Recreation, Religion, and Reconciliation: Christian Camps for Indigenous Youth in Canada

By

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Abstract

In this master's thesis, which takes the format of an introductory chapter, publishable paper, and conclusion, I examined camp programs for Indigenous youth that are run by Christian organizations in Canada, with the goals of bringing attention to this phenomenon and provoking dialogue on possibilities (or impossibilities) of reconciliation in these contexts. I employed an exploratory case study methodology, using semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and internet-mediated document analysis, to address the following research questions: i) What are the key characteristics of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada?; ii) To what extent are Indigenous staff members or volunteers and Indigenous cultures included at summer camps for Indigenous youth that are run by Christian organizations in Canada?; and iii) What does or could reconciliation look like in the context of these camps?, and present results and conclusions based on the collected data. This work is particularly timely and significant in light of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) and broader work for decolonization and improved relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.

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Chapter 1

Summer Camps for Indigenous Youth run by Christian Organizations in Canada: An Introduction

Christian churches in what is now known as Canada have played key roles in colonialism by disrupting Indigenous peoples' cultural practices and ways of life through residential schools and missionary encounters, by facilitating disruptive actions of government actors in Indigenous communities, and by perpetuating settler colonial theologies, ideologies, and praxes (Deloria, 2003; Heinrichs, 2013; Martin & Nicholas, 2010). Christian "missions" and endeavors for religious conversion have been intertwined with political and military power in contexts around the world (Tinker, 1993), and Christian individuals and institutions have been implicated in acts of physical, mental, cultural, and spiritual violence against Indigenous peoples (Grant, 2016; Tinker, 1996). Nonetheless, many Indigenous people identify as Christians, participate in church-based activities, and embody a variety of expressions of Christianity (Bradford & Horton, 2016; Heinrichs, 2013; Smith, 2010; Treat, 1996; Twiss, 2015). Some argue there is still much to be done to decolonize Christian spaces and thought and engage in critical reflection on past and current colonial links (Heinrichs, 2013; Woodley, 2015). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) report (TRC, 2015) and numerous academic works (Czyzewski, 2011; de Costa & Clark, 2016; Younging, Dewar, & DeGagné, 2009) have called for reconciliation in various contexts, including churches and Christian organizations.

One such context in which critical reflection and exploration of work for reconciliation is imperative is Christian camp programs for Indigenous youth in Canada, as these are spaces in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous people with diverse spiritual backgrounds interact. This context has received no scholarly attention to date. Most Christian summer camps are aimed at religious instruction, character development, and/or religious conversion (Koerselman, 2013), and, as in the case of these programs for Indigenous youth, may be aimed at a particular target audience. In many ways, the camps discussed in this research resemble many other summer

camps, including activities such as canoeing, crafts, sports, archery, rock climbing, swimming, mountain biking, and games. These camps include day camps and overnight camps, and take place in Indigenous communities, at permanent camp properties, and in wilderness outtripping settings. Many of them include structured religious programming, with dedicated times for large-group Christian teaching (in the form of stories, drama presentations, puppet shows, music, videos, etc.) and small-group reflection and discussion. Others however have less explicit or delineated teaching times, and aim to share Christian values and teachings only through example or one-on-one interactions.

In this research, which takes the format of an introductory chapter, publishable paper, and conclusion, I examined camp programs for Indigenous youth that are run by Christian organizations in Canada, with the goals of bringing attention to this phenomenon and provoking dialogue on possibilities (or impossibilities) of reconciliation in these contexts. I aimed to answer three research questions: i) What are the key characteristics of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada?; ii) To what extent are Indigenous staff members or volunteers and Indigenous cultures included at summer camps for Indigenous youth that are run by Christian organizations in Canada?; and iii) What does or could reconciliation look like in the context of these camps?

This work is particularly timely and significant in light of the work of the TRC (2015) and broader work for decolonization and improved relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada, as these camps are run by largely non-Indigenous Christian organizations and focus on Indigenous youth participants. In order to provide context for my research, this introductory chapter includes a review of the pertinent literature related to settler colonialism, Christianity and colonialism, Christianity and culture, Indigenous peoples and

Christianity, reconciliation, the history of summer camps, summer camp and Christianity, and Indigenous peoples and summer camp. These topics function to situate my study, and provide key context for understanding its contribution. In this chapter I also introduce the publishable paper (Chapter Two of this thesis), and provide detailed explorations of the epistemology, theoretical framework, methodology, methods, and analysis I used. It is therefore the purpose of this chapter to set the scene more broadly for the more succinct publishable paper to follow.

Literature Review

Settler Colonialism

To begin situating this research, we must explore the concept of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism is a territorially-based enterprise, or project of displacing and replacing Indigenous peoples, representing the continuation of a historical reality, and manifests itself in social, legal, political, and scholarly realms (Freeman, 2010; Morgensen, 2011). According to Freeman (2010),

> settler colonialism involves the transfer of large numbers of permanent settlers from the metropole to the colony, where they claim the land and alter the territory's social structure, government, and economy, while maintaining their political allegiance to their homeland, which claims sovereignty over the new territory. (p. 2)

This phenomenon has both historical and present implications, with countries, including Canada, having their laws, government, and economy founded on it.

In the North American context, settler colonialism originated with the arrival and settlement of Europeans beginning in the 15th and 16th centuries, and the development of policies and laws that both facilitated and subsequently accompanied that process, such as the Doctrine of Discovery and papal bulls such as *Inter Caetera* (1493) and *Sublime Deus* (1537)

(Brew, 2014; Dickason & McNab, 2009; Tobin, 2014). Through these documents, the Pope declared lands not inhabited and used by Christian peoples procurable, and proclaimed Indigenous peoples to be less than human. The Doctrine of Discovery in particular was foundational, as it theoretically solidified a power hierarchy with male, Christian, European settlers at the top, and established justifications for the appropriation of land and resources by European countries; thus began the process of creation and sustenance of laws and policies to facilitate settler colonialism, depriving Indigenous peoples of lands and rights.

Many of these laws and policies are still in effect and applicable today in Canada, such as the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* (1763) and *The Indian Act* (1876), and numbered treaties. In line with settler colonialism, the imposition of these laws disregarded Indigenous laws and governance, replacing these complex systems of thought, politics, exchange, and law belonging to the First Peoples with those imported from Europe. Indigenous peoples were not passive observers; they resisted and continue to combat the processes of settler colonialism and assert their rights and voice in colonial spaces.

Morgensen (2011) asserted that the power of settler colonialism has been naturalised and its expressions continue today, pervading all aspects of life in settler colonial societies and the Indigenous communities they displace. Settler colonialism manifests itself in accounts of public memory, history, museums, nationalism, monuments, and celebrations, as well as in policy, news media, and popular culture. These various realms have long presented accounts of events and historical phenomena that favour settler perspectives, as they have been largely controlled by settler peoples (Coombes, 2006; Freeman, 2010). Environments shaped by these ideologies influence individuals' attitudes and perspectives, continuing the cycle of settler colonialism in the erasure and replacement of Indigenous stories and voices. Settler colonialism has, in other

words, “conditioned not only Indigenous peoples and their lands and the settler societies that occupy them, but all political, economic and cultural processes that those societies touch” (Morgensen, 2011, p. 53). Throughout history, Christianity has been intertwined with colonialism, and in what is now Canada this has been evident since the earliest interactions between Indigenous peoples and Europeans.

Christianity and Colonialism

The first contacts between Europeans and Indigenous peoples in what is now known as North America began with the Norse in the Eastern Arctic (Dickason & McNab, 2009), and later with Giovanni Caboto, who explored the area in 1497 and 1498 on behalf of King Henry VII of England (Dobbs, 2007). In his wake came other “explorers,” and later colonists/settlers, merchants, fur traders, and missionaries, beginning with the arrival of Jesuits in Acadia in 1611 (Grant, 2016). Twiss (2015) argued that missionaries’ goals of conversion were more than spiritual endeavours; they were part of the process of interweaving the Gospel with a European version of Christianity, founded on a dichotomy of civilization (measured by standards of European industrialization) and primitivism. Tinker (1993) made connections between missionary efforts and governing social institutions, arguing that missionary efforts “inadvertently or self-consciously facilitated the disruptive incursion of Euroamerican military, political, economic, and social power” (p. 10) in Indigenous communities. More broadly, Tinker (1993) asserted that “the religious institutions of the ‘West’…have been closely associated with this history of colonialism and conquest and have consistently lent legitimacy to those acts” (p. vii). Since these early contacts between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in North America, Christian mission and colonialism have been intertwined.

Research on Christian and church-affiliated programs for Indigenous peoples must be contextualized within a discussion of Christianity and Christian missions. Different philosophies regarding the Christian conversion have persisted across time, with diverse thoughts on the place of culture and local cultural expressions and identity in the Christian faith. Among the multiplicity of Christian faith denominations and traditions, there are diverse examples of perspectives and approaches to Christian missions that would be impossible to completely address, but major themes can be identified. In addition to missionaries' approaches, Indigenous peoples' responses to these approaches and the active roles that they have taken and continue to take in shaping their own faith traditions are essential to understanding the different expressions of Christianity and Indigenous cultures. While a comprehensive discussion is beyond the scope of this paper, below, I highlight some major approaches and tensions.

Christianity and Culture

When considering theological perspectives on the interaction between Christianity and Indigenous cultures, two main streams of thought have been central: syncretism and contextualization. (Heideman, 1997). Heideman (1997) described syncretism and contextualization as "power words" linked to the adjudication of legitimacy in expressions of the Christian faith in non-Western contexts. The concept of syncretism, he argued, has long had negative connotations (Heideman, 1997), likely as a result of "the political and theological climate in post-Reformation Europe" in which "the idea of uniting across confessional borders became unthinkable" (Karlsson, 2018, p. 9). As such, syncretism has been understood as an "unwarranted 'blending' and 'amalgamation' of religious doctrine and ritual" (Karlsson, 2018, p. 9), referring to rituals and cultures of local Indigenous peoples. This purist view of religions is

facing increasing rejection in the scholarly community (Karlsson, 2018) but remains an important concept in understanding Christian missions and approaches to culture.

Contextualization, by contrast, is "the process whereby Christians adapt the forms, content, and praxis of the Christian faith so as to communicate it to the minds and hearts of people with other cultural backgrounds" (Moreau, 2006, p. 325). This approach makes space for localized expressions of culture in church contexts and tends to have more positive connotations. Ott (2015) asserted that contextualization involves "faithful communication of, reflection upon, and living out the Christian faith in ways appropriate to specific contexts" (p. 44). As such, it is seen to not blend religions or spiritual traditions but rather to make space for adaptation and appropriate cultural expressions within Christian contexts. These two perspectives represent two popular streams of thought, but Wrogemann (2016) further nuanced the discussion by delineating five distinct models of approaching Christianity and culture.

Wrogemann's (2016) five major historical approaches to intercultural Christian missions include: the replacement model, the indifference model, the ennoblement model, the indigenization model, and the appropriation model. These models offer one perspective on categorizing the diverse approaches that missionaries have taken. Local realities and interactions have presented exceedingly more diverse approaches, but this categorization offers one means of understanding approaches to Christian missions.

Adherents to the replacement model, or *tabula rasa* method, saw foreign religions or spiritualities as "the deception of the devil" (p. 235) and were "to be replaced abruptly and immediately with the new faith and the new religion" (Wrogemann, 2016, p. 232). In this perspective, "missionaries assumed that the indigenous people were a *tabula rasa* possessing neither culture nor religion worth respecting" (Hunt, 2010, p. 17). This approach is linked closely

with colonialism (Wrogemann, 2016) and the intentional efforts to undermine and destroy Indigenous cultures, with varying results and reactions by Indigenous peoples (as will be discussed later). In this way, Woodley (2015) argued that "Christian mission has, on a grand scale, become subject to the influence and collusion of ungodly governments and nation-states" (p. 457).

The indifference model was based on Zinzendorf's theology of mission and linked to the Moravians of Herrnhut who began missionary work on the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies in the 1700s and continued to spread around the world (including the Indigenous Arawak peoples of Guyana). Their model, formulated by Zinzendorf, was aimed at one-on-one conversion experiences and did not explicitly concern itself with culture or widespread societal change (Wrogemann, 2016). In this model, Zinzendorf was concerned with the handful of committed people who chose willingly to follow Christ, and he advocated for missionaries to act as lay people, and not get involved with matters of state or politics. Wrogemann (2016) noted, however, that Herrnhut missionaries did not adopt or adapt many Indigenous practices but primarily introduced their own European and Herrnhut practices.

By contrast, the ennoblement model took shape in the 19th century, during which "theological justification for the conversion of entire people groups (ethnic groups) became an increasingly important issue" (Wrogemann, 2016, p. 265). In this approach, mission work was understood to facilitate progression along a hierarchy of cultural development (Wrogemann, 2016). Indigenous cultures therefore must be left behind entirely in order to "progress," adopting Christianity and its practices as presented by European missionaries. In this model, "all cultures are believed to be capable of development" (p. 272), but are held to European moral standard to evaluate their stage along lines of development (Wrogemann, 2016).

Missionaries ascribing to the Indigenization model, on the other hand, tended to view the link between European culture and the Christian faith as detrimental, and aimed to develop localized expressions and adaptations of the Christian faith in different cultures (Wrogemann, 2016). The aim, in this perspective, is not the conversion of individuals, but to maintain internal relational structures of societies by "Christianizing an entire people" (Wrogemann, 2016, p. 282). One of the main proponents of this perspective, Gutmann, worked among the Chagga people in what is now Tanzania (Wrogemann, 2016). Gutmann objected to the both the individualization and the European influence associated with increased urbanization, and saw the Christian Gospel as linked to social ties among cultural groups, and argued that these groups should have cultural traditions adapted into the framework of Christianity in their contexts. This perspective has been critiqued for maintaining the European missionary in the position of paternalistic power, dictating which aspects of culture are acceptable to adapt within Christianity (Wrogemann, 2016).

Finally, the appropriation model posits the interaction of religion and culture as "the indigenous, non-Christian cultures appropriat[ing] the gospel for themselves" (Wrogemann, 2016, p. 293), and focuses on the leading role of Indigenous peoples in Christian communities, rather than the missionaries. This active role of Indigenous peoples in shaping their own practice of Christianity is not a new phenomenon; Wrogemann (2016) noted the relational complexities of Spanish-Indigenous relations in the late 1500s in what is now Mexico, noting that "indigenous people continued to be the protagonists in the way they appropriated the new symbols, interpreted, and reinterpreted them, and in the way they followed the ritual practices either in public or in private" (Wrogemann, 2016, p. 249). As such, it is crucial to investigate the diverse responses of Indigenous peoples to Christianity and missionary endeavors.

Indigenous Peoples and Christianity

Peelman (1995) categorized the responses of some Indigenous peoples who engage with Christianity as dual acceptance (or giving "external assent to the new religion while keeping one's own inner thoughts and convictions"); religious dimorphism (calling on each religion as needed, simultaneously adhering to them both); syncretism ("fus[ing] the two belief systems to form a third, new reality"); and full conversion (completely leaving behind culture and religion to adhere to a Christian tradition) (Peelman, 1995, p. 66). In recent years, Indigenous scholars have responded to Christian approaches to missions and evangelism, offering critical analysis of historical and current approaches, and suggesting new understandings of Indigenous expressions of Christianity, as well as reflections on Western Christianity.

Despite some Indigenous peoples' embracing Christianity, others have resisted or rejected it entirely (Paper, 2007; Sullivan, 2000; Vecsey, 1990). Amendments made to the *Indian Act* (1876) in 1884, and later in 1895, attempted to restrict the movement of Indigenous peoples between reserves to prevent engagement in practices such as the Sun Dance and the Thirst Dance, and more explicitly banned practices such as the potlatch (Miller, 2001). These practices carry political, cultural, and religious significance to various Indigenous groups, and both government and religious leaders desired to suppress them. Despite these bans, many Indigenous people continued these practices, including the Blood people who followed Red Crow in 1900, whose histories record the occurrence of the Sun Dance that year despite the attempted suppression by the Canadian government (Miller, 2001). In another example, missionaries among the Inuit of Kivalliq Region asserted that Catholicism had overtaken shamanism in the early 2000s, but Laugrand and Oosten (2014) found that "many shamanic practices did not really disappear but went underground" (p. 159). In the case of residential schools, where religious

training was central, at times parents hid their children, or children ran away, to avoid attending these schools (TRC, 2015). Despite these and other missionary and government incursions and attempted control of their spiritual practices, Indigenous peoples have persisted in retaining them.

On the other hand, some Indigenous peoples, past and present, have embraced aspects of Christianity. A number of Indigenous scholars have been part of a recent movement for the expression of Indigenous perspectives and approaches to Christianity, including members of the North American Institute of Theological Studies (NAIITS) ("NAIITS – About", n.d.). Members of this organization have worked to present,

> a constructive critique of the traditions and teachings of the wider church which, though often presented as if culturally and philosophically neutral, appear at times to be rooted more in the cultural and philosophical ethos of the secular West than in the text of Scripture and the traditions of Jesus. (Leblanc & Leblanc, 2011, p. 92)

Woodley (2015), a Keetowah Cherokee scholar and member of NAIITS, argued that Jesus taught from a place of decolonization, working to "free oppressor and oppressed alike from the chains of colonial structures and thinking" (p. 457), while "the missional enterprise itself has had at its core hierarchical thinking which too often resulted in hegemony as a foundation, not the servanthood to which Jesus called us" (p. 459).

Woodley (2015), along with Twiss (2015), the late Sicangu Lakota scholar and member of NAIITS, both argued that Christian missions in North America have long been, and are still, driven largely from a place of White supremacy and rejection of Indigenous cultural ways. These churches and missionary groups have held to "missional hegemony," with Indigenous peoples as the recipients of mission, the *other*, and there has largely been hesitation to afford Indigenous

peoples places of leadership in churches and mission organizations aimed at Indigenous people (Tinker, 1993; Twiss, 2015; Woodley, 2015). Even among those churches in which there may have a degree of Indigenous leadership, "the actual power, which ultimately determines how Indian people will interpret Christianity and how they will function as churches, is almost always a white authority structure" (Tinker, 1993, p. 117). By stifling the voices of Indigenous Christians, rejecting contextualized Indigenous understandings and practices of Christianity, oppression and "missional hegemony" have largely continued. One avenue of response to colonialism in Christian circles (and beyond) has been reconciliation, a concept explored in depth in the Canadian context through TRC (2015b).

Reconciliation

The TRC (2015b) was undertaken as part of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, and over five years it documented the stories of those affected by the Indian Residential Schools (IRS) of Canada (NWAC, 2010). In addition to residential schools, the TRC alluded to other contributors to the damaged relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada, including the Indian Act and the Crown's failure to uphold the treaties (TRC, 2015b). The TRC (2015a) defined reconciliation as "an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships at all levels of Canadian society," (p. 11) which requires "awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour" (TRC, 2015a, p. 3). In light of Christian institutions' involvement in projects of displacement, assimilation, oppression, and abuse of Indigenous peoples (such as missionary efforts and residential schools), churches and Christian groups were given special attention in the work and calls to action of the TRC (2015b; 2015c).

Responsibility is attributed to Christian groups for healing and reconciliation, as the TRC (2015a) recognized that, “healing and reconciliation have a spiritual dimension that must continue to be addressed by the churches in partnership with Indigenous spiritual leaders, Survivors, their families, and communities” (p. 102). A number of specific actions were outlined in TRC documents: educate church leaders and staff on the need to respect Indigenous spirituality in its own right, on the history and legacy of residential schools and the roles of the church parties in that system, and on the history and legacy of religious conflict in Aboriginal families and communities; and also for churches to take responsibility to mitigate such conflicts and prevent spiritual violence (TRC, 2015a; 2015c). In light of these responsibilities, this research calls Christian camps for Indigenous youth to engage in this work.

The definition of reconciliation has been a subject of much debate, as “reconciliation is both a goal and a process, which can happen in various contexts (between husband and life, offender and victims, friends, communities, or nations)” (Andrieu, 2013, para. 1). The concept of reconciliation between people groups in post-conflict situations has been explored around the world, including places such as South Africa, Ireland, and Germany. The term has been subject to a variety of criticisms, including being apolitical, shallow, illiberal, hyper-religious, or implying a previous state of harmony that may have never existed (Andrieu, 2013). Acknowledgement is a key term discussed in a number of official reconciliation efforts, and is seen as “a necessary condition of willingness to make restitution and commit to positive change” (Govier, 2003, p. 71), and thus essential to reconciliation.In light of this important call for churches and Christian groups to become involved in efforts for reconciliation, my research on the (im)possibilities for reconciliation in church-run summer camps may for Indigenous youth is particularly timely. In order to understand the present context of summer camps, it is essential to

understand where they originated and the timeline of changes they have undertaken. Therefore, I next explore the history of summer camps in North America.

History of Summer Camps in North America

Summer camps have been part of the North American recreational landscape since the late 1800s, founded primarily in the New England States of the United States and Ontario, Canada (Wall, 2009). New laws restricting child labour and extending mandatory school attendance in the 1890s resulted in increased leisure time for middle- and upper-class boys, especially in the summer months (Paris, 2008; Van Slyck, 2006). The early summer camp movement was driven by antimodernist ideals, romanticizing frontier life, teaching survival skills, handicrafts, and hosting children in rustic living quarters (Van Slyck, 2006). In Canada, Ontario has long dominated the camping industry, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century, in addition to being home to a particularly potent expression of "the camp's fundamental connection to conditions of modernity" (Wall, 2009, p. 17). While a number of scholars have outlined the conditions, philosophies, and circumstances of the summer camp movement in the past 20 years, research focusing specifically on Canada is lacking, and thus below, I must, at times, draw on the American context.

Philosophical underpinnings of summer camp. Summer camps programs have shaped and been shaped by a number of trends in thought, including rejections of modernity and search for authenticity in North America. One such philosophy was the mid-nineteenth-century "back-to-nature trend," which encouraged diversion for children from the "moral and physical degradations of urban life" (Van Slyck, 2006, p. xix; Paris, 2008; Wall, 2009). This link to nature was often made by drawing on the lives of Indigenous peoples; names, material culture, art, dress, "ceremony", songs, games, and other aspects of camp aimed to emulate (or loosely

resemble) Indigenous traditions (Wall, 2009), projecting a "fantastical amalgam of Aboriginal traditions projected into one mythic Indian other" (p. 221). These types of activities have been referred to as "playing Indian," which, Van Slyck asserted, "reinforce[ed] the idea of the Vanishing Indian, pushing Native American culture safely into the past and forestalling any consideration of Native American realities in the present" (Van Slyck, 2006, p. xxv).

Summer camps have long been sites of socialization for children, and have been shaped largely by the desires of adults. Van Slyck (2006) argued that the adults administering summer camps were deeply involved in the "social construction of modern childhood" (p. xxi), an active process in light of the twentieth-century movement to recognize the "intensifying social value of young people" (Paris, 2008, p. 4) and create spaces and programs specifically for children and their age-specific needs (Van Slyck, 2006). Paris (2008) argued that camp themes of frontier life and rustic skills appealed to the nostalgia of adults running the programs, but Wall (2009) argued that camp settings were not simply incubators of nostalgia, but sites of "complex negotiations of modernity" (p. 15), exploring intersections and expressions of gender, class, culture, and religion. Through these spaces and programs, the North American experience of childhood would be delineated beyond the historical roles of children into a new leisure-centred concept, with adults actively shaping the minds of young people beyond the sphere of schooling. In this way, summer camps and youth organizations such as the YMCA, Boy Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls, have worked to shape gender roles and religious and cultural values of children throughout history (Wall, 2009). Children's experiences and expressions of childhood were, and continue to be, shaped in camp settings.

Target audiences. Summer camps in the first half of the 20th century can be divided into three categories catering different audiences. Private (for-profit) camps tended to attract a small

pool of upper-class individuals who could afford to send children for the whole summer, which reinforced elite social ties (Van Slyck, 2006) and encouraged "productive leisure" (Paris, 2008, p. 3). Camps run by youth organizations (YMCA, Canadian Girls in Training, Camp Fire Girls, Boy Scouts, etc.) took a different approach, with shorter and more affordable sessions accessible to middle-class families; most of these programs had Christian evangelical influence but focused more explicitly on "building character" (Van Slyck, 2006). A third category, "fresh air camps" targeted the urban poor and were funded by religious organizations, social service agencies, and private donors (Van Slyck, 2006); in Ontario, Joseph Atkinson of the Toronto Daily Star newspaper established the Fresh Air Fund in 1901, raising money to send children from low-income families to fresh air camps (Wall, 2009) . Despite these divisions, Van Slyck (2006) argued that all camps "served as incubators of the middle class, instilling middle-class values" (p. xxxiv), even fresh air camps, which Wall (2009) argued, through "order and regimentation" aimed to "infuse working-class culture with middle-class values" (p. 102-103).

Summer camps were also divided along gender, cultural, and political lines. Camps were primarily gender-segregated and aimed to counter feminine influence with activities to toughen boys, including military-inspired activities, while camps for girls encouraged domestic skills as well as military discipline, independence, and an active lifestyle beyond the domestic sphere (Van Slyck, 2006). While camps late 19th and early 20th century were primarily spaces for members of white, urban culture (Paris, 2008), summer camps became spaces for political and cultural resistance and separation (Van Slyck, 2006). During the post-World War II era, some camps aimed to address racial divisions, but only between Eurodescendants and African Americans (Van Slyck, 2006); exclusivity across cultural, social, and gender divides at summer camps became less common between and after the World Wars (Paris, 2008).

In the post-war era, camp popularity can be attributed in part to the philosophies of "intensive parenting" (i.e., seeking enrichment activities for children and a repose for parents from childcare) (Schiffrin, Godfrey, Liss, & Erchull, 2015; Van Slyck, 2006), as well as "companionate parenting" (i.e., increased financial and emotional investment by parents in their children) (Paris, 2008, p. 4). Outdoor experiences such as summer camp were linked to the "sensation of freedom that was understood as a hallmark of Western democracies", and "integral to white, middle-class American culture" (Van Slyck, 2006, p. xxvi-xxvii). With increased transportation infrastructure and new technologies, camps began to negotiate integration or "conscious rejection of modern amenities" (Wall, 2009, p. 23). Camps continued to be spaces set apart from children's everyday experiences, in which certain aims could be pursued or philosophies imbued.

Throughout the increasing technological advances and urbanization that occurred in the second half of the 20th century in North America, the "idealism and romantic view of nature embodied in summer camping" persisted in popularity (Smith, 2006, p. 71). Camp advocates further emphasized the importance of summer camps in light of modern issues and urbanized contexts continued in the 1960s and 1970s, "from the sexual revolution to suburbanization to the decline of the industrial-based economy" (Smith, 2006, p. 90). Some, like camp director James Mason, began to emphasize the need to focus not only on the nostalgia for the past, but look ahead to how camps could be spaces of working through contemporary challenges (Smith, 2006). Since the 1960s, there has been decline in traditional camps in favour of camps teaching particular skills (such as horse-back riding, dance, competitive sports, theatre, etc.) and providing novel experiences (Van Slyck, 2006, p. xxvii). They have continually been spaces where

children can be educated or shaped in particular philosophies, cultures or religions, including Christianity.

Camp and Christianity. Many youth programs and camps in the early twentieth century had some link to a Christian tradition, expressed to varying degrees throughout North America. Evangelical camps can be differentiated from "secular camp experiences" by a focus on "conversion and discipleship" (p. 12), using ritual, activities, and socialization in the isolation of the camp context to shape youth to internalize evangelical identity (Koerselman, 2013). In the United States, Evangelical camps multiplied especially in the 1940s and 50s, seeking to "reassert both a Christian and American identity in the postwar milieu of anxiety and change" (p. 2). While sharing the common goal of perpetuating the Christian faith, Evangelical camps remained diverse in affiliation and social and political values. Most American evangelical summer camps in the postwar era were affiliated with denominations, which were essential for "funding, publicizing, and finding volunteers…and campers" (Koerselman, 2013, p. 14). These camps focused on discipleship and "grooming the next generation of leaders", while non-denominational camps "focused more on conversion experiences" and "tended to be more fundamentalist in their theology" (Koerselman, 2013, p. 14).

In Canada, on the other hand, the early twentieth century was marked by a move from evangelicalism and its focus on the afterlife towards a "social gospel orientation", seeking to improve earthly experiences through social reform; a trend reflected in camp programs (Wall, 2009). While some camps remained explicitly religious, others distanced themselves from evangelicalism while maintaining spiritual values focused on shared ritual, building community, and a more "liberal, humanistic spirituality" (Wall, 2009, p. 223). Further information on the

history of Christian summer camps in Canada is lacking, but numerous Christian evangelical summer camps still exist across North America today, as reflected in recent research.

Sorenson (2018) undertook the Effective Camp Research Study, outlining the characteristics of a distinct Christian camp model as well as the impacts of Christian summer camp on youth. This study sought to create in-depth description of the "unique characteristics and outcomes of Christian summer camps," and focused on Lutheran camps in Wisconsin (Sorenson, 2018, p. 1). The characteristics of these camps were identified as: "safe space, relational, unplugged from home, participatory, and faith-centred" (Sorenson, 2018, p. 186). This research represents a narrow sample of camps of within particular denomination and US state, and while some of these characteristics may be shared among other Christian camps, broader research on the characteristics of camps beyond these limitations is needed.

Another scholar, Brandes (2018), conducted a narrative inquiry on young people's spiritual development at a Reformed Church in America (RCA) camp in New York State. She identified seven aspects of "Integrated Spiritual Development" outlined by the young people in her study: identity, purpose, belonging, sense of worth, capacity to care, reflectiveness, and integrity. She also outlined the factors contributing to a space that nurtures spiritual development: healthy community, genuine relationships, educative experience, interactive narrative, and intentional environment (Brandes, 2018). This research on Christian camps provides some context to the present research, but intersections of culture and Christianity at present-day summer camps is missing from the literature, including those directed at Indigenous youth.

Indigenous Peoples and Summer Camp

There are several important connections between Indigenous peoples and summer camps, and ironies of offering camp programs for this demographic, that must be addressed. The antimodernist bent of early summer camps (late 19th-early 20th century) brings with it a level of irony, as it stands as a stark departure from the philosophies of the European colonizers with "fundamentally Judeo-Christian notions of wild spaces as hostile and alien, wilderness regions to be tamed and subdued by the artful human hand" (Wall, 2009, p. 6). Also standing in direct contrast was concurrent movement beginning in the late 19th-cenury to remove Indigenous children from their homes, families, and lands to attend residential schools (TRC, 2015). While the summer camp movement began to bring white, middle-class children from industrial centres to experience nature, Indigenous children were being taken from their communities, deeply connected to land and taught to be productive members of the increasingly industrialized society, learning English, arithmetic, religion, and agricultural skills (TRC, 2015). These practices stand in stark contrast, and along with Eurocanadian children "playing Indian" at summer camps, align with the settler colonial strategies of erasure and replacement of Indigenous people, and the "search for authenticity" identified by Mechling (1980).

The practice of "playing Indian," though not restricted only to camp contexts, involved non-Indigenous people adopting and adapting romanticized version of Indigenous ways of life, which reinforced the supposed erasure of Indigenous peoples and denied the contemporary realities of life for Indigenous peoples (Van Slyck, 2006). Wall (2009) argued that "playing Indian" was closely aligned with the "broader antimodernist impulse in twentieth-century Ontario" (p. 217), including "the modern desire to create a sense of belonging, community, and spiritual experience" (p. 218). Similarly, Mechling (1980) argued that the antimodernist

movement and the concurrent introduction of “Indian lore” as a tool in youth work (scouting, camps, etc.) were part of the “search for authenticity” characteristic of modern American life. Mechling (1980) also linked the figure of the “noble Indian” in “Indian lore” to muscular Christianity, as the “noble Indian” was described to be both physically and morally sound in ways that were seen to be lost to the children of the modern, urbanized era.

Wilkes (2011) discussed one contemporary example: the “Council Ring” ceremonies at Taylor Statten Camps (TSC). While these camps and programs included some involvement of local First Nations people in the early 1900s, First Nations peoples’ involvement later declined, and recognition of the problematic appropriation and distortions of Indigenous peoples led to attempts at reform beginning in the 1970s. Efforts have been made by TSC in recent years to eliminate offensive or questionable practices and to partner with Indigenous peoples who can appropriately represent and share their own cultures (Wilkes, 2011).

While some camps have made efforts to change or remove harmful Indigenous appropriation and stereotypes, there is still much work to be done. Shore (2015) wrote on decolonizing strategies in summer camps contexts, situating herself as a white Christian woman who had worked at summer camps and participated in activities that distort and appropriate Indigenous cultures. She made a number of suggestions, including “acknowledging territorial sovereignty over land, as well as cultural sovereignty over dress, ceremonies, names, and symbols”; “dismantling a white settler authority over woodcraft and environmental programming in order to bring forward Indigenous educators”; “comprehensive education for camp staff”; “instituting long-term ‘send kids to camp’ programs for Indigenous youth”; and “constantly unsettling, questioning, reformulating and rebuilding decolonizing initiatives” (Shore, 2015, p. 5). This work is highly relevant to Christian camps for Indigenous youth as well.

One example of critical reflection and change in harmful practices can be found in Wilkes (2011), who outlined the efforts of Taylor Statten Camps (TSC) to change the decades-old practice of "Council Ring". While the founder Taylor Statten, "wove his deep respect for First Nations philosophies into the foundation of his camp program with Native-led workshops, excursions and artwork" (p. 6), the later-formed "Council Ring" ceremonies at camp were increasingly led and shaped by non-Indigenous staff. Changes were made in the late 2000s, with increased First Nations involvement at TSC camps, efforts to become "better educated" for staff roles, retiring the headdresses used in the Council Ring, and the hiring of a First Nations teacher to "help make the ritual more culturally appropriate" (p. 7). Wilkes (2011) described the camp organization's continued struggle to navigate what is appropriate and respectful while still honouring the desires of alumni to hold on to practices that have significant meaning to them, and asserted that a balance can and must be found in order for camps to instead be a tool for education and decolonization.

Situating the Research

The camps that are the focus of this research have a number of potentially problematic foundations, represent an interesting collision of ideologies in contemporary times, and are possible sites of continued colonial dynamics. The summer camp movement, which happened largely concomitantly with residential schools, was founded on a philosophy of anti-modernism, catering to desires for "nature-based recreation" and escaping the industrial city centres (Van Slyck, 2006). These two phenomena – the removal of Indigenous children from their lands and communities to attend residential schools, and the transport of non-Indigenous children out of industrialised areas to experience nature – overlapped in time, showing deep divides in how Indigenous and non-Indigenous children were treated.

Analysing some of the philosophies behind summer camps (in many cases linked to Christian foundations or philosophies) and residential schools, we can draw similarities. Camp and outdoor education programs in North America originated from programs such as Boy Scouts and the "Woodcraft" movement, and combine physical activities and skill development with character and social development (Fine, 2005). In residential schools, physical activity and sport were institutionalized and used as tools for assimilative or "civilizing" goals, while simultaneously banning Indigenous ceremonies, games/sports, and other Indigenous practices (Forsyth, 2007). While far from conclusive, these similar uses of sport and recreation may imply the possibility of re-inscription of similar colonial power dynamics when Christian camps are offered for Indigenous populations.

While many summer camps have romanticized, appropriated, and distorted Indigenous cultural symbols, dress, ceremonies, activities, and words in various aspects of their programs (Wall, 2005), Indigenous youth who attended residential schools were forbidden from participating in any such activities (TRC, 2015). One of the tools of settler colonialism used to legitimize settler presence can be understood through Wolfe's (2006) concept of the "logic of elimination": he asserted that settler colonialism "erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base…settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event" (p. 388), but in order to do so, settler colonialism "destroys to replace" (p. 388). Wolfe asserted that settler societies have "sought to recuperate indigeneity in order to express [their] difference—and, accordingly, [their] independence—from the mother country" (p. 389). Cornelier (2013) argued that "to survive its history and colonial heritage, both morally and politically, the modern, liberal settler state needs to become somewhat but never altogether Indian. It needs to imagine a certain filiation between the European settlers and the First Nations" (p. 50). The distortion and

use of Indigenous practices and cultures in the context of summer camp is one example of this phenomenon, and recreating these activities in the context of camps for Indigenous youth would be a harmful continuation of colonialism.

In addition, dominant conceptualizations of space and place can be means of legitimizing settler colonial presence, including understandings of wilderness settings of many summer camps. Newbery (2012) asserted that the outdoors "bears a heavy imprint of colonization both in its histories of land cessions and in the dominant discourses through which wilderness space is so often imagined (as neutral, natural, and empty)" (p. 30). Non-Indigenous peoples teaching outdoor and land-based skills, common to summer camps, to Indigenous peoples after colonial governments and residential schools have acted to disconnect Indigenous peoples from their lands is problematic.

The TRC (2015a) defined reconciliation as "an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships at all levels of Canadian society," the scope of which "must extend beyond residential schools to encompass all aspects of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations and connections to the land" (p. 28). As a result of its work, the TRC issued several Calls to Action, including number 60, which calls for educating church leaders, staff, and congregations

> on the need to respect Indigenous spirituality in its own right, the history and legacy of residential schools and the roles of the church parties in that system, the history and legacy of religious conflict in Aboriginal families and communities, and the responsibility that churches have to mitigate such conflicts and prevent spiritual violence. (TRC, 2015a, p. 107)

In the context of Christian summer camps, while some Indigenous peoples have chosen to embrace the Christian religion and identities, it is also imperative to understand the harms that have been inflicted by those in positions of power within Christian organizations. Camp staff must work with Indigenous peoples and communities to ensure these camp programs are culturally safe and not harmful to the children attending them. Christian organizations and staff running summer camps for Indigenous youth need to heed the assertions of the TRC and take critical looks at the content (and even existence) of their programs.

Previous qualitative research with summer camp staff offers a few insights into this population of people. Subjects have included burnout when working with people with disability and aggression (Ko, Lunsky, Hensel & Dewa, 2012), sense of community among staff (Lyons, 2003; Lyons, Young & Wang, 2016), patriarchal ideology (Cousineau & Roth, 2012), roles and identity (Waskul, 1998), and staff-camper relationships (Roark, Ellis, Wells, & Gillard, 2010). Lyons (2003) and Lyons, Young, and Wang (2016) reflected on camp staff structure, leadership and understandings of community. The sense of community among staff members was found in these studies to be associated with membership to a clearly defined group (spatially and temporally), the uniqueness of camp experience (episodic in nature), of and through symbolic and ritualistic practices (Lyons, 2003; Lyons, Young & Wang, 2016). The present research offers different perspective as staff members worked in a unique context: Christian camps for Indigenous youth in Canada.

Epistemology

This research was conducted using a constructionist epistemology. In seeking the knowledge and experiences of camp staff, I have pursued knowledge as constructed and understood in a social reality (i.e., in the context of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by

Christian organizations). According to Crotty (1998), constructionism is the view that knowledge is "contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and the world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (p. 42). This research explored the ways Christian camp organizations' staff construct and understand their roles, purposes, and goals in light of recent calls for reconciliation. Further, this focus necessitated the use of constructionist epistemology as it is employed to understand the constructions of reality on which these camp staff base their work and programming.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that informed this research was postcolonial theory. Through this theory, I shed light on discourses and power dynamics in the context of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada, and linked them to the past and continued conditions of colonialism. These camps have links to colonial histories in Canada in several ways, namely through Christianity's connections to missionary efforts and residential schools, through summer camps' involvement in the appropriation of Indigenous cultures, and through the focus on Indigenous youth populations by largely non-Indigenous staff. Postcolonial theory was an essential tool for critically analysing these contexts.

Postcolonial theory is linked to the broader concept of postcolonialism, which does not assert that colonialism is over, but refers to the conditions of societies that continue to experience effect colonial domination and its legacies (Hiddleston, 2014; McEwan, 2009). Continued effects of colonialism include infrastructure and ideologies established by colonial powers (Wisker, 2007), and in some cases continued dependence of former colonies on their historical colonizers (Young, 2001). Postcolonial theory is therefore aimed at discerning the political, economic, and cultural conditions linked to colonialism (McEwan, 2009), and offers challenge and resistance to

colonialism in diverse ways (Hiddleston, 2014). As applied in research, it brings focus to knowledge and power in postcolonial contexts.

The link between power and knowledge is central to postcolonial theory; it is concerned with power relations and the production and use of knowledge, "examin[ing] relationships of power that determine who creates 'knowledge' about other places and peoples and the consequences of this knowledge" (McEwan, 2009, p. 23). As such, postcolonial theorists aim to identify discourses that may perpetuate or resist colonialism (McEwan, 2009; Young, 2001), as knowledge and "discursive practices" are means of exercising power (Hayhurst, 2009). Therefore, postcolonial theory engages with the discourses reproduced by those on both sides of colonial relationships. In this view, power is not understood as linear, but rather multidirectional (MacDonald, Abbott, & Jenkins, 2012) and in a state of perpetual negotiation through acts of resistance and of dominance by both colonizers and colonized (Bhabha, 1994).

Postcolonial theory was the best fit for my research as I aimed to identify discourses linked to colonial histories in the context of organizations and programs that bear resemblance or, in some cases, are direct links to institutions such as residential schools, missionary organizations, or church denominations directly involved in colonial enterprises. The history of Christian organizations in residential schools and missionary efforts, as well as the history of summer camps as primarily Eurodescendant-focused and antimodernist in philosophy, with a history of problematic appropriation and distortion of Indigenous cultures and practices, all link this topic to colonialism. Postcolonial theory offers a lens through which to interrogate these spaces and the discourses present within them and potentially engage in dialogue and action towards reconciliation and healing. To better understand postcolonial theory, it is important to explore its historical foundations.

History. The first elaborations of postcolonial theory can be seen in the works of historical figures, such as Gandhi and Fanon (Prakash, 1995) in various anticolonial movements and ideologies, as well as in the numerous debates "for and against conquest, slavery, racism, and imperialism" throughout history (Stam & Shohat, 2012, p. 374). As an academic discipline, credit for founding postcolonial studies is often given to Said, particularly in his work *Orientalism* (1978) (Young, 2001). Inspired by the works of Foucault, Said argued in *Orientalism* that "the Western academic discipline of Orientalism was a means by which the Orient was produced as a figment of the Western imagination for consumption in the West, and also as a means of subserving imperial domination" (Quayson, 2000, p. 4). Said's work has been controversial, and, in fact, many postcolonial theorists have formed their own entry points into colonialism on critiques of Said's work; nevertheless, his work is credited with sparking important discussions in academia concerning power and knowledge, and is considered a foundational text in postcolonial theory (Young, 2001).

Others point to Marxism as a key inspiration for postcolonial theory. Gandhi (1998) argued that postcolonial theory developed out of a dialectic between Marxism and poststructuralism. Young (2001) described what could be seen as a highly simplified genealogy of postcolonial theory in more recent years: anti-imperialist Marxism and socialism informed anti-colonialists, whose "critiques of western imperialism and the ideological systems that underpinned it" have informed postcolonial theorists (p. 68). Huggan (2013) argued that the postcolonial field finds its momentum in the "competing revolutionary and revisionist impulses" (p. 4), as it moves critically between past and present. Scholars using postcolonial theory engage in this dialectic process, drawing connections between past events or conditions of colonialism and present realities.

Engaging in postcolonial critique through postcolonial theory can be seen as a form of intellectual activism (Young, 2001). Gandhi (1998) asserted that postcolonialism is a "theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath" (p. 4) undertaken by "revisiting, remembering, and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past" (p. 4) in order to "assist the subjects of postcoloniality to live with the gaps and fissures of their condition, and thereby learn to proceed with self-understanding" (p. 8). This connection of theory and practice is one of the central tenets of postcolonial studies, influenced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century anti-colonialism (Gandhi, 2013). While linking theory and practice, some would also contend that postcolonial theory is not, in fact, a theory, but rather a "set of conceptual resources" (Young, 2001, p. 64) or an "ever-shifting constellation of questions" (Stam & Shohat, 2012). Postcolonial theory is the most relevant theoretical lens for this research and will provide opportunity to incite both critical reflection and action in these camp contexts.

Critiques. Postcolonial theory has been critiqued for a number of reasons. Smith (1999) argued that the use of postcolonial theory can allow non-Indigenous scholars to exert control over Indigenous research and knowledge and centre Western perspectives and values. This is part of a more widespread phenomenon of research on and about Indigenous peoples that excludes their voices or perspectives. This is a valuable critique and, as a result, this research focused on programs run by primarily non-Indigenous staff and linked to Western spirituality (Christianity), and is aimed at initiating critical reflection on these contexts.

Another key critique was put forward by Tuck (2009). She argued that the focus of postcolonial theory on the effects of colonialism, linking them to present-day issues in Indigenous communities, is problematic as it perpetuates a pathologizing and narrow view of Indigenous peoples. She argued instead for a "desire-based" approach, seeking to understand

complexities of lived experiences and "documenting not only the painful elements of social realities but also the wisdom and hope" (Tuck, 2009, p. 416). This critique has informed my application of postcolonial theory; I critically analyzed these programs and, as my publishable paper will show, have asserted the importance of Indigenous peoples' involvement in dictating the format, content, and even existence of these camps in their communities. The links of colonial past are not used to highlight issues in Indigenous communities, but rather in the running of Christian camps for Indigenous youth. These camps form a case warranting the use of a case study methodology.

Methodology

In the publishable paper within this thesis, I employed an exploratory case study methodology. A case study is a methodology in which a particular, current, delineated case is defined and analysed in-depth (Moore, Lapan, & Quartaroli, 2011), while an exploratory case study in particular is aimed at illuminating subject matter that has not previously been researched (Yin, 1994). This methodology has allowed me to take an in-depth look at a particular phenomenon with inherent interest; in this research, that phenomenon is summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations.

The origins of the case study are attributed to the Chicago School of Sociology, and scholars such as Bronislaw Malinowski and Frédéric Le Play (Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin, 1993; Yin, 1994). Malinowski, one of the founders of anthropology, asserted that studying culture necessitated participation of the researcher in order to understand meanings assigned to practices, beliefs, etc. (Hamel et al., 1993). In the early days of anthropology, villages within insular societies provided easily defined cases, but as anthropology and sociology moves to work with more fluid, complex, embedded, or "modernized" communities, it became necessary to find new

means of defining a case (Hamel et al., 1993). Le Play is credited as the founder of the case study in France, as he pioneered the presumption that by focusing on a key element or observation point, “the society’s basic unit,” one can unearth the characteristics and state of a society (Hamel et al., 1993). Case studies were later used by those in the Chicago School to investigate social problems and evolution in the early 1900s, resulting in the methodology slowly taking shape as they studied certain phenomena within the context of a particular society or group (Hamel et al., 1993). As the process was critiqued and contested, it was refined into the form it takes today; but this form is still not without fault.

One of the primary strengths of case studies is that they facilitate in-depth analysis through a focus on one or a few cases, as well as through the incorporation of a variety of types of evidence and data collection methods (Yin, 1994). They are especially effective when used for studying contemporary events due to the use of systematic interviewing alongside other sources in order to produce a comprehensive account of a current phenomenon (Yin, 1994). Some have argued that the lack of generalizability of case studies is a weakness of the methodology, but Stake (2005) asserted that the goal of a case study is not to draw general conclusions but to “optimize understanding of the case” (p. 443). The complexities of a case can therefore be explored in depth and can be used to research historical, social, economic, political, physical, or other contexts (Stake, 2005). Case studies also allow for a variety of sources of data to be collected and analysed in conjunction. They offer an approach applicable to a variety of research contexts where the goal is in-depth analysis of a phenomenon.

Potential weaknesses of case study methodology result from the lack of definition of skills required of a researcher in undertaking case studies, or from previous, poorly constructed methodologies for case studies, which have since been improved. These potential weaknesses

and critiques of case studies include lack of rigor, long time requirements, and production of unreadable texts (Yin, 1994). Concerns about rigour can be mitigated through an effort by the researcher to present and report all evidence collected, but also through revealing all steps and decisions made, and illuminating any possible sources of bias in the final report (Moore et al., 2011; Yin, 1994). The production of unreadable texts can be avoided by keeping in mind interested stakeholders and audiences and ensuring that essential components are presented in such a way that they answer the key research question(s) (Moore et al., 2011). Concerns about long time requirements of case may be justified, as case studies do take extended periods of time to complete, but case studies should not be confused with ethnographies, which base their research on long-term participant-observation (Yin, 1994). The time invested in case study research facilitates the depth of investigation and analysis that makes case studies a valuable form of research. The potential weaknesses of the case study methodology can be largely mitigated through planning and the strategic presentation of results.

Methods

Case study researchers use multiple sources of evidence that are obtainable through diverse methods of data collection; these sources are often used in conjunction to identify and explain convergences and divergences between data (Gillham, 2000). Possible sources of evidence for case study research can be categorized into six main types: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 1994). The methods used for this research were internet-mediated document analysis, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews.

Internet-mediated document analysis. Internet-mediated research (IMR) employs the internet as a research tool through which to collect data (Hewson, 2003), and more specifically,

"document analysis in IMR is similar to some forms of observation, which make use of online archives, but here the records accessed are not logs of interactions but documents which have been purposely placed on the WWW" (Hewson, 2009, p. 420). Online research comes with some drawbacks, as "software and hardware failures may lead to unpredicted effects" and lack of direct researcher interaction with participants, in this case, those producing the documents at hand, results in the absence of extra-linguistic cues and researchers' ability to probe and measure intentions or honesty of participants (Fielding, Lee & Blank, 2008, p. 61). Yin (1994) noted that inaccuracies, intended audiences, and the objectives of these documents must be considered when using and analysing documents in order to be "correctly critical in interpreting the contents of such evidence" (p. 105). In this case, the location and observation of websites allowed me to proceed with minimal burden on participants, and also to observe a sort of "naturalized" presentation of information provided to the general public online.

According to Altheide and Schneider (2013),

> Document analysis refers to an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, and analyzing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning. Technology has made it possible to construct, save, retrieve, and investigate massive amounts of information. (p. 5)

In the case of this research, internet-mediated document analysis was used a) to identify camps that might qualify and contact them to participate in the questionnaire phase of research by way of an email address or a contact form from their website, and b) collect any available information for those who did not complete the questionnaire, and c) identify documents provided by organizations such as newsletters, training documents, and curriculum.

Questionnaires. Questionnaires use written, prepared questions to solicit responses from participants to answer research questions and achieve research objectives (Punch, 2003). Questionnaires are extremely flexible and allow researchers to ask a variety of types of questions (Brender, 2006). One potential downfall of questionnaires is that there is little room for clarification or reiteration of questions if the respondent needs clarification or does not provide the researcher with the required data (Brender, 2006). In the case of this research, I was able to review questionnaire responses with those that I interviewed, and for those who returned them by mail, I made sure to emphasize that I was available should they have any questions.

For this research, I prepared a questionnaire to collect key information about summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations: location, number of weeks operated per year, camp format, and ages of campers. Rather than presenting predetermined options, all questions were open-ended, allowing respondents to respond as they saw fit (Thomas, Nelson, & Silverman, 2015). The questionnaire contained six questions and was distributed by email or through a website contact form to each of the 28 organizations identified in the online search. Fourteen responses were returned by email (n=5), mail (n=1), or during interviews by phone (n=6), Skype (n=1), or face to face (n=1) along with a signed consent form.

Semi-structured interviews. The main sources of data for this research was semi-structured interviews, a key source of data in case study research (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 1994). Gillham (2000) described semi-structured interviews as “incorporat[ing] both open-ended and more theoretically driven questions, eliciting data grounded in the experience of the participant as well as data guided by existing constructs in the particular discipline within which one is conducting research” (p. 45). In semi-structured interviewing, questions are prepared in advance, but the researcher must be prepared to carefully improvise to follow up on the respondent’s

answers (Wengraf, 2001). This may include the use of prompts and probes to get more information about a particular topic of discussion (Gillham, 2000). This method allows the researcher to remain flexible to pursue unexpected topics raised by participants while maintaining a level of structure and control over the discussion. In a semi-structured interview, it is important that the researcher ensures that the questions asked are essential to the research project, connected directly to the purpose of the research, and are not answerable by other methods (Gillham, 2000).

For this research, I conducted 11 semi-structured interviews (7 men and 4 women) over the telephone (n=8), through video calling using Skype (n=1), and face-to-face (n=2). The interviews lasted 45-75 minutes and I transcribed them verbatim and returned to participants for review, though no participants required changes.

I experienced several barriers to and difficulties in recruitment: distance/location, lack of face-to-face interaction to establish rapport with organizations, dearth of previous research, lack of central directory of camps meeting criteria, and participant apprehension about me and my research. My location in Ottawa and inability (due to time and finances) to travel to camp locations across Canada restricted my ability to network, establish face-to-face rapport with organizations, and recruit potential participants. The lack of previous research on these camps, as well as the fact that no central directory to these types of camp exists, meant I was relying on online searches and snowball sampling to locate camps. I also faced apprehension from those I contacted at a few organizations, who had questions and/or concerns about my research (i.e. why I was doing it, what it would be used for, what my or the University's stance was on certain issues, etc.). I also invested a significant amount of time in online searching and pursuing snowball sampling in order to ensure I located as many camps and participants as possible.

Despite these barriers, I was able to recruit 11 participants and by conducting phone and Skype interviews, the geographic barrier was minimized.

Table 1

Participant Information (anonymized)

Name	Age	Gender	Cultural Background
Chris	40-49	Male	Métis
Erica	40-49	Female	English, Icelandic, Canadian
Francis	50-59	Male	White, French
George	50-59	Male	Dutch-German
John	60-69	Male	European (Anglo-Saxon), French Canadian
Pierce	30-39	Male	Caucasian/White
Rachel	30-39	Female	Aboriginal, Cree, First Nation
Sasha	20-29	Female	Canadian, Norwegian, Russian
Scott	30-39	Male	British, Scottish
Thomas	50-59	Male	German, Irish
Leeanne	50-59	Female	European (Scottish, Irish, Welsh)

I collected additional information about participants (location of camp and self-described denominational affiliation), but this information was not affiliated with individual participants so as to provide anonymity. The participants worked at camps located in: Alberta, B.C., Manitoba, New Brunswick, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Quebec; self-described denominational affiliations included: Evangelical, Evangelical Free, non-denominational Christian, Protestant, Full Gospel, Mennonite/Be In Christ, and Reformed Baptist.

A number of scholars have acknowledged the financial and logical constraints of face-to-face interviews, especially when participants are not centrally located (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014), which make in-person interviews cost prohibitive. While much of this research has focused on asynchronous online interviewing, Deakin and Wakefield (2014) discussed recent work on online video methods such as Skype, which I used in this research. Some drawbacks of this method include minimal access to non-verbal cues, lack of control over interview ambiance,

and the potential barrier of participants' access to and competence with required technology (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). Online video-enabled interviewing is nonetheless a valuable and important tool, as it helps overcome barriers such as geographical distance, time, mobility, and space restrictions, and may allow researchers to access responses that are more personal and/or not socially desirable (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014; Janghorban, Roudsari, & Taghipour, 2014). Telephone interviews have similar benefits to video-enabled interviewing of being cost-efficient (avoiding travel expenses) and time-saving, though they have disadvantages such as inability to have interviewee see or read something, some participants may have limited access to phone service, and the cost of long-distance calls (Lavrakas, 1993). In the case of this research, the benefits of these methods outweighed the potential shortcomings, as I made efforts to establish rapport, offered the option of telephone interviewing or Skype, and was attentive to any other accommodations needed to facilitate the research process.

Analysis

I analyzed the data using using critical discourse analysis (CDA). In practice, CDA can take a number of different forms; all facilitate the analysis of the "dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the 'internal relations' of discourse" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 4). It is founded on a belief in the importance of language in social life and in social processes (Fairclough et al., 2011). CDA is aligned with postcolonial theory, as those who use both aim to address social wrongs and questions of power imbalance. Critical discourse analysts view social order as "historically situated…socially constructed and changeable" (Locke, 2004, p. 1). CDA was therefore a fitting method of analysis for this research, as, through postcolonial theory and settler colonialism, I situated my research within its socio-historical contexts. The discourses used to discuss programs and perspectives of staff at

camp organizations were analysed to understand the social usage of language and ideas surrounding Indigenous peoples, Christianity, identity, and settler colonialism.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced literature related to summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations, as well as the epistemology, theoretical framework, methodology, methods, and analysis I used my publishable paper, which appears in the next chapter.

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Chapter 2

Summer Camps for Indigenous Youth run by Christian Organizations in Canada: Religion, Culture, and Possibilities for Reconciliation

Abstract

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's Final Report (2015b) and Calls to Action (2015c) highlight the responsibility of churches and religious groups to take actions to enact reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. One site in which religious groups and churches interact is summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada. In this paper, I employed an exploratory case study methodology, using semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and internet-mediated document analysis, to address the following research questions: i) What are the key characteristics of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada?; ii) To what extent are Indigenous staff members or volunteers and Indigenous cultures included at summer camps for Indigenous youth that are run by Christian organizations in Canada?; and iii) What does or could reconciliation look like in the context of these camps? The results for question one indicated that these camps are found throughout Canada; they take a variety of formats (in-community, permanent camp locations, etc.); they may have affiliations with broader camp organizations, Christian denominations or churches, or other camps; and they began operating as early as 1948. The results for questions two and three included four discourses: "Camps have difficulty bringing in Indigenous staff involvement because they are looking for Indigenous people with the same beliefs (Christians), and those who do have these beliefs not available."; "There is a difference between Bible Camp and Culture Camp; some cultural practices/aspects of Indigenous culture are acceptable at Bible camp, others are not."; "Part of reconciliation at camp is showing campers that Christians are not all bad and building trust."; and "The Gospel, presented at camp, is essential to reconciliation."

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's Final Report (2015b) and Calls to Action (2015c) highlight the responsibility of churches and religious groups to take actions to enact reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. Summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada are sites that have not yet been subject to scholarly attention. Too often, sport and leisure spaces such as these are taken for granted as apolitical sites where children can just "have fun," when in fact they are inscribed with politics and complex relations of power (Giles & Lynch, 2012; Hayhurst & Giles, 2013; Hayhurst, Giles, & Wright, 2016; Rovito & Giles, 2013). Religious programming and goals, and historical events such as Indian residential schools, bring tensions to these camp contexts.

With Christian camp organizations for Indigenous youth, these tensions are pushed farther. Church-affiliated groups had long-term involvement in removing Indigenous youth from their communities to attend residential schools to disconnect them from their land and Indigenous spiritualities (TRC, 2015b). In a fascinating shift of strategy and practice, Christian organizations are now using camp programs for Indigenous youth to assert Christian virtues and spiritual development (Schnitker, Felke, Barrett, & Emmons, 2014). This is the phenomenon that I studied for my Master of Arts research.

This research sought to answer the following research questions: i) What are the key characteristics of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada?; ii) To what extent are Indigenous staff members or volunteers and Indigenous cultures included at summer camps for Indigenous youth that are run by Christian organizations in Canada?; and iii) What does or could reconciliation look like in the context of these camps?, and present results and conclusions based on the collected data. I employed an exploratory case study methodology and collected data using internet-mediated document analysis, questionnaires, and

semi-structured interviews. Indigenous peoples in what is now Canada include First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples (Constitution Act, 1982). While I have made an effort to include pertinent information on First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples in my literature review and analysis, the camps at which the participants in my research worked or volunteered served mostly First Nations and some Métis youth; none of them reported having Inuit campers. As such, the vast majority of my research engages with literature that pertains to First Nations populations. By focusing on the present-day phenomenon of summer camp programs for Indigenous youth in Canada run by Christian organizations, my research addresses an important, but neglected, area and makes a timely and applied contribution to research.

Review of Literature

Indigenous Peoples and Christianity in North America

Christianity is the world's largest religious tradition, with a diverse population of followers who associate themselves with various traditions and denominations, but share the central figure of Jesus Christ (de Souza, 2012). From its beginnings, Christianity has had "an explicitly global and translocal vision" (Vásquez, 2012, para. 1) with aims to spread its message, or "the Gospel," all over the world. The projects aimed at dissemination of Christianity have not been purely religious; several authors have highlighted the entanglements between Christianity and colonialism throughout history (Heinrichs, 2013; Tinker, 1993; Twiss, 2015; Woodley, 2015). These entanglements (as seen historically in residential schools; missionary efforts; and links to the British, and later Canadian, governments) may have continuing impacts in the contexts of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada and are crucial to this research.

Indigenous peoples have had diverse responses to Christianity, with some rejecting it while others have taken on the Christian faith and identity in diverse and complex ways throughout the world (Treat, 1996). Christianity has been "both a weapon of colonialism and…a source of political and spiritual empowerment for Indigenous peoples" (Dube, 2016, p. 146), and these complexities inhibit broad generalizations. Despite Indigenous peoples' involvement in Christian institutions, in many Christian contexts in North America (including those explicitly serving Indigenous populations), Indigenous peoples are continually excluded from leadership and positions of power. They continue to be seen as recipients of "missions", as the *other*, while their cultures and perspectives are stifled by the largely white "missional hegemony" (Tinker, 1993; Twiss, 2015; Woodley, 2015). Though some Indigenous peoples identify as Christians and participate in Christian contexts, they are still largely excluded from positions of power and influence.

There has been a recent interdisciplinary movement towards understanding and highlighting the complexities of colonial exchange and encounters in North America, as well as the diverse responses to and expressions of Christianity enacted by Indigenous peoples (Bradford & Horton, 2016; Heinrichs, 2013; Martin & Nicholas, 2010; Treat, 1996). In addition, there has been a growing body of scholarship from Indigenous scholars outlining Indigenous perspectives on Christian theology and orthopraxy, pushing back against the systematic exclusion of Indigenous cultures and voices in Christian contexts (Leblanc & Leblanc, 2011; Smith, 2006; Smith, 2010; Twiss, 2015; Woodley, 2010; Woodley, 2015). These works highlight the importance of exploring the diverse experiences and perspectives of people at different intersections of Indigeneity and Christianity.

While some Indigenous people have embraced Christianity entirely, others have simultaneously maintained some degree of Indigenous spirituality (Peelman, 1995), and others have rejected and opposed Christianity and Christian institutions entirely, resisting missionary and colonial incursions, and perpetuating Indigenous spiritual practices (Paper, 2007; Sullivan, 2000; Vecsey, 1990). Traditional cultural practices and spirituality have seen a level of revival in North America since the 1970s, an act of self-determination by Indigenous peoples (Tinker, 1993) characterized through the "American Indian spirituality movement" (Porterfield, 1990). The movement for American Indian spirituality was seen to be "countercultural in its reversal of the dominant religious categories of Western culture" (Porterfield, 1990, p. 154). This movement is one example of the individuals and groups who have held to or revived Indigenous spiritual practices in North America. While Eurodescendant peoples were oppressing Indigenous peoples', cultures, and connections to the land, Eurodescendant children were simultaneously being brought to wilderness spaces for summer camps, at which many would learn to "play Indian".

Summer Camps

Summer camps have been part of the childhood experiences of many North Americans since the late 1800s, with young people leaving urban areas for more rugged, natural venues in which to spend their summers (Warner, 2010). These institutions were founded on a number of political and philosophical bases, including antimodernism, regulating children's leisure activities, and catering to desires for "nature-based recreation" (Wall, 2009, p. 7). North American camp and outdoor education programs have roots in programs such as Boy Scouts and the "Woodcraft" movement; like these programs, current camps often continue to combine

physical activities and skill development with supposed character and social development (Fine, 2005).

Many such camp programs have romanticized, appropriated, and distorted Indigenous cultural symbols, ceremonies, and words in various aspects of their programs (Wall, 2005). Some camps, such as Taylor Statten Camps (TSC), have made significant efforts to reform their programs and retire problematic ceremonies and attire, and to instead involve Indigenous peoples to lead and educate staff and campers (Wilkes, 2011). Research on summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada does not yet exist, but especially in light of recent calls for reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, it is a valuable context to investigate.

Reconciliation

In focusing on programs run by Christian organizations for Indigenous populations, my research enters an important conversation on reconciliation. For the purposes of this paper and the Canadian context, I focus on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) approach to reconciliation.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The TRC released a number of documents (TRC, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c) outlining the history of residential schools in Canada, including experiences of Indigenous peoples with both Christianity and recreation and sport, reflecting on past interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in these contexts and making important recommendations for enacting reconciliation in these spheres. The TRC (2015a) described reconciliation in Canada as "establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples," which requires "apologies, reparations, the relearning of Canada's national history, and public commemoration," as well as

"real social, political, and economic change…ongoing public education and dialogue" (p. 20-21). Christian institutions have a particularly important role to play, through both educating staff and members on the history and legacy of residential schools and working to mitigate and prevent spiritual violence (TRC, 2015b). Reconciliation, the TRC (2015b) asserted, "must extend beyond residential schools to encompass all aspects of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations and connections to the land" (p. 190); as a result, exploring possibilities for reconciliation in summer camps contexts for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations is imperative.

Theoretical Framework

A postcolonial theoretical framework informed my research. Postcolonial theory operates under the assumption that colonialism is not a thing of the past but continues to affect individuals and societies in a number of ways today (McEwan, 2009). For postcolonial theorists, knowledge and power are inextricably linked and the use of knowledge and discourse are means of exercising power (Hayhurst, 2009). Power is not seen to be hierarchical or linear, but rather in perpetual flux in multiple directions (MacDonald, Abbott, & Jenkins, 2012). The use of "discursive practices" is the primary focus of postcolonial theory; postcolonial theorists identify and interrogate discourses that may perpetuate, or resist, colonial practices (Hayhurst, 2009; McEwan, 2009; Young, 2001). The history of Christian organizations in residential schools and missionary efforts, as well as the history of summer camps as primarily Eurodescendant-focused and antimodernist in philosophy, with a history of problematic appropriation and distortion of Indigenous cultures and practices, all have important links to colonialism. Postcolonial theory offers a lens through which to interrogate these spaces and the discourses present within them to engage in dialogue and action towards reconciliation and healing.

Methodology

For this research, I employed an exploratory case study methodology. The case at hand is the phenomenon of camp programs for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada. Case study research involves the in-depth analysis of a delineated case, such as a contemporary event, issue, or phenomenon, bounded by time, place, or other characteristics to (Moore, Lapan, & Quartaroli, 2011). Yin (1994) argued that case studies can be exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory; this research falls under the category of exploratory, as research has not been previously conducted on these programs, and this work seeks to provide context for further research.

Sampling

I contacted organizations that met my inclusion criteria: Christian/church-affiliated organizations that run camps for Indigenous youth in Canada. I excluded any camps that were not in operation, or that described themselves as "family camps," meaning that parents or guardians would also be present and participating in the camp setting. In the initial stage of sampling, I used purposive sampling, which refers to the process of selecting a group or phenomenon and intentionally sampling within that frame (Higginbottom, 2004). Camps' websites were found through Google searches by the using combinations of search terms from the following lists:

List 1: "camp", "ministry", "vacation bible school", "VBS", "outdoor education", "bible camp"

List 2: "Canada", "Alberta", "British Columbia", "Manitoba", "New Brunswick", "Newfoundland", "Nova Scotia", "Ontario", "Prince Edward Island", "Quebec", "Saskatchewan", "Northwest Territories", "Nunavut", "Yukon"

List 3: "Indigenous", "Aboriginal", "Native", "First Nations", "Métis" or "Inuit".

Additionally, I went through the websites of all the camps listed as registered with Christian Camping International's Canadian branch searching for mention of Christian links of the camp as well as any Indigenous youth as a target audience. After coming across One Hope Canada Ministries (previously called Canadian Sunday School Mission, an organization working since 1927 to spread the Christian Gospel through "Sunday Schools" and "Bible Camps"), I went through its camp websites in a similar manner. To cover possible French-only camps, I used the following search terms: "Colonie de vacances" and "camp d'été" in combination with "Autochtone," "Premières Nations," "Inuit," and "Métis" along with the options in List 2 above, but I did not find any results this way. The next level of sampling was within-case sampling, in which participants are selected within a specific group (Higginbottom, 2004). I initially contacted 36 organizations. I then eliminated eight for not meeting the inclusion criteria.

Methods

The methods used for this research were internet-mediated document analysis, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews. Together these methods provided diverse and valuable data. This research was approved by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Ottawa

Internet-Mediated Document Analysis

Bowen (2009) described document analysis as "a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material" (p. 46); these documents "contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher's intervention" (p. 46). The use of the internet to acquire documents, and of websites as a source of data, meant this research employed internet-mediated research (IMR), or more specifically, internet-mediated document analysis (Hewson, 2003). In the case of this

research, internet-mediated document analysis was used a) to identify camps that might qualify and contact them to participate in the questionnaire phase of research by way of an email address or a contact form from their website, and b) collect any available information for those who did not complete the questionnaire, and c) identify documents provided by organizations such as newsletters, training documents, and curriculum.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires are used to collect responses to prepared questions, reflecting the research question and objectives, in a written format (Punch, 2003). The questionnaire in this research was used to collect basic information about the camps such as location, number of weeks operated per year, camp format, and ages of campers, to provide crucial contextual data. It included open-ended questions, with respondents elaborating their own responses rather than selecting from predetermined options (Thomas, Nelson, & Silverman, 2015). The questionnaire contained six questions and was distributed by email or through a website contact form to each of the 28 organizations identified in the online search. Fourteen responses were returned by email (n=5), mail (n=1), or during interviews by phone (n=6), Skype (n=1), or face to face (n=1) along with a signed consent form.

Semi-Structured Interviews

In case study research, interviews, particularly semi-structured interviews, have been identified as one of the most important and richest sources of data (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 1994). Staff members from 10 camps participated in interviews (one per camp, except for one camp from which I interviewed two staff participants). The participants included current and former camp directors and staff members. A small sample size is important when using discourse analysis, as this type of analysis is labour-intensive (Georgaca & Avdi, 2012); therefore, the

sample of eleven interviews was appropriate. I conducted the semi-structured interviews with participants over the telephone (n=8), through video calling using Skype (n=1), and face-to-face (n=2). The interviews lasted 45-75 minutes. Examples of questions included the following: "Is Indigenous culture used or reflected in the programs, if so, how?"; "What are the goals of the program you have been involved with? What are you aiming to achieve?"; and "Would you say that this program is in line with goals for reconciliation commission, as outlined by the TRC?" I transcribed all interviews verbatim and returned the transcripts to the interviewees for verification prior to analysis. None of the participants requested any change to their transcript.

Table 1

Participant Information (anonymized)

Name	Age	Gender	Cultural Background
Chris	40-49	Male	Métis
Erica	40-49	Female	English, Icelandic, Canadian
Francis	50-59	Male	White, French
George	50-59	Male	Dutch-German
John	60-69	Male	European (Anglo-Saxon), French Canadian
Pierce	30-39	Male	Caucasian/White
Rachel	30-39	Female	Aboriginal, Cree, First Nation
Sasha	20-29	Female	Canadian, Norwegian, Russian
Scott	30-39	Male	British, Scottish
Thomas	50-59	Male	German, Irish
Leeanne	50-59	Female	European (Scottish, Irish, Welsh)

Analysis

For this research, I used critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse the data (Fairclough, 2010). CDA is an analysis technique that focuses on "the semiotic dimensions of power, injustice, abuse, and political-economic or cultural change is society," enacting critique as "a form of intervention in social practice and social relationships," while openly taking the side of the oppressed (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011, pp. 357-358). The foundational element

of CDA, a discourse, is defined as “a collection of related statements or events that defines relationships among elements of the social world” (Lawson & Garrod, 2001, p. 69). Using CDA, I was able to identify discourses within the collected data, using the following process.

I followed Willig’s (2008) six-step process for CDA, supported through the use of NVivo for data organization. First, I read through the transcribed interviews and acquired documents, focusing on “discursive constructions,” searching for all parts of the text that contribute to the construction of a discursive object. Second, I considered different constructions of a discursive object, and located them within wider discourses. In the third step, I explored these broader discursive contexts, and the object’s relation to them, in more detail. Fourth, I considered the “subject positions,” or “discursive locations from which to speak and act” (Willig, 2008, p. 176). Fifth, I explored “the relationship between discourse and practice”, fleshing out the ways in which discourses facilitate or inhibit actions. Finally, for the sixth step, I considered subjectivity and how discourses shape ways of seeing the world, considering “what can be felt, thought, and experienced from within various subject positions” (Willig, 2008, p. 176).

Results

The results of this research included broad contextual information about summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada, followed by four discourses identified in interview and document analysis data. Basic information about the camps; locations, what ages they serve, and how long they have been in operation provides important context to understand the phenomenon of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada.

Table 2

Summer Camps for Indigenous Youth Run by Christian Organizations: Questionnaire (Q) and Online Data

Name	Q Complete	Affiliation	Location	Format	Est.	Ages	avg # wks
Camp Living Water AB	Yes	Camp Living Water BC	AB	Permanent location (rented)	1979	6-16	5
Camp Nookoowai	No	InterAct Ministries Calgary	AB	Unknown	1995	6-17	4
Frontier Lodge	Yes	Frontier Camping Society	AB	Permanent location (FN-specific weeks)	1959	11-18	2
Healing Hearts Summer Kids Ministry	No	Healing Hearts Ministries Inc.	AB	Mobile/in-community	?	?	?
Kids Culture Camp	No	Edmonton Native Healing Centre, Christian Reformed Church	AB	Unknown	2002	?	?
Camp Living Water BC	Yes	Camp Living Water AB	BC	Permanent location (owned)	1998	6-16	3
First Nations Youth Camp	Yes	Sagitawa Christian Camps	BC	Permanent location (rented)	?	7-14	1
Esperanza	No	Esperanza	BC	Permanent location (owned)	?	6-18	?
Indigenous Family Centre Kids Camp	No	Indigenous Family Centre	MB	Unknown	?	5-12	6
Pathway Camp Ministries	Yes	None, (previously International Christian Mission Services)	MB	Mobile/In-Community	2007	?	?
Daystar Native Outreach Day Camps	Yes	Daystar Native Outreach (17 communities)	ON	Mobile/In-Community	1998	5-13	1 per location
Higher Challenge Wilderness Adventures	No	Northern Canadian Evangelical Mission (NCEM)	SK, AB	Mobile/ Out-tripping	1993	13-19	3.5
Camp Christopher	Yes	Presbyterian Church in Canada, United Church of Canada	SK	Permanent location (sponsor Indigenous youth to attend)	?	?	?
Arrowhead Native Bible Center	Yes	Northern Canada Evangelical Mission (NCEM)	NB, NS	Permanent location (owned) & Out-tripping	1988	8-19	?

Beaver Lake Camp	Yes	Northern Youth Programs (NYP)	ON	Permanent location (owned), overnight	1969	9-16	4
Pinaaz-i Zibi Maamawi	Yes	Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada	ON	Permanent location (rented)	2017	7-16	1
Mish Adventures Camp	No	iEmergence, Speroway	ON	Mobile/in-community	2006	?	?
Smoky Trail Native Bible Camps	No	Georgian Native & Outreach Ministries	ON	Mobile/in-community	1998	?	?
Sonrise Camp	Yes	Doulos Ministries, Cree Baptist Church (Mistissini)	QC	Permanent location (owned), day & overnight	2012	5-17	5
Kwayakotage Native Bible Camp	No	Northern Canada Evangelical Mission (NCEM)	QC	Mobile/in-community	?	?	?
Big River Bible Camp	Yes	Northern Canada Evangelical Mission (NCEM)	SK	Permanent location (owned), overnight	1948	8-17	7
No Strings Attached Ministries	No	Healing Hearts Ministries Inc.	SK	Mobile/in-community	?	?	?
Pine Ridge Bible Camp	No	Northern Canada Evangelical Mission (NCEM)	SK	Permanent location	1972	8-17	?
Ministry of Ben and Nikki Clarke	Yes	NAIM, Nemeiben Lake Canoe and Bible Camp	SK	Permanent location (rented) & Out-tripping	1996	7 -17	6
Camp Klondike	Yes	Dawson Community Church	YT	Permanent location (owned), overnight	~1980	7-15	3
“Summer Camps & Bible Day Camps”	No	SEND International	YT, NT, NU	Unknown	?	?	?
“Bible Camps”	No	Native Evangelical Fellowship of Canada	?	Unknown	?	?	?
“Summer Camps” run by Missionaries	No	North America Indigenous Ministries	?	Unknown	?	?	?

These results indicate that Christian camps for Indigenous youth are a widespread in Canada, as they are found throughout Canada. The camps take a variety of formats: staff

travelling into Indigenous communities for “mobile” camps, bringing youth out for wilderness out-trips, or bringing youth to a permanent camp site (whether owned or rented from another organization). These camps include standalone organizations, programs run by broader organizations that offer other programs as well, organizations that run multiple camps, or individuals/couples running camp programs. The organizations and programs I identified began operating as early as 1948, with the most camps being founded in the 1990s (three in 1998 alone). There was a near even split between camps held at a permanent camp location and those with staff travelling into Indigenous communities to run camps.

This information provided vital context for the discourse analysis, through which I identified four key discourses: “Camps have difficulty bringing in Indigenous staff involvement because they are looking for Indigenous people with the same beliefs (Christians), and those who do have these beliefs not available.”; “There is a difference between Bible Camp and Culture Camp; some cultural practices/aspects of Indigenous culture are acceptable at Bible camp, others are not.”; “Part of reconciliation at camp is showing campers that Christians are not all bad and building trust.”; and “The Gospel, presented at camp, is essential to reconciliation.” I explore these discourses below.

Discourse 1

The first discourse I identified is that camp administrators have difficulty finding Indigenous staff, as they are looking for people with the same (Christian) beliefs as themselves. Interviewees indicated that such people (Indigenous and Christian) are not accessible, due to either not being known to camp administrators or being known but too busy to participate.

When asked about Indigenous peoples’ involvement in planning and running camp, Pierce responded:

> They're not involved very much in the planning or the running of the programs. I wish we could get more involvement…The best we've been able to do it seems is to get…a couple different fellas in as our speakers… One of the things we're finding is that a lot of them are just so swamped…with their own ministries that it's hard for them to break away…there's just not a lot of direct involvement on the day-to-day programming level.

Pierce's indication that those they wish to bring in, those associated with churches or church groups, are too busy with their own "ministries" implies the specific search for those aligning with the Christian faith.

Several of the camps whose websites were accessed during document analysis had publicly accessible staff/volunteer applications, which included questions or statements for applicants to respond to indicating alignment of their beliefs with those of the camp. Beaver Lake Camp's volunteer application requested details for the applicant's home church and pastor, questions such as "Do you know Christ as your personal Saviour?" and "Briefly describe your spiritual journey," and other questions to further understand their religious and "moral" activity. Smoky Trail Native Bible Camps' 2018 staff application includes a "Statement of Faith" and require staff sign a "Letter of Agreement," including the following: "I agree to uphold the Statement of Faith, Standards of Conduct, Accountability and Policies…and I am willing to work diligently to win others to Christ. I am prepared to do this by word of mouth and by consistent Christian living at all times." Finally, Big River Bible Camp's volunteer application requires applicants attach a "testimony" of "how you came to faith in Jesus Christ." These examples further elaborate the requirement of camps to bring in staff aligning with certain beliefs.

Scott attributed the lack of involvement of Indigenous people at the camp he works at to a scarcity of Indigenous Christians in the area where camp is run.

> I would love to have some First Nations believers want to have that level of involvement. I don't want to do it just because they're Native though…There is only a handful of First Nations people who would identify themselves as Christian in this area.

In this quote it is clear that the priority for Scott and his camp is to have people whose beliefs align with the camp.

Chris expressed a similar sentiment, "We don't keep [our religious beliefs] a secret…We do two chapels a day [and] there's staff devotions, there's cabin devotions, so [it's a challenge] finding [First Nations] staff who…share those same goals." Christianity is integral to the programming, goals, and staff involvement at camp and, therefore, Chris asserted, the camp is are looking for staff and volunteers who align with those beliefs.

Throughout her time leading the program for First Nations children, Sasha expressed that there had not been Indigenous staff involvement: "We haven't had anyone that I know of in the past nine years I guess, and that's just because we haven't been able to find people who want to and who have the same vision and mission." Though she later mentioned they would like involvement from the local Indigenous people, this has not yet happened.

In contrast to these examples, Thomas and Leeanne described Indigenous peoples' participation in their camp programs. Leeanne expressed a desire for more involvement from the local Indigenous community, especially in planning, but that the camp does have community members who are invested in and supportive of the camp, and local youth who participate as leaders in running the programs. Thomas described the approach his camp takes to involvement from Indigenous peoples:

> We have elders come from this community that we're working on here, and from other communities as well. Some of them are Christians, some of them are not, some of them are very traditional. We don't consider that in the programming at all…We invite people to come the way they are, with their beliefs as they are, and we work with them.

Discourse 2

The second discourse that I identified was that participants believed that there is a difference between Bible Camp and Culture Camp. In fact, most participants indicated that Indigenous cultures are scarcely considered or reflected in the camp programs, and that specific aspects of Indigenous cultures are not acceptable in a Christian camp context.

Some participants outlined an explicit distinction between "Bible Camp" and "culture camp." Chris stated:

> We have people that are like, "Why aren't we teaching them culture?" You know, which in our area would be more the Native spirituality. "Why aren't we talking about the Peace Pipe, why aren't we doing sweats, why aren't we doing sun dances these kinds of things…", …what I always say is that we're not a culture camp. We're a Bible camp. We're teaching from the Bible, so…no we're not teaching about culture…

Rachel also emphasized this distinction:

> There's a difference between a culture camp and a Bible camp…The culture camp is surrounded by um…the spiritual aspect of Aboriginals, endorsing, well, allowing sweat lodges and stuff like that…And a Bible camp is just based on…learning…doing music and puppet shows and all that kind of stuff, like stories, and skits, dramas, to help the kids understand different kinds of stories in life.

Scott shared his perspective on why Indigenous culture is often not incorporated in Bible camp contexts:

> There can be a lot of fear when it comes to incorporating…First Nations culture in a Bible camp…Because First Nations culture tends to be intertwined with their religion, and as a Western white person, I don't know where that…begins and ends?...I try to be very cautious of syncretism…I don't want to promote something that means something different to the people that are coming from the community than it would mean to me. For example, if I had an eagle feather hanging in the lodge, well that's just an eagle feather to me, but that's representative of something religious to a Native person, so we try to be very cautious because we also don't know anything about their culture, so it gets a little ridiculous when White people are trying to make…Native camp "Native-ey" [laughs], if you know what I mean.

Pierce and Thomas, however, expressed a different perspective: a desire to incorporate aspects of Indigenous practices: "There's validity in other cultures…We need to accept cultures for what they are, accept them, recognize that there's a place for appropriate cultural practices within the kingdom of God all over the world." Thomas described that the staff at the camp he is involved with explicitly seeks to learn and incorporate Indigenous practices, and offers an atmosphere of mutual learning, while still expressing the goal of communicating the message of the Christian Gospel. At this camp, they have a higher level of comfort with the inclusion of cultural practices.

> The goal is to take and talk to these young people and help them to recognize their own history, their own past, and recognize that they are who the Creator made them to be. And with the goal that we hope someday they'll have a relationship with Jesus, the Creator's

> son…but we had one elder come out and visit with us who is a believer, and…he shared his story, his testimony, and he said he couldn't…understand a relationship with the Creator…until…he understood his identity as himself, as an Indigenous, First Nations person…that's what we're trying to build into the community.

In contrast with most other participants (save Pierce), Thomas' account outlines programming more open to Indigenous cultural and spiritual expressions in a Christian camp context.

Discourse 3

When asked about reconciliation at camp, participants re-produced a discourse that stated that part of camp, and of reconciliation enacted at camp, is showing campers that Christians are not all that bad and building trust with Indigenous campers. Chris shared that as part of the camp at which he works, they bring in an Indigenous speaker who shares about his positive experience at residential schools.

> He's a residential school survivor, and there's so much negativity put upon that. So we get him out here and, usually once a year…he talks and he says residential school was the best thing in his life, and if he didn't have residential school, he doesn't know where he'd be…He's like, "I'm not sitting here saying that every person's experience was like mine," but he said "we were at a good school," and he said, "anyone that I talked to, it's been good."

Similarly, Pierce described some weariness from "mainstream" views of residential schools as negative; the organization running the camp he works with was historically involved with running residential schools, and he attributed the positive relationships with the local Indigenous people to continuation of those formed during the residential school era.

> [Our religious denomination], I think, had a completely different approach and developed a completely different relationship with the First Nations culture in their schools, because the premise, the goal was completely different. The goal wasn't to assimilate First Nations into White man world. The goal was to educate, the goal was to teach and to share the Gospel, and allow the Native to be the Native as much as he wanted to be or as much as possible, send him back to his family and affirm him as a First Nations person, and I think that's why we actually still have a connection here in the North 40 years later.

This camp uniquely has a direct link to a former residential school, and Pierce described this as a key part of the positive relationships that continue with the camp he works for; in fact, many of the campers have relatives who attended the residential school run by the organization.

Erica added to this discourse a distinction between the actions taken at residential schools and what she believes to be the true nature of God:

> When they start to know the truth about who God is and what the Bible does say, and how we are supposed to treat each other, then that is a…great foundation for healing, because then there comes a separation of, oh well that person wasn't acting…out of faith in God or out of love…and that's where the hurt comes from, but here, here there is…truth and love, and that is healing in itself.

In her view, her camp's program works to change people's understandings of Christianity and of God; she asserted that the true nature of God was not reflected in the harms done at residential schools, and that positive relationships built at camp are essential to healing.

Thomas explained that the work for reconciliation at the camp at which he works involves differentiating Christianity from historical actions such as residential schools:

> The main focus of our camp is reconciliation…it's not a Bible camp or a Christian camp…it's about building relationships, and honouring people, respecting people from where they come from, and trying to…connect with…connect with kids and families in such a way that, you tell them…the Church is not what they were raised to think it was, and is not historically…what was happening in history – [that] is not representative of the people who are in the church…

To share this message that Christianity is not in line with the terrible experiences some had at residential schools, Thomas argued. He stated that relationships built on mutual respect are necessary, and learning and sharing cultures and perspectives.

Leeanne described healing and reconciliation through showing the nature of Jesus at camp, and she described a belief in the presence of God among Indigenous cultures:

> Christianity has had a negative role in relationship with Indigenous people through residential schools and missionaries and stuff like that, and so we really have just attempted to be the hands and feet of Jesus, and have his heart and his love for these kids, and to just love on them. And He's been part of their life and their culture right from the beginning. But because of oppression and colonization and everything else, it's been hidden, his love for them…Their awe of creation and Creator has been damaged by what the European people did, and so we're just here to…in a way say sorry.

Leanne saw the actions of colonization as not representative of God, and argued that camp is an opportunity to show the true character of Jesus to campers.

Discourse 4

The fourth discourse that I identified was that the Gospel, as presented at camp is essential to reconciliation. When asked about the goals of camp, several participants linked

sharing the Christian Gospel directly to reconciliation. The concept of reconciliation seemed to have different meanings for different participants; in addition to being linked to the TRC, the participants noted that it is also a concept used in Christianity to describe reconciliation to God, with the belief that those who have sinned have turned their back to God and may seek reconciliation to him, through Jesus Christ.

When asked about reconciliation being facilitated through the camp setting, Erica responded:

> I think of course healing can happen, and, especially when…people…and kids and youth…but adults too, when they start to know the truth about who God is and what the Bible does say, and how we are supposed to treat each other, then that is a…a great foundation for healing.

The Bible and its teachings about how people should interact with one another, Erica asserted, is key to reconciliation between peoples.

Pierce turned the discussion of reconciliation at camp towards a concept of religious reconciliation rather than reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples:

> The best reconciliation we can offer is that of reconciliation to God. Obviously there have been atrocities committed…unfortunately, it's a part of the fallen world we live in…and what we can do is…hold out the light of the Gospel, say, you know, there's true reconciliation for fallen mankind…We all have the basic need of the relationship with Jesus Christ. And I think that, you know as people come to that relationship, that's where true reconciliation can take place.

In this quote, Pierce asserted that reconciliation in the Christian understanding of reconciliation to God the best reconciliation that can occur.

In response to questions about reconciliation, George shared: “if they [Indigenous peoples] don’t come to that area of forgiveness, and I don’t know if you can really do that without Christ…I don’t think there’s gonna be a lot of healing.” In this way, he asserted that Christ and the Christian faith (shared and taught at camp) are essential to the forgiveness and healing involved in reconciliation.

Discussion

The discourses identified in the results section above illustrate the ways in which non-Indigenous leaders at Christian camps continue to exercise power with Indigenous peoples. The first two discourses revealed in this study related to role of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous cultures in camp, and revealed that Indigenous peoples and culture are largely not included in camp leadership, structures, and programming. The second two discourses reflected camp staff members’ perspectives on reconciliation, both centring the importance of Christianity in these camp contexts as part of reconciliation. These discourses provide important insight into the perspectives of staff members at summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations.

Indigenous Peoples and Cultures at Camp

This first discourse identified a desire to include Indigenous people in planning or running programs, but participants described a major barrier to this: the apparent lack of availability of Indigenous people whose religious beliefs align with those of the camp’s (i.e., Christian and/or holding specific Christian doctrines). While some Indigenous peoples hold Christian beliefs, and numerous Indigenous churches and mission organizations aimed at Indigenous peoples in North America exist, many of these organizations have been hesitant to recognize and hand over responsibility to Indigenous peoples, hindering culturally-rooted

expressions of Christianity (Tinker, 1993; Twiss, 2015; Woodley, 2015). By dictating that Indigenous staff members' beliefs must align with Western, Christian ideals, some camp administrators enabled the reproduction of colonial relations of power, which serve to limit the influence of local Indigenous peoples in spaces that include Indigenous children as primary clientele.

Interestingly Thomas noted that, unlike other participants, they do include Indigenous peoples in their program, including those with different religious and spiritual beliefs, and aim to build relationships and learning between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The TRC (2015c) asserted the importance of respecting Indigenous spiritualities and educating church staff and congregations about Indigenous histories, cultures, and spiritualities. Though many Christian groups require leaders align with certain Christian values and perspectives, it would be valuable for churches and their affiliated camps to cultivate an openness to involvement of Indigenous peoples who may not hold those beliefs in some capacity, learning and sharing between peoples and building relationships with local community members and leaders. This would allow for the sharing of power in these contexts, and the shaping of discourses and knowledge by Indigenous people, rather than the primarily non-Indigenous staff aligned with primarily Western traditions of Christianity.

The second discourse I identified was that participants produced a distinction between "Bible Camp" and "Culture Camp," and that the goals and the cultural practices accepted at each are different. This argument seems to posit culture against the Bible, and assume that Bible camp is acultural, or incompatible with Indigenous culture. This discourse of distinction between "Bible Camp" and "Culture Camp" aligns closely with the previous discourse that highlighted the lack of Indigenous involvement in planning and running camps. Scott mentioned that lack of

knowledge about Indigenous culture and spirituality, and an associated fear of syncretism, or the blending of belief systems (Peelman, 1995), contribute to the lack of Indigenous culture reflected in and included at the Christian camp at which he works.

Scott also made an important point, that “First nations culture tends to be intertwined with their religion”; Indigenous culture and practices are holistic, with spirituality woven throughout all aspects of life (Sioui, 1995). This contrasts with the commonly held Western Christian dichotomy between the “sacred” (aspects/realms of life with spiritual significance) and “secular” (aspects/realms of life void of spiritual significance) (Evans, 2016; Kim, McCalman, & Fisher, 2012). The mention by Pierce of “appropriate cultural practices” similarly insists on the discursive production of difference between certain practices that are apparently appropriate for Christian contexts and those that are not; those produced by most participants as being appropriate in Christian contexts were those seen to be less entwined with Indigenous spirituality.

The rejection of Indigenous cultural practices at these camps, with participants arguing that they offer Bible Camps not Culture Camps, perpetuates the discourse that Christianity is somehow separate from culture or neutral, despite many scholars demonstrating that Christianity has long been imbued and intertwined with Western culture, biases, and motivations (such as in the case of residential schools) (Smith, 2010; Twiss, 2015; Woodley, 2015). This distinction restricts the production of knowledge related to Christianity to non-Indigenous Western peoples. Indeed, Smith (2010), Twiss (2015), and Woodley (2015) have advocated for the recognition of Indigenous perspectives and approaches to Christianity, and the recognition of Indigenous expressions of Christianity alongside the long-hegemonic Western worldview that has been perpetuated. The TRC (2015c) asserted the importance of Christian churches and organizations

preventing spiritual violence and facilitating Indigenous peoples' right to their spiritualities: this should include in Christian camps. Those Indigenous peoples who chose to participate and embrace Christianity should also have space to produce knowledge in these contexts, especially in light of the historical oppression of Indigenous peoples in Christian contexts.

What Does or Could Reconciliation Look Like at Christian Camps?

The third discourse that participants produced, that reconciliation means showing Indigenous peoples that Christians are not all that bad, indicates a desire to break with the historical harms that have been done in the name of colonialism. It is essential, though, that camp staff members' desire to disassociate Christians from historical wrongs does not ignore the continuing impacts of colonial events and practices and the healing that has not yet been able to occur. This means reflecting on and departing from practices that may perpetuate colonial power structures - not ignoring them as a thing of the past, but rather acknowledging their impacts on present contexts at camp.

Thomas' assertion that "the Church is not what [Indigenous people] were raised to think it was" aligns with the assertions Indigenous Christian scholars who dissociate Jesus, Christianity, and the true nature of God from colonialism and colonial practices, arguing that the actions and perspectives of colonialism are not in line with the true message of Jesus (Smith, 2010; Twiss, 2015; Woodley, 2015). Reconciliation will require that there is a departure from the harmful practices of the past, but also the power relations and control that non-Indigenous Christian people have exerted over Indigenous peoples in residential schools, missionary efforts, and other colonial relationships.

While it may be important to camp staff members to differentiate their perspective or approