenomena between different contexts the phenomenon needs to be related and situated into a larger social context. According to Ragin (1987), macrosocial units are necessary tools for studying social phenomena in their social and historical context. With base in Ragin I understand macro social units as larger social structures framing the analyses.

Macro social units can for example be gender or class. The macro social units in my study is colonization, industrialization and eurocentrism. In analyses, macro social units are used as theoretical and explanatory components (Ragin, 1987). In the same way gender are central in feminist studies and class is central in class theories, colonization, industrialization and eurocentrism are central in my analysis when I am studying social work in Indigenous communities. When comparing the different social systems of Norway and Montana, I find the macrosocial units; colonization, industrialization and eurocentrism of relevance to the analyses. Colonization, industrialization and eurocentrism forms the broader social contexts where the social workers I interviewed works within. The binary comparison increases our knowledge of social systems as well as of social phenomena (Dogan, 2002). In this thesis, while I elaborate on difference in social systems, however, the main target of the analysis is the social phenomena 'family and community involvement' in social work.

4.2 Indigenous methodology

Indigenous methodologies are a reaction to the imperialism of knowledge production mired in the worldview of the colonizer. Smith (2012) claims that research often originates from an ideology and belief in benefiting humankind. This belief in the good of science is taken-forgranted, without any censure or reflection on the ideals and ideologies informing the research. This could disguise and camouflage the colonizer writing the story of the Indigenous people (Smith, 2012). Indigenous methodologies are a contra perspective; these methodologies are tools for story writing and knowledge production originating from the Indigenous communities themselves.

Some core principles in Indigenous methodology are: 1) recognizing Indigenous worldviews, knowledge, and realities, as distinct and vital to Indigenous existence, 2) honoring Indigenous mores and traditions as central to Indigenous life, 3) emphasis of social, historical and political context, 4) privileging the voices, experiences and lives of Indigenous people (Martin

& Mirraboopa, 2003). Inspired by Smith (2012) and Porsanger (2004), I comprehend Indigenous methodology as placing knowledge production within a local context, while also taking the history and local culture into account. In practice, I aim to achieve this by including the community in the production of knowledge.

DeMarrais (1998) argues that there are three main approaches for understanding social phenomena within qualitative research; archival knowing, narrative knowing and observational knowing. Keane, Khupe, and Muza (2016) adds relational knowing as a forth approach, emphasizing the significance of relations within Indigenous knowledge. In an illustrative table, based on DeMarris, Keane et.al show how Indigenous knowledge can be adapted into research methods and methodology.

In this thesis, I have used research strategies emphasizing both narrative knowing and relational knowing. The narrative knowing builds upon peoples' stories. The relational knowing builds on peoples' shared learning and understanding. The aim of this study is to build knowledge production in cooperation and relation with the communities included in the project. In the table illustrated by Keane et.al, I have added a third column, showing the practical approaches adopted in this thesis to include the local community in knowledge production.

Table 5 – Indigenous knowledge

	Archival knowing	Narrative knowing	Observational knowing	Relational knowing
	People's artefacts	People's stories Own stories	People's behaviors	People's shared learning and understanding
Methodological approach	Historical research	Narratology Autobiography Oral history	Ethnography Participation Action research Listening	Transformation research Intuition/listening Co-creating Participation of researcher and community Sharing, 'studying-up'
Data source	Letters, newspapers, photographs, tools, objects	In-depth interviews, stories, songs	Participant observation, field notes, participant assignments	Dialogue, community discussions, ceremonies, meeting notes
The strategies of this thesis		Focus group and individual interviews with social work professionals. Listening to people's stories about community and culture.		Spending time, building relation, and talking with community members Visiting with people in groups and alone. Participating in ceremonies. Arranging dialogue meetings and giving-back seminars sharing research findings.

Based on (Keane et al., 2016, 166)

Building relationships with the participants and communities involved in the study is a reciprocal process. I as a researcher must familiarize myself with the research field, and the research field must get familiar with me. In Montana, I participated in community gatherings and Indigenous ceremonies. This community relationship and knowledge was essential to be able to conduct and analyze interviews. The main research strategy used in the project is to

place knowledge production within the local context. I achieve this by maintaining an ongoing dialogue with the community members by means of interviews, mini-seminars and giving back seminars. I elaborate upon these in chapter 5. Method.

4.3 Interpretative methodology

I was inspired by the interpretative method developed by Haavind (2000) as a practical tool towards Indigenous methodology. Haavind provides an analytical tool for both planning the research process from the outset as well as retrospective accounting of what was done. During a research project, the interaction between the research field and new insights gained through the process leads to dialectic changes in the interpretation. The status of knowledge and the researchers' interpretation changes constantly throughout the research project. In the research strategy of this thesis, I maintained regular dialogue with the community during all research phases, thereby allowing the interaction with the communities to guide my interpretation.

Figure 1 - Interpretative methodology



(Haavind, 2000, 28)

Interaction with the community and the interview participants was ongoing from the very beginning. In the original model, Haavid lists six steps of interpretation; however, in this thesis, I focus on four of the steps. The levels of interpretation are not clearly separated in the practical research process; nevertheless, the schema is useful as an analytical tool for distinguishing between the different parts of the research process.

Figure 2 – Interpretative methodology in this thesis

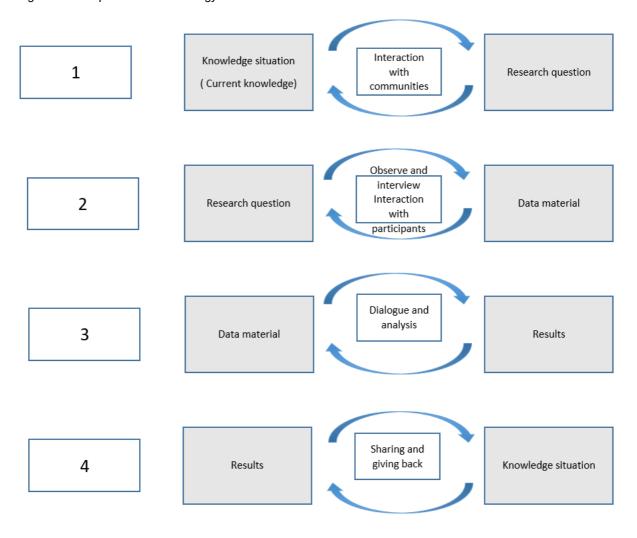


Figure base on Haavind (2000, 29)

At the first level, the research theme is developed in collaboration with the community. The initiative for this research project came from an inquiry made by the Regional Sami Competence Center (RESAK). They request more knowledge about the applicability of the FGC model to the Sami culture. Following on from that inquiry, I investigated the current state of knowledge on FGC as being culturally adequate in Indigenous communities. We conducted a meta-synthesis, investigating the state of knowledge regarding FGC in Indigenous contexts outside of New Zealand. The lack of practical examples of FGC in Sami communities became apparent soon after starting the inquiry into FGC within these communities. Hence, I extended the methodology to include a comparative study. By

including Native American communities, the study evolved into an international comparative study within Indigenous social work.

At the second level, the research question developed from a study of FGC into a study of family and community involvement in Indigenous social work. Through interviews and interaction with participants, it was clear that even though not all agencies use FGC, they all strive toward family involvement in social work. I framed the questions more broadly and asked participants to reflect upon family and community involvement in social work, and how they think social work can be more culturally adequate in their context.

At the third level, I alternated between the data material and the results. I carried out focus group and individual interviews with social work professionals. While carrying out interviews, I also conducted mini-seminars where I received feedback on our early interpretations of the data. The dialogue established during the mini-seminars early on in the research process is an important part of data construction. In a qualitative research project, analysis is ongoing from the start of project. In this project, our research team provided early interpretations of the data during interviews to initiate a dialogue with the participants. The participants' reflections guided our interpretations and helped us achieve new insights and a deeper understanding. The mini-seminars are described more closely under the chapter 5. Method.

At the fourth level, I shared and gave feedback on research results to the community and interview participants. In accordance with my research strategy, I presented preliminary findings to participants and community members in giving-back seminars. The giving-back seminars were an important part of the analyses, as the participants helped guide and provide feedback on findings. Creating a dialogue around the knowledge can contribute to a 'new'

knowledge situation in the community and in society. The giving back seminars are described more closely in chapter 5. Method.

4.4 Meta-synthesis methodology

Meta-synthesis is a qualitative method for reviewing existing literature within a field. Meta-synthesis moves beyond literature review, through which it synthesizes and constructs an interpretative account of the included studies (Edwards & Kaimal, 2016; Kinn, Holgersen, Ekeland, & Davidson, 2013). In this thesis, the initial plan of the research project was to investigate FGC for use within social work in Sami communities. To gain knowledge of FGC as a culturally adequate approach I wanted to examine the existing knowledge base of FGC in cultural contexts. Most of the research concerning FGC in Indigenous social work is qualitative. I therefore conducted a meta-synthesis, this being a coherent approach to analyzing data across qualitative studies.

Research within health and social work have implications for practice. Within the qualitative tradition, it is not very common to synthesize research findings in overviews. The development of the meta-synthesis methodology is a response to this lack of systematic overviews (M. L. Jones, 2004). The aim of a meta-synthesis is to assemble the different findings from qualitative research and synthesize this research-based knowledge to make it relevant and applicable for practice (Paterson et al., 2009; Reis, Hermoni, Van-Raalte, Dahan, & Borkan, 2007). Conducting a meta-synthesis within social work affords us an overview of the knowledge base that informs our practice.

Meta-synthesis is an evolving methodology, and is often compared to meta-analysis which is a methodology aggregating results from quantitative studies. The meta-synthesis is systematic in the same way as meta-analysis. However, where the meta-analysis uses statistical methods to summarize results, and seeks to draw conclusions on cause and effect, the meta-synthesis

employs a hermeneutical approach, synthesizing results with theoretical ambitions investigating social phenomena (Walsh & Downe, 2005; Zimmer, 2006).

There are a range of methods for synthesizing qualitative research. Barnett-Page and Thomas (2009) lists ten different approaches for synthesizing research literature. In this thesis, I applied a meta-synthesis labeled meta-narrative by Barnett-Page and Thomas. Edwards and Kaimal (2016) calls this approach narrative-synthesis. The narrative-synthesis includes both qualitative and quantitative studies (Edwards & Kaimal, 2016). Through synthesizing research literature, I transform and combine multiple qualitative and quantitative studies into a single narrative (Kinn et al., 2013). The concept of narrative synthesis was expounded in Thomas Khun's 'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions'. Where Khun proposed that production of knowledge takes place within a paradigm. The paradigm holds an agreement within the established scholarship in what holds as legitimate theory and research practice (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009). The narrative-synthesis methodology questions the storyline and the trends within a given research field.

In our meta-synthesis, we examine the research front of FGC in cultural contexts; we investigate the trends within FGC research; we question the type of knowledge being produced, the relevant ongoing debates and the taken for granted assumptions. Following this approach, I use the meta-synthesis methodology to pose critical questions to the traditional research. I do this by placing the synthesis of research literature within relevant theory and context (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009).

5 Method

5.1 Empirical data of the thesis

This thesis builds on three sets of data. The empirical data in the first article of the thesis are the research contributions theming FGC in a cultural context. The empirical data in the second article of the thesis are interviews with social work professionals in Sami communities in Norway and Native American communities in Montana. The empirical data for the third article of the thesis is derived from interactions with ethical committees in Norway and Montana.

5.2 Comparative study in Sami and Native American communities

The location for the comparative part of the project is in Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana, United States.



Illustration 1 - Sápmi located in the northern part of Europe

Illustration retrieved from Solbakk (2007).

The Sami people label their land Sápmi. For this study, I have visited communities in the Northern-Norwegian part of Sápmi. Sami administrative areas in the three northern counties of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark were included.

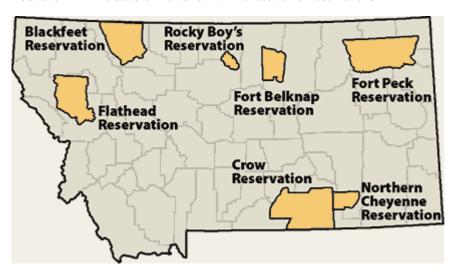


Illustration 2 – The state of Montana with the location of reservations

Illustration retrieved from the webpage of The Crow Native Americans (2018, 14.08.2018)

The state of Montana contains seven reservations. For this study, I have visited the Flathead Reservation and the Fort Peck Reservation, in addition to the city of Missoula. The Flathead Reservation is home to the Salish, Kootenai and Pend d'Orielle tribes. The Fort Peck Reservation is home to the Assiniboine and Sioux tribes. While Missoula is a small college town which is home to tribal members from many different tribes.

5.2.1 Developing the research design and strategies in the two communities

The two contexts of Montana and Norway demand different approaches to facilitate good data collection. This project started in a Norwegian research environment through dialogue with social workers on the Norwegian side of Sápmi. Facilitating a qualitatively good research process on the Montana side of the project therefore demanded increased cultural awareness and humility. A qualitatively good research process calls for ensuring open dialogue with the

Indigenous communities in addition to greater cognizance of the importance of letting the dialogue guide my interpretation.

5.2.1.1 Cultural guide

For the research project in Montana, a cultural guide/colleague has been vital for the validity of the project. Shanley Swanson Nicolay, with a BA from the Native American Studies Department at the University of Montana and an MA in Indigenous studies from the University of Tromsø, has a deep understanding of Indigenous communities in both Montana and Norway. Nicolay lives at Flathead reservation and works as a social worker with Indigenous children and families. Nicolay is a part of the Native American community at the Flathead reservation and is married to a Salish man; she is raising a child in the Salish traditions. She has played a key role in developing and carrying out the research design. She introduced us to the communities and acted as a cultural translator and facilitator throughout the research process. She participated in all the interviews in Montana and transcribed the Native American interviews. She has contributed to the analyses and been a dialogue partner throughout the project.

5.2.1.2 Recruiting participants

In Norway, I recruited participants through social work agencies. I described the project to the agency heads over the phone. These agency leaders recruited co-workers and colleagues to take part in the interviews. With two exceptions, all the agencies contacted were willing to participate. In Montana, participants were recruited through informal visits that offered information about the project. Nicolay and I visited with stakeholders and social workers, building relationships and presenting the project in detail before making interview arrangements. Both in Norway and in Montana I handed out flyers about the project. In Norway, the flyers were sent by email; in Montana, I handed them out personally.

5.2.2 Focus group interviews and individual interviews

For the investigation of social work professionals' views, ideas and experiences of family and community involvement within culturally adequate social work, I find focus group interviews to be an appropriate approach. Focus group interviews are a useful method for exploring ideas, language and conceptions shared by a group of people in a context (Wilkinson, 1998). In a focus group interview, the interaction and discussion among the participants is of interest (Barbour, 2007), whereas in a group interview the interaction takes place between the interviewer and the participants (Parker & Tritter, 2006).

Our interviews draw on both approaches and treat the participants as cultural and professional experts within the area under discussion, while acknowledging that the interviewers are not. In the group discussion, participants from time to time include the interviewers in the dialogue, aiming to address and explain their knowledge and worldview to the 'outsider' interviewers. Assertions made in the focus group interviews provide an insight into what the group as a whole sees as important to explain to the outsiders; it does not focus on the individuals' personal opinions.

In this thesis, I intended to investigate the constructions and interpretations of culturally adequate social work among social work professionals. Focus group interviews seemed to be the most suitable method for this purpose, though in practice it was difficult and sometimes impractical to facilitate all the interviews in groups. In these instances, I conducted individual interviews. In the semi-structured individual interviews, I utilized the same questions and themes as in the group interviews. The interviews were held in small communities, where the social work agencies are small. Therefore, there were some groups with only two participants. We made use of the focus group interview method where the interview group consisted of two or more participants.

Table 6 - Interview Overview

Interview overview		
Interviews in Sami communities	Interviews in Native American communities	
Total of 6 interviews:	Total of 10 interviews:	
 4 group interviews with 3-7 participants 2 pair interviews 0 individual interviews 	 2 group interviews with 4 and 7 participants respectively 4 pair interviews 4 individual interviews 	
Participants were colleagues	Some of the participants were colleagues, others were recruited based on where they worked and lived	
The interviews were conducted at work places	Interviews took place in public places, work places, and also in the homes of participants or interviewer.	
Interviews were conducted during working hours	Most interviews were conducted after work hours	
4 interviews conducted by myself	7 interviews conducted by cultural guide and myself	
2 interviews conducted by co-researcher and myself	2 interviews conducted by main supervisor, cultural guide and myself	
	1 interview conducted by main supervisor and myself	

5.2.2.1 Interview participants

The interview participants in this study consisted of social workers and social work stakeholders in Sami and Native American communities. I define stakeholders as persons with influence and experience within the area of social work, though not necessarily having direct social work experience. The social workers interviewed worked in either social work or child welfare agencies. In this thesis, I refer to both social work stakeholders and practical social workers with the term social workers or social work professionals. For the analyses made in this thesis, I did not find any significant differences between stakeholders and practitioners. In addition to being social work professionals, the participants also held several roles as community members within the communities where they worked. In total, 39 persons

contributed as participants to the study. I conducted both individual and focus group interviews. Interviews were conducted during 2013-2015. In the table below, I present the interview participants.

Table 7 – Presentation of interview participants

Presentation of interview participants		
Interviews in Sami communities	Interviews in Native American communities	
16 participants:	23 participants:	
• 5 men, 11 women	• 4 men, 19 women	
Universal social services; staff both ethnic Norwegian and ethnic Sami	Specialized social services; staff mainly Native American	
Participants' position:	Participants' position:	
Child welfare workers	Child welfare workers	
Child welfare leaders	Child welfare leaders	
Social worker at NAV (the Norwegian Labor and Welfare Administration)	Social workers in Social services	
Social workers and stakeholders at a Competence	Leaders at Social Work Agencies	
Centre (RESAK)	Teachers at Social Work Department at Tribal College	
	Tribal council members	

In this study, I have not categorized participants as Indigenous and non-Indigenous. The categorization of Indigenous versus non-Indigenous is an analytical challenge in the Norwegian context. The ethnic categorization of Sami and Norwegian in Northern-Norway is not straightforward (Oskal, 2003; Selle et al., 2015). Some people may identify as Sami in one context and non-Sami in another context. Consequently, the category Sami versus non-

Sami is misleading, and sometimes wrong. I elaborate on this analytical challenge in the second article of the thesis.

RESAK initiated this research project and held the role of commissioner. The formal meetings with RESAK at the beginning and the end of the research process are referred to as dialogue meetings. RESAK, being an agency with qualified social workers in Sami communities, are also included in the project as interview participants. The interviews with RESAK have been anonymized in the same way as other interviews in the study. When referring to information from these interviews, the same principles have been applied as for any other interviews from the study.

5.2.2.2 Interview set up: mini-seminar and focus group interview

The meetings arranged with the interview participants were divided into two parts; a miniseminar and an interview. It is unusual to include alla mini-seminar in an interview context.

This format was chosen because the research strategy called for the provision of feedback to the interview participants not only at the end of research project, but also during the interview phase. Building on Indigenous methodology, dialogue with the community and the participants is of importance. In the mini-seminar, the project background was presented. The Indigenous context of Montana was presented to the participants in Sápmi and the Indigenous context of Norway was presented to the participants in Native American communities.

Further, I presented the FGC model. I also presented experiences thus far from the project.

The presentation differed between Norway and Montana as the contexts differed between the two locations. The content of the presentations also evolved in line with new insights gained through the dialogue with the participants. The aim with inviting participants to a dialogue was to create an atmosphere of sharing, where both we – the researchers – and the participants could share our knowledge and experiences. The presentations were informal and encouraged dialogue. In some interviews, I held the presentation before conducting the interview, while in

others the presentation was transformed into a dialogue with interview and presentation formats alternating.

The interviews were in the form of semi-structured interviews. Pre-prepared questions and themes were used to guide and inform the interviews. During the interview, the participants could influence the dialogue by bringing up themes they thought relevant. The themes in the interview were: social work in the local community, involvement of extended family in social work, family involvement in relation to cultural adequacy, FGC and other tradition based methods. The interview guides are attached in the appendix to the thesis. The interview guides evolved during the project in line with the 'interpretative method' Haavind (2000), where new insights both directed and influenced the research process.

For the initial focus group interviews conducted in Montana, I used pre-prepared statements to introduce themes and get the discussions going. The statements were placed in a box and the participants picked them one by one for discussion. This format was chosen for two reasons; namely, statements facilitated discussion and made it easier for me to run the focus groups despite not being a fluent English speaker. At the outset, this was a practical way to bring a flow to the interviews before improving my English skills. In the later interviews, I chose a more dialectic form where I asked the group questions. The latter format gave me more influence in directing the discussions during interviews. Possessing greater cultural and language knowledge in Norwegian, I followed the dialectic form in the interviews within the Norwegian context. In the interviews in Native American communities I use the term *Indian*, as opposed to the terminology *Native American* used in the thesis. The term *Indian* is a reflection of the terminology the interview participants use upon themselves.

The design of the interviews influences the construction of the data material. Delivering a mini-seminar is an unorthodox way of constructing data wherein I as a researcher take a more

active role than in an ordinary interview situation. However, a set of data is not a blueprint of the reality. It will always be a result of a construction. This applies to all studies conducting interviews. What is talked about and in what way is a result of the interaction between the interviewer and the informants. In a group interview, the dynamic between the interview participants will have an impact on the data produced. To maintain validity in the study it is important to be transparent. In this research project, I found it relevant to do the interviews in a dialectic way. Through profound description of the research process in this thesis, I claim the transparence and validity is ensured.

5.2.3 Giving-back seminars

To give back research results to the community and participants is an important part of Indigenous methodology. Smith (2012) use the term to 'share knowledge' rather than to 'share information'. To share knowledge is to provide an insight in how the results have developed through transformation in the interpretative process between theories and analyses. Transparency is therefore a key for satisfying knowledge sharing (Smith, 2012). In this research project, I have shared knowledge with participants and community members in what I call 'giving back seminars'. These seminars have served two aims in this research project; 1) for conducting relevant analyses, 2) for sharing research results with research participants and local community.

In the giving back seminars, I present early findings from the research project. I dialogue and discuss the findings and my interpretation with the community members and social work professionals. I present my so far findings in a power point presentation. During the presentation, I invite participants to respond and reflect on the research results. The feedback from participants on the early findings directed the further analysis. The dialogues from the mini-seminars and the giving back seminars influence on our interpretation all through the research process. In the interpretative model from Haavind (2000) the mini-seminar are held

at level three in the research process, alternating between results and data material. Whereas the giving back seminar are held at the fourth level in the research process, alternating between results and knowledge status.

I arranged giving-back seminars with interview participants and other relevant community members in both Sami and Native American communities. All participants involved in the study received invitations to giving-back seminars. In Montana, interview participants at Flathead and in Missoula participated in giving back seminars. I held two giving back seminars at Salish Kootenai Collage at Flathead reservation, one with the department of Social Work and one with the research group 'The Indigenous Meetings of Faculty at SKC'. In Norway, giving back seminar was held with social workers and stakeholders at RESAK, in addition to social workers at a Child Welfare agency. These are both located in Finnmark.

5.2.4 Comparison

Performing a comparison requires that the studied phenomena is sufficiently similar. While the contexts of Indigenous communities in Montana and Norway are different in many ways, there are also significant historical and contemporary similarities (Jacobs & Saus, 2012). I have elaborated on this in the background of the thesis. Other researchers have also shown the relevance of comparing these two research sites (Nicolai & Saus, 2013; Shanley & Evjen, 2015).

Prior to undertaking a comparison, the phenomenon studied must be defined and limited. In this thesis, I have mainly focused on family and community involvement in social work in Sami and Native American communities. I have limited the scope of the study to include the same type of actors: social work professionals. Another self-imposed limitation is to investigate social workers interpretation. The main focus of this thesis is to investigate the

relevance of family and community involvement for culturally adequate social work in Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana.

This study required regular travel between the two research contexts of Norway and Montana. Following the interpretative methodology, interpretations was constantly changing during the research process as new insights were acquired. Moving between the two contexts was therefor at the core of the project design. Moving back and forth allows one time to reflect upon new impressions and insights. The illustrative table below shows the dialectic process in practice.

Table 8 – Alternating between Norway and Montana

Norway	Dialogue meeting with RESAK	05.2013- 05.2014
	Writing project description.	
	Application NSD	
	Focus group interview social work professionals in Finnmark	
Montana	Visiting Flathead reservation and Missoula	06.2014
	Dialogue with Native American social work agencies, social work professionals and community members.	
	Establishing relationship with co-worker and cultural guide	
	Visiting Arlee Pow Wow (Flathead reservation)	
Norway	Applying Tribal IRB	07.2014- 01.2015
Montana	Visiting Flathead reservation, Missoula and Fort Peck reservation	02.2015
	Building relationships	
	Dialoguing with community members	
	Mini-seminar and focus group or individual interview, social work professionals at Flathead reservation and Fort Peck reservation	
Norway	Mini-seminar and focus group interviews with social work professionals in Finnmark, Troms and Nordland	03.2015- 09.2015

Montana	Presenting research project at Indigenous research Association conference arranged at Salish Kootenai Collage (Flathead reservation) Mini-seminar and focus group or individual interviews with social work professionals at Flathead reservation and in Missoula Building relationships and informal talk with community members	10.2015
Norway	Mini-seminar and focus group interview in Finnmark Participation at a Family Group Conference seminar	11.2015- 01.2016
Montana	Research Exchange University of Montana, the Native American Studies Department Visiting the Social Work Department at Salish Kootenai Collage (Flathead reservation) Giving-back seminar with social work professionals at Flathead reservation and in Missoula Giving-back seminar at Salish Kootenai Collage (Flathead reservation) Visiting Pow Wow and Round dance	01.2016-04.2016
Norway	Giving-back seminar with social work professionals in Finnmark Presenting at International Indigenous Social work conference in Alta	05.2016- 12.2017
Norway	Dialogue meeting and presentation of findings to RESAK Writing up the thesis	01.2018- 08.2018

5.3 Analyses

Analyses have been ongoing from the beginning of the project. As visualized using the 'interpretative method' (Haavind, 2000), the research process has developed as a dialogic circle between data construction and interpretation.

The research design has an abductive strategy, where data and theoretical ideas are played off against each other (Blaikie, 2010). From the start of the project, the theoretical perspectives of colonization of social work, as well as culture as a social construction have informed the project. These perspectives provides a frame for analyzing. They also influence on the

interaction with the research field. The work with the meta-synthesis of FGC in cultural contexts formed the theoretical perspectives of FGC presented in this thesis. The theoretical concept of cultural adequacy was subject to development throughout the research process. The theoretical perspectives of historical trauma and social work in small communities were included into the research project because the interview participants introduced them as themes in the interviews.

5.3.1 Three articles – three analytic strategies

In the first article of this thesis, a synthesis of narratives from research on FGC regarding cultural contexts is undertaken, and an overview of existing knowledge is presented. The study employed a meta-synthesis method called narrative synthesis.

In this thesis, I follow Edwards and Kaimal (2016) four steps of conducting a narrative-synthesis. 1) Systematic and strategic search for all relevant research contributions following the inclusion/exclusion criteria set for the review. 2) Screening the literature from the search and removing the contributions that did not fit the inclusion/exclusion criteria. 3) Engaging in thorough reading of the literature creating a matrix visualizing the summary of the studies. The summarizing included origin of study, author, the year it was published and its publication channel. Further, we summarized the problems being addressed, the stated purpose of the study, the research design, participant characteristics, research results, and quality appraisal. 4) From the overview of the studies included, we synthesized a narrative of the FGC literature. We constructed categories of themes, measures and conclusion of the included studies from the matrix summarizing all relevant research contributions. From the primarily synthesis we found four main themes addressed in the research literature of FGC; rights, paradigm shift, over-representation in child welfare services, and culture. From synthesizing the measures and conclusions within the studies, we are able to analyze ongoing

debates and taken for granted assumptions within the research field of FGC in cultural contexts.

Examining the state of research – how it is produced, what methods are used, which questions are raised – and the principal conclusions, enabled us to analyze the dominant FGC discourses regarding cultural context in the research literature. Thus, following the strategic and systematic methodology of meta-synthesis we examined the FGC research field regarding both the quality of the knowledge construction and the overall state of knowledge.

In the second article of the thesis, the empirical material consists of interviews with social work professionals in Sami and Native American communities. The initial step when analyzing the empirical data was to perform a thematic analysis categorizing the data into central themes. We have investigated what the participants talked about, but also what they did not talk about. The study looked into how the informants articulate in 'their talks'; what assertions were made and how the formulations were formed in a focus group setting where participants were communicating and reacting to each other's statements. 'The talks' are analyzed within a context; interviews are seen within a theoretical and contextual frame.

The study sought to investigate the conceptualization of reality by social actors (Blaikie, 2010). Instead of researching what the actors were actually doing, the focus was upon finding out what aims the social workers were striving for, and what their goals for culturally adequate social work were (Boine, 2012; Boine & Saus, 2012). In this article we do what Dogan (2002) calls an explicit binary comparison. Explicit binary comparison is comparison between two cases given the same amount of place in the analyses.

The third article of the thesis compare the content of ethical guidelines in Norway and Montana. The study investigates the process of gaining ethical approval from the ethical committees in Norway and Montana. In the analysis, the different ethical administration

systems in Norway and Montana were elaborated upon and discussed. We investigate the practical consequences dialogue with these institutions have had on our research design. The comparison in this article is what Dogan (2002) calls implicit binary comparison. In the implicit comparison, one case sheds light over another case. In this article, we discuss how ethical requirements within the Native American ethical review system can inform ethics for research in Sami communities.

