Virtual Shelters:  
Optimizing Digital Reference Services to Meet the Information Needs of Abused Women

By Shannon Christoffersen

Introduction

The issue of domestic violence is a relatively recent phenomenon in the research field. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the issue first began to gain prominence with the public, research typically focused on the psychological and social aspects of this problem (Dunne, 2002, p.343). It was not until the late 1980s that serious attention was given to the information needs, information seeking behaviours, information barriers, and information use of abused women. Intensive research on this topic since that time has provided the library community with a good foundation of knowledge on the specialized information needs of abused women. Based on this knowledge, this paper will address the ways in which digital reference services could be optimized to better serve this group.

Help Seeking Behaviours of Abused Women: Theories

Research on the information needs of abused women has specifically focused on women who have suffered physical, verbal, emotional, and sexual abuse at the hands of their intimate partners. As Gondolf and Fisher point out, initial research into the help-seeking behaviours of these women characterized them as “helpless and passive” victims (1988, p.11). This initial research into “learned helplessness” theorized that abused women became more passive and compliant as the abuse increased (pp.11-14). However, research performed by Gondolf and Fisher refuted these findings. Their research indicated that, rather than becoming more helpless, women increased their efforts to receive help when abuse intensified (p.11). This “survivor theory” asserted that abused women do not give up, but that their efforts to receive help are largely unmet and they are forced to return to the abusive relationship (p.11). Gondolf and Fisher’s “survivor model” has influenced several researchers to examine the information needs and information seeking behaviours of abused women so that various help organizations can provide them with better services.

1 This document was originally created by Shannon Christoffersen in April 2004 for LIS 536 (Digital Reference and Information Retrieval) at the School of Library and Information Studies, University of Alberta. It was revised in March 2005 for the LIS 600 capping project.
Help Seeking Behaviours of Abused Women: Sources of Help

Jennifer Dunne’s literature review on this topic indicated that abused women’s information seeking behaviour could be defined in terms of a “person-in-progressive situations” model (2002, p.344). This model shows that women’s information needs and behaviour change as abuse escalates (p.344). Once a woman has recognized that she is in an abusive relationship and needs information about this situation, research has shown that the initial help-seeking reaction is for the woman to try to solve the problem on her own (Lempert, 1997, p.295). The abused woman may perceive that the abuse is a direct result of her own actions and, consequently, she may modify her behaviour to try to placate the abuser (p.295). Once this method inevitably fails, the woman almost always seeks help by telling someone about the abuse (p.295). Numerous studies (Harris, 1988; Dewdney and Harris, 1992; Dewdney, Harris, and Lockerby, 1996; West, Kantor, and Jasinski, 1998) indicated that abused women typically turned to family and friends as their first source for help and information. These studies also indicated that many women sought help from women’s shelters, crisis services, police, medical authorities, counsellors and psychologists, mental health services, clergy, and lawyers. These formal help services were contacted with more frequency as the abuse escalated (Harris and Dewdney, 1994, pp.52-53). Despite the reputation of libraries and community information services as information providers, research by Dewdney and Harris indicated that abused women rarely use these resources (1991, p.410) though they may use books as an information source (Harris, 1988; Harris et al., 2001). Dewdney and Harris also indicated that abused women frequently use the telephone directory as a resource for information (1992, p.18).

Information Needs of Abused Women

Abused women seek various types of help and information that relate specifically to their needs. Research studies have identified the following help and information needs for this group: understanding and emotional support, emotional or psychological counselling for themselves and their partners, physical protection through police or social services, shelter, escape strategies, information about personal relationships, information about abuse, legal advice, medical information, financial advice, career counselling and information, and referrals to help sources (Harris, 1988; Dewdney and Harris, 1992; Harris and Dewdney, 1994; Dewdney, Harris, and Lockerby, 1996; Dunne, 2002; Peckover, 2003). In the early stages of the information seeking process, abused women rank understanding and emotional support as their primary need
and Dewdney, 1994, p.87). As such, it is not surprising that they initially turn to friends and family before seeking help through formal help services. As the abuse escalates, advice, protection, and escape grow in importance and women then access formal help services for information and aid.

