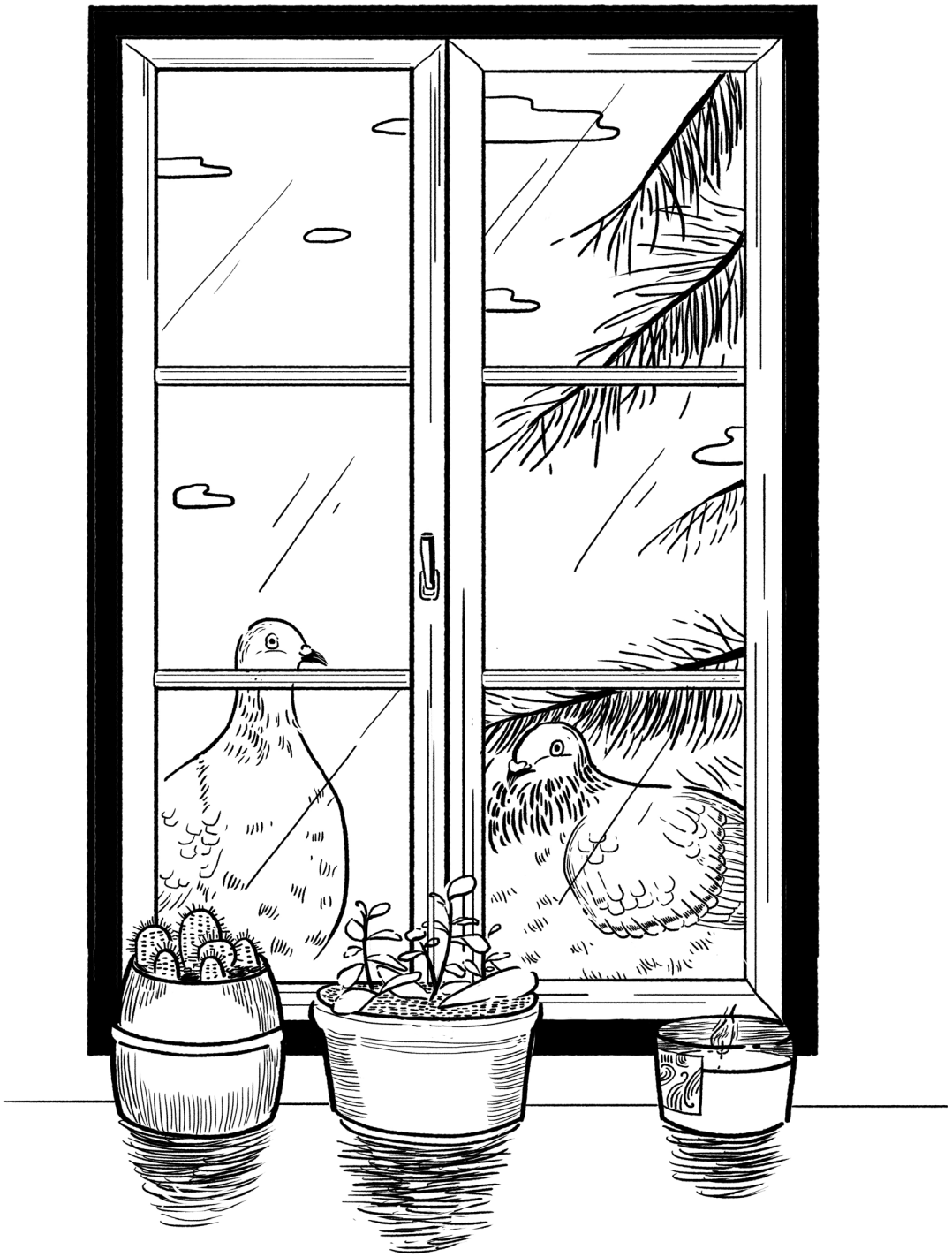
Pathways

THE ONTARIO JOURNAL OF OUTDOOR EDUCATION
Summer 2021, 33(4)



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Pathways

COEO

Formed in 1972, the Council of Outdoor Educators of Ontario (COEO) is a non-profit, volunteer-based organization that promotes safe, quality outdoor education experiences for people of all ages. We achieve this by publishing the *Pathways* journal, running an annual conference and regional workshops, maintaining a website, and working with kindred organizations as well as government agencies. Members of COEO receive a subscription to *Pathways*, as well as admittance to workshops, courses and conferences. A membership application form is included on the inside back cover of this issue of *Pathways*.

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Pathways

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Pathways is always looking for contributions. Please contact the Chair for submission guidelines.

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Editor's Log

It is time once again in the *Pathways* publication cycle to thank each of the dedicated members of our Editorial Board for their time and energy in supporting the growth of the Journal over the past year. And at the same time, I would also like to invite any interested individuals to join our *Pathways* editorial team. The members of our Editorial Board take on various tasks throughout the year: peer reviewing submissions to the Journal; mentoring new authors with advice and support; organizing special theme issues; lending their expertise to collaborate on articles; sourcing written, as well as artistic contributions for the pages of *Pathways*; maintaining our social media presence on Twitter; and also promoting the publication at various academic and professional conferences. While most of our editors plan to continue on, we will have openings for new appointments, and so we invite experienced outdoor educators and academics, as well as emerging researchers in the field of outdoor learning to submit a letter of application to pathways@coeo.org.

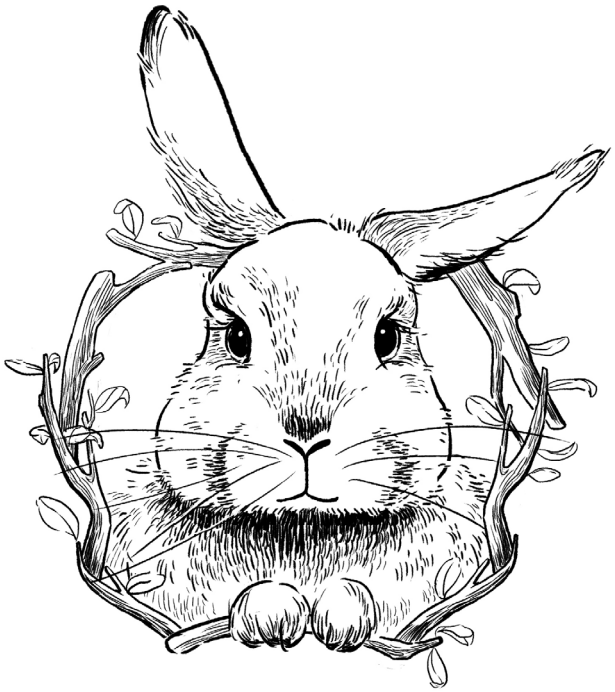
This issue of *Pathways* begins with an article by Valerie Ezewski, Thomas McIlwraith and Stephen Fine. In this article, the authors examine the legacy of cultural appropriation in Canadian children's camping. Their research, based on a survey of camp directors, shows that many have a general knowledge of Indigenous cultures and contemporary issues—including the harmful effects of appropriation in camp settings—yet opinions vary about how to address the issues, which range from continuing Indigenous-inspired programming as a positive and land-based pedagogical tool to demanding that the practices be ended altogether. The authors ask if, how, and when camping professionals should continue with such programming while also considering calls to abandon such programming altogether. Next, and staying within the context of summer camps, Josh Kattsir and Kyle Rich present a review of current literature pertaining to social outcomes of youth camp programs. Within this article they explore themes related to camp and program structure, and their relationship to reported outcomes of these programs for youths. Julie Rosenthal then shares a fun and experiential learning activity that she employs with her fourth year Outdoor Recreation students. *Simon Say Strip* is the name of the game, and she links it to individual reflection and discussion about the environmental impact which the production of outdoor equipment and apparel has on the natural world. Julie uses the concept of "Leave No Trace" wilderness camping practices, which her students are all familiar with, and expands the idea to allow students to understand how their actions as consumers do leave a mark on the earth and that individual choices do matter. And the issue concludes with an evocative piece from Chris Peters. Chris shares the adventures of Belle, his family dog, along with some fond memories of other dogs he has had the pleasure of spending time and sharing experiences with throughout his life. Now, the more critical reviewer might ask: is this author simply pandering to the many dog lovers that make up a large proportion of the *Pathways* readership? I think probably, but as you'll read, Peters soulfully articulates how these family pets—a companion species—allow us humans to extend our awareness and connect more deeply with the world around us.

Kyle Clarke
Editor

Sketch Pad – The art for this issue of *Pathways* was generously contributed by Katy Pan. Katy is a Toronto-based illustrator currently attending OCAD University. She enjoys creating works in both traditional and digital mediums. Katy's recent works feature her exploration of the papercut-out technique. Website: yqpan.com, Email: katy.pan@student.ocadu.ca

President's View

I want to start my comments with an acknowledgement of the tragic discoveries being made at former residential school sites across the country. Not too long ago I released a statement on behalf of COEO, making it clear that our thoughts are with those impacted by the discovery of the 215 children who were buried on-site at a former residential school near Kamloops, BC. This number has continued to rise as more sites are investigated, with the number of children found surpassing 5000 at the time of writing. While this may be a time to mourn, let this also be a call to action to denounce racism and hate in our everyday lives. This is not a "dark chapter" in Canada's history—this is our reality, and there is much work to be done by all of us. Starting with educating ourselves. Then, taking action. Each of us. We can do something on our own, but we can also make a larger impact together. Let us make sure that the awareness created by these events is channeled into action and that we don't allow ourselves to forget about this important topic just because the news cycle has moved on.



I want to take a moment to extend a thank you to everyone who was involved in our webinar series this year. We had a great mix of presenters and topics covered throughout all our webinars, making for wonderful opportunities for learning and discussion. After the success of this year's webinars, we hope to do another series, likely starting sometime this fall. Stay tuned!

Our Annual Fall Conference plans are underway, with a last-minute decision being made to host a one-day outdoor gathering at Camp Couchiching on Saturday, September 25th. Our theme is Embracing Wellbeing & Mindfulness in the Outdoors, a topic that feels incredibly important right now given the ongoing challenges and stress of the pandemic. Registration is now open, and more details can be found on the COEO website. We hope to see you there!

Our Annual Meeting will be virtual again this year, taking place on Sunday, September 26th at 10:00am. I urge all members of COEO to attend, not only to get updates about the past year but also to be part of electing our next Board of Directors and shaping the future of our organization.

We are also looking for folks to join the Board this year, so please take some time to consider if this is a way you could support the COEO community. If you have any questions or want more information about what these positions entail, please reach out to me or anyone of the current members of the Board.

Finally, I would like to thank all of you for making COEO a community that I am proud to be a part of. When I agreed to become President of COEO I could not have predicted the events of these two years, and although it has been incredibly challenging, it has also been a joy.

Natalie Kemp
COEO President

The Challenges of Indigenous-Inspired Programming in Children's Summer Camping

By Valerie Ezewski, Thomas McIlwraith, and Stephen Fine

Introduction

In 2015, the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network (APTN) published an article condemning the appropriation of Indigenous cultural practices, including a pipe ceremony, at two children's summer camps in Ontario (Gignac, 2015). The article raised serious concerns about the ongoing application of Indigenous ceremonies at summer camps, indicating that these activities are racist and that they affect children by reproducing stereotypes. The media coverage drew the concern of the Canadian Camping Association (CCA), a national federation that represents nine provincially recognized camp associations. Following the publication of the APTN article, the CCA—through its research committee—undertook a survey of camp directors in Canada to identify the extent of knowledge about these issues and, indeed, the extent to which cultural appropriation exists at camps. The results of the survey show that cultural appropriation in the form of Indigenous-inspired programming persists at summer camps although some camps have consciously abandoned the practices and others never engaged in them. The survey also shows that there are various opinions about how to address the issues ranging from continuing to Indigenous-inspired programming as a positive and land-based pedagogical tool to demanding that the practices be ended altogether.

Sadly, the APTN article is but one article in a history of news articles and academic reports that have both condemned the appropriation of Indigenous cultures at camps and offered suggestions for rectifying and, indeed, reconciling this history. Anishinaabe critic Ryan McMahon wrote about these practices saying, "the traditions [at summer camps] depend on tired clichés, stereotypes and general degradation of native peoples" (McMahon, 2018). In the 1990s, Heather Dunlop interviewed Ontario camp directors about the practice of "Grand Councils" and other similar programming at camps (Dunlop, 1998). Dunlop's work indicates that cultural appropriation was identified as problematic at camps in the 1970s (Dunlop, 1998, p. 226; e.g., Eastaugh, 1972; Gerber, 1972). Some camps have made changes to their programming too (Dornian et al, 2005, p. 100; Wilkes et al, 2018). Still, there has been little follow-up from Dunlop's work. Now, the increased awareness that came with the APTN article and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's final report into the negative impacts of residential schools for Indigenous peoples and their cultures is motivating some camps to see themselves in a national conversation about appropriation and reconciliation (TRC, 2015; also Shore, 2015; Davis et al, 2017).

This research asks what roles camps play in teaching Indigenous traditions and, related, the teaching stereotypical images of Indigenous peoples. Given the land-based pedagogies of many camps, we hope that this work encourages camping professionals to seek new relationships with Indigenous peoples and to work towards increasing their awareness of the Indigenous histories on which the lands that camps are located and through which campers trip by foot and canoe. We know that some camps are building connections with Indigenous peoples, but there is little opportunity to share success stories within the camping industry. Our survey of camp directors around current practices, attitudes towards Indigenous knowledges, and needs around decolonization, is central to answering our questions in advance of collaboration with Indigenous partners (see Luckasavitch, 2018). It is also part of needed education within the camping industry on Indigenous-settler reconciliation and the ongoing effects of colonialism in recreational spaces and outdoor education.

Camps, Indigenous Cultures, and Appropriation

Canadian archaeologist George Nicholas defines cultural appropriation as:

> taking or using some aspect of someone else's heritage without permission or recompense in inappropriate, harmful, or unwelcome ways. The harms include diminished respect for what is considered sacred, improper uses of special or sacred symbols, and the commercialization of cultural distinctiveness. There may also be threats to authenticity or loss of both artistic control and livelihood (Nicholas, 2018).

Recent examples of cultural appropriation are found in the sports world, such as the use of Indigenous iconography and names, often pejoratively, in the National Football League, the National Hockey League, and in Major League Baseball. Nicholas describes the offensive costumes that are often visible at Halloween (Nicholas, 2018) and Keene remarks broadly on appropriation with a Mad Lib (fill-in-the-blank) exercise (Keene, 2015).

While we understand that children's camps are not monolithic in their histories or educational philosophies (Hodgins and Dodge, 1992, p. 1), the traditions of "playing Indian" at camp go back to the beginnings of children's camping in Canada and the United States (see Wall, 2009; Deloria, 1998; Mechling, 1980). In the Canadian tradition, Indigenous programming is most obviously associated with "sleep-away" camps (e.g., Latimer, 1999; Edgar, 1971). The inclusion of Indigenous ceremonial activities and skills in such camps is associated with pioneering figures like Ernest Thompson Seton, naturalist and writer, as well as Taylor Statten, the founder of camps Ahmek and Wapemeo in Algonquin Park in the 1920s (van Slyck, 2009, p. 33; also Wall, 2009; Campbell, 2010; Sheridan, 2013). Seton, co-founder of the Boy Scouts of America, is described as an imaginative and intelligent boy who did not find himself happy following his parents' Presbyterian lifestyle (Francis, 1992, p. 147). While distancing himself from Christianity, Seton turned to the wilderness

to develop a different sense of spirituality and his admiration for Indigenous peoples formed.

Seton considered the Indian teachings to have universal value. He did not, however, consider the diversity of culture, traditions, and values across Indigenous communities in his reflections and writings (Shore 2015, 8-11). Rather, he envisioned one set of values and activities to represent all Indigenous peoples. Seton went on to write and publish books including *Two Little Savages* (Seton, 1903) which, drawing inspiration from Indigenous cultures, offered realist imagery in a fictional text. It became a foundation reference for new camps developing their programs (Churchill, 1992, p. 111). The book included diagrams for building tipis, stuffing owls, constructing moccasins, making fire, and reading smoke signals (Francis, 1992, p. 146). Although it provided a very limited perspective on Indigenous cultures, Seton intended the book to be a positive reflection of Indigenous practices and to stand in contrast to broader, negative, and stereotypical beliefs about Indigenous peoples held widely at the time (see Francis, 1992).

Taylor Statten founded Camp Ahmek in 1921. Ahmek means "Great Beaver" in Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe language) (The Taylor Statten Camps, 2020). Ahmek was Canada's first privately owned summer camp and, like Seton, Statten embraced nature as the camp's underlying spiritual philosophy (Wall, 2016, p. 528). This embrace included

a central place for Indigenous-inspired lore and activities in the camp setting. Camp staff, including Statten and his wife, went by Indian names during the season and the Council Ring was central to each camper's experience. Seton even visited Ahmek to demonstrate how to perform dances, conduct the Council Ring, and how to "live like Indians during the camping season" (Francis, 1992, p. 156). The goal was to have the campers "go native" and experience transformations on multiple levels, leaving them to be born again Indians by the end of it (Wall, 2016, p. 528). Statten himself dressed up in an Indian costume and acted as the Chief of the Council (Francis, 1992, p. 156).

The Council Ring, sometimes Indian Council or Grand Council, is at the heart of these practices and central to the reflections of camp directors on their own camping histories (Wilkes et al, 2018). John Latimer, the long-time director of Kilcoo Camp in Ontario, recalls:

> For close to 70 years boys and young men who have been a part of Kilcoo recall the Indian Councils. Now the correct terminology is Grand Council. Whatever the designation, the event is one filled with colour, ceremony, and life-lasting memories (Latimer, 1999, p. 188).

Notably, Indigenous individuals are known at several camps including at Glen Bernard Camp where they were employed on staff and, in that context, they contributed to the cultural life of the camp (Edgar, 1971). In short, the appropriation of Indigenous practices at camps is associated with progressive education and, in the minds of many, is done with the best of intentions and reverence for Indigenous cultures (Eastaugh, 1972). Dunlop reveals the controversial nature of this claim, however, and argues convincingly that the subject of appropriation pits camp traditionalists who want to maintain camp practices against progressives who see camps needing to change with the times (Dunlop, 1998, p. 150). This is a debate within camping circles that continues to this day.

For camping luminaries like Seton and Statten, the inclusion of Indigenous practices in camp programming was intended as an appreciation for peoples who appeared to live successfully in the forest. A paradox existed at the time, as it did in academic disciplines like anthropology, where Indigenous peoples were admired and, yet, assumed to be disappearing because of an inability to adapt to new circumstances and modernize. The image of Indigeneity that resulted from these activities, skewed and inaccurate as it was, was often the only insight children received regarding Indigenous cultures and traditions (Francis 1992, 155). This perception circulated widely in the 1960s, when it was estimated that seventy percent of children in Ontario attended camp (Wall, 2016, p. 515). Paradoxes like this say more about non-Indigenous observers, of course (cf. Maxson, 2012, p. 52-53), and we realize that for many camps, the accurate portrayal of Indigenous practices has been less important than the impression of an authentic experience predicated on Indigenous peoples who live close to nature (Eastaugh, 1972).

Camps as Educational Institutions

The research on the history of children's camping in Canada observes that attending camp is, variously, a rite of passage, a wilderness experience that contrasts with urbanism and modernity (Wall, 2009; Van Slyck, 2009; Churchill, D., 1992), frequently an elitist opportunity (Dunlop, 1998), a chance for moral character development (Dunlop, 1998, p. 6) including socialization related to race, gender (particularly masculinity) and class (Van Slyck, 2009; Churchill, K., 1992). Camp is a time and place for fun in an otherwise urban world which minimizes children's opportunities for free play. Playing Indian fits into the preceding aims (Francis, 1992; Deloria, 1998).

The types of learning that camps facilitate is varied and many countries have departments of education overseeing camp operations (Bialeschki, Fine, and Bennet 2016, p. 2). Statten stated that Camp Ahmek's mission was to mirror an elementary school in such a way that children would learn how

to solve problems, how to appropriately interact with peers, and how to live happily in accordance with other human beings. Further, Statten insisted that camps were powerful in enabling the development of one's social skills, influencing democratic decision making, as well as promoting one's ability to acquire the norms and customs of their society (Churchill, D., 1992, pp. 111-112). The socialization that takes place at camp helps to develop a child's moral character with regards to race, gender, and class. This type of development can influence a child's perception of people who belong to other ethnicities and cultures. Considering all of this, the delivery of inaccurate information and stereotypes at camps infiltrates a child's understanding of people different from their own. It is insidious.

Scholars of camping observe that camps are educational places in part because of their outdoor and, frequently, non-urban settings (Bialeschki, Fine, and Bennet; also Styres et al, 2013). In the case of knowledge of Indigenous peoples, the assumption is that Indigenous ways of understanding the world can be applied uncritically in camp contexts. An idea of wilderness—and notions of the wild outdoors—permeates the development of Canadian children's camping. Indigenous knowledges contribute to the wild landscape in which camps operate. Lerner notes that by the 1940s camps were "selling not just escape from the city [and] promoting the idea of wilderness as the ideal site for … development" (Lerner, 2007, p. 47; also Wall, 2009). Churchill goes further, suggesting that camps produce wilderness as a commodity as part of an industry of recreation (Churchill, D., 1992, p. 105). Dunlop concurs, arguing that "wild-like sites" are perfect for camps because they promote positive character-building activities in a context of urban moral decay (Dunlop, 1998, p. 6). Current research on the positive effects of camps shows, in fact, that camps are an important location for helping city-living children overcome "nature deficit disorder" (Coughlan and Blakey, 2012, citing Louv, 2008; also Bialeschki and Browne, 2018; Cousineau et al, 2018). Beckford (2008) has noted that Indigenous teachings about the interactions between humans and nature can be beneficial in helping young people to reconnect with nature and establish reciprocal relationships later in life by providing a template for engendering an ethic of stewardship and sustainability.