5.4 Reflection upon my role as a non-Indigenous researcher

The researcher's own background is an important factor in determining how the research is carried out. As Smith (2012) claims, research is not undertaken in a vacuum (Smith, 2012). I am a non-Indigenous researcher studying Indigenous social work. Within Indigenous studies significant problems can arise from well-meaning, non-Indigenous researchers bringing their own bias into the research process. The researcher's preconceptions influence the questions asked, methods employed, and analyses performed. This can result in non-relevant research questions and problem-focused analysis (Wilson, 2008). It is therefore important to elaborate upon my role as a non-Indigenous researcher.

The Indigenous paradigm is developed for and by Indigenous persons, and encourages Indigenous persons into undertaking Indigenous research (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003; Smith, 2012). Some scholars would claim that a non-Indigenous researcher is unable to undertake Indigenous research in a qualitatively good way (Wilson, 2008). Others are more open to non-Indigenous researchers venturing into the study of Indigenous issues. A. Jones (2012) points out that the research 'for Indigenous, by Indigenous' can be understood as a political statement of inclusion of Indigenous scholars into the academic writing, rather than an exclusion of non-Indigenous scholars from Indigenous studies. While visiting communities where I was an outsider, I was well aware of the risk of undertaking well-meaning but harmful research. I see myself as a student within the field of Indigenous methodologies.

Undertaking research in Indigenous communities as a non-native researcher requires multidimensional reflexivity (Rowe et al., 2015). I constantly reflect on my presumptions and seek to let Indigenous ontology and epistemology challenge my worldview.

Reflecting on my role as a researcher, I use the three concepts evolved by Meløe (1979); the competent eye (det kyndige blikk), the non-competent eye (det ukyndige blikk) and the dead eye (det døde blikk). The three concepts provide a tool for elaborating upon the perspectives of social actors when holding different positions as insider or outsider of a group, a community or a place. Saus (1997) applied these concepts in a cross-cultural context.

The competent eye observer is a member of a community or a cultural group. The competent eye observer sees from within. He or she is an expert on local social relations, actions and holds an embodied experience. The non-competent eye observer is a person who is an outsider to the community or culture. Entering the community with a non-competent eye is to acknowledge the lack of knowledge and experience. Visiting a new community or culture, the non-competent eye observer knows there are aspects that he or she is not able to see. By exploring a new community as an outsider, the non-competent eye will seek dialogue and explanations from the community members. The observer with the dead eye is an outsider who lacks local knowledge and experience. However, this observer does not realize that he or she lacks the knowledge one gains from looking from within. The dead eye observer does not realize that he or she does not have inside competence.

I have continually used Melø's perspectives as a reminder. As a researcher, I strive towards maintaining the non-competent eye perspective. I keep reminding myself that within any context there are things that I am probably missing or do not understand. Nevertheless, there is always the risk that one is unable to recognize the moments when one think one understands something – while in fact one does not. To ensure that I kept the non-competent

eye perspective, I maintained a constant dialogue with community members on both the Sami and Native American communities to direct my understanding and point out my blind spots.

The study participants were my guides in terms of where to look and how to understand.

Olsen (2017) states that regardless of whether the researcher is Indigenous or non-Indigenous, the value of research is dependent upon decentering. This indicate that the value of research conducted, depends on where the legitimacy of the research comes from. Regardless of my ethnic identity as non-Indigenous, the legitimacy for this research project is rooted in the Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana. Dialogue with these communities has been the central tenet of this project from beginning to end.

5.5 Ethical considerations

This research project is approved by the appropriate systems for ethical regulations in Norway and Montana. In Norway, Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) approved the research project; in Montana, the Salish Kootenai Collage Institutional Review Board and the Fort Peck Tribal Institutional Review Board approved the research project. The approvals are enclosed in the appendix.

The third article of the thesis looks deeply into ethical considerations of research within social work in Indigenous communities. Research is a question of power. The main argument presented in the article is that social work in Indigenous communities benefits from inclusion in the dialogue during the research development phase. This does not mean that the communities exerts complete power over what questions are raised or how the research is carried out. Rather, I argue that power can be distributed between the community, ethical committees and researchers by means of dialogue. Placing knowledge production within the local context is a significant aspect of ethical considerations in research within Indigenous

communities. Localizing production of knowledge is a guiding principle throughout this research project.

5.6 The story of an ambitious research project

Doing a comparative research project of this size within the limits of a Ph.D. project is an ambitious undertaking. While scientists and researchers call for such research contributions, comparisons are still far from common. To involve community participants from both Norway and Montana at several phases during research processes have been time consuming. However, it has been an important part of my project, because my aim have been to conduct my research in a culturally respectful and humble way.

In performing a comparison, there is a dilemma on how 'deep' or 'thin' descriptions need to be, being able to make distinctions and generalizing (Krogstad, 2000). In this study, I move between 'thin' and 'thick' descriptions. Thick descriptions explore the complexity of meanings, whereas thin descriptions permit generalizing and comparing between phenomena. To some degree the comparison is made at the expense of thick descriptions. Acknowledging that one runs the risk of losing depth conducting a comparative study, I claim that the time spent in research sites and in dialogue with community member continually through the research process has secured the quality of data construction and interpretation.

Even though I have spent considerable time in Montana building relationships in Native American communities, I acknowledge that my knowledge of the Norwegian and Sami context is deeper than the Native American context. My bias on the Norwegian side of the research project provides deeper insight into the dynamics of social work in Sami communities, than into that in Native American communities. As a result, the results of this thesis are more directed towards social work in Sami communities, than towards the Native American communities. My co-worker Shanley Swanson Nicolay has deep insight into the

Native American side of the project. She will contribute toward Native American social work by means of writing articles on the data from the Native American interviews. Additionally, in the future I will continue the work of theorizing from the empirical data material gathered through this comparative project. Among the themes that I will elaborate further on are; the concept of 'professional closeness', the concept of 'culturally adequate social work', the relevance of assimilation and historical oppression for social work in Sami communities, and how theoretical principles of FGC can be adjusted to a Sami context.

Having said this, I do claim that the results from this thesis have relevance for other communities than the local communities involved. Following from this international comparison, I argue that the results are relevant for the development of international Indigenous social work.

5.7 Validation of the research project

Validation within qualitative research is required to emphasize trustworthiness of method, coherence of the results, along with transferability and application of the research results (C. E. Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These general criteria for validation should be adjusted for each research project's methodological uniqueness (Sousa, 2014). I adjusted these general principles in line with Indigenous methodology.

Trustworthiness of the method relies on valid and transparent research design, from research question development, selection and construction of data, and through data analysis (Thagaard, 2002). In this study, I have strived toward transparency in decisions made, both in the academic description as well as in the dialogue with the research participants.

Coherence of results relies on the adequacy of descriptions and interpretations (Sousa, 2014). In this research project, I have used Haavind (2000) interpretative method, securing adequate

interpretation and analysis. The results emerge through a transformation of interpretations in interaction with relevant theory and the research field.

Transferability and application of results are valid within Indigenous methodology when the research is relevant and reliable for the people it seeks to address (Smith, 2012). This research project is grounded in dialogue with Indigenous communities with a view to securing the relevance of questions posed and analyses performed. However, knowledge is not reliable just because it is recognizable; it also needs to be validated in relation to theory and other research contributions (Haavind, 2000). Throughout the research project, I have analyzed the data in relation to relevant theory as well as other research contributions. These theoretical angles have been included when providing results and giving back to the communities and the research participants. In this way the result and feedback provided to the communities is complementary and adds to the ideas and experiences formulated in the interviews. When community members in Indigenous communities in Norway and Montana acknowledge these new perspectives, the transferability and application of the results are ensured.

6 Presentation of articles

6.1 Is Family Group Conference a Culturally Adequate Method outside the Origin of New Zealand? A Systematic Review

Nygård, R. H., & Saus, M. (In review). Is Family Group Conference a Culturally Adequate Method outside the Origin of New Zealand? A Systematic Review.

This article addresses two main questions: 1) What is the state of knowledge regarding FGC in Indigenous contexts? 2) Can the assumption that FGC is a culturally adequate method be taken for granted, also outside of New Zealand?

The origins of FGC lie in the integration of Maori traditional values and practices into child welfare services. The Maori people addressed a need for change in the welfare system, as they experienced systematic discrimination and a mismatch between their cultural way of problem solving and the problem-solving methods of the child welfare services.

The origins of FGC in Indigenous traditions, valuing community relations, restoration of harm suffered and the importance of extended family, result in FGC being considered a culturally appropriate approach for other Indigenous communities. In this article, we question this assumption.

Elaborating on the assumption of FGC as a culturally adequate approach, we conducted a meta-synthesis of existing literature on FGC within Indigenous contexts. The literature search utilized two search strategies, 1) a systematic database search, and 2) a strategic search. In the systematic database search, we searched for FGC in relevant databases. Articles theming FGC within the social work field in addition to different terms for culture and Indigenous were screened. The search was conducted in January 2018. In the strategic search, we searched for literature addressing FGC in Indigenous contexts. We searched in national databases and contacted relevant researchers and practitioners with relevant experience. The aim of the

strategic search was to retrieve 'grey literature', and publications not found in research databases.

We grouped the search findings into two; 1) peer-reviewed articles, of which 26 articles were found relevant for inclusion, 2) Indigenous projects, of these we found 8 books and reports relevant for inclusion.

In the results from the peer-reviewed articles, we identified four themes in research on FGC.

1) Rights, the articles grouped in this category discuss the potential of FGC for securing the rights of Indigenous and minority children and families. 2) Paradigm-shift, the articles grouped in this category discuss the contribution of FGC to effect paradigm change in social services. 3) Overrepresentation, the articles grouped in this category discuss FGC in relation to overrepresentation of Indigenous and minority children in child welfare services. 4)

Culture, articles grouped in this category describe ways in which FGC might facilitate culturally adequate services. The results from the Indigenous projects report similar issues as in the peer-reviewed articles. 1) The potential of FGC to secure the rights of Indigenous peoples, 2) FGC's potential for paradigm-shift, 3) FGC as a method to change overrepresentation, and 4) the fit of FGC with Indigenous culture.

The research on FGC shows the emergence of two clear trends. The first trend discusses FGC as a cultural approach at an ideological and conceptual level, producing theoretical knowledge on FGC. These articles discuss securing the rights of Indigenous peoples and effect a paradigm shift within social work. One central aim underlying the development of FGC is overcoming the impact of colonization. The FGC approach challenges the hegemony of Eurocentric dominance in social work knowledge and practice. However, researchers disagree on whether FGC truly challenges and changes the standardization of social services within the welfare state. Some social scientists argue that the approach risks re-colonizing social science

rather than being a strategy for de-colonization. When models are designed to fit into standardization of social work construction, flexibility and local process of model development are lost on the way (Moyle & Tauri, 2016). In New Zealand, there is a debate on *tokenism* regarding FGC (Hollis-English, 2012). This debate echoes the question of recolonization of social work. We argue that the low concern of tokenism regarding FGC is a cause for concern.

The second trend in FGC research discusses FGC as a cultural practice at a practical level, producing practical knowledge on FGC. These articles pose questions concerning the use of FGC in specific cultural contexts. Studies evaluating culture and overrepresentation in child welfare system conclude that FGC has potential for facilitating cultural adequacy. However, there are few studies addressing this topic, and results cannot be generalized. The theoretical foundation of FGC is the notion of clients as experts on their own life and thus fully capable of finding solutions. The role of the social worker is to recognize family resources and facilitate the problem-solving process of the family (Frost, Abram, & Burgess, 2014). In this respect, FGC is a potential approach for facilitating the cultural influence of the family.

Accepting the potential of FGC as being culturally adequate, several of the contributions highlight the importance of rooting it within local contexts (Barn & Das, 2016).

In the article we conclude that the theoretical base of FGC enhances the development of culturally adequate social work, rather than the method itself. We advocate that when adopting and implementing FGC in new communities, there is a need to adjust the approach towards the local cultural context. For future research concerning FGC as a culturally adequate method in Indigenous communities outside New Zealand, contextual social work can be a renewal.

6.2 Conceptualisations of Culture and Ethnicity within Social Work in two Indigenous Communities: Implications for Culturally Adequate Social Work

Nygård, R. H., Saus, M. & Nicolay, S. S. (In press). Conceptualisations of Culture and Ethnicity within Social Work in two Indigenous Communities: Implications for Culturally Adequate Social Work. *Journal of Comparative Social Work*.

In this article, we investigate how social work professionals, in Indigenous communities in Norway and Native American communities in Montana, conceptualize culture and ethnicity. We further discuss the implications of these constructions of ethnicity and culture for culturally adequate social work in practice.

The study involved interviewing 39 social workers and stakeholders in focus group and individual interviews. The participants were asked about their experiences and ideas of social work in their local community in the interviews. The research questions revolved around family involvement and cultural adequacy in social work. Family Group Conferences were used as a reference point. We find that social workers and stakeholders within the contexts of Sami and Native American communities construct culture and ethnicity differently.

In the result part of the article, we present three themes central in interview, 1) role of the extended family, 2) local community, 3) historical trauma.

Role of the extended family. Social work professionals in Sápmi negotiate the role of the extended family in the Sami community. In their negotiation they present the extended family as being both present and not. Social work professionals in Native American interviews describe tribal cultures as family and community-oriented. There is no negotiation around the role of family in the Native American culture.

Local community. Social worker professionals in Sápmi make a close connection between cultural knowledge and community knowledge. They tend to place local community knowledge at the core of their stories about how to adjust social services culturally rather than

by ethnicity. Native American social work professionals make a close connection between extended family and community. Talking about community, the social work professionals treat ethnicity as the community marker. Community belonging depends on ethnic, indigenous or non-indigenous identity.

Historical trauma. In the interviews with social work professionals in Sápmi, compared to the Native American communities, the history of assimilation and oppression receive little attention. The assimilation is not explicitly related to individual and family issues today. Knowledge of the historical process of Norwegianization is not integrated into current social work practice. Social work professionals in Native American interviews on the other hand highlight historical trauma as a central theme. They describe historical trauma as an essential factor that must be addressed in social work practice.

Discussing these themes, we find that social workers in Sami and Native American communities conceptualize culture and ethnicity differently. We discuss how culture and ethnicity can conceptualize as hybrid or fixed. In addition to how culture and ethnicity can conceptualize in relation to power imbalance.

Culture and ethnicity as hybrid or fixed. In Sápmi, ethnicity is to a certain extent constructed as hybrid and fluid. Ethnicity is perceived as something changeable and negotiable where both Norwegian and Sami cultural norms influence families in the community. With this construction, social work professionals in Sápmi reject an idea of a single, fixed way of being or living as Sami. In Native American communities, social work professionals view ethnicity as stable, resulting in an interpretation of culture as concrete, physical and material. This construction subscribes more to a fixed than a hybrid understanding of culture and ethnicity. This construction of culture and ethnicity provides the Native American communities with a concrete approach for translating non-indigenous social work to the Native American culture.