**Barriers to Information Seeking for Abused Women**

Unfortunately, these studies have also identified that abused women face numerous barriers from help sources in their attempts to seek help and information. One of the main barriers, identified by Dewdney and Harris, is a mismatching of help sources and information needs (1991, p.409). Their study showed that abused women are often sent to agencies that provide the wrong type of service for their needs and agencies that do not have sufficient resources to provide adequate levels of aid (p.410). They also found that many agencies misunderstand the type of help or service being sought and provide irrelevant information or referrals to other agencies that are not useful (p.410). Help sources may also create a barrier for abused women by labelling them as victims or by suggesting that they are at fault in the abuse situation (Lempert, 1997, pp.297-302). This can lead many women to feel distrustful of support services (Erez and Belknap, 1998, p.260). Lora Bex Lempert suggests that agencies and abused women may also experience conflicting agendas (1997, p.303). Agencies typically provide support services that are designed to help women to leave abusive relationships (p.303). However, as Lempert points out, these women may still love their partners and, instead of seeking a way to exit the relationship, they are seeking methods to help them survive within the relationship (p.303). Finally, help sources may simply fail to recognize the signs of domestic violence and fail to provide any help or information to the abused woman (Peckover, 2003, p.280).

Abused women also face barriers in terms of their emotional and psychological ability to ask for and accept help. These women may have psychological problems brought on by the abuse that impacts their assessment of their own situation and their decision-making abilities (Peckover, 2003, p.275). Since there is often a stigma attached to abuse, these women may also be reluctant to discuss their situation until the situation is serious (p.277). They may also be afraid that seeking help will result in negative consequences such as an aggressive response to help-seeking from their abuser or the loss of their children (p.278). Abused women also experience barriers that are specific to their individual abuse situation. Practical concerns such
as financial support may make it difficult for them to seek out help (Erez and Belknap, 1998, p.260).

**Information Use of Abused Women**

Very little research is available that examines how abused women use information to make decisions regarding their situation (Dunne, 2002, p.352). However, as Jennifer Dunne points out, studies of factors that influence women’s decision making can reveal some of the information gaps that abused women encounter when trying to make good decisions (2002, p.352). For example, women with husbands in counselling were most likely to return to the abusive relationship since they viewed participation in counselling as a sign that the abuser was willing to change (p.352). Research, however, indicates that counselling rarely inspires long-term change and, often, the abusers halt counselling once the woman has returned to them (p.352). Dunne argues that this is crucial information, noting that women who are unaware of this research will only be able to base their decision to return on the fact that the abuser is attending counselling (p.352). In other words, critical information must be made available to these women so that they can use it to improve their situations.

**Circumstances Specific to Abused Women within Minority Groups**

According to several researchers, the information needs, information seeking behaviours, information barriers, and information use of abused women are similar for women of various cultural backgrounds from both rural and urban centres. There are, however, some differences. Studies have shown that level of education and severity of abuse have no effect on help-seeking (West, Kantor, and Jasinski, 1998, p.369). However, studies also show that Anglo American women and younger women are more likely to seek help than ethnic minorities or older women (p.369). Poor women are equally likely to seek help as wealthier women, but they are less likely to receive help (p. 369). Women in rural areas have more problems with isolation, lack of available services, and “patriarchal family structures and views” or “strongly held religious beliefs” that prevent them from receiving help and information (Krishnan, Hilbert, and VanLeeuwen, 2001, p.29). Abused women from ethnic minority groups have identified lack of access to translators and translated materials as a barrier to information (West, Kantor, and Jasinski, 1998; Peckover 2003). Barriers may also differ for specific minority groups. Abused Latina women, in general, are less likely than other ethnic groups to seek help from either formal or informal sources (West, Kantor, and Jasinski, 1998, p.367). If Latina women contact a help
source, it is usually the police (p.367). Hispanic women are twice as likely as other abused women to seek out a restraining order, but rarely seek medical attention (Krishnan, Hilbert, and VanLeeuwen, 2001, p.34). Studies of abused women from Black, Asian, and Native American ethnic groups have identified discrimination and lack of understanding of cultural needs as an information barrier (Harris et al., 2001; Peckover, 2003). Lesbian women who suffer from abuse have also identified discrimination and lack of understanding as a barrier (Harris et al., 2001, p.137).