The educational programming at children's camps, including the use of Indigenous teachings, has long reflected societal norms around progressive education and Canadian ideals related to Indigeneity, race, gender, and class (Wall, 2005). Because of this, we hypothesize that we will find that camps, as land-based entities which encourage young people to spend time tripping through Indigenous territories, are also ideal places to pursue decolonization work. Scholars of land-based pedagogies say that learning should happen on the land, too (Wildcat et al 2014; Haig-Brown & Dannenmann, 2002). Amanda Shore sums up the concerns with cultural appropriation while framing the issues in terms of education: "In institutions with increasing numbers of returning campers, children have been performing and re-performing racial stereotypes for years, developing a national identity, a personal identity, a relationship to land, and a perspective on Indigeneity rooted in their respective camp experiences" (Shore, 2015, p. 5). The effects are an inaccurate idea of Indigenous peoples and their histories which perpetuate the belief that Indigenous peoples have disappeared. Non-Indigenous campers are thus left to re-enact traditions under, ironically, the guise of honouring.

Decolonizing Camps

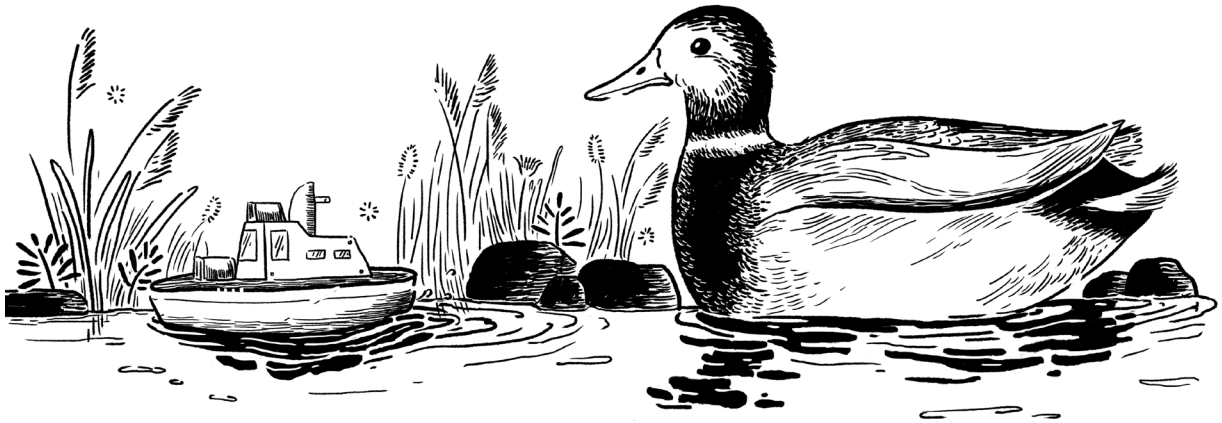
Indigenous academics like Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel remind us that colonialism is an ongoing process that harms Indigenous people (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005). Camps have perpetuated colonialism by framing visions of Indigeneity themselves, and by appropriating traditions. Here, as Tuck et al state, "land education calls into question educational practices and theories that justify settler occupation of stolen land or encourage the replacement of Indigenous peoples and relations to land with settlers and relations to property" (2014, p. 8). Indigenous peoples are seen as no longer here or no longer in control

of their cultures and histories (cf. Maxson, 2012; also Paris, 2008 for the American context).

Further, because the practices endure and camps purport to teach students life skills, appropriation remains a central issue facing camps today. Calls to end the practices of performing as Indians and naming camps and camp age cohorts after Indigenous ethnonyms, go back to the 1970s (Gerber, 1972). They are only louder now in the current context of truth and reconciliation (Shore, 2015). To find appropriate solutions to the problem of colonization in camps, some suggest that camps must first understand why and how camps use cultural appropriation to their advantage. Some directors have stated that the culturally appropriating programs have continued because it is camp tradition, and the tradition creates nostalgia, which encourages kids to return. Returning campers expect these traditions to take place and look forward to these games. However, by camps allowing kids to perform culturally appropriating and imaginative roles, they are allowing children to reinforce these racial stereotypes (Shore, 2015, p. 17-18).

Camps must be decolonized strategically and intentionally, and Tuck and Yang tell us that this is hard work (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Simply dismantling programs will not fix the harm that has been done. Amanda Shore discusses two approaches to decolonize camps (Shore, 2015). One approach to decolonization is reactional. This is when an organization acknowledges a history of oppression but does not implement any meaningful changes to correct the implications that have come out of the oppression. The organization believes that by simply acknowledging the problem, it solves the issue. A second approach is actional and can lead to transformative change. An actional approach is when an organization implements new programs that promote partnership and alliances between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples. In other words, to simply rid a camp of appropriating programs is a reactional, even performative, response; the acknowledgment of wrong is important but not likely to result in transformative change.

What appears to be the most obvious action for camp directors is to remove programming that has fictional elements to it, or, if given the approval of the closest Indigenous community, adjust the program to be accurate and factual. Should camps want to keep Indigenous based programming, the programs should be designed to reflect the concerns and wishes of Indigenous peoples (Gerber, 1972, p. 1). This could entail creating a partnership with the local Indigenous community, such that they give their input through evaluating the proposed camp program. Another option would be to allow Indigenous peoples to partake in the camp activities themselves, to deliver the programming and speak about its significance, their traditions, and connection to the land (Dunlop, 1998, p. 231). Regardless of the actions taken, educational opportunities emerge although not all with equal merit.



A Survey of Camp Directors

In the summer of 2019, and working with the CCA's research committee, we distributed a survey on these topics to 800 camp directors in Canada. We inquired about the camp directors' knowledge of Indigenous cultures nationally and locally to their camp. We asked directors about the benefits and drawbacks of incorporating Indigenous themes in their camp programming. We also asked directors about current engagements with Indigenous peoples and changes they have made to their programming or camp infrastructure to address concerns about appropriation or disingenuous use of Indigenous names and symbols. The survey was shared online via Qualtrics software. It was administered anonymously pursuant to a research ethics certificate issued by the University of Guelph. It requested answers on Likert scales and in open-ended and narrative formats.

The study has limitations. First, the survey response rate was less than ten percent with only seventy-five camp directors responding. Second, the survey was designed to gain general insights into the perceptions of camp directors on topics of Indigenous cultural appropriation and Indigenous-inspired programming. We did not conduct interviews, nor did we visit any camps. Third, the survey was addressed exclusively to camp directors and only one person per camp was asked to fill it out. Survey respondents do not include counsellors, the staff who are likely responsible for running camp programs, or camp alumni who tell us anecdotally that they are reluctant to see camp traditions change. Neither campers nor their parents were surveyed. Fourth, the survey does include the perspective of Indigenous peoples. Any perceived benefits of the Indigenous-inspired programming described in this research may not hold weight so long as Indigenous peoples feel as though their cultures do not belong in a camp setting.

Incorporating Indigenous Perspectives and Programming

Survey respondents expressed a high level of familiarity with Indigenous issues in Canada or locally to their camp. Ninety-two percent of the survey respondents stated that they were familiar with local and contemporary Indigenous issues. Ninety-eight percent stated that they were aware of the Indigenous issues that were present on a national scale. Eighty-two percent knew which Indigenous territory their camp resided on. These are hopeful results which suggest that most directors are aware of present-day Indigenous issues.

Thirty-seven percent of camp directors said they had Indigenous-inspired programming at their camp in the past and did not use it presently. Forty-five percent said they never had such programming. Eighteen percent continue to use this kind of programming. Breaking that number down, directors described various Indigenous-inspired activities run at camp. And some mentioned that Indigenous peoples are involved in their camp's life through consultations and by having Indigenous people run some programs. These involvements include assisting with staff training in smudging, cedar brushing, storytelling, crafting, and leading hikes. Directors also invited Indigenous leaders to pilot activities and conduct land acknowledgements. Indigenous people were invited as guest speakers on topics of local history, land relations, and environmental sustainability. Other directors stated that they hosted Indigenous groups in the form of school trips or had specific weeks in which the camp was available for Indigenous leaders, counsellors, and campers.

Several camp directors acknowledged that their camp's name or camper group names (like cabin or tent groups), among other structural elements at the camp, were derived from Indigenous languages and cultures. Sometimes those names or languages were not local to the camp itself. Forty percent of the respondents recalled that this had once been the case for their camp and twenty-three percent stated they have not changed the names. Some directors explained that they were not able to change camp names (usually because of 'tradition'); however, they used the name to explain the history of the camp and its values. Other camp directors explained that while hosting Indigenous groups they

asked their guests about the use of cabin names of Indigenous origin. In our results, Indigenous groups are said to have liked how a camp used Indigenous cabin names as an educational opportunity. Still, we expect that opinions about the educational value of Indigenous names in use at camps varies by camp and by Indigenous peoples and communities. For this reason, it is essential for each camp to have the conversation with their local Indigenous leaders.

When asked if camps had ongoing relationships with Indigenous communities, leaders, or people, sixty-six percent of directors responded that they did. Such relationships are held with partner organizations, previous campers (youth and counsellors), Elders, board members, and personal friends. These directors often described the relationships to be mutually beneficial. For example, when camps hosted Indigenous groups at camp, they often ran cultural teachings or traditions and allowed non-Indigenous staff and directors to join in and learn. Moreover, the teachings presented by the Indigenous visitors were described as transferable to the activities at camp. Directors felt that camps gained from forming connections with Indigenous peoples who could then be consulted when they wanted to design new camp programs, clarify the history of the land on which their camp resided, educate staff members, and receive assistance in creating land acknowledgments. In turn, some of the opportunities Indigenous peoples may have experienced from these relationships include a space to host retreats and conduct cultural activities. Camps offered Indigenous groups places to conduct healing and reconciliation programs, serve as vendors, and to receive funding or bursaries to send Indigenous kids to camp. We note that these opportunities to incorporate Indigenous perspectives at camp are described by the camp directors and not Indigenous participants.

Perceived Benefits of Indigenous Programming

Eighty-eight percent of camp directors surveyed stated that it was beneficial to them and their camp to engage with Indigenous peoples and communities in proximity to their camps (Table 1). They indicated that Indigenous-inspired programming increased camper understanding of the history and heritage of the land on which the camp resided and helped campers understand the motives of camp founders. Benefits also included an appreciation for the natural world, and an acknowledgement of one's own inherited racial, class-based, and cultural privileges. Importantly, camp directors believe Indigenous-inspired programming teaches children to develop both an understanding and a level of respect for diversity in society. Camps help develop a child's moral character with regards to class, race, and gender. A better understanding of diversity can lead to more respectful interactions, and potentially better relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. This type of education is especially unique, in that the children do not normally have access to this type of first-hand learning. Camp directors can create a safe place that encourages questions and promotes understanding (also Fine and McIlwraith et al 2018). Altogether, these finds are consistent with several generations of camping research and suggest that insidious motivations for including Indigenous-inspired programming have not shifted over recent decades (e.g. Wall, 2005; Dunlop, 1998).

Directors also asserted that Indigenous-inspired programming in outdoor, educational settings can be connected to reconciliation between settlers and Indigenous peoples (also Arellano et al, 2019). Those who included this as a perceived benefit stated, however, that this would only be the case if the programming was designed and executed with the intentional support of new or renewed relationships. This involves having the approval of Indigenous communities or having Indigenous peoples create and present the programs themselves. Directors also observed that this kind of programming can encourage Indigenous youth and Elders to practice their own cultures. Directors asserted that using Indigenous programming at camps empowers Indigenous peoples through sharing with campers. Increased pride

Benefits	Challenges
• Campers receive insightful teachings about local lands and histories • Greater camper appreciation for the natural world • Increased camper awareness of their privileges related to race and class as well as cultural diversity • Opportunities for Indigenous groups to use camp properties, sell services • Opportunities for camps to engage in reconciliation with local Indigenous communities	• Hard to build relationship with Indigenous communities • Indigenous peoples mistrust camps • Unclear to camps what constitutes cultural appropriation • Lack of support to change camp traditions from campers, parents, alumni

Table 1: Perceptions of Camp Directors about the benefits and challenges of Indigenous-inspired programming.

follows. Further research with Indigenous peoples is needed, however, to confirm whether Indigenous teachers and mentors see this value in the same way. Indeed, this observation may say more about how the camp directors see themselves—doing a favour of sorts—than how Indigenous peoples might see their own involvement in camping.

Challenges of Indigenous Programming

Seventy-one percent of directors observed challenges around incorporating Indigenous-inspired programming at their camps (Table 1). The most common challenge camp directors described was related to building relationships with Indigenous peoples as well as the difficulty of finding individuals who are both knowledgeable and interested in engaging with camps. A second challenge identified was how to overcome the mistrust of Indigenous peoples. Some directors described that misunderstandings existed between camps and local Indigenous communities and that Indigenous people would often question the intentions of the camp in implementing such types of programming. Many directors understood that Indigenous people lacked trust given the history of maltreatment, appropriation, and racism they have experienced. Additional challenges included scheduling difficulties, not being located close to an Indigenous community, maintaining relationships, and a lack of time and money. To be sure, these limitations are associated with directors and the camps, not Indigenous peoples.

The largest barrier to Indigenous-inspired programming perceived by directors is the initiation of a partnership. Directors noted that finding Knowledge Keepers who were willing to be involved in the development of programs at camp was hard. This barrier is deeply rooted in history, where Indigenous peoples lack trust towards camps and their employees, given a long history of poor behaviour. The intentions of camp directors are often questioned: will the programs be implemented as meaningful education or strictly for entertainment purposes? Will the program be delivered factually and accurately every single time? Will the directors be held accountable to meet the conditions spelled out by the Indigenous communities; can they be trusted to keep their word? From the perspective of the camps, allocating funds to this work and making time for it, remains central to a barrier that may be self-imposed.

We are gratified that camp directors recognize the legacies of mistrust due to appropriation; we remain cognizant of the fact that it is the responsibility of camps and their staff to do better and demonstrate trustworthiness. And

we accept that Indigenous people may simply not want anything to do with camps.

Discussion

The potential benefits of Indigenous-inspired programming present a promising avenue for reconciliation between Indigenous and settler peoples. The survey results suggest that camp professionals are both interested in addressing the truths of camping's history and reconciling concerns about appropriation and mimicry. Indeed, respondents say, Indigenous-inspired programming is worthy of consideration for implementation at camp and it can be helpful to broader societal and social justice goals. Christine Luckasavitch, who is Algonquin Anishinaabekwe, an archaeologist, and a researcher concurs:

> There is deep value and pride in [camp] tradition. However, there may come a time when traditions must be modified, particularly if those traditions are culturally inappropriate or offensive. The concept of promoting an understanding and appreciation for ecology, woodland, and so on that is based on Indigenous knowledge is fantastic, but it does not require cultural appropriation (Luckasavitch, 2018, p. 14).

For Luckasavitch, the respectful inclusion of Indigenous knowledges by camps in their programming requires consultation with Indigenous peoples. But such work can "help protect the land so that our future generations can continue to enjoy these places as we have for so many generations. Perhaps they will be able to enjoy the land together" (Luckasavitch 2018, p. 15). It is a hopeful message. Further, the Calls to Action of the Truth and Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Final Report provide a framework for uniting camp programming and reconciliation. The Calls to Action demand that the Canadian federal government fund "community-based youth organizations to deliver programs on reconciliation and establish a national network to share information and best practices" (TRC, 2015; Call to Action #66). Camps fit here, in this call.

The survey was exclusive to camp directors and it did not include the perspective of Indigenous peoples. It is possible that Indigenous-inspired programming may only help settlers achieve their reconciliation goals through performance without properly addressing the truths of camp histories. It risks leaving out Indigenous perspectives altogether. The concerns about cultural appropriation of Indigenous observers like Robert Jago become more prescient if reconciliation is, indeed, a goal for camps. Compellingly, Jago writes that cultural appropriation can "kill ideas, strip them of us and feed them back to us—the people who know them best—as acultural pablum" (Jago, 2017). Jago's words are a damning indictment of those who think that non-Indigenous camps conducting Indigenous ceremonies are one way for Indigenous peoples to assert their presence in a new relationship with settlers! And while the benefits may be notable, if Indigenous communities decide that their cultures do not belong at children's camps (see Gignac, 2015; McMahon, 2018), then no asserted benefits outweigh that position.

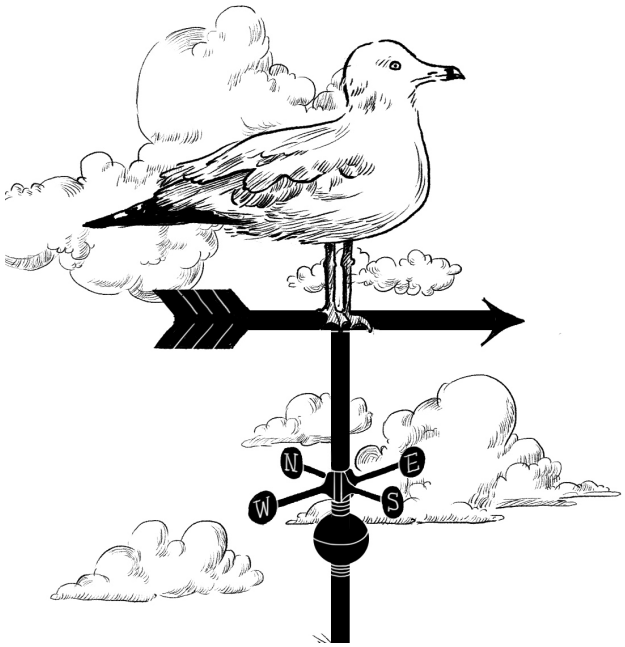
This survey work told us that some camp directors are weighing the benefits and risks of maintaining or implementing Indigenous-inspired programming that is attentive to accuracy and tribal authenticity. They also told us that they have practical concerns around growth, financial stability, and success of their camp as a business. Further, they feel that camps should establish strong and meaningful connections with Indigenous communities but without losing oversight of their programs. Camp parents create some of the challenges. Camps rely on parents to enroll their children and, in turn, to keep camps operating. Our survey suggests that camp parents sometimes dislike changes to camp programs. Indeed, upholding parental approval is key to running a financially successful and viable camp, year after year.

Further, camp directors indicated that they need assistance to develop programs differently. Some indicated that a blueprint for best practices from the CCA (or the provincial associations) would be helpful. Some directors want more anti-oppression training,

audits, and cultural sensitivity training. This kind of training could provide more clarity as to what the definition of appropriation is and might enhance a director's ability to identify inappropriate programming at their camp. Indeed, sixty-one percent said they felt "just ok" in their ability to audit their camp, where twenty-two percent said they were well-qualified, and seventeen percent stated they were under-qualified to do so. While it could be challenging to make training mandatory, it may be possible if it were part of the provincially mandated standards that camps must meet to receive accreditation. It is not always clear however, who is available to offer these services to camps.

This research indicates that a small and committed group of camping professionals recognizes that poor and culturally insensitive behaviours continue in the camping industry and that change is necessary to make camp more socially responsible. Anecdotal evidence from presentations on this topic by the authors at camp conferences suggests that camp staff members are also concerned about these issues and are motivated to make changes at their camps. We remain concerned about the low response rate to our survey research despite a national platform. Still, a group of camp directors has, by way of the survey, now called for the CCA to acknowledge their camps' involvement in the misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples. A statement in response should acknowledge the negative consequences of fictional representations of Indigenous peoples through camp programs. It should identify the roles that camps can play in educating camp staff, campers, alumni, and parents. In the words of one participating director, "this is reconciliation, not a negotiation."

The camping industry must build upon the passions of energetic people who are rethinking how camps represent Indigenous peoples and utilize their traditions. Amanda Shore reminds us that camp staff need to work actively to avoid an "amnesia" that can often follow in the wake of program eliminations. This demands the inclusion of an honest interpretation of camp traditions and practices as they relate to Indigenous



principles, and "allow Indigeneity to be re-imagined through partnerships with Indigenous educators" (Shore, 2015, p. 27). Any such work must ensure that change is not followed by silence (also Embury, 2009; Korteweg and Root, 2016; Korteweg and Russell, 2012). By educating camp staff and youth about these issues, and making changes consciously, we strive for extended exposure of young Canadians to settler actions in Canada. Building new relationships and decolonizing the camping industry is hard, uncomfortable work. But after fifty years of calling for cultural appropriation to be addressed within camping, changes must happen now.

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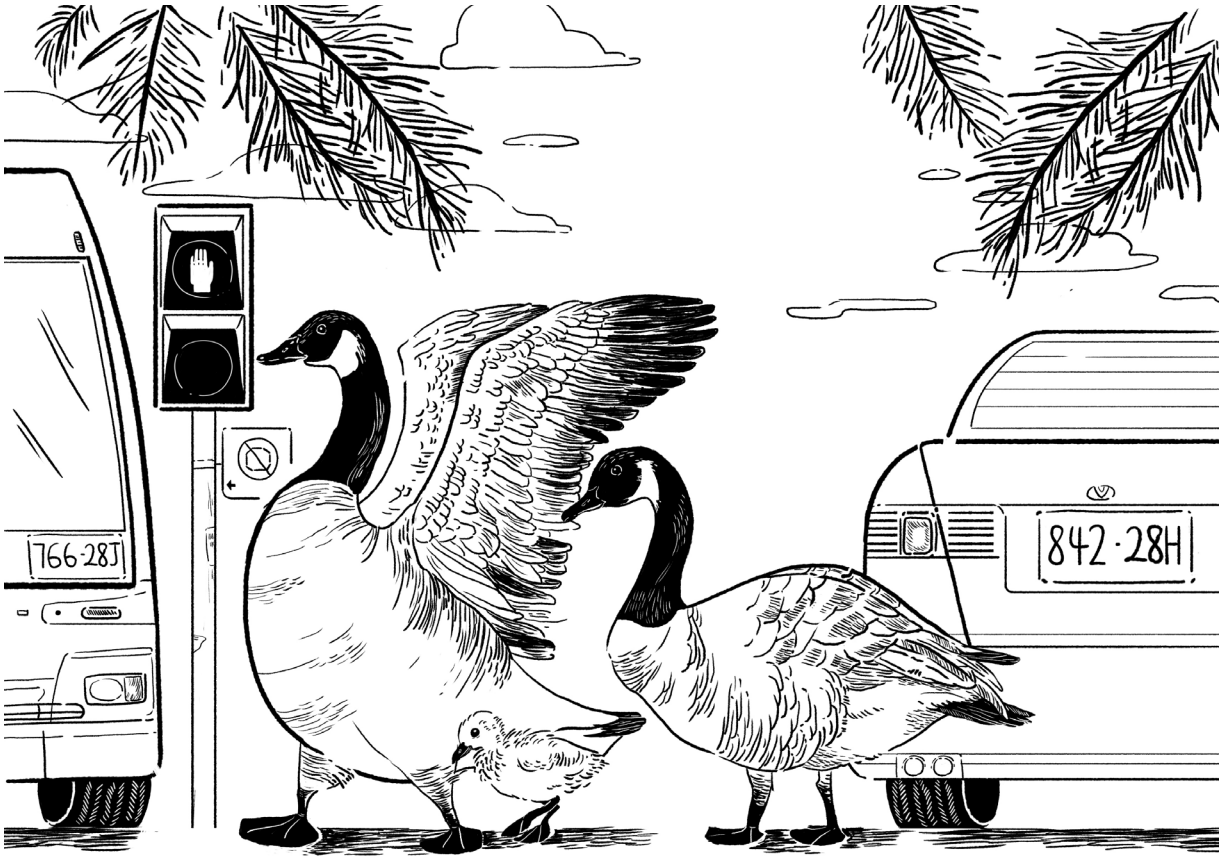

A Review of Social Outcomes for Youth in Camp-Based Settings

By Josh Kattsir and Kyle A. Rich

Introduction

Attending summer camp is a popular experience for Canadian youth. In Ontario alone, camps are attended by more than 500 000 children each year (Mosleh, 2021). Many Canadian teenagers also find their first employment at camps. Camp, and particularly residential camps (those where campers attend overnight, often for one or more weeks) are fairly unique environments—there are not many other times where children and youths are with the same group of people in semi-isolation for an extended length of time. As such, camps are also considered as context for psycho-social development. For example, the Ontario Camps Association (n.d., para. 1) suggests that,

> Camp is an important life-changing experience for youths, and truly a Canadian tradition. In a safe and positive environment, not only do kids get to play and have fun, they are provided enriching opportunities to develop life skills like resilience, responsibility, independence, and self-confidence.

In a directed readings course conducted in the winter of 2021, we sought to identify what social outcomes these summer camps had on attending youths. We did so through a review of the literature. While not systematic in nature, our review provides a snapshot of the current literature pertaining to the social outcomes for youths in camp settings. In this article, we review the findings and suggest implications for academics and practitioners.

Search Techniques

Several techniques were used to search for articles in this review. The search was conducted using the Brock University library as well as Google Scholar. We first searched for key terms related to camps including combinations of: camp, social, outcomes, youths, adolescents, and positive youth development. Search filters were set to include articles from peer-reviewed journals published in the last 10 years. We then looked through the abstracts of many results to identify which would be related to social outcomes and youths camp settings. Following an initial scan of these articles, we integrated other search terms which were common in the literature, such as: medical specialty camps, therapeutic youths camp, cancer camp, and residential inclusion camp. Between these searches, about 20 articles were identified for inclusion.

Following that, we used two additional strategies to find articles. First, using the same criteria, we used the forward citation function on Google Scholar to search for all of the articles that cited the previously identified articles. Some of these were relevant and therefore included in the review. Second, we also looked through the reference list of these initial articles and incorporated applicable ones into

the review, this time within a 15-year window (i.e., published since 2006). This was especially helpful for finding more influential and larger studies that we had not yet identified. Between these methods, we found the remaining articles used in this review. Ultimately, 36 articles were included.

All articles were read in their entirety by the first author and detailed notes were recorded in the form of an annotated bibliography. Throughout the process, the two authors met regularly to discuss themes in the articles related to methodology, theoretical orientations/approaches, research contexts, as well as the findings that were reported. Through this process, we discussed the research being reviewed and how they could be organized and represented. The results of our review are provided below.

Article Themes and Review

There are two broad categories the research reviewed can be divided into: typical camps (*n*=16) and camps for youths with disabilities, chronic illnesses, or other specific conditions (*n*=20). There were articles which incorporated (one or several) perspectives of campers, counselor/staff perspectives, and parents. Of the 16 studies conducted in typical camp settings, most articles either explored youth development outcomes or specific elements of camps and the camp experience (e.g., structured vs unstructured time). The majority of studies in this area focused on campers' perspectives, with several studies also gauging parent or staff perspectives and three studies only gauging counselor or parent outlooks. The other 20 articles focused on camps for youths with various abilities or conditions. Considering these themes, the articles will be reviewed in six areas: (1) outcomes youths derive from typical camps; (2) outcomes youths with cancer derive from pediatric oncology camps; (3) outcomes youths glean from camps designed for participants with specific conditions; (4) parent and counselor perspectives of camps; and (5) specific elements of camp associated with growth. Several of the articles had multiple research questions and therefore fit into more than one of these themes. In what follows, we review the themes that emerged in each of these five areas.

Outcomes of Typical Camps

The primary aim of this review was to explore social outcomes, so it was not surprising that the most prevalent theoretical perspective in the articles reviewed was a developmental one. Social development was the most prevalent outcome reported. Youth reported feeling more confident with their social/interpersonal skills following residential camp programs seven days or longer (Sibthorp et al., 2010; Thurber et al., 2007). Camp was reported to strengthen teamwork and leadership abilities (Sibthrop et al., 2020; Povilaitis & Tamminen, 2017). Relationship skills, friendship, independence, compassion, and empathy were also found to be stronger post-camp (Sibthrop et al., 2020). Regardless of whether youths previously attended camp, they expressed more life satisfaction and perceived competence following one residential camp program (Tsitskari & Kouli, 2010). Youth became more confident and had more self-esteem through participating in residential camps (Seal & Seal, 2011; Schelbe et al., 2018; Povilaitis & Tamminen, 2017).

Other reported outcomes included intrinsic motivation (Seal & Seal, 2011; Tsitskari & Kouli, 2010), confidence in problem solving abilities (Sibthorp et al., 2010; Thurber et al., 2007), and a more positive self-image (Thurber et al., 2007). Youth reported leaving camps holding more positive values (Thurber et al., 2007). Physical skills were honed (Thurber et al., 2007; Bean et al., 2016), and youths reported building overall character (Allen et al., 2011). After participating in a targeted camp program, children ate healthier, exercised a little more, and better identified healthy food (Seal & Seal, 2011). The general environment of leisure-

time away from phones was found to be peaceful, enable being present (defined as living in the moment) (Sibthorp et al., 2020), and overwhelmingly appreciated by surveyed campers (Povilaitis, 2019); youths were able to be themselves in safe spaces and try new things (Povilaitis et al., 2019; Schelbe et al., 2018). All studies reviewed in this area were published after 2006 so the results are recent. However, one thorough literature review by Bialeschki and colleagues (2007) explored many camp studies published prior to 2007, which covers where this review did not explore. Every single study reviewed by Bialeschki and colleagues (2007) found evidence of social outcomes, specifically demonstrating that camp helps with skill-building and social relationship formation. These camps also fostered a sense of belonging, maturation, and were generally seen as very enjoyable (Bialeschki et al., 2007). Residential camps appear to be effective environments for youths to glean various developmental outcomes.

Outcomes of Pediatric Oncology Camps

Enough pediatric oncology camps—programs for youths with cancer—were studied to isolate specific outcomes. A longitudinal study found a weekend camp led to lasting friendships, connections, a more positive outlook on life, perceived social support, and youths with cancer as well as their families were better able to relax (Bashore & Bender, 2017). Another pediatric oncology camp led to sociability, feelings of freedom, confidence, and gratitude (Gillard & Watts, 2013). A multisite evaluation of 2000 youths from 19 camps found that many campers developed socially and left camp with a higher self-esteem — over 95% of these campers wished to return to camp the following year (Wu et al., 2016). One study sampling four pediatric oncology camps found that through camp, youths grew a desire to meet new people, make new friends; enjoyed spending time with friends more; became a greater friend to people in their company, and; learned to get along better with others in group environments (Martiniuk et al., 2014). Specific to camps for youths with cancer, campers felt that the program taught them to better balance the difficulties of cancer with enjoying childhood, and they were able to offset feelings of anxiety, depression, and isolation (Gillard & Watts, 2013). Neville and colleagues (2019) reviewed 18 studies on pediatric oncology camps; the strongest results were improved social health, a sense of normalcy, better attitude, and improved quality of life. Many of these outcomes overlap with those found in research on typical and specialized camp programs.

Outcomes of Specialty Camps Designed for Youth with Specific Conditions

In this section, we review a broad scope of camp programs designed for youth with specific conditions. This includes programs for youths with chronic and severe conditions, programs for youths with mental health conditions, and youths who otherwise may struggle socially (such as those living in families affected by Huntington's disease). This is a broad scope, explored under the presumption that youths in these situations may require specific types of support in different social contexts. The majority of articles studying youths with chronic conditions and disabilities explored medical specialty camps, although several looked at separated camps that were broad or used an inclusive camp design. While the most prevalent outcomes from typical camps were social, outcomes from specialty camps were primarily related to feelings of inclusion and belonging. For example, Gillard and Allsop (2016) found adolescents with serious conditions who attended a residential camp program felt a sense of belonging, enjoyment, personal growth like improved confidence, a judgment-free zone to be themselves, and overall like they escaped and were taking a break from the stresses of their normal lives. Wozencroft and colleagues (2019) found that campers felt they were part of a 'family,' saw character growth such as independence and inner peace, and

for many it was the first place they made genuine friends. Many youths reported developing relationships through camp (Gillard & Allsop, 2016; Beesley et al., 2018), and in some cases lasting friendships and connections (Bashore & Bender, 2017). Campers felt accepted socially (McGregor et al., 2017), a sense of community (Bultas et al., 2015; Wozencroft et al., 2019), and truly included (Bultas et al., 2015) — feelings many were lacking in regular life (Wozencroft et al., 2019). Perhaps due to this increased sociability, campers felt more confident after spending time at medical specialty camps (Meltzer et al., 2018; Wozencroft et al., 2019; Gillard & Watts, 2013; Bultas et al., 2015). Youths left camp with a more positive outlook on life (Bashore & Bender, 2017; Bultas et al., 2015). Camp was seen as a place to experience the social interactions many youths with various abilities were missing in their day-to-day experiences (Meltzer et al., 2018; Bultas et al., 2015), and one seven-year study sampling over 1000 campers found that one year of camp led to vastly improved social skills — development mostly retained year-to-year (Flynn et al., 2019). Disease-specific knowledge was also found to improve and be retained (Beesley et al., 2018; Nicholas et al., 2016; Kavanaugh et al., 2017). Youth learned new coping strategies (Nicholas et al., 2016), had more stable moods (Meltzer et al., 2018), and felt less shy, less isolated, more supported, and more resilient (Kavanaugh et al., 2017). Overall, the research suggests camps for youths with specific conditions derive social development, feelings of belonging and inclusion, disease-specific knowledge, and other positive developmental outcomes from camp experiences.

Parent and Counselor Perspectives of Camps

Most of the studies in this review gauged outcomes from the child's perspective, but several surveyed how counselors or parents perceived a camp's impact on youths. Counselors felt the primary outcomes of camp were confidence, self-esteem, teamwork, leadership, and positive relationship formation, that youths could try new activities in a safe space, and that they could get outside of their comfort zone (Povilaitis & Tamminen, 2017; Schelbe et al., 2018). Parents observed growth in confidence, independence, social skills, positive self-image, positive values, and feelings of belonging (Thurber et al., 2007; Bultas et al., 2015). Parents participating in one longitudinal multicamp study felt that their children most developed leadership skills, decision making abilities, a sense of adventure, independence, social comfort, and peer relationships (Henderson et al., 2007). These reported outcomes align with youths' perspectives in the same camps.

Specific Elements of Camp Associated with Social Outcomes

The literature strongly suggested that camps are beneficial to youth, and some researchers have tried to isolate specific aspects or components of camp programs that impact this positive youth development. The enclosed setting with full accommodations—and overall separation from regular life—was found to be helpful (Gillard & Watts, 2013; Sibthorp et al., 2010; Garst et al., 2011; Sibthorp et al., 2020). The balance between order and autonomy—through unstructured and structured time—was also identified as important (Halsall et al., 2016; Garst et al., 2011; Sibthorp et al., 2010). Other aspects examined were related to the youths' interactions with other people at camp (Sibthorp et al., 2020), such as through supportive and constructive environments, positive relationships with leaders and peers, and viewing staff as role models (Sibthorp et al., 2010; Sibthorp et al., 2020; Povilaitis & Tamminen, 2017). Halsall and colleagues (2016) identified good counselors as understanding, compassionate, and adaptable. However, much of the research on camp elements is debated; a large multisite study by Henderson and colleagues (2007) found that many elements of camp did not affect camp outcomes, including session length, day or residential camp structure,

camper fees, budget size, staff and training, supportive relationships, nor developmental frameworks.

Looking Ahead: Implications for Practice and Future Research Needed

Camps and specifically residential camps are relatively unique social environments. Modern society is very connected through globalisation, industry, and technology, and camp offers an increasingly-rare enclosed social setting wherein youths generally interact with the same people—and only those people—for days at a time. Camps have been associated with positive outcomes, many of which are social. Practitioners need to be aware of how they can facilitate environments for these social experiences to occur. As summarized in the theme-by-theme review, the strongest benefits associated with attending camp programs for youths with chronic conditions and disabilities are related to feelings of inclusion and belonging. These benefits are also associated with other camps, but these programs are places where youths with various abilities and conditions can feel accepted. In terms of typical camps, parents most valued increasing self-esteem, reinforcing values, trying new things, a break from technology, and learning to be more independent (McCole et al., 2019). Camp is therefore a place children learn to be confident in themselves and their actions. When designing programs, directors, programmers, and counselors should ensure their camp's identity is one of acceptance and support. Although much effort is often expended on logistics of programming, the literature suggests that the social environment of camp (rather than the type of programming) is a key element in facilitating outcomes for youths. As a result, practitioners should not only consider how their program seeks to develop these outcomes for youth, but also how they communicate these processes and outcomes to various stakeholders (e.g., other programmers, parents, etc.) engaged in the process.

Several elements of camp programs have been identified as beneficial—regardless of the type of camp—as discussed in the review above. Camp directors should ensure days blend in structured and unstructured time. In all types of camps, children seem to benefit from having both. Structured time provides order and stability, and unstructured time fosters feelings of autonomy and provides opportunities for creativity and leadership. However, structured time should be adaptable, as youths's enjoyment can be impacted with overly rigid programming — camp should be a fun place. Camps should generally minimize personal electronics such as cell phones. Benefits of camp are linked with the enclosed setting, being separate from society, and disconnecting with their friends virtually. Povilaitis (2019) found that youths were able to see the benefits of being away from technology for themselves and appreciated the break. Studies like the one by Henderson and colleagues (2007) have examined many individual elements of camps, such as session length and staff and training, and have yet to show that they have any direct effect on outcomes for youths. While further research should be done, this indicates that the overall camp environment is beneficial. Although research has struggled to isolate the effect on outcomes that any specific element of camp programming has on youth outcomes, ensuring that the comprehensive camp environment contains all individual elements that contribute towards the overall camp experience may help youths get the most out of their time at camp.

In 2006, the American Camps Association conducted a large, national study of camps across the United States. Several studies reviewed in this project used data from that study. A lot has changed in 15 years, and a similar study conducted today in order to update these data would be beneficial. Future researchers should conduct a national camp study in Canada as well — there are hundreds of residential and day Canadian camps for youths across all 13 provinces and territories. Generally, camp literature lacks longitudinal research. This

is an area that researchers should explore, looking at whether outcomes from camp are retained for months or years. It may be beneficial to conduct a long-term study on whether youths who attend camp perform better in school, controlling for factors such as demographics and interests. Relatedly, as indicated in the passage in our introduction, camp appears to be linked to ideas of Canadianness or nationalism. Despite this assumption, little research has taken a broader sociological approach to examine the role of camp in the construction of Canadianness or other broader social processes.

There is a bastion of research on specialty camps for youths with specific conditions. The two main models of these programs are inclusive (a program integrated in a typical camp) and separated (D'Eloia & Price, 2016). Camps for youths with special needs have increasingly been trending towards inclusive models and the strongest positive outcomes derived from camp by these youths are related to inclusion and belonging. D'Eloia and Price (2016) highlighted a lack of understanding regarding inclusive camp models, where separated camps are well-researched. Future research should explore the efficacy of inclusive camp models specifically, to understand how they work and the best ways to design programming to maximize these experiences of all youths in attendance.

Conclusion

In this article, we provided a review of current literature pertaining to social outcomes of youth camp programs. We explored themes related to camp and program structure, and their relationship to reported outcomes of these programs for youths. Our findings highlight several implications for researchers and practitioners working in camp-based settings. It is our hope that this article is informative and provides a platform for discussion and reflection on how we can design and improve camp programming for youths.

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Outdoor Gear as Pedagogy: Or Simon Says Strip!

By Julie Rosenthal

Consider the packing list of equipment and apparel from your most recent outdoor excursion. The list probably included several items necessary to enjoy natural areas without leaving a significant impact on those areas. But what are the ecological and social impacts of such items during the rest of their "product life cycle"? From what materials were they made? How were they manufactured? How were the people treated who made them? What kind of transportation was necessary to get them to you? How easily and safely can they be disposed of once they are no longer functional?

Typical outdoor education experiences involve lessons and planning that adhere to "Leave No Trace" ethics, encouraging students to feel good that only footsteps remain as a result of their visits to natural areas. Indeed, most wilderness areas cannot sustain users who make shelters from evergreen boughs and campfires from collected wood. Turner (2002) states that, "The transition from the heavy-handed practices of woodcraft to the light-handed techniques of Leave No Trace can be read as a logical response to the tremendous growth in wilderness recreation during the twentieth century"(p. 138). Modern camping equipment such as camp stoves, tents, well-insulated sleeping bags and inflatable sleeping pads help reduce our direct impacts on the natural areas we visit. Turner adds, though, that in relying on modern equipment, wilderness recreators "divorce themselves from their actions as consumers outside wilderness" (p. 479). Leave No Trace practices do not account for the impacts that the equipment and apparel have on other locations away from our direct outdoor experiences. Turner's quote suggests that failing to examine impacts of the equipment and apparel used to engage in Leave No Trace practices leaves us blind to their broader connection to their effects on a global level. This is akin to Aldo Leopold's (1970) statement that "there are two spiritual dangers in not owning a farm. One is the danger of supposing that breakfast comes from the grocery, and the other that heat comes from the furnace" (p. 6). Teaching Leave No Trace practices without critically examining the impacts of the gear with which we engage in those practices exposes our students to a potential "spiritual danger" of assuming that the only impacts of the outdoor industry are the ones we can directly see.

In a thought-provoking article on architecture as pedagogy, David Orr wrote:

> "We've assumed, wrongly I think, that learning takes place in buildings but that none occurs as a result of how they are designed or by whom, how they are constructed and from what materials, how they fit their location, and how they operate and how well. My point is that academic architecture is a kind of crystallized pedagogy and that buildings have their own hidden curriculum that teaches as effectively as any course taught in them." (1993, p 226).

Orr points out the hypocrisy of teaching about environmental sustainability in buildings that are clearly not built using sustainable materials or instructing about democracy in classrooms that were designed without consulting the teachers and students who use them. The lesson taught by the architecture: the things we teach really don't matter in practice. Rather, in academia we compromise principles in the name of economics and efficiency.

I believe the same can be said for the outdoor equipment and apparel used for outdoor education experiences. What if we were to change Orr's quote a bit, substituting outdoor equipment and apparel for architecture?

Arguably, the hidden curriculum of the outdoor gear used when practicing Leave No Trace suggests that the impacts that we *don't see* aren't important. Are we really leaving

no trace? Or are we just not leaving visible traces where we use these items? What about the impacts elsewhere in the world associated with the extraction of raw materials, energy consumption, human labour, and waste from manufacturing processes, transportation, and, ultimately, disposal?

As outdoor educators we should not ignore the impact our outdoor equipment and apparel has on the natural world. Even natural fibres, such as cotton and wool have considerable environmental impacts. Table 1 highlights key impacts associated with common textiles used for outdoor apparel and equipment. Extremely low wages, long work weeks, minimal safety standards, child labour, and exposure to harmful substances are additional social impacts potentially associated with the textile industry (Montero Bressán, 2018) and may also apply to the manufacture of outdoor apparel and equipment.

While some of the materials clearly make our outdoor experiences more comfortable and sometimes more safe (e.g. waterproof tents and outer-layers in wet and cold situations) we should not overlook opportunities to raise our students' awareness about the *true costs* of the things we use to enjoy the outdoors. To do so, I created a game for my senior university-level students called *Simon Says Strip* (the name could be changed to be more appropriate for younger ages). To begin I ask the students to be prepared to spend some time outside (usually in moderately cool weather). In advance, I present my students with the quotes above by Aldo Leopold and David Orr (in its original version about architecture). I have them reflect on those two quotes as we head outside.

Outside, I ask the students if what they are wearing is typical of what they would wear

Material	**Commonly found in**	**Environmental Impacts**	**Environmental Benefits**	**Sources**
Polyester	Fleece, synthetic sleeping bag insulation, wicking base layers, water repellent outer layers	Requires high levels of energy in the production process. Production emits volatile organic compounds, acetaldehyde and dioxins, which are harmful to human health and the ozone layer. A catalyst used in polyethyleneterephthalate (PET) production is carcinogenic. Release microplastics when washed	Can be made from recycled plastics, such as beverage bottles. However recycled PET is considered to be lower quality than polyester made from raw materials.	Boustead, 2005 Chen & Burns, 2006; Carney Almroth, Åström, Roslund, Petersson, Johansson, et al. 2018; Muthu, 2014
Nylon	Water repellent outer layers, tents	Requires high levels of energy in the production process. Production creates nitrous oxide, a significant greenhouse gas and ozone depleting substance. Difficult to recycle. Burning produces toxic dioxin, nitrous oxide and hydrogen cyanide gases.		Muthu, 2014

Material	Commonly found in	Environmental Impacts	Environmental Benefits	Sources
Wool	Insulating base layers, socks, sweaters	Most Merino wool is produced in Australia – therefore requires long distance transportation of raw materials, mainly to China, and then finished materials to North America. Energy is required to produce fertilizers for feed, for transportation, and in the cleaning and manufacturing process. Livestock emit methane when digesting. As a greenhouse gas, the impact of methane is 25 times that of an equivalent amount of carbon dioxide. Methane and nitrous oxide are emitted from dung and urine. Eutrophication of water sources can occur from run-off of manure and/or the application of nitrogen-based fertilizers. Water use to clean and manufacture wool into finished products is relatively high. Some production systems result in overgrazing, which degrades pasture quality and can cause erosion.	Biodegradable, Overall energy use for wool is low in comparison to synthetic fibres. Recyclable Some colour variation is naturally occurring, potentially reducing need for dyes.	Henry, 2011
Cotton	T-shirts, casual pants, jeans	Cotton plants are very susceptible to damage from insects and fungi. Therefore production involves very high levels of pesticide use. Although cotton is grown on only 3% of farmland worldwide, it accounts for 25% of global pesticide application. Use of fertilizers contributes to eutrophication of water sources.	Biodegradable Some strains of cotton produce naturally occurring colours that can eliminate need for dye. Can be grown organically.	Shen, Worrell, & Patel, 2010

Material	Commonly found in	Environmental Impacts	Environmental Benefits	Sources
Down feathers	Insulating layer of sleeping bags, jackets, vests	Most down feathers are harvested from geese and ducks when slaughtered for meat. Some producers were accused of animal cruelty from mishandling live animals to harvest their feathers.	Biodegradable. Feathers from live fowl can be harvested sustainably by following careful handling procedures when the birds would naturally moult their feathers.	Kozák, Gara & Kawada, 2010
Dying	All textiles mentioned above	Requires water to disperse the dye materials through the batch of fibres. Natural fibres such as wool and cotton can be dyed at lower temperatures. Dying polyester is more successful at temperatures above 100 °C. Energy savings and reduced effluent can be achieved by using liposome-based and ultrasonic technology. Some types of dyes are carcinogenic and/or mutagenic posing human and ecological health concerns. Treatment of effluent is not completely able to remove colour and toxins of dyes. Product labels do not require disclosure of what chemicals nor what processes are used to dye fabrics.		Chequer, de Oliveira, Ferraz, Cardoso, Zanoni, & de Oliveira, 2013

Table 1. Environmental impacts of common textiles and processes used for outdoor apparel and equipment.

during an outdoor education experience during which they would practice Leave No Trace ethics. With everyone standing in a circle, away from strong winds, I explain that the students must remove an item of clothing if it fits the criteria that "Simon" says (at least one full layer of clothing should remain on top and bottom!). For example: "Simon says strip if you are wearing something that is not made of natural materials". Most students would be wearing a petroleum-based outer layer and would remove their jacket and put it in the middle of the circle. Conversely, Simon may allow a student to put on an item if it fits a positive criterion. For example: "Simon says put on something that is biodegradable". In advance, a few woolen sweaters, hats, scarves, or mittens could be

put in the pile so that students recognizing that the items are made of wool may choose to put one of them on.

"Simon" goes on to order the group to strip (or put on something) according to the following criteria (in no particular order):

Strip if something you are wearing:	**Put on something that:**
• was bought new instead of acquired second-hand • will likely be unusable within the next 3 years • cannot easily be repaired • required long distance transportation between the raw materials, manufacturing, and ultimately your home • was made where labour laws are unlikely to protect workers from harm or child exploitation • is likely to shed microplastic fibres when washed • was obviously coloured by dyes or bleaches	• was acquired second-hand • will likely still be useable for 5 or more years • can easily be repaired or repurposed into something useful • you know how to make or was made by someone you know • was made from local materials • is biodegradable • is naturally coloured

Before the group gets too cold or perilously close to their bottom-most layers, the game is ended and everyone puts their original clothes back on. I prompt the students to question whether they are really leaving no trace when spending time in the outdoors using their typical outdoor clothing? A discussion follows regarding how sustainable our outdoor apparel is and what choices we might have to reduce the impact of the items we use to enjoy the natural environment. Perspectives usually surface about insulating layers made of recycled plastic bottles or the need for waterproof outerwear for safety reasons, despite their petroleum-based origins. Usually the group resolves to choose among the more sustainable options when they are available, so long as those options don't compromise safety. At that point, I bring out a collection of hats, mitts, scarves, and sweaters that I knit from the hand-spun wool from the sheep that I raised on my farm. I ask the group to assess the sustainability of the items and whether they would be suitable to wear during an outdoor education experience. Although there are sometimes comments that the sweaters are a little bulky or heavy, the group usually agrees that the woolen options are much more sustainable[1] and might be worth the extra effort (or cost) to enjoy the environment without damaging it.

To follow up, I provide each student with a handful of washed wool and show them how to use a "drop spindle" made from a knitting needle and old CD to spin some yarn of their own. I walk them through the steps of drafting and twisting the wool into continuous strands of yarn that could be knit or woven. Those who are interested are given more wool to spin at home. Those who don't know how to knit may be motivated to learn from a friend and can end up making a headband or scarf of their own from local, natural materials, that are naturally coloured and biodegradable—a reminder that what we use to access the natural environment ought not have origins that are destructive to local or distant natural environments. Outdoor apparel with less overall impact is more in-line with a broader concept of Leave No Trace than the narrow focus on leaving no *apparent* trace in the locations in which we recreate.

Of course, I was fortunate to have my own farm, an ample supply of wool, and the skills to spin and create knitwear. For those outdoor educators without such attributes, consider contacting your local guild of spinners and weavers (you can find a listing

of guilds in Ontario through the Ontario Handweavers and Spinners' website: www.ohs.on.ca) and ask if they might be willing to teach you or to arrange a special workshop for your students.

Endnotes

1. Certainly I will not claim that the wool grown at my farm was completely impact-free. They were fed primarily grass and hay grown without chemical inputs. However, they did get supplementary, non-organic grain in their diet when pregnant and lactating, their pastures had been cleared of most trees for over 60 years, and the sheep themselves emit methane as part of their digestive process, which is a greenhouse gas with 25 times the impact of an equivalent amount of carbon dioxide.

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At the End, a Pomchi

By Chris Peters

After three days of travel into rain and wind and storm, anda ferry ride made long by the COVID enforced seating plan, we landed at last in Cape Breton. Glad just to be in Nova Scotia, to travel in this new, not Newfoundland place we decided to linger awhile.

The attendants at Battery Provincial Park told us that Point Michaud Beach offered two miles of sandy white beach that were just about perfect for swimming, surfing and fooling around in. The directions to the beach were hilariously unspecific: "Turn right after the sign for St. Peter's. Then drive for what feels like too long and two minutes later you'll be there."

My wife didn't waste any time once we arrived. Before I'd really stopped she was in her wetsuit and swimming through the ocean chop, which came in regular and just high enough for the SUP paddlers and surfers to get a moment's joy. I got the girls ready. Cooped up for too long in the car and ferry they both had energy to burn, which they were misdirecting upon each other. I hustled them across the parking lot to an authentically dilapidated, cheap, smelly surf shop fronted by some carefree twenty-somethings. I rented boogie boards and wetsuits and got the girls into the swell after the wasting energy of those waves.

We stayed in well past our rental limit, until I (the only one not in a wetsuit) could barely speak for shivering. But the girls were flush with the fun of catching waves. Even the marauding deerflies, which crowded down upon us every time the winds fell back, couldn't chase away their smiles.

And Belle?

Belle was a frantic mess at the shoreline. She yipped and yapped, running out into the surf after us before hightailing it back to the safety of the shoreline as the waves broke. But with everyone in the family in the water she didn't know where to direct her attention.

Belle garnered lots of looks, some laughs and more than a little judgement.

2021 will probably go down as the hottest year in recorded human history. The temperate rainforest of the North-West roasted and burned under a heat dome which cooked cherries on trees and killed a billion sea organisms *before* the forest fires began (Canon, 2021a). Fire—which has come to define the summer season (and sometimes fall, spring, and even winter too) both north and south of the equator—consumed great swathes of the Arctic, California, and Mediterranean (Canon, 2021b).

So, I could be forgiven for thinking the world has bigger issues to deal with then which dog breed is best on the trail.

I would, of course, be wrong. Clickbait media and social platforms ensure that the ideal trail dog is an issue very much up for debate and controversy.

I grew up with dogs, some of which make the cut as ideal trail dogs. There was Nipper, a collie cross. She lived up to her name and often drew blood herding us on up to bed. She could run like the wind, was a competent swimmer and was never so content as in the back of the family VW Westphalia or under the stern seat in the canoe, curled up and stewing in her fecund flatulence. Nipper loved the trail, but was forever getting herself into ridiculous hijinks. Like when she got lost at Fundy National Park and then stumbled out of the woods on the top of the waterfall we were all sitting below—and then, in her surprise, proceeded to fall in and down the waterfall.

She emerged safe and sound, wet and chastened.
After Nipper was Raif, a Border Collie. He saw the world through yellow-green

eyes that radiated an intelligence missing from most of my students until well after recess. Raif was an athletic wunderkind. He could run, swim, and jump. But it was his endurance and pain threshold that pushed him into another category altogether. Throwing rocks on a beach one day, I tossed one long and far only to watch with horror as Raif tracked it down on the fly and proceeded to catch it—breaking a tooth in the process. He came hustling back, bloody mouthed with the rock, his tail wagging and waited for me to throw it again.

Finally, there was Mya. A Malamute Husky mix. She was a rescue dog from Labrador. But that experience didn't change her sweet disposition. Except around food. A memory of being hungry seemed to dominate her worldview. She ate *everything*. I took her to the vet after she ate a bag of potatoes—which still doesn't seem possible. The vet kindly noted that she would be fine, and *Hey, you can feel the potatoes in her tummy!* Once she caught, and ate a hare on the trail. I devised outright lies if I stumbled upon other hikers as to the ownership of Mya. She happily walked beside me trailing blood into the snow. The hare's head—ears still pointing tall—in her jaws.

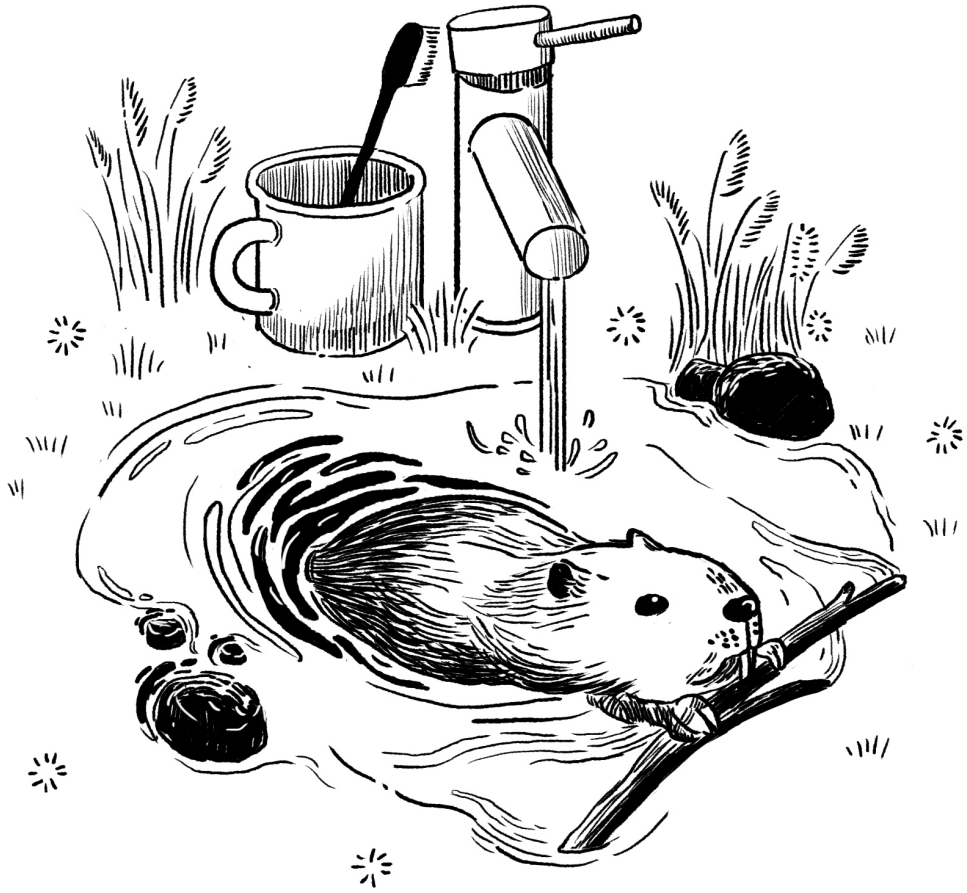
Capable dogs all. Athletic. Immune to pain. Survivors.