The second article discusses how the construction of culture and ethnicity as ether hybrid or fixed might have implications for social work practice. In the Norwegian context, we argue that social workers and policy makers have an ambivalent relation to when and if culture is deemed relevant. The construction of culture and ethnicity as changeable and fluid might complicate legitimizing the need for culturally adequate social work. In the Montana context, the construction of culture and ethnicity as fixed and stable legitimizes the need for culturally adequate social work. Rather than debating the need for a transformation, the debate in this context focuses on how to transform social work towards cultural adequacy.

Culture and ethnicity related to power imbalance. The power relations among ethnic groups are not a central theme in the construction of culture and ethnicity in interviews with social work professionals in Sápmi. Research shows the continued effect of assimilation on Sami individual and families even today (see (Dankertsen, 2014; A. Eriksen et al., 2015; Johansen, 2004). Our study suggests that addressing cultural oppression is not part of the social work curriculum and practice. In Native American communities, inequality between groups is an essential part in construction of culture and ethnicity. In the article, the implications in social work practice of constructing power imbalance as significant for culture and ethnicity are discussed. The social work professionals in Native American communities describes a social work practice where addressing the historical trauma forms a natural part. The systems for addressing contemporary effects of earlier oppressive policies on family life today are not yet developed within social work in Sápmi. Legitimizing the need for addressing macro structures of power inequality and oppression is dependent on the construction of culture and ethnicity. When power inequality is not part of construction of culture and ethnicity in social work, as in the Sami construction, it is difficult to legitimize development of culturally adequate social work addressing macro structures of power inequality and oppression.

In the article we conclude that the constructions of culture and ethnicity differ within the contexts of Sami and Native American communities respectively. These constructions have concrete implications for social work practice and for legitimizing the development of culturally adequate social work.

Norway Montana **Ethnic identity Ethnic identity** Flexible Fixed Dynamic Static Self-identification Bloodlines Geographical Tribes Construction of **Ethnicity and Culture** Inequality and Inequality and power power Family dynamic Oppression Norwegianization | Colonization Historical trauma

Figure 3 - Construction of Ethnicity and Culture

6.3 Emphasizing indigenous communities in social work research ethics

Nygård, R. H., & Saus, M. (2016). Emphasizing indigenous communities in social work research ethics. *International Social Work*, *59*, 666-678. doi:10.1177/0020872816646815

In this article, we ask whether a greater emphasis on communities in research ethics could benefit the development of Sami social work. To approach this discussion, we outlined two research questions:

- 1. What are the differences between the ethical regulation of indigenous social work research in Norway and the United States? This question provides a basis for discussing the advantages and challenges associated with the institutionalization of research ethics.
- 2. What were the consequences of the dialogue with the ethical committees for our research design? Answering this second question offers a backdrop to the discussion of the role ethical committees play in the negotiation of power in research.

As the research was conducted within both Norway and Montana, we were required to follow two systems for ethical regulations. The differences in the ethical committees' regulations and expectations when reviewing design of the same research project piqued our curiosity. In the article, we outline the difference in ethical regulations of indigenous research in Norway and the United States before presenting the consequences of the dialogue with the various ethical committees for our research design.

There are significant differences in the organization of ethical regulation in Norway and Montana. In Norway, ethical committees are national or regional boards. There are no special committees for research conducted within the Sami population. The questions directed at the research design mainly addressed internal ethical validation focusing on the safety of individual participants in study. The organization of ethical regulation within the United States is located within universities or colleges. The Native American Tribes have established

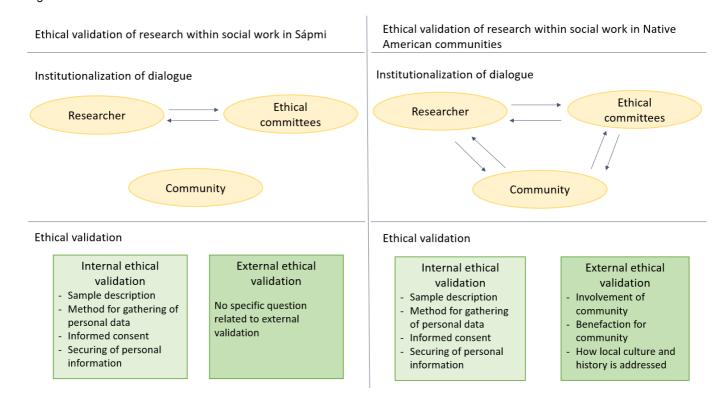
Tribal Institutional Boards (IRB) at Tribal colleges to regulate research projects. In addition to questions ensuring the safety of individual participants through internal ethical validation, the local tribal IRBs require external ethical validation of projects by asking question addressing the ethics and safety for the community involved.

The communication with the Tribal IRBs challenged us to expand our dialogue with the practice field and community. Following the dialogue with the Tribal IRB, we included two principal elements in the study: first, the dialogue with the Tribal IRB impacted on the design of the interviews. A mini-seminar that includes a short presentation was added before conducting the focus group interview. In the presentation, we presented the Sami context for the Native American social workers and vice-versa, the FGC model and our interpretations in projects so far. The idea behind the mini-seminar was to give something back to participants, not only after the analysis has been completed but also during the data construction process. The second important change in research design after consultation with the Tribal IRB was including a giving-back seminar in the analysis phase of the study. Reporting findings back to community members at an early stage in the analysis provided an opportunity for feedback and guidance for interpretation of the material, helping to widen our perspectives. The closeness to the community heightened the quality of our research design and outcomes.

In the article, we advocate stricter requirements for external ethical validity through dialogue between the researcher, the community and the ethics committees. In our research project, the Tribal IRBs' requirement for community involvement, changed the design of the research project. It obliged the researchers to include the study participants more actively. Sami social work development would benefit from an increased degree of community involvement in research. Knowledge production from indigenous society and social work research influences the practice of indigenous social work. Bearing this in mind, debates surrounding the research ethics in the field of Sami social work among researchers and social workers are of

importance. The debate has the potential to enhance the development of social work in indigenous regions and positively influence Sami society. It is a debate where Sami society should be actively included. We call for a debate between social workers, fellow researchers and within the research communities.

Figure 4 – Ethical validation of research within social work



7 Discussion

In the introduction of this thesis, I told the story of how the research questions in the study developed by interacting with the research field. The study started out as a study of FGC in a Sami context. Early in the project period it became apparent that empirical examples of FGC in Sami communities were almost nonexistent. This pushed me to expand the research question. The project developed to become a study of family and community involvement within social work in Indigenous communities. In the methodology section, I have shown how the research process was based on the interpretative method proposed by Haavind (2000). I also elaborate on how Indigenous methodology played a central role in the research strategy. Grounding the research in these two methodological principles facilitated the study to evolve in interaction and dialogue with the study participants.

The discussion section follows the chronology of the research process. In the first section of this discussion, I elaborate upon how the core principles of FGC, namely, family involvement, restoration, and revitalization may influence the development of a FGC model within a Sami context.

In the second part of discussion, I elaborate on 'professional closeness'. In the comparative study, I looked at similarities and differences in the reflections of social workers on cultural adequacy in social work. Social workers in Sami and Native American communities' express closeness to the local culture as being central in social work practice. According to the social workers, closeness and connection with the community is essential for client, family and community participation in social work.

In the third section of discussion, I examine how community participation has benefited the research design of this thesis. Doing a comparative study inspired by Indigenous methodology, I have seen the importance of involving the community in social work research.

In the end, I offer recommendations for community involvement when developing models for family and community involvement in a Sami context.

7.1 Sami FGC model in social work

This research project was created to gather more knowledge of FGC in social work within Sami communities. In this first section of the discussion, I investigate how the core theoretical principles of FGC may influence the development of a FGC model in Sami contexts. This discussion grew out of the results of the first article of the thesis. In the article the taken-forgranted assumption that the FGC model is a culturally adequate method for social work in Indigenous communities was questioned. We concluded that the theoretical framework of FGC as a democratic work model, rather than a manually based method, holds potential for cultural adequacy.

Following on from this result, I argue that theoretical aspects of FGC should be localized into the Sami context when developing a FGC model directed at social work in Sami communities. During the initial stages of project consultation with RESAK, the theoretical aspects of family involvement, restoration, and revitalization were central to their inquiry into FGC as a culturally adequate approach in Sami communities. I use these three theoretical principles as a framework for investigating the FGC model in a Sami context. Elaborating on how theoretical principles can be localized in a Sami context, I make use of the data from interviews with social workers in Sami communities. Additionally, I refer to other research contributions studying Sami communities.

7.1.1 Family involvement

When FGC was first developed, it was a consequence of the failure to recognize the importance of the Maori family structures and the significance of involving the extended family of the child by the New Zealand child welfare services (Connolly & McKenzie, 1999;

Love, 2002; The Maori Perspective Advisory Committee, 1998/2001). In a Sami context, researchers have advocated for family involvement in social work as a step towards adjusting social services to Sami culture (Henriksen, 2004a; Saus, 2008b). Approaching the FGC model in a Sami context, I therefore found it relevant to inquire about family involvement.

In interviews with social workers in Sami communities, family involvement seems to be an important aspect of social work. As discussed in the second article of the thesis, there is negotiation between social workers regarding the role of the extended family in contemporary Sami communities. Despite this debate, there is a consensus that involving extended family in social work is valuable. However, notwithstanding the universal agreement that family involvement in social work is valuable, there seems to be a lack of concrete working models for family involvement in practical social work. The methods used for family involvement in social work differ among the agencies interviewed. While one of the agencies participating in the research had developed concrete methods for family involvement that systemized the practice, other agencies engaged in 'shared' practice within the agency of how to involve the family. These practices can be common understandings of 'the way we do thing here'. Often these practices are not written down; at other times the practice seems to be non-articulated. Contemporary family involvement largely depends on the skills and perceptions of the social worker and local agencies. Based on the discrepancy between valued practice and social work curriculum, I argue that there is a need for development of methods of how to involve the family in social work within the Sami context.

The development of FGC in Maori communities places the children in relationship with whanau, hapu and iwi structures. These family structures are broader than the nuclear family, referring to extended family, sub-tribal groups of extended families, and larger tribal groups of several sub-tribal groups (Love, 2002). In the Norwegian FGC model, family involvement refers to the extended family and to the network of the child (Falck, Havnen, Vik, Hyvre, &

Figenschow, 2009). This idea of the extended family in Norwegian FGC model is narrower than the Maori FGC model. In the theoretical foundation of Maori FGC, the extended family includes the community or the tribe.

Interviewing social workers about family involvement in social work in Sami communities, the social workers are often more inclusive in their references of extended family than the Norwegian FGC model is. When talking about culturally adequate social work, the social workers refers to both family and community involvement. The social workers in Sami communities often know the local community and families living within the community. In the work with clients, they use these contacts, involving people in the community as resource persons around the child.

In one interview, social workers reflected upon how the community participate and help each other in practical ways. They see this kinship in community reflected also in their work within child welfare:

I1: But if we go back to the Child Welfare Service, I believe the network thinking is not limit only to include the network, we are also thinking that we will sort this out in the closes possible way, right. And it's kind of, when The Child Welfare Governments calls us they are saying 'you guys just on magical ways comes up with a new foster home'. In Tromsø, they don't have a chance. Even though being a big city that has any number of interventions, they are not able to do that kind of thing. But here, the village is so small, well, we know the people. We can feel that this person might be right. We can say that this is a good one (foster home)

I2: I guess our look at it is just – closer.

I1: Yes, our inside view makes it possible to solve it in a way that is close (Interview P, 1)

When social workers involve resource persons around the child, they do not limit their search to helpers within the extended family. Social workers look for solutions and help in the community kinship.

Another example of a broader idea of extended family and looking towards community is the discussion in the referred interview below:

I1: And then there is the question of how you look at things when you are there, because, right, if one sees that there isn't all that much to be gained, right, we might take a step aside, and look at – what about godparents? Are there any former neighbours? So we help broaden the horizon as to what network is, especially in small communities where neighbours and childhood friends is really important! They are virtually family, right?

I2: They are also called, we have a term [Sami] *skoleveija*, school-brother and sister, so the ones we went to school with and had our confirmation together with. That is a ritual event, and we also see this when we for example meet an alcoholic school friend, *skoleveija*, when we meet than it's all *skoleveija*, and then it's 'bam' - there is an instant connection (Interview N, 1 and 2)

In this interview, these social workers discuss the role of traditional Sami family structures in contemporary practical social work. Henriksen (2004a) writes of the Sami extended family system, *Báiki* and *fuolkkit* (household and traditional kinship through generational belonging), *Gáibmi* (naming), *risváhnen* (godparents) and *skuvlaviellja/-oabbá* (school-brother/sister), *Siida* and *verdde* (trade fellowship), and *Ránnját* (neighborliness kinship). According to researchers within the Sami communities, these social structures are both present and changing in the modern Sami community (Balto, 1997; Henriksen, 2004a; Kemi & Boine, 2004). I find the same dualism in the interviews with social workers. They refer to the social structures in contemporary Sami communities as both changing and present.

In the interviews, social workers expressed a broader focus for involvement than limited to involving the extended family; they argue that the community can be a resource. The original FGC model incorporates tribal fellowship into social work practice. I argue that in order to localize the FGC model in a Sami context, it is important to be aware of the references towards fellowship in the community. Additionally, the inclusion of family and community in social work needs to embrace the contemporary social structures in Sami communities, drawing on both traditional and modern ideas of family and community.

7.1.2 Restoration

For the FGC model, as well as for other restorative approaches, one core aim is the restoration of family and community relations (Connolly, 2009; J. a. F. Meyer, 2002; J. F. Meyer, 1998; Pranis, 2015). When talking about adjusting services to the Sami communities, RESAK uses the terms rediscover, restore and recreate culture and tradition. Within the Norwegian FGC model, the focus of restoration is on restoring family ties (Falck et al., 2009). Within the Sami context, restoration may include other aspects than within the general Norwegian context. In this section, I first investigate the restoration of family ties in a Sami context. Second, I question if the Sami FGC model would benefit from also taking into account the restoration from historical wounds.

The FGC model facilitates restoring family ties through bringing the family together in dialogue (Schjelderup & Omre, 2009). In their systematic review, Havnen and Christiansen (2014) state that the relational and emotional aspects of the FGC are more important for the children involved than the actual decision that are made. This focus upon the restoration of family ties is included in the Norwegian FGC model (Vik, 2009). In a Sami context, restoring family ties is potentially contingent on an awareness of the changes in Sami family systems. In addition, to the sometimes conflicting ethnic identities within a family.

The traditional Sami family system is inclusive where family and community had a role in socializing and raising the child (Balto, 1997). According to social workers, for some people in the community these traditions are present, while for others they are not. On the one side social workers describe the Sami family tradition as '…being built into people's system here, it has not disappeared' (2, Interview N). On the other side, social workers experience that in some families, members do not want to be involved in the problems of others. In the interviews, social workers claim that they see the extended family as being both present and

missing. Social workers describe how people within a family can have different ethnic identities, and different approaches towards traditional family values.

When involving a family in social work and the FGC meeting, relevant questions might be: What are the family values of the families involved? Do the family members have a shared understanding of the family identity? The social workers in Sami communities construct culture and ethnicity as fluid and changeable. I interpret this fluidity as a means of grasping the dualism in ethnic identities of different clients. For a Sami FGC model to restore family ties, acknowledging and being aware of the potential for conflict in values and identities within the families is necessary. Then it might potentially restore family ties and values by building common understandings within the family.

Restoration within the FGC is not limited to restoration of family ties. The theoretical foundation of FGC may hold potential for restoring family wounds arising from the historical Norwegian assimilation policy. In some of the interviews in Sami communities, the social workers reflect on the ongoing influence of assimilation politics on tensions in contemporary family life. Even though not always articulated in relation to historical and contemporary assimilation, social workers talk about how individuals, families and communities experience conflicts and dilemmas regarding their Sami identities.

Living in families with multiple ethnic identities, some individuals may identify with traditional Sami family belonging while other family members do not. These dilemmas of individuals moving between Sami traditions and assimilated communities can affect family life. For some people, the loss of tradition and Sami identity may cause grief. If we use the theoretical foundations from Native American literature, the loss of tradition and identity can cause different forms of trauma. Being aware of these dilemmas and articulating them is the first step towards healing.

In Native American social work, social workers pay attention to the importance of connection with the tribe and traditions for facilitating healing of historical trauma. In the Sami context, healing may look different. Research needs to dedicate greater attention to how wounds from assimilation politics can be treated in the Sami context. Localizing the FGC model within the Sami context, I recommend an awareness of these dilemmas. Integrating the knowledge of cultural pain in family lives, the FGC model may potentially facilitate restoration of wounds from the assimilation politics.

7.1.3 Revitalization

A key aim of the FGC movement is to challenge the mainstream social work paradigm and contribute towards de-colonization of social work. In the first article of this thesis, we argued that for delivering culturally adequate practice, the FGC model needs to adjust to the local context. One essential aspect of decolonizing social work is to reshape social services, in line with values, norms and methods from the local context of social work services. RESAK uses the term revitalize when talking about adjusting social services to traditional Sami culture.

One definition of revitalization is 'to give new life to' (dictionary.com). According to this definition, revitalization is not simply reusing old traditions. Rather, revitalization makes use of traditions at the same time as moving forward and forming new ones. According to RESAK, one way toward cultural adjustment of social work in Sami communities is to revitalize the use of extended family.

The process of revitalization does not mean going back to bygone traditions. Dankertsen (2014) shows how people in Lule Sami and Marka Sami areas speak about new ways of being Sami. In addition to searching for old traditional cultural categories, people are searching for new Sami fellowships in-between the Sami and Norwegian, and in-between the old and the

new in creative ways. Moving forward in creating Sami identities, these people move beyond the idea of Sami culture as something damaged and un-replicable.

In the second article of the thesis, we elaborate on how social workers in Sami communities construct ethnicity and culture as hybrid and changeable. The social workers move between the pluralities in ethnic identities whilst facilitating cultural meetings. When revitalizing family involvement in Sami social work practice, the methods being developed can draw upon these cultural expressions in-between the old and the new. In this way, the FGC model can embrace both the hybridity in peoples' cultural connections as well as the traditional ideas of family and community fellowship.

7.2 'Professional closeness' – social workers' relation to clients and community

While undertaking the comparative study, the intention of involving family in social work practice was apparent among social workers in both the Sami and Native American communities. According to the social workers, this involvement is rendered possible through their closeness and connection with the community. In the second article of this thesis, we show how culture and ethnicity are constructed differently in the contexts of Sami and Native American social work. Even though they construct culture differently, social work professionals in both Sami and Native American communities describe connection to the local community as essential for culturally adequate social work. I label the focus on community and cultural connection 'professional closeness'. Throughout the comparative study, the central themes in interviews with social workers were family involvement, local knowledge, historical contexts and cultural adjustment. The main narrative from social workers in both Sami and Native American communities is that deep knowledge of culture and local context is essential for delivering relevant and culturally adequate social work. However, construction of culture, ethnicity and the local context differs somewhat between

the two research sites. In this section of the discussion I build on the results from the second article. I investigate the social workers' shared experiences of closeness to the local culture and community. I further discuss the aspects of cultural knowledge that the social workers bring up when they engage in dialogue on cultural adequacy in social work in their community.

In the second article of the thesis, we show how social work professionals in Sami community, as compared to Native American communities, construct culture and ethnicity as hybrid and fluid. In their construction, it is apparent that power inequalities as well as contemporary and historical oppression receive little attention in the interviews in Sami communities. In the Native American interviews, we find that the construction of culture and ethnicity is more stable and fixed than in the interviews in Sami communities. Power inequalities, contemporary and historical oppression play a central part in the construction of culture and ethnicity in the interviews with social workers in Native American communities. The social workers in the Sami and Native American communities also construct 'community' differently. When talking about 'communities', the social workers in Sami communities refer to the fellowship among people living in the same area, while the social workers in Native American communities refer to the tribal and multi-tribal fellowships.

Three themes of community connection and knowledge run through the interviews in Sami communities. 1) Personal connection with people in the community, 2) insight into multiple ways of identifying as a Sami, and 3) comprehending the influence of multiple ethnic identities in the local communities. Similarly, in the interviews with social workers in Native American communities, three core areas of community connection and knowledge emerge: 1) Familiarity with tribal family system, 2) insight into the impact of contemporary and historical oppression, and 3) knowledge of traditional ceremonies, practices and activities. I will discuss the content of these different approaches to community in the following section. I

elaborate upon the differences and similarities between social workers in Sami and Native American communities in their approach to culturally adequate social work.

7.2.1 Professional closeness in Sami communities

Personal connection with people in communities. Several of the social workers interviewed live in the community they serve. In the interviews, they say that they often have dual relations with clients. The social workers reflected upon how this dualism posed a challenge to maintaining neutrality at work. However, they argue that this closeness also facilitates the adaptation of services to the individual service user. Social workers acknowledge that the familiarity with the client and the clients' family affords them flexibility in their work. They further claim that this connection with the community allows them to grasp resources in the clients' lives that they otherwise would have missed. The social workers in Sami communities distinguish between rural and urban social work. All the agencies interviewed for the study were located in rural areas. The social workers in rural communities acknowledge that they can build a closer relationship with their clients than they believe they would if working in an urban area. In these interviews, social workers describe local community knowledge and closeness to clients and their family as facilitating family and community involvement.

Insight into multiple ways of identifying as a Sami. In the interviews, social workers describe how people move between a Sami and a Norwegian identity. Even though most inhabitants in the communities included in study have some degree of connectedness to Sami culture, some people do not identify as Sami, or they identify as Sami in one context and non-Sami in another. As discussed in the thesis second article, Sami identification is not straightforward and can be a sensitive topic. The plurality in self-identification and differing ideas on what it is to be Sami result in misaligned interests when creating a collective Sami identity (Paine, 2003; T. Thuen, 2003). According to Dankertsen (2014), being Sami is to handle intercultural

experiences in between Sami and Norwegian ethic identities. She further claims that these inbetween experiences are not articulated within the communities.

Social workers in the Sami communities show an indecorous towards inquireing about clients' ethnicity. When inquiring about the clients' ethnic identity, the social workers use their community knowledge. One way to theme ethnicity is to ask clients what their name is in Sami or to ask about their preferred language. Another way to identify a client's ethnic affiliation is to read between the lines of the clients' articulations. According to the social workers, Sami clients sometimes speak with a *double layer*. Knowing Sami culture, the social worker will understand both meanings; however, if they do not know the culture they will be blind to some of the content of the conversation. In these descriptions of how they work with ethnic identification, the social workers display a deep insight into the community. I interpret this insight as a tool for adjusting services culturally. The social workers' fluid approach toward culture and ethnicity provides a flexibility for adjusting the cultural approaches toward individual service users. However, this fluid approach leaves the articulations of cultural characteristics vague. I argue that these vague cultural characteristics require a deep cultural insight from the individual social worker. This makes cultural adjustment vulnerable and dependent upon the knowledge of each social worker.

Comprehending the influence of multiple ethnical identities in local communities. Social workers talk of multiple ways of identifying as Sami on an individual level. Furthermore, social workers also describe different ways of identifying as Sami at a community level. In the interviews, social workers describe how individuals, families, and communities negotiate what it means to be Sami. When describing 'Saminess' in the local community, social workers often compare the local ideas of being Sami to ideas of Sami identification in other communities in Northern Norway. What it means to be Sami, is not necessarily the same in a community on the coast compared to an inland community. Sami communities are currently

undergoing a process of revitalization, where individuals and communities are seeking out their Sami cultural identity and heritage (Grenersen, 1995; Hovland, 1996). Assimilation politics have affected different communities differently, leading to differences in how communities experience and express their revitalization process (Grenersen, 1995; Paine, 2003). Social workers reflect the different and sometimes conflicting ways of being Sami between different communities. I interpret this as a reflection of the history of assimilation and revitalization. Social workers have indirect knowledge of the influence of assimilation on communities. I call the knowledge indirect because the conflicting ethnic identities are often not articulated in relation to political oppression.

In addition to referring to differences in Sami identity between contemporary communities, social workers refer to change in ethnical identities at different times in the past. How social workers construct Sami culture and ethnicity is an example of how the process of revitalization has affected the contemporary ideas of being Sami. Article two in thesis conclude that social workers in Sami communities, compared to social workers in Native American communities, construct culture and ethnicity as hybrid and changeable. In a dialogue meeting, RESAK recognize this interpretation of contemporary construction of Sami identity. They further added that while the construction is so today, it had not always been like this. In the 1960s, while attempting to develop the concept of 'Sami child welfare' and 'Sami social work', social workers met a lot of resistance from their contemporary surroundings. According to RESAK, to get their view across in this process, at this time the social workers constructed culture and ethnicity as fixed and stable. RESAK further reflect that the upcoming report conducted by the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' might again change the construction of culture and ethnicity in Sami social work. This exchange demonstrates that how social workers present Sami culture and ethnicity correlates with contemporary processes of revitalization.

In the interviews, most of the social workers did not use the words 'assimilation' or 'revitalization'. In the thesis second article, we show how the historical and contemporary oppression of Sami people is less visible in the construction of culture and ethnicity among the Sami than the Native American people. The historical and contemporary effects on people and community are addressed more subtly in the Sami than in the Native American context. Within Sami social work literature, the effects of assimilation politics are less articulated than within the social work literature in respect of Native Americans. A social worker that is able to identify the conflicting ethnical identities on the personal, family and community levels, may capture these local differences of assimilation and revitalization. Social workers connected with the community and able to reflect on the history and complexity of peoples' identity as Sami, may be able to address the effects of assimilation in their work. However, I argue that this is not enough, as it makes the inclusion of historical knowledge the decision of individual service providers. I argue that the knowledge and understanding of the impact of assimilation politics on people and communities is a topic for further investigation. The deep insight and knowledge of community and culture of social workers should be raised onto a theoretical level.

7.2.2 Professional closeness in Native American communities

Familiarity with the tribal family system. The social workers in Native American communities state that involving the family in social work is common sense. Social workers in these interviews refer to family involvement in a broader sense than merely involving the nuclear family; they talk of the extended family and of the tribal community. Social workers call for increased involvement of tribal elders in social work as a concrete way of involving the tribal community in social work. They argue that the elders hold a significant role in the tribal family system. According to the social workers, tribal elders have cultural and personal resources that social work can benefit from. In the interviews, social workers pointed out that

recognizing and acknowledging the role of the elders is a way of integrating cultural knowledge in social work.

Even though social workers claim that family involvement is inter-tribal, they state that all tribes have their own cultures and traditions. Several social workers state the importance of understanding the family system within each client's tribe. They caution that knowing the family system within one tribe does not automatically make you culturally competent to work with another tribe. Social workers further make a distinction between state social work and tribal social work. They claim that while state social services are instrumental in how they involve family in social work, tribal social services see family involvement as common sense. By so doing, social workers actually grade the community connection and the cultural insight in levels. Being from the same tribe as the client provides the best insight, while being a tribal member from another tribe provides good though not full insight. Social workers from the outside are seen as instrumental in their family involvement and cultural approaches.

Through these descriptions social workers show an ideal whereby community connection is necessary for involving family and community in social services. In the areas of interview, Native and non-Native individuals appear to live in parallel worlds. A crucial consequence of this separation may be minimal sharing of experiences across ethnic groups. People who are non-Native, that is, from the outside, will likely have a narrower understanding of the layers within the tribal culture, compared with people sharing a tribal connection. In other words, according to the social workers, cultural closeness is the key for successful involvement of the family in social work.

Contemporary and historical oppression. Social workers in the Native American interviews see dysfunction in family life today as being related to contemporary and historical oppression. In the interviews, social workers shared personal experiences of assimilation and

oppression in their lives. Some examples were the social workers' or their families' experiences with boarding schools, loss of language and of tradition. Such personal experiences provide a basis for recognizing and understanding the influence of oppression on clients and their families. According to the social workers, knowing the local culture and the tribal history is a way of grasping the processes going on in the individual, family and community life. The social workers claim that state social services do not always recognize ongoing, cross-generational trauma.

Through their stories, the social workers showed that they use their knowledge from being part of the community in their work. There is extensive Native American social work literature on historical trauma. The literature provides theory and language to interpret one's own and others' contemporary issues related to structural inequalities. By making a distinction between state and the tribal social work, the social workers are indirectly saying that theoretical knowledge is not sufficient for translating this knowledge into practice. They use personal experiences and tribal knowledge in addition to theoretical knowledge.

Traditional ceremonies, practices and activities. During my stay in Montana, I built relationships with the interview participants at round dances, POW WOW, basketball games, and other local cultural activities. The participation of the social workers in these community gatherings indicates a connection to the community. In the interviews, the participants often refer to these community gatherings. Some of the social workers describe how traditional ceremonies, practices and activities play a therapeutic role in their work. They describe the loss of tribal identity as a fundamental aspect of the historical trauma suffered by Native American people. They further claim that the loss of identity and historical trauma can be healed on some levels by using traditional methods such as Mending Broken Heart (a traditional based method for healing), smudging (a praying ceremony), and by building connections with the tribal community.

The social workers express their concerns about how some social workers have knowledge of these traditional forms, while others do not. One of the examples given was that youths living in group-homes are often not allowed by social workers to 'smudge' in the group-home. Such examples illustrate how by not knowing the tribal traditions, social workers hinder people from re-connecting with their tribal identity. By connecting with tribal culture in the local community and using this knowledge in their work, the social workers move toward socially adequate social work.

Through their descriptions of how they endeavor to include traditional ceremonies, practices and activities in their social work, the social workers demonstrate their deep belief in the positive impact of such traditions. They further claim that social workers personal connection with the tribe and local culture is necessary to enable them to deploy these methods in social work. However, traditions are not valuable only because they are traditional. With solely base in these interviews, I cannot draw conclusions on whether the methods in use are qualitative good or not. In some interviews, social workers talk of using traditional methods that have been developed for use in social work while in other interviews they do not refer to such methods. Development of methods within the specialist field of social work for securing qualitatively good traditional methods is necessary. I argue that developing methods in dialogue with the community using the local cultural knowledge as a reference point is a good place to start.

7.2.3 To see from within – making involvement relevant

The descriptions provided by social workers does not provide insight in what they are actually doing in their day-to-day practice. However, it does tell us about the perceptions and experiences of the social workers. These social workers have experience from working inbetween local communities and the social work curriculum. They highlight the importance 'to see from within' and to acknowledge the knowledge gained from being in a relationship with

the people and the culture in the community. Even though who is defined as a community member differs in the two contexts, what is described as important knowledge comprises some of the same content, namely, to understand the everyday life of clients in addition to the historical, social and cultural context within which the client lives.

According to the social workers, family and community involvement is rendered possible when the social work is in connection with community. The social workers in Sami communities maintain the 'knowledge of the local dynamic' as a key element for providing culturally adequate services whereas the social workers in Native American communities uphold the 'knowledge of the tribal culture and tradition' as the key element for delivering culturally adequate services. Even though they construct culture, ethnicity, as well as community differently, they both maintain deep knowledge of the community and culture as being essential for providing culturally adequate social work. These social workers in Indigenous communities provide insight and knowledge of the importance of connection and closeness with culture and community. I see this as a challenge to the ideal of objective and professional distance often valued in social work literature (R. Green et al., 2006; Shulman, 1991). The social workers interviewed describe how they see their services as being qualitatively better when connected with the community, by way of providing unique insight when meeting clients at a cultural level. How to be both professional and close is, however, a subject for further theory building.

7.3 Community participation in the development of Indigenous social work

In this last section of the discussion, I investigate how Indigenous voices can be respectfully involved in a research process. In the third article of the thesis, we discuss the benefits of involving the community into dialogue while designing a research project. In the article we show how the ethical requirements of the Tribal IRB challenged this research project to adopt

a wider focus on community involvement. In this section, I will first discuss the dialogue and exchange between the communities involved in this project. Second, I will propose the next steps in developing a model for family and community involvement in a Sami context.

7.3.1 Dialogue between Indigenous communities in this research project I have been running this comparison study under the working title 'dialogue is mirroring' with the aim of bringing ideas and knowledge from social workers in Sami communities to the social workers in Native American communities and vice versa. Within social work, there is always room for improvement, and I believe Indigenous communities have something to learn from each other. I identify three levels of exchange among the Indigenous communities through this dialogue. 1) There has been an exchange of experiences between social workers in Sami and Native American communities. 2) There has been an exchange of ideas within Indigenous social work. 3) There has been an exchange of research ethics and methodologies within Indigenous social work research.

7.3.1.1 Exchange of experiences between social workers in Sami and Native American communities

The design of this research project has included interviews with social workers in both Sami and Native American communities. I adapted the design of the interviews to include miniseminars where I presented findings from the Sami context in the Native American interviews and vice versa. I have constantly adapted the content of the mini-seminars in line with the findings and new understanding gained during the research process. Towards the end of the research project, I held giving-back seminars of the findings both in the Sami and Native American communities. This international dialogue was not held directly between the social workers; I have been traveling back and forth bringing the narratives, ideas and understanding from the social workers in Sami communities to the social workers in Native American communities and vice versa. It could have made a difference if the social workers themselves were bringing their experiences and ideas to each other. However, this was not a practical

possibility within the constraints of this project. Nevertheless, the social workers seemed to appreciate the sharing of knowledge of similarities and differences with a people on the other side of the world.

Even though the social workers in Sami and Native American communities used different words and terms, the social workers seemed to recognize the similarities in the contexts of their work. The mini-seminars and the dialogue within interviews facilitated the social workers' reflections on their own practice compared to the social work practice in other Indigenous communities. One Native American social worker expressed how learning about social work in a Sami context made her think differently about her own experiences. She felt less of a victim and more of an actor believing that it is possible to change the conditions her people live under. This is one example of how seeing the conditions we live under in a larger perspective may facilitate new understandings and ideas. The exchange of experiences between participants in the Sami and Native American communities provided new knowledge and perspectives to the research participants.

7.3.1.2 Exchange of ideas and constructions within Indigenous social work
The international comparative study design of the project facilitated learning from each other
for developing social work curriculum. Indigenous social work is developing in between the
local and the global. When a social work agency in a Sami community in Norway is inspired
by a method developed by a Maori community in New Zealand, we see an example of how
local social work is inspired by the global Indigenous movement of Indigenous social work.
The international movement of Indigenous people's rights renders possible a local process for
culturally adequate social work.

Going through some of the same challenges, with a history of oppression and a battle for decolonization, Indigenous people all over the world gain from collaborating and comparing experiences. As discussed in the background of study, the Sami and Native American people

have been going through similar processes within child welfare at the same time in history, without sharing experiences across countries. Comparing ideas and experiences of cultural adequacy within social work in the contexts of Norway and Montana, provides an opportunity to review our understanding of the world and brings about a potential for change.

Knowledge of different ways of perceiving the world may bring about new understanding, challenging the taken-for-granted patterns. I do not argue that one is better than the other. Rather, I argue for reflecting upon social constructions. Challenging and broadening our social constructions may be a place to begin developing culturally adequate social work. This comparison showed how the exchange of ideas and constructions within Indigenous social work can provide useful knowledge toward further development of culturally adequate social work.

7.3.1.3 Exchange of research ethics and research methodologies within Indigenous social work research

From the start of the project, Indigenous methodology and dialogue with the communities have been central. However, as was discussed in the third article of the thesis, meeting the requirements of the ethical committees in Montana galvanized our research design even further toward involving the community in dialogue. In the third article, we argue that the requirements from Tribal IRBs in Montana raised the quality of this study. Researchers doing studies within Sami communities have fewer requirements to external validity and ethics than researchers working within Native American communities.

Ethical requirements are a matter of power in research. What is defined as good and relevant research is vital for the knowledge produced. International comparison of ethical standards of research is a way to challenge and lift our methodological standards. Exchange of research ethics and research methodologies within Indigenous social work research provides a

backdrop to build upon the local communities' power in research and knowledge development.

7.3.2 The next step developing a model for family and community involvement in Sami communities

At the end of this section, I return to the initial motivation behind the project: to gain more knowledge of the FGC. I present some recommendations for community participation when developing a model for family and community involvement in a Sami context.

A movement of Maori leaders and communities in New Zealand raised the demand for inclusion of Maori traditions into social work laws and practice. Development of FGC was one of the concrete outcomes of the movement. In a Sami context, FGC has been attempted implemented as a manual-based method employed in a Norwegian cultural context. Within FGC research and ideology, there is an underlying assumption that FGC is a one-size-fits-all model. In article one, we question this taken-for-granted assumption of FGC being a culturally adequate method. We claim that this assumption fails to recognize the process carried out by Maori leaders in New Zealand in developing the method in a Maori context. The absence of any such processes for grounding FGC within a Sami context is obvious.

This research project has been contemporaneous with RESAK implementing FGC into their social work practice. At the dialogue meeting held in March 2018, I presented the findings from this project, pointing out the lack of grounding the FGC in Sami culture when it was adopted in the Sami context. I asked the social workers about their experiences with the implementation of the FGC. Their experiences correspond with my findings. At the start of the process, the social workers were enthusiastic, thinking this method was a natural fit for the cultural context of social work in Sami communities. Implementing and working with the model, they find that the model must be adjusted locally. Their experience is that there is currently no space for such adjustments within the Norwegian FGC model.

Based on the findings of this study, I see the local context as being vital for method development. For further development of the FGC, or other family and community-based methods for a Sami context, I recommend close dialogue with the Sami communities. With the term 'culturally adequate social work', I aim to highlight the importance of placing *knowledge* production within the local context, building on the *values* of the community where the social service is placed, and provide methods and *skills* in harmony with local culture. I propose cross-cultural social work that overcomes the 'othering' of cultural minorities, and grounds knowledge, values and skills in the worldviews of the target group. One step toward this goal is involving Indigenous communities in the development of social work research. Thus, the next step in developing family and community involvement methods in Sami communities should be to continue the dialogue with social work professionals. Through dialogue we can form a practice building upon local cultures in the Sami communities.

I offer some concrete recommendations for the community-researcher dialogue based on the definition of culturally adequate social work. 1) Placing knowledge production within the Sami context. 2) Basing social work curriculum in Sami values. 3) Developing skills and methods based in the Sami culture and traditions.

Placing knowledge production within the Sami context. Develop methods based within local knowledge embraces Sami life-form and life experiences. These experiences can vary from community to community and family to family. Community members, social workers, and social work researchers should be included in the dialogue on effects of cultural trauma, colonization, and suppression, on individuals and families within the contemporary Sami community. Through sharing of perspectives and knowledge these experiences can form a framework and inform social work practice.

Basing social work curriculum in Sami values. Identify central values as theoretical guiding charts when forming goals and structure of social work methods. Values of significance might be: child rearing, socialization, family dynamic, 'circle of the year', or other.

Through this thesis, I have shown how social workers today construct culture and ethnicity as flexible and changeable. The traditional Sami values are both present and changing. This dualism should be included in the dialogue. One central question might be: how can social work acknowledge and safeguard individuals moving between ethnic identifications?

Additionally, how can the methods being developed embrace the dualism, and sometimes conflict, in ethnic identities? Communities living and carrying these experiences may have valuable knowledge on how contemporary Sami values can be included and incorporated into social work practice.

Developing skills and methods based in Sami culture and tradition. The FGC model from New Zealand, and the Mending Broken Heart model from Native American social work are examples of social work methods that are inspired by local cultural traditions. When developing skills and methods within a Sami context, dialogue with the community about practical lifeforms is a starting place. A relevant inquiry is: in what ways can these lifeforms inform and inspire social work curricula?

Results from this study show that the social workers in Native American communities construct culture and ethnicity as stable and fixed. They have a real and tangible approach toward inclusion of concrete traditional practices in social work practice. I ask if the fluid and hybrid construction of culture and ethnicity in the social work interviews in Sami communities stands in the way of developing such a concrete and tangible approach towards Sami traditional practices. I think these dilemmas should be articulated and thoroughly discussed, challenging the ideas of how to include traditions into social work practice.

However, in line with the sensitive approach of the social workers towards ethnicity today, the inclusion of traditions and culture should also embrace the differences in people's approaches toward ethnic identification.

8 Conclusion

In this thesis, I elaborate upon the relevance of family and community involvement for culturally adequate social work within Indigenous communities. My findings show the relevance of family and community involvement. However, the manner of this family and community involvement must be localized to the community and the culture. In this conclusion section, I detail the core conclusions of the discussion in thesis. Following that, I reflect upon 1) strength and limitations, 2) practical implications, and 3) future research.

A key theme in the discussion centers on the finding that the core principles in FGC – family involvement, restoration, and revitalization – play a central role in the development of FGC model in the Sami context. Social workers in the Sami communities uphold family and community involvement as vital for cultural adequacy. These social workers are more inclusive toward community involvement than the traditional Norwegian FGC model.

I propose that a Sami FGC model would benefit from focusing upon the central role of community fellowship. While the Norwegian FGC model gives significant focus to the restoration of family ties, I argue that a Sami FGC model must facilitate restoration of family wounds from the assimilation politics along with restoration of family ties. Families in the Sami communities have undergone colonization and oppression. Therefore, in developing a Sami FGC model, I recommend that the cultural pain in family lives be acknowledged, articulated and included.

I argue that in order to revitalize the Sami traditional family system, the development of a Sami FGC should base itself on contemporary Sami communities. This entails that the FGC model should develop in-between the old and the new Sami cultural expressions. By acknowledging and successfully accommodating shifting Sami identities, the FGC model can

embrace both the hybridity in peoples' cultural connection as well as the traditional ideas of family and community fellowship.

The second core discussion of this thesis centers on the finding that social workers in both the Sami and Native American communities describe closeness and connection to the local community as being essential for culturally adequate social work. They claim that the closeness and connection with the community facilitates family and community involvement. The theoretical concept 'professional closeness' adds to the social work knowledge field. I conclude that deep insight into local communities and local culture are vital for culturally adequate social work.

The final part of the discussion within this thesis focuses upon the enormous potential for involving communities in social work research. Involving the community within all parts of the research process is a matter of power, ethics and knowledge production. Social work curriculum needs grounding in the local contexts of where it takes place to effect decolonization of social work. I recommend that Sami communities should be included in the process of developing methods for family and community involvement. I argue that the distribution of power between the researchers, community members and social workers is vital for relevant and suitable social work within Sami communities.

8.1 Strength and limitations

This thesis is a contribution towards understanding FGC as a culturally based approach. 30 out of the 39 participants in the study are female, however, gender have not been a subject of analyses. I have chosen not to discuss gender in this thesis with the aim to keep the focus on culture.

Another relevant aspects, that I have chosen not to discuss in this thesis is the contemporary political trends within the welfare state. The issues of the influence of different political and ideological movements on FGC development is beyond the scope of this thesis. The shift represented by FGC and restorative practices is ongoing at the same time as a larger paradigm shift within welfare institutions towards client empowerment, freedom, responsibility and cooperation is emerging (Mik-Meyer & Villandsen, 2007). During the 1980s, there was a shift within social work and child welfare toward increased family involvement (Connolly, 2009). Implementation of FGC fits well with the changing political insensitive toward more responsibility and freedom for clients, their relatives and family. Empowering the individual by providing the client influence upon the social work processes is by some scholars reckoned as part of the individualization of social work (Mik-Meyer & Villandsen, 2007). The individual is expected to solicit appropriate help regarding rights and needs (Mik-Meyer & Villandsen, 2007). In the process of shifting responsibility from the state to the family, it may be reasonable to bring in questions of what effect this have on the equality of gender. There is a risk the responsibility for 'care' being moved from the state to women (Kaye, 1997). These dimensions of FGC are interesting and it is important to uncover them. In order to focus attention on culturally adequacy, I have chosen not to elaborate on these dimensions of the welfare state.

Another dilemma marking this field of research is the complexity of studying culture.

Navigating the field of Indigenous culture research, I find myself extremely concerned and

conscious of inadvertently contributing to essentialism and stereotyping of cultures. The classifications and descriptions of social reality within social sciences can have a potentially looping effect, thereby changing social reality (Hacking, 2004). The aim of this thesis is not to describe the differences between Indigenous and western cultures. Neither of the two are unified, static units; both are represented by a variety of communities and personal identities. Still there are identified characteristics and ideal types, making it possible to shed light on cultural variances. Being afraid of talking about cultural differences silences the minority; letting the hegemony of the majority inform our knowledge of the social reality.

8.2 Practical implications

In Norway, there has been considerable effort to integrate FGC into social work practice. Child participation and democratic processes have been important values in the implementation of FGC in Norway. The ambition has been to include the families and the children within the decision-making process. A process of adjusting and contextualization of the FGC model to fit within a Norwegian context was needed for it to be adapted into Norwegian social work. In this process, the original Maori FGC model was translated into a Norwegian context.

My research has been a part of the implementation of FGC in Norway. Implementation of the model into a Sami context was seen as a natural fit by many actors. By virtue of its origins in Indigenous communities, both social workers and researchers pointed to the FGC model as a potentially adequate model for the Sami communities. Following this reasoning, the contextualization processes undertaken while implementing FGC in Norway were left out when implementing the model within Sami communities. As shown in the first article, it is not the method itself but the theoretical foundation of the model that is culturally adequate. In my research, I have highlighted restoration and revitalization as key concepts embedded in the theoretical foundation of the model. One practical implication of my research is the

recommendation that the implementation of FGC in Sami communities should build upon restoration and revitalization. The implementation should further include family and community within decision-making processes.

At the moment The Truth and Reconciliation Commission are investigating how the Sami population in Norway has been treated through the history. The commission is also set to look into what can be done to remediate the harm suffered. It is entirely possible that restoration and revitalization are some of the strategies following from the commission's findings. In the future, public social institutions would most likely have to address the outcome of the report. My research can provide the field of social work a tool for this process.

The discussion in the second article highlighted the differences in the conceptualization of ethnicity and culture between the social workers in the Sami and Native American societies, showing that these constructions differ depending on their respective context. I argue that universal models seeking to be culturally adequate need to build-in flexibility to capture these different constructions. Local contextualization is essential. My research demonstrates that culturally adequate social work needs to be rooted deeply within the local context and culture.

In the third article, I discuss the different procedures for research ethics within Indigenous social work in Norway and Montana. Earlier this year, the directives of the commission for research ethics concerning Sami issues were published: *Proposal of Ethical Guidelines for Sámi Health Research and Research on Sámi Human Biological Material*. The process of approval and implementation should be ongoing. My article can influence this process. The experiences from this research project support the proposal to facilitate increased community involvement within ethical guidelines. More generally, my research demonstrates the importance of involving the local community, where the social work is being provided, in the development of social work practice. I argue that the involvement of community is not only

important during the research conducting phase; it is also valuable to guide other strategies aiming to improve the practical field of social work.

8.3 Future research

This thesis introduces several new themes for investigation. I particularly recommend three areas of importance. First, I have developed the concept culturally adequate social work in this thesis. This is a concept in working process. I argue that the concept has great potential, and accept that it would benefit from further specification. Second, I argue that further theorization of the social workers' experiences of 'professional closeness' would be a significant contribution to the field of social work. Third, I claim that there is a need to further our knowledge and understanding of the influence of the assimilation politics on individuals, families and communities in contemporary Sami communities. This knowledge would be valuable for the development of practical social work and would inform the entire social work field.

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Article 1

Nygård, R. H., & Saus, M. (In review). Is Family Group Conference a Culturally Adequate Method outside the Origin of New Zealand? A Systematic Review.

Article 2

Nygård, R. H., Saus, M. & Nicolay, S. S. (In press). Conceptualisations of Culture and Ethnicity within Social Work in two Indigenous Communities: Implications for Culturally Adequate Social Work. *Journal of Comparative Social Work*.

Article 3

Nygård, R. H., & Saus, M. (2016). Emphasizing indigenous communities in social work research ethics. *International Social Work, 59*, 666-678. doi:10.1177/0020872816646815

Appendix

Appendix I. Ethical approval from The Norwegian Social Science Data Services

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS

NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES



Harald Hårfagres gate 29 N-5007 Bergen Norway Tel: +47-55 58 21 17 Fax: +47-55 58 96 50 nsd@nsd.uib.no www.nsd.uib.no Org.nr. 985 321 884

Reidunn Håøy Nygård Regionalt kunnskapssenter for barn og unge (RKBU Nord) Universitetet i Tromsø 9037 TROMSØ

Vår dato: 06.09.2013

Vår ref:35150 / 3 / IB

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 19.08.2013. All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 05.09.2013. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

35150 Child Welfare Services for Indigenous Populations: A Comparative analysis

of Family Group Conference and family work among Indigenous People in

Norway and North America

Behandlingsansvarlig

Universitetet i Tromsø, ved institusjonens øverste leder

Daglig ansvarlig

Reidunn Håøy Nygård

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 30.04.2017, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Bjørn Henrichsen

Inga Brautaset tlf: 55 58 26 35 Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:

Inga Brautaset Brautant

Personvernombudet for forskning



Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 35150

Meldingen gjelder et doktorgradsprosjekt som er tilknyttet et større prosjekt om familieråd ved RKBU.

UTVALG, INFORMASJON OG SAMTYKKE

Utvalget vil bestå av sosialarbeidere og fagfolk som har erfaring med familieråd og nettverksarbeid i hhv. Norge og USA. Det innhentes skriftlig samtykke fra deltagerne, basert på skriftlig informasjon om prosjektet og behandlingen av personopplysninger. Personvernombudet finner informasjonsskrivet datert 05.09.13 tilfredsstillende utformet i henhold til personopplysningslovens vilkår.

DATAINNSAMLING

Data innhentes i hovedsak ved intervjuer, individuelt og i grupper. Vi minner om at informantene av hensyn til taushetsplikten ikke kan gi opplysninger som kan identifisere klienter. Det innebærer at de ved omtale av enkeltcase må utelate konkrete opplysninger som f.eks. alder, kjønn, bosted, familiesammensetning og spesielle hendelser som kan være identifiserende. Vi anbefaler at forsker tar opp dette med informanten innledningsvis i intervjuet.

I forkant av interjuer foretas observasjon av familievern-/barnevern-kontorer og reservater. Personvernombudet legger til grunn at det kun registreres anonyme opplysninger ifm. observasjon (dvs. ingen personnavn eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger, og heller ikke koblingsnøkkel som viser til direkte/indirekte personopplysninger). Det vises til telefonsamtale 02.09.13.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at det innhentes nødvendige tillatelser for datainnsamlingen i USA.

DATASIKKERHET

Intervjudata registreres i form av elektroniske lydopptak og transkripsjoner som lagres på pc tilhørende behandlingsansvarlig institusjon (UiT). Dersom koblingsnøkkel oppbevares på samme pc som intervjudata, bør filen med koblingsnøkkel være beskyttet med eget passord. Kun prosjektleder og veileder har tilgang på navnelisten, mens øvrige opplysninger vil være tilgjengelig for en større prosjektgruppe ved RKBU, UIT.

PUBLIKASJONER

I publikasjoner skal alle informanter anonymiseres slik at verken direkte eller indirekte personopplysninger fremgår. Unntaket er fagpersoner ved familievernkontoret i Karasjok som kan være indirekte identifiserbare gjennom stilling/rolle og arbeidssted. Det innhentes samtykke fra den enkelte til publisering av personidentifiserende opplysninger. Vi anbefaler at informantene får anledning til å lese igjennom og kommentere egne opplysninger før publisering.

PROSJEKTSLUTT

Prosjektet skal avsluttes 30.04.2017. Etter dette skal datamaterialet med personopplysninger arkiveres i Eutro ved Universitetet i Tromsø. Formålet med videre lagring er å benytte materialet til forskning innenfor temaet barnevern og minoriteter.

Appendix II. Ethical approval from Salish Kootenai Collage Institutional Review Board



Salish Kootenai College

P.O. Box 70 Pablo, MT 59855 Ph. (406) 275-4800 Fax (406) 275-4801



Ms. Reidunn Nygard Artic University of Norway, RKBU RKBU Nord UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet 9037 TROMSO, Norway

IRB Protocol #2014 23

Title of Project: Child Welfare Services for Indigenous Populations

Dear Ms. Nygard:

This letter serves as official notification of the approval of your project by the Salish Kootenai College Institutional Review Board. Your project is in compliance with Salish Kootenai College's Institutional Review Board policies, this institution's Federal Wide Assurance FWAO0 0 1 0 681 and the DHHS Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects (45 CFR 46). You are authorized to implement this project as of the date of approval listed below.

The date of approval for your project is: 9/15/2014 This approval is valid until: 9/14/2015

As the principal investigator, you are responsible for reporting to this Institutional Review Board any of the following events within 48 hours of the event:

• Any serious accidental or unintentional change to the IRB-approved protocol that involves risk or

has the potential to reoccur;

- Any breach in confidentiality or compromise in data privacy related to the project participants;
- Any serious event that in the opinion of the local researcher was unanticipated, involved unexpected risk to subjects or others, and was possibly related to the research procedures.

The SKC IRB must be notified of any changes to the approved protocol.

Continuing review is required for projects that continue beyond one year from the approval date. Your approval will expire or require continuing review on the date indicated above. The principal investigator must also advise the Board when this study is finished or discontinued. The form for reporting completion of the project can be located on the Salish Kootenai College Institutional Review Board website, http://irb.skc.edu/.

If you have any questions, please contact Stacey Sherwin, IRB Administrator, at (406) 275-4931 or stacey_sherwin@skc.edu.

Stacey Sherwin, Ph.D. SKC IRB Administrator.

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Appendix III. Continued approval from Salish Kootenai Collage Institutional Review Board



Salish Kootenai College

P.O. Box 70 Pablo, MT 59855 Ph. (406) 275-4800 Fax (406) 275-4801



December 10, 2015

Ms. Reidunn Nygard **RKBU Nord** UiT - The Arctic University of Norway 9037 Tromso Norway

IRB Protocol: 2014_23

Title of Project: Child Welfare Services for Indigenous Populations: A Comparative Analysis of Family Group Conference and Family Work among Indigenous People in Norway and North America

Dear Ms. Nygard:

This letter serves as official notification of continuing approval of your project by the Salish Kootenai College Institutional Review Board. Members of the IRB reviewed the revised consent form and application. The IRB notes that subject recruitment is ongoing and that no adverse events have been experienced by participants, nor have any changes been made that would alter the risk; benefit ratio of the study.

Your project continues to be in compliance with Salish Kootenai College's Institutional Review Board policies, this institution's Federal Wide Assurance FWA00010681 and the DHHS Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects (45 CFR 46). You are authorized to implement this project as of the date of approval listed below.

The date of approval for your project is:

12/10/2015

This approval is valid until:

12/9/2016

As the principal investigator, you are responsible for reporting to this Institutional Review Board any of the following events within 48 hours of the event:

- Any serious accidental or unintentional change to the IRB-approved protocol that involves risk or has the potential to reoccur;
- Any breach in confidentiality or compromise in data privacy related to the project participants;
- Any serious event that in the opinion of the local researcher was unanticipated, involved unexpected risk to subjects or others, and was possibly related to the research procedures.

The SKC IRB must be notified of any changes to the approved protocol.

Continuing review will be required for projects that continue beyond one year from the approval date. Your approval will expire or require continuing review on the date indicated above. The principal investigator must also advise the Board when this study is finished or discontinued. The form for reporting completion of the project can be located on the Salish Kootenai College Institutional Review Board website, http://irb.skc.edu/.

If you have any questions, please contact Stacey Sherwin at (406) 275-4931 or stacey_sherwin@skc.edu.

Stacey Sherwin, Ph.D.

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Administrator, Salish Kootenai College Institutional Review Board



ASSESSED NO.

For the Protection of Human Subjects FWA00019355

Chair:

Wayne Two Bulls 406-768-6312

wtwobulls@fpcc.edu



Fort Peck Community College Box 398 Poplar, MT 59255

406-768-5555

Administrator:

Joy Toavs 406-768-5555

jtoavs@fpcc.edu

MEMORANDUM

TO:

Reidunn Håøy Nygård

FROM:

Wayne Two Bulls (Acting)

Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects

DATE:

October 22, 2014

SUBJECT:

Child Welfare Services for Indigenous Populations: A Comparative analysis of

family group conference and family work among Indigenous People in Norway

and North America

The above proposal was reviewed by the Institutional Review Board. This proposal is now approved for a period of one-year.

Please keep track of the number of subjects who participate in the study and of any unexpected or adverse consequences of the research. If there are any adverse consequences, please report them to the committee as soon as possible. If there are serious adverse consequences, please suspend the research until the situation has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board.

Any changes in the human subjects' aspects of the research should be approved by the committee before they are implemented.

It is the investigator's responsibility to inform subjects about the risks and benefits of the research. Although the subject's signing of the consent form, documents this process, you, as the investigator should be sure that the subject understands it. Please remember that subjects should receive a copy of the consent form and that you should keep a signed copy for your records.

In one year, you will be sent a questionnaire asking for information about the progress of the research. The information that you provide will be used to determine whether the committee will give continuing approval for another year. If the research is still in progress in 5 years, a complete new application will be required.

The Fort Peck IRB requests that when you have a manuscript, thesis, or presentation prepared for public consumption, that you provide the Fort Peck IRB with an opportunity to review the document prior to publication and to make recommendations to ensure that the document appropriately respects the Fort Peck peoples.

Appendix V. Information flyer on research project – Norway

UIT

NORGES

ARKTISKE
UNIVERSITET

INVITASJON TIL DELTAKELSE I FORSKNINGS-PROSJEKT OM ARBEID MED BARN OG FAMILIER I SAMISK SOSIALT ARBEID



FAMILIERÅD

Familierådsmodellen er en metode som antas å være kulturelt sensitiv. Modellen er utviklet blant Maori folket på New Zealand for å ivareta Maoriene sine tradisjoner og verdier i møte med statens velferdstjenester. Det har vært en intensjon fra Norske myndigheter at modellen skal brukes i barne- og familievern i møte med både minoritets- og majoritetsfamilier. Likevel er metoden i liten grad blitt nyttet i møte med samiske familier.

BAKGRUNN

Vi ønsker i dette prosjektet å få mer kunnskap om samisk barnevern og sosialt arbeid i samiske familier. Dette gjør vi gjennom å utforske familieråd som metode. Vi spør etter hvordan de ideene familierådsmodellen bygger på samsvarer med erfaringene til dere som jobber i praksisfeltet. Prosjektet er tilknyttet RKBU ved UiT – Norges Arktiske Universitet.

SAMMENLIGNING AV ERFARINGER FRA NORGE OG USA

I prosjektet etterspør vi kunnskap og erfaringer fra praksisfeltet. Ideer og refleksjoner fra profesjonelle i sosialt arbeid er av stor verdi for å videreutvikle velferdsstatens tjenester til å bli mer kulturelt tilpasset. Vi planlegger derfor å intervjue sosialarbeidere og kunnskapsprodusenter fra urfolksområder i Montana, USA og Nord-Norge.

Ved å sammenlikne erfaringer på tvers av landegrenser er målet å lære av hverandre. Vi håper med dette å få en videre forståelse av hvordan sosialt arbeid med familier i urfolkssamfunn blir gjort og hvordan det kan bli bedre for å sikre barns rettigheter.

FOKUSGRUPPEINTERVJU OG MINISEMINAR

I forkant av intervjuet vil vi ha et mini-seminar. Vi forteller her om samfunn og sosiale strukturer fra urfolkssamfunn i Montana i USA. Vi sier også noe om familierådsmodellen som metode. Dette er for å kunne gi noe tilbake til dere som stiller opp til intervju. I tillegg vil dette kunne gi noen tanker og ideer å bringe med inn i fokusgruppeintervjuet.

I fokusgruppeintervjuet vil dere få anledning til å diskutere og drøfte meininger og erfaringer. Spørsmålene kommer til å dreie seg om erfaringer med samisk sosialt arbeid generelt og nettverksarbeid og familiearbeid spesielt. Vi inviterer folk i fra din arbeidsplass eller kommune til å delta i gruppen. Vi ønsker å sette av fire timer sammen, der presentasjonen tar en time, fokusgruppe intervjuet to timer, og det resterende til pauser og lunsj.

ANONYMITET OG FRIVILLIG DELTAKELSE

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. I publisert materiale vil informanter være anonymisert. Det er frivillig å delta i studien. Du som informant kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli tatt ut av prosjektet.

KORT PRESENTASJON AV FORSKERGRUPPA



Reidunn Håøy Nygård er doktorgradsstipendiat på dette prosjektet. Reidunn er utdannet sosiolog. Tidligere har hun jobbet med sosialt arbeid i utekontakten i barnevernstjenesten Oslo kommune, og oppsøkende arbeid mot mennesker i prostitusjon i Kirkens Bymisjon i Oslo. Hun kjenner familierådsmodellen fra meglingsverv i Konfliktrådet.



Merete Saus er veileder for prosjektet. Merete har jobbet mye med forsking innenfor samisk barnevern, og skrev sin doktorgrad «Kontekstuelt barnevern, Barnevern i samiske landskap» i 2004. I dag er Merete instituttleder ved RKBU Nord.



Marcela Douglas er sosialantropolog og har gjort sin doktorgrad i et tysk samfunn i Chile. Marcela har lang erfaring fra feltarbeid i ulike kulturelle kontekster. Marcela vil i dette prosjektet være med-mentor i fokusgruppe intervju.



Shanley Swanson Nicolai har mastergrad i urfolksstudier fra Universitetet i Tromsø. Hun bor og jobber som sosialarbeider i Arlee, Montana. I prosjektet er hun kulturell guide og tilrettelegger i USA.



Appendix VI. Information flyer on research project – Montana

Invitation to dialog about child and family work

We invite you to be a part of a research project funded by the Arctic University of Norway focusing on Family Group Conferencing and family participation in social work among indigenous people. Our focus is a comparison study involving social workers' knowledge of Native American families in Montana and the indigenous Sami of Northern Norway.

Family Group Conference

Family Group Conference is a method assumed to be culturally sensitive. The method was developed by the Maori people in New Zealand to meet a claim for Maori traditional values to be included in child welfare and social services. The method has been adapted to many countries around the world, to use in minority as well as majority populations.

Comparing experiences from Norway and USA

In the focus group interviews we are interested in your experience and knowledge as social worker or stakeholder in or around indigenous communities. Our aim is to highlight and promote the extensive knowledge of professionals in indigenous social work.

We are hopeful this project will become a cultural exchange and provide valuable information for both participating tribes in Montana and Sami populations in Norway. By conducting interviews with social service providers and stakeholders in both Northern Norway and Montana we hope to gain a broader understanding of social work practices affecting indigenous children today and promote international dialogue and exchange.

Focus Group Interviews

At the start of each interview we will hold a mini-seminar. The theme for this seminar will be an introduction of the Sami people and Norwegian social service system as well as FGC .

In the focus group interview you will be invited to discuss your thoughts and experiences. The questions will be about your experiences in social work with indigenous families and FGC. We invite people from your workplace or community to participate in the focus

group.Of course we will provide food during the meeting and hope the information presented will be interesting. If you would rather participate in an individual interview please let us know. Each interview should take between 3 and 4 hours depending on availability of time.

Anonymity and use of information

All identifying information will be removed and individuals are guaranteed anonymity. Participants may withdrawal from the interview at any time. The information will be published in research papers and in a Ph.D. dissertation. Copies of published documents will be provided to the tribes, colleges, and individuals who participated in interviews. We have discussed the project and received approval from tribal IRBs in the locations where we are conducting interviews. The project has also been reviewed and approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Service.

Short introduction to the team



Reidunn and Sage Nicolai at Arlee Powwow

Reidunn Håøy Nygård is Norwegian living in Tromsø, Norway; traditionally a Sami area. This project is part of her Ph. D. dissertation the Arctic University in Norway. She visited Montana for the first time in July of 2014 and enjoyed attending Arlee's 4th of July Powwow and learning about Native American cultures in Montana.



Shanley, Sage and Dean Nicolai

Shanley Swanson Nicolai lives in Arlee and works as a Family Therapist on the Flathead Reservation. She is married to a CSKT tribal member and has written a Master's Thesis and an academic journal article on historical trauma and resiliency in Native and Sami children. Her research was also a comparison based design and she conducted interviews in Northern Norway and Montana.



Ingeborg, Merete Saus daughter

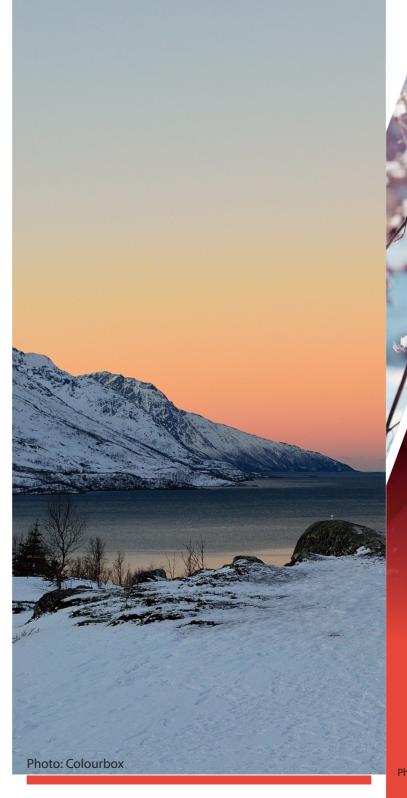
Dr. Merete Saus is supervisor of this project and advisor for Reidunn's Ph.D. dissertation. She was born and raised in Northern Norway. Her research has focused on Sami language, discrimination within Sami/Norwegian communities and cultural competence within Norwegian child welfare.

We hope you are interested in participating and look forward to meeting you!

Sincerely, Reidunn Håøy Nygård reidunn.h.nygard@uit.no +47 481.11.177

Shanley Swanson Nicolai shanstafari@msn.com 406-210-5136







The Regional Centre for Child and Youth Mental Health and Child Welfare - North



Photo: Colourbox

Information about the research project

Family Group Conference in indigenous society

Background and purpose

Family group conference is a model originally from New Zealand. The model was developed as a response to a concern raised by the Maori people; the government did not include their tradition for childcare in methods for Child Welfare. The method has been adapted to countries around the world. In Norway the method have been in use since the 90's. It has been the government's intention that the method shall be used in both in casework with minority and non-minority families. Still the method has not been in extensive use among indigenous in Norway.

This project will study how network and family work are done in child welfare with indigenous population in Norway and in Montana. With an aim to develop cultural knowledge within child welfare, we will ask for knowledge, experience and ideas from social workers and other professionals working in indigenous societies. We would like to talk to social workers and knowledge producers with experience from family work and family involvement, working in social welfare in Norway and in the US.

The study is a Ph. D. project at the UiT the artic university of Norway, and is part of a larger project regarding Family Group Conference (FGC). The Bufetat – Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs, funds the project. We collaborate with The Child and Family protects Agency in Karasjok, Norway. Shanley Swanson is a key contact in Montana. The project has approval from NSD (Norwegian Social Science Data Service) and Rec (Regional Committees for Medical and Health Research Ethics). These are Norwegian regulation agencies on research ethics.

What will it mean for you to participate?

In this study we will do focus group interview, individual interviews, and participatory observation. The focus group interview is a method where several informants meet to discuss a theme of interest.

In this research we are investigating different aspects relevant for the FGC, and are interested in your reflection upon themes of problem solving, family participation, and networking. In the focus interview we will introduce questions that raise this discussions, using the question to guide the discussions. The individual interviews are supplementary to the focus interviews. The aim is to get a deeper understanding of the social work in your context.

Social workers:

The questions in the focus group interview will be addressing the participants experience and reflection concerning problem solving and network in a cultural context. It is entirely up to you how much you like to share. In the individual interview the question will be focusing your practice, and the process in your daily work involving problems solving, family participation and network.

Key persons, stakeholders and educationalists/trainers

The questions in both the focus interviews and in the individual interviews will be highlighting your reflections on networking and family related work concerning child welfare and child protecting. What works, and what doesn't work? What is the status of family related work in comparison to other network related work when it comes to problem solving and family participation?

Participation observation

In participation observation we mean to join you in your work. The aim is to get an impression on how family related and network related work is done in the daily routine. We will discuss with you which work situations that are suitable for this purpose, both regarding practical and ethical consideration. The attention will be directed towards the professional practice, and observe your work as a social worker. The aim is to get an understanding of your work situation, to better interpret the discussion in the interviews. The focus will not be directed towards the clients, or the clients' situations.

To make sure that this is conducted in an ethical way, we want you as a professional to appraise and acknowledge the situations that you invite us to participate, and inform the clients and get the necessary acceptance from clients that might be affected by our observations. After the participation observation the researchers will write field notes in a diary. These notes will not include any information on people besides you. Only situations that are related to family work and network will be written in the field note.

What will we do with information about you?

The information will be used in research to learn more about social work, family prevention, and problem solving with the aim to develop the FGC further.

All personal information will be kept confidential. Names and other personal information will be coded and separated from data. Anonymous data can be used by other researchers with the purpose to shed light on, or produce knowledge on, problem regarding FGC, family agencies or work with network and family involvement. The researcher and the supervisor will be the only ones with access to personal information and recordings.

Informants will be made anonymous and unrecognizable in publications.

After the project closure, the information will be filed anonymously in "Eutro", to be used in research within the field child welfare and minorities. "Eutro" is an IT program for secure data store, fully approved by The Norwegian Data Protection Authority.

The plan is to complete the project 1. Mai 2017.

Voluntary participation

Participation in study is voluntary. You can at any time withdrawal from participation, without any further elaboration. If you withdraw all information concerning you will be erased from project.

If you have any questions regarding the project contact Shanley Swanson at telephone (406) 210-5136 or Reidunn Håøy Nygård at telephone + 47 48111177.

Approval of participation
I have received information about study and I agree to participate.
I agree to participate in individual interview I agree to participate in focus group interview I agree to participate in participant observation
(Signed by informant, date)

Interview guide Norway

Introduction

- 1. How long have you been working here?
- 2. What is your connection to the local community you work within?

Sami society

- 1. Can you describe your local community?
 - a. If I where starting to work her in what way would you describe the local community to me?
- 2. Can you describe the Sami communities?
- 3. How do you integrate the Sami culture into your practical social work?

<u>Family Group Conference – family and network involvement</u>

- 4. In what ways are you including family and network in the practical social work?
- 5. Do you have experience from Family Group Conference? How would you describe the method?
- 6. What is new with the Family Group Conference method related to other models for family and network involvement?

Family Group Conference

- 7. Can you give any examples of cases where you think Family Group Conference is a suitable method? / Can you tell of a case where the method was used?
 - a. What was good?
 - b. What was not so god?
- 8. Can you give an example of cases where you think Family Group Conference is not suitable?
- 9. If you have a case where you are planning to use Family Group Conference;
 - a. Why this particular case?
 - b. What can be achieved?
 - c. What can be a challenge?

Family Group Conference related to Sami culture

- 10. Some would argue that the Sami family is family oriented. What is your experiences?
- 11. What are your thoughts of traditional problem solving?
- 12. Some argue that Family Group Conference is a particular suitable method for use in indigenous communities. What are your thought upon this statement?
- 13. What is your reflections on the statement; involving family in problem solving is a way to increasing cultural sensitivity in social work.

Reflections at the end

3. How was it to participate in the interview?

- 4. Where the questions presented in a respectful way?
- 5. Is there anything we should ask about which was not covered?
- 6. Is there anything else you want to add?

Interview guide Montana

<u>Introduction</u>

- 1. Tell us about your self;
 - a. What is your tribe?
 - b. Family status? Extended family
 - c. Extended family; is that important, if so; how
 - d. Work?
 - e. Work history?
- 2. Tell us about your tribe
 - a. History
 - b. Main stories
 - c. Population
 - d. Language
 - e. Important activity: work, practice, (holy) festivals etc,
 - f. Reservation; how is it organized?
- 3. Indian act:
 - a. Do you know it: Tell us about it
 - b. How is it handled?
- 4. Tell us about network in social work:
 - a. What is it?
 - b. Benefits?
 - c. Problems?
 - d. If you should advice us; what should that advice be?
- 5. Tell us about network in family work:
 - a. What is it?
 - b. Benefits?
 - c. Problems?
 - d. If you should advice us; what should that advice be?
- 6. Tell us about network in family preventions:
 - a. What is your experience in positive and effective family prevention?
 - b. Benefits?
 - c. Problems?
 - d. If you should advice us; what should that advice be?
- 7. Tell us about network in problem solving:
 - a. What is your experience in positive and effective problem solving?
 - b. Benefits?
 - c. Problems?
 - d. If you should advice us; what should that advice be?

Indian culture

- 8. In FGC a key component is children's perceptive: is it a different perceptive on children in Indian society and the majority American society?
- 9. What are important aspects in children's perspective, in your experience and opinion?

- 10. What are important aspects in children's participations, in your experience and opinion?
- 11. Some says that indigenous people are more collective that Individual oriented. What is your meaning?
- 12. FGC is from NZ and the Maori people. This model is implemented in Norway and many other countries, but has not been widely spread in Indigenous social work. What do you think might be the reason?
- 13. Is there something that might be considered *Indian social work*?
 - a. If so, what is it?
- 14. FGC is in a tradition of "restorative justice". The idea is that when you bring community, family and problem-owners together for dialog they can restore and heal the broken and find good solutions. This idea has been adopted from indigenous way of thinking and problem solving. Do you recognize the idea of restoring in social work in indigenous society?

Example of good Indian social work

- 15. Can you give an example on good Indian social work?
 - a. What made it good?
 - b. What might other learn from it?
- 16. Can you give example on bad Indian social work?
 - a. What made it bad?
 - b. What might other learn from it?
- 17. What would be your advice to a newcomer in your line of work?

Reflections at the end

- 18. How was it to participate in the interview?
- 19. Were the questions presented in a respectful way?
- 20. Is there anything we should ask about which was not covered?
- 21. Is there anything else you want to add?