**Optimizing Digital Reference Services for Abused Women**

Research studies have identified several ways that libraries can help abused women. Patricia Dewdney, Roma Harris, and Christine Lockerby point out that there are three main ways that libraries meet information needs that arise from woman abuse (1996, p.35). First, libraries can provide information to women currently experiencing violence or who have experienced violence in the past (p.35). Second, librarians can be proactive in finding and meeting the information needs of members of various help organizations (p.35). Third, libraries can help to serve the research needs of government, public, and private agencies and any others who develop social services and influence social policy (p.35). Jennifer Dunne also indicates three ways in which libraries can help this group (2002, p.353). First, librarians need to familiarize themselves with the problem of domestic violence within their communities and determine how their expertise can help address this problem (p.353). Second, libraries need to increase public awareness of their community information services (p.353). Third, libraries need to coordinate their community information services with other agencies that abused women are more likely to contact when seeking help and information (p.353). While these findings are geared toward reference services in general, the findings can be applied to specifically address digital reference.

**The Reference Interview**

In providing information to women currently experiencing violence or who have experienced violence in the past, the librarian’s main tool is the reference interview. Whether in person or online, the reference interview provides a framework that allows the reference librarian to “ascertain the user’s information need and take appropriate action to satisfy that need through skilful use of available information sources” (Bopp and Smith, 2001, p.47). Dewdney, Harris, and Lockerby point out that one of the attractions of the library is that it is anonymous and non-threatening, allowing women to locate information about abuse without identifying themselves.
or disclosing their need to a third party (1996, p.37). In conducting the reference interview, librarians need to be alert to this situation and allow the woman to explain “as much or as little of her situation as she wishes” (p.36). Librarians must also be aware of the appropriate way to respond to this situation and be prepared to make accurate referrals (p.36). Specifically, the librarian must use good interview and listening skills to assess the situation to provide for the woman’s immediate safety and to determine what kind of help is wanted (p.36). According to Peckover, women in these situations are primarily seeking assurance and want someone to believe them (2003, pp.299-302). The librarian should actively listen and help the woman to interpret the problem (p.299). Further, the librarian should not be judgemental and should avoid imposing his or her own definitions onto the situation (p.299). Several studies have indicated that the primary need of abused women, especially in the early stages of information seeking, is emotional support (Harris, 1988; Dewdney and Harris, 1992; Lempert, 1997; Peckover, 2003). As such, it is particularly important that the reference interview be conducted in a warm and sensitive manner and that the information provided is accurate, practical, and appropriate to the woman’s needs (Harris, 1988, p.69). In this situation, it is more important for the librarian to ensure that the woman is comfortable than to thoroughly investigate the information need (Dewdney, Harris, and Lockerby, 1996, p.37).

Recognizing Abuse Victims in an Online Environment

Online digital reference services are, in some ways, more accessible to abused women because they have additional security in terms of anonymity. However, it is much more difficult for the librarian to accurately assess the needs of an abused woman through online reference. In online reference interviews, it is particularly difficult to understand the needs of a user since the librarian does not have access to non-verbal cues like behaviour, tone of voice, facial expression, and attitude (Kluegel et al., 2003, p.43). Since these cues, which would normally alert a librarian to an abusive situation, are missing, the librarian must be particularly attentive to the possibility that the user could be an abused woman. If the user does not explicitly make an abuse claim, the librarian must make this determination based on other information. Indications might include the type of information sought: legal information, career advice, information on relationships, and information on community resources. Abuse might also be indicated by the user’s online behaviour. If the user seems to be in a hurry, typing rapidly or using many abbreviations, or if the user quickly signs off from chat sessions and then quickly returns, this may indicate that the
user is trying to hide the chat session from another person in their immediate vicinity. None of these cues are positive indications that a user is an abused woman and, outside of a direct admission, a librarian should not assume that the user is in an abusive situation. However, if the librarian is suspicious that this is the case, the librarian should take extra care to approach the user with warmth and sensitivity. In the case of online reference, this may involve: asking open questions, allowing the user enough time to answer questions, avoiding abrupt responses, directing the user to sources that include information pertinent to abuse victims, offering additional assistance if needed, encouraging the user to return, and not taking offense if the user’s online behaviour seems erratic.

**Digital Resources for Abused Women: Raising Awareness**

Libraries can provide digital reference sources that are specifically relevant to abused women by providing a list of useful sources, ensuring that the information is easily accessible, ensuring that it is easy for the women to locate the information on their own, and ensuring that the information can be accessed in a confidential manner. The first, and most important, step in this process is to advertise the availability of these services. Abused women need to be aware that the library provides access to online information that specifically addresses their needs and that librarians are available to assist them in person and via telephone, e-mail, and online chat services. Abused women also need to know that the library has computer labs that they can use to access this information, a fact that is particularly important since using public rather than private home computers prevents the abuser from tracking the woman’s online information use. Relevant online services should be easily accessible through the library’s website. The library website should also include information on deleting cookies and Internet history with relation to these services in order to help women hide their use of such services from their partners. Libraries should provide a list of these online services in a paper format and ensure that it is prominently displayed. This list of online services should also be provided to various help organizations within the community so that women who have not identified the library as a source of information can still benefit from this material. Roma Harris and Patricia Dewdney’s research noted that women had difficulty accessing services through the telephone directory since they were unsure how this information would be indexed (Dewdney and Harris, 1992, p.18). While it is easier to find online information using a variety of keywords, librarians can help to mitigate this problem by providing a list of suggested terms to help women access online
information. For example, a woman looking for information on “battered women” could also use the terms “abuse,” “abused women,” “abused wives,” “battered wives,” “wife assault,” “domestic violence,” and “violence against women.” Dewdney, Harris, and Lockerby also noted that libraries should carry fiction and non-fiction materials that address women’s questions about personal relationships (1996, p.38). Librarians could also optimize abused women’s use of digital reference by compiling this material into a recommended reading list that is accessible on the library website.

**Digital Resources for Abused Women: Selection Criteria**

There are several criteria that librarians can use to select good online resources for abused women. The criteria for evaluating Internet information resources are: scope, content, graphic and multimedia design, purpose, reviews, workability, and cost (Smith, 1997). Online resources for abused women should contain accurate and current content from an authoritative source. Authoritative sources may include websites of government, public, or private agencies, librarian-created directories, or online journals. Accuracy and currency are particularly crucial in the case of contact information for shelters and crisis centres. It is also very important in terms of legal information. The resources should provide relevant and in-depth information for a variety of abused women and they should contain current links to other useful resources. As Roma Harris notes, abused women often have trouble finding information on local help organizations and particularly need details pertaining to contact information and the services they provide (1988, p.69). Abused women may be accessing this information from a variety of technologies and they may have little time to access these resources. Therefore, the resources should be designed specifically to meet these needs. These resources should be accessible on a variety of platforms and browsers and they should be able to be downloaded quickly. They should also be readable by adaptive technologies and provide information in easily accessed formats, offering plain html as an alternative to .pdf files or javascript. They should also include an easy-to-remember URL, a navigation bar and site map to quickly access information, and simple language that is easy to understand. The resources should also include information on removing cookies and deleting the Internet history from a personal computer to help women hide their use of these resources from their abusers. These resources should be simple in design with few graphics to make the site easy to download and access. Since abused women often have reduced finances, these resources should be provided free of charge. Abused women also come from a variety of cultures and
backgrounds. Since many abused women from minority groups claim that discrimination is a barrier to getting help (West, Kantor, and Jasinski, 1998; Peckover 2003), resources should also be offered in a variety of languages.

*Digital Resources for Abused Women: Selecting Resources for Help Organizations*

Online resources for abused women should also be selected based on the needs of help organizations. These resources do not necessarily have to be as strict in terms of accessibility since download times and simple organization for quick reference are not as crucial for these users. However, the information should still be relatively easy to download and access. While many of the resources that abused women use will also be pertinent to help agencies, these agencies will also need to access resources that contain content that is specific to them. This content could include specialized medical or psychological information, statistical information, communication tips, or strategies for working with abused women. These resources should be current, accurate, and authoritative and the information should be in-depth and applicable to abused women from a variety of backgrounds. They should also provide links to other relevant resources. Since many of these help organizations are non-profit, the resources should be provided free of charge.