And Belle?

She's 7lbs of gristle and fur, a Pomeranian Chihuahua mix affectionately called a Pomchi.

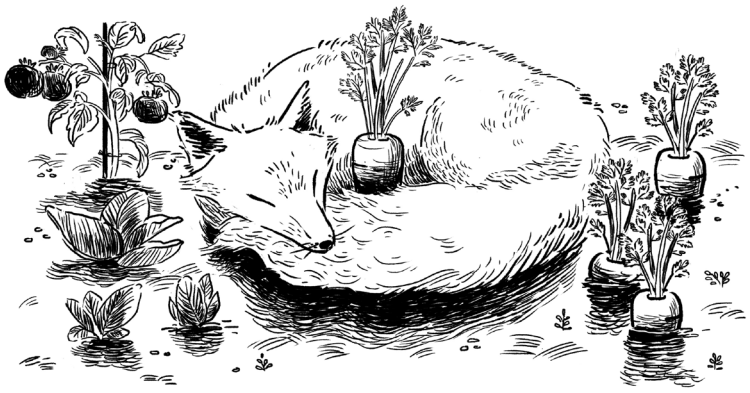
People come up to us all the time with comments, good and bad about Belle.

Hey, some people will say happily. *You need to keep those pooches moving! Good for you!*



Others are less enthused by smaller beasts. The best of these comments run something like, *Well, if your dog stops running at least you know you can pick her up*. Others draw the line right from the get go, along the lines of, *Ugh! I* hate *small, yappy dogs*. There is little recovery from these kinds of conversations or proclamations. I have learned not to try. Best to shrug and smile, move on.

My students refer to Belle as a rat-dog. She is more capable than this suggests. I have taken her on training runs of 10-15 kms with no ill-effects. You do, however, have to adopt a certain indifference to the stares and catcalls when you run the trails with a glorified squirrel at the end of the leash.



An abysmal swimmer, her front paws flailing to keep her head above water, Belle has no reservations about jumping into a canoe where she'll stand, front paws on the gunnels.

And she is an uncomplaining, sometimes fearless hiker. I have taken her on overnight forays. Even with winds whipping off the North Atlantic at 70-80km/h she will clamber to the cliff edge, the wind ruffling through her fur. She eats blueberries off the bush and laps water from streams and ponds. Like so many of us, Belle finds resonance in moving. And unlike other dogs, Belle knows her limitations. She is content to stay mostly by our side.

It is only when she cannot be beside us, when we are off playing in the surf at Point Michaud Beach or in a river or pond, or leave her behind that she grows frantic. Her bark escalates into a resonant yapping.

The *best* trail dog? No, not a Pomchi.

But is Belle a trail dog? Yes. Certainly.

Growing up, I only knew Colson Cove as a power plant. Combined with the oil refinery, two pulp and paper mills, and the brewery, Colson Cove added a certain *je ne sais quois* to the suspect air quality of Saint John, NB. If the wind was right you could follow a brown line cruising out of the emissions smokestack from Colson Cove and track it out across the bay.

I discovered, however, that in the lee of Colson Cove is the trailhead to one of the coolest hikes I have ever been on. An old rowing crewmate, his family, and mine hiked along the Split Rock Trail out to the Musquash Head Lighthouse. The trail was, after several days of rain, a slick quagmire of black mud and roots. There were ropes affixed around stout spruce trees that led down steep, gnarly descents to rocky beaches. The day was muggy, and dragonflies twitched audibly all around us.

At the namesake Split Rock—a fissure in the limestone—we inched down into the cool, shadowy crevasse of the Earth itself. There the world was changed, and the light glinted high above. My girls quieted themselves to whispers, as if silence was required in this chamber.

By the time we emerged after three hours on the trail at the Musquash Head Lighthouse we were all of us covered in mud, and I had helped perpetuate the line of several more New Brunswick mosquito families. But the season's first blueberries and the view out along the Bay of Fundy and along the crescent sweep of Black Beach was well worth the effort.

And Belle?

Belle had been the belle of the trail. She ran happily over the roots in that peculiar hitched run she has, her back legs dropped

down. She had a grin on her face, tongue lolling. Wherever we went, she was already there—whether at the top of a tall boulder perched on the shoreline or down into Split Rock itself. By the trail's end, Belle had done the whole thing at least twice, and was still going strong.

We have had Belle for four years. There are already a number of family stories around Belle that we share, again and again. A dog connects us with the world beyond our perception.

In *Being A Beast*, Charles Foster (2016) writes that, "dogs are supreme copiers and bonders. They mimic human actions as well as a sixteen-month-old child… read many human social cues and want to work with us." Obviously, they have been bred to do so. And yet, for all the human interference[1] they are not us. We are meant, "to live in an extended family of other species…" (Louv, 2020). Having a dog allows us to perceive the world differently. The notion being that once the door of other species' empathy is opened, it is hard to close. We want to know the world is greater than us alone.

Particularly in the anthropocene.

At this moment in time, when we find ourselves on the precipice of our climate future, where we seek as individuals to reconnect with nature and try to bridge our communities—in all their divergent, dynamic parts—I would argue that having a dog—*any* dog—can only be a good thing. They get you outside, they get you moving. And that joy they have at just being is so infectious.

At the close of Ben Moon's (2015) film homage to his dog *Denali* there is a nugget of canine wisdom.

"There was this really smart scientist guy who thought that people could learn a lot from dogs. He said that when someone you loves walks through the door, even if it happens five times a day, you should go totally insane with joy."

We can all of us do with more joy in this world!

Endnotes

[1] A Pomchi is a classic example of human interference. Pomeranians were originally working dogs in what is now Western Poland. They were bred by Queen Victoria to be small lap dogs. Chihuahuas can trace their ancestry back to the Nuhua of Mexico who kept them as 'living hot water bottles'.

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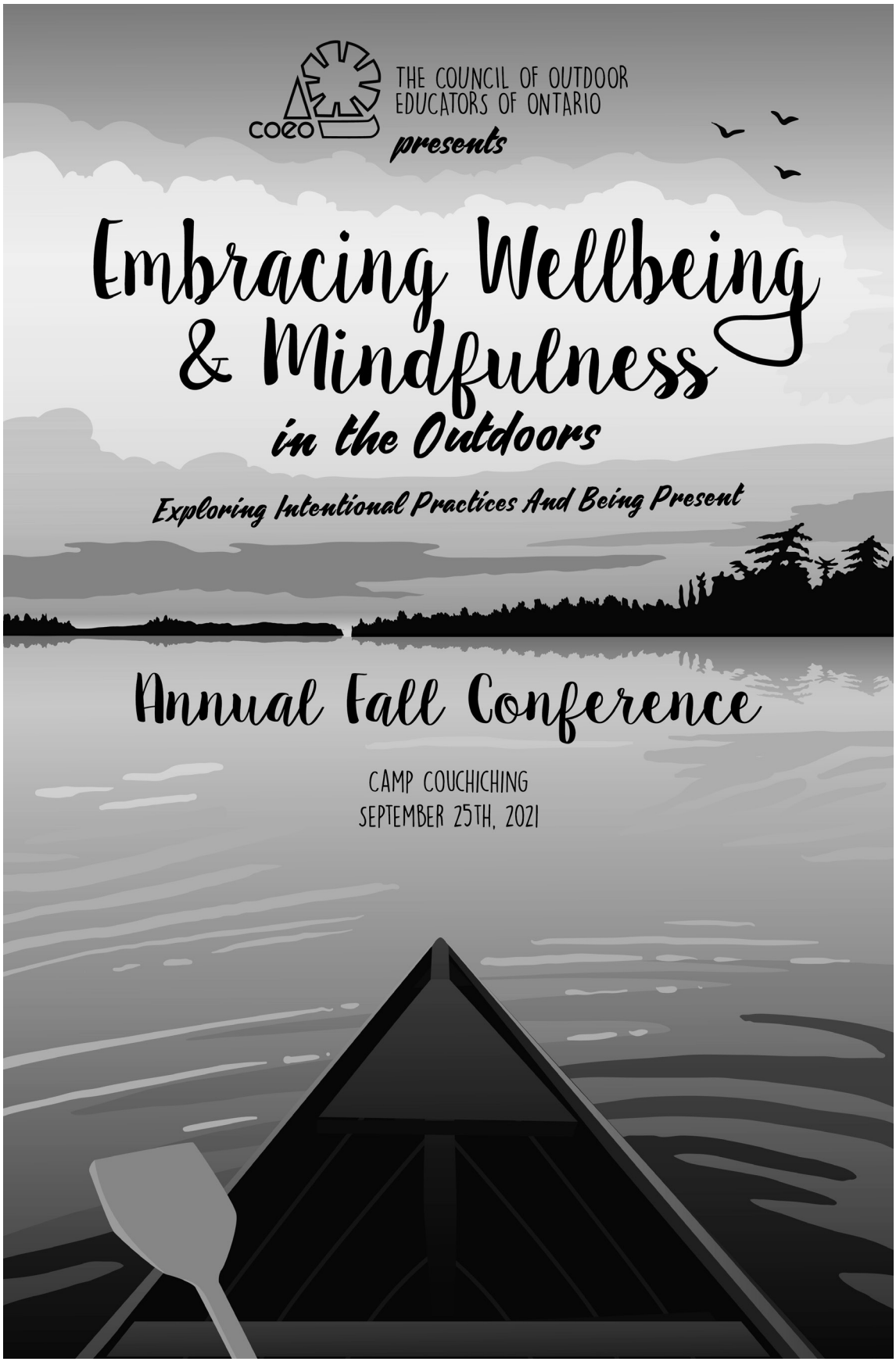
Chris Peters lives and works in St. John's, Newfoundland with his wife and daughters. He is committed to bringing his students outside—be it on the water, in the garden or on the trail.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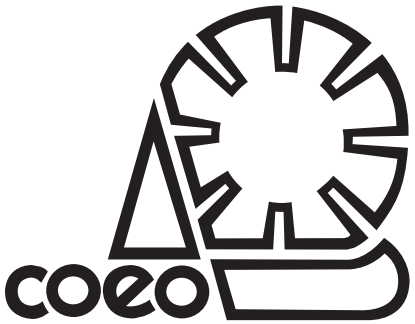

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