*Suggested Digital Resources for Abused Women*

*Local Help Organizations*

Of the online resources available to abused women, the most useful pertain to local help organizations. There are several local help organizations with an online presence in Alberta. Most of these resources are for organizations based in cities and they contain basic contact information and program information. Quite a few of these sites allowed for e-mail contact, but none appeared to offer real-time chat services. Depending on the site, additional information may be provided on the organization’s services. These sites are not designed to provide in-depth information about abuse, but to provide ready reference to important information. Unfortunately, some of the sites are not particularly useful for abused women in terms of access. The Medicine Hat Women’s Shelter Society provides very little information, the Calgary Women’s Emergency Shelter contains a lot of graphics and is difficult to download, and Edmonton’s WINHouse contains several graphics and is somewhat confusing to navigate. Overall, however, the sites provide the necessary information in a clear manner. Information on local help organizations is also available through online directories. These directories provide
contact information for shelters in both urban and rural centres. Some sites, like Shelternet and the Hot Peach Pages, also provide information for abused women in languages other than English. Although some of the sites are a bit difficult to navigate (CASAC) and some sites take time to download (Shelternet), the information they provide is current and useful. The Alberta Council of Women’s Shelters is a particularly good site that provides contact information and detailed service information for shelters across the province.

*General Information on Abused Women and Specialized Search Tools*

There are also several good resources that provide both general and specialized information about abused women on the Internet. The National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, Education Wife Assault, VIOLET, and ROSENet are all excellent sources of information about woman abuse in Canada. The content on VIOLET is geared toward abused women. It provides very good information on a variety of topics that are specific to their needs. The site is easy to navigate, very accessible, and contains relevant links. ROSENet is the sister site for VIOLET and contains similar information for immigrant women. Education Wife Assault is geared toward abused women and help sources. The content is relevant, well-organized, and easily accessible. The National Clearinghouse on Family Violence also provides information for both abused women and help sources. The content on this site is excellent, but it is difficult to navigate and find the desired information. All of these sites were developed by government, public, or private organizations and are authoritative, accurate, and current. There are also several useful directories available online that are specific to woman abuse. The Centre for Children and Families in the Justice System: Links to Sites About Relationship Abuse, Swatjobs: Links, Open Directory Project (DMOZ): Domestic Violence Links, and the Canadian Women’s Foundation: Violence Prevention Resources and Research are all excellent resources for abused women and help organizations. These sites provide current, relevant links to statistics, articles, websites, and information sources on woman abuse. The links are typically government, public or private organizations, or documents from an academic or government organization. Good resources can also be accessed through search tools. The Librarian’s Index to the Internet and INFOMINE are both excellent search tools for this particular topic. However, they are limited to English. The Librarian’s Index to the Internet is very well-organized and it is easy to find relevant information for both abused women and help organizations. The search results on this topic are generally very precise and relevant. INFOMINE is not as well-organized.
and it is more specifically useful to help organizations. Although INFOMINE is not as easily searched, the search results it provides are excellent for help organizations and include several relevant online journals. Google is also a very good search tool for this topic. It provides relevant search results and the search engine can be modified to seek items in a specific language.

**Legal Information**

There are also several good tools online for abused women seeking legal information. In terms of organization, information, and ease of use, the Government of Canada’s Department of Justice site is the best. This site is very easy to navigate and provides relevant information in a jargon-free easily understandable format. It is also available in both English and French. The Queen’s Printer, which provides access to Alberta law and legislation is much more difficult to search. It is difficult to navigate and uses a lot of confusing terminology. This is unfortunate since it provides necessary legal information that would be useful to abused women. The Canadian Legal Portal and Canadian Legislation directories are both quite useful in terms of content. The Canadian Legal Portal is primarily geared toward lawyers, but it useful to abused women who are trying to find a lawyer. Canadian Legislation is geared toward the public. It is easy to navigate and find legal information for specific geographic areas, but the information that it links to, such as provincial laws and statutes, can be difficult to understand if the user is unfamiliar with legal terminology. The RCMP website is unfortunately terrible. It is primarily geared toward recruiting new officers. It does not supply contact information or relevant information on topics such as restraining orders. The various local police service sites were equally unhelpful.

**Health Information**

There are a few good health-related sites for abused women online. In particular, the Canadian Mental Health Association and Health Canada provide current, authoritative information that is geared specifically to abused women and that is available in both English and French. These sites can initially be difficult to navigate, but they are generally excellent resources. Most of the free online medical databases focus on doctors and help organizations. However, abused women may be able to find useful information that is not couched in specifically medical terminology. A good example is Healthfinder. Healthfinder is geared toward the general public and provides very good information on a variety of topics. It is
however, very difficult to navigate and it can be difficult to obtain precise search results. Further, the items that it links to are not always current or authoritative. Free Medical Journals and PubMed provide free online access to health-related publications that are particularly useful to help organizations that need counselling and medical information specific to abused women. Free Medical Journals is a portal that provides access to several relevant, authoritative medical journals. It is very easy to use. PubMed also offers access to relevant, authoritative medical journals. This database has an excellent search engine and allows the user to limit results by keyword, language, and a variety of other useful fields.

Financial Planning and Career Advice

In terms of financial planning and career advice, the best sites for abused women are Canadian MoneySaver, Jobs.ca, and Monster.ca. Although there are several career resources online, Monster.ca and Jobs.ca are the only two that offer more than just simple search features. These sites offer career advice, resume building tools, interview tips and other information that is particularly relevant to abused women who may be seeking their first job. These sites are also easy to navigate, easy to understand, and offer services in both English and French. Canadian MoneySaver is one of the only Canadian financial sites that is geared to the general public. Unfortunately, some of the features are accessible only to members and the membership fees may be too costly for an abused woman to afford. The site is also difficult to navigate. However, it does provide various free and useful tools including a financial calculator and links to current and authoritative resources that deal with more specific financial information like mortgages. As such, it is particularly useful as directory tool for abused women.

Conclusion

In general, abused women have a great deal of difficulty accessing help and information. Current research shows that help organizations do not understand how these women seek out information and, therefore, are ill-equipped to meet their specialized information needs. Libraries have been identified as a one-stop resource for information (Dewdney and Harris, 1992, p.26) and are a logical choice to provide referrals and direction to the kind of information that these women desperately need. At present, libraries are still working toward providing good in-house services to these clients, let alone services for digital reference. However, as this paper demonstrates, the tools are already in place to provide this needed service. There are several excellent online resources for this group and, for many women, there is no other way to access
similar information since they may be unable to contact help services in person or via the telephone due to various information barriers. Digital reference, therefore, is an excellent resource for reaching this group of people.

It would be very easy for librarians to modify current digital reference services for these clients. Access points to relevant information can be easily created on the library website or by offering clients a directory to online information in pamphlet form. E-mail and online chat services are already in place that would allow these women to contact librarians for help in an anonymous and confidential environment. I have looked at several library websites and, at present, very few libraries offer digital reference services that are specifically tailored to the needs of abused women. This is disappointing since this information is badly needed and digital reference would provide a window of help to abused women who may have no other means of obtaining it. In time, I can only hope that more libraries will adopt digital reference strategies that target abused women as part of the library mandate to promote equitable and universal access to information.
Bibliography


Links:

Digital Resources for Abused Women

Local Help Organizations

Calgary Women’s Emergency Shelter

WINHouse: An Ongoing Project of Edmonton’s Women’s Shelter
<http://winhouse.org/>.

Medicine Hat Women’s Shelter Society

Alberta Council of Women’s Shelters
<http://www.acws.ca>.

Shelternet

Hot Peach Pages
<http://www.hotpeachpages.net/>.

Casac: Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres

General Information on Abused Women

National Clearinghouse on Family Violence

Education Wife Assault

VIoLET
<http://www.violetnet.org/>.

ROSENNet
<http://www.rosenet-ca.org/>.

Centre for Children and Families in the Justice System: Links to Sites About Relationship Abuse
<http://www.lfcc.on.ca/ralinks.html>.

Swatjobs: Links
Open Directory Project (DMOZ): Domestic Violence Links

Canadian Women’s Foundation: Violence Prevention Resources and Research

**Legal Information**

RCMP

Government of Canada: Department of Justice, Programs and Services

Queen’s Printer: Alberta Laws and Publications

Canadian Legal Portal

Canadian Legislation
<http://www.legis.ca/>.

**Health Information**

Canadian Mental Health Association
<http://www.cmha.ca/>.

Health Canada

Free Medical Journals.com

Healthfinder

PubMed

**Specialized Search Tools**

Google
<http://www.google.ca/>.
Librarian’s Index to the Internet
<http://lii.org/>.

INFOMINE
<http://infomine.ucr.edu/>.

**Financial Planning and Career Advice**

Canadian MoneySaver
<http://www.canadianmoneysaver.ca/>.

Monster.ca
<http://www.monster.ca/>.

Jobs.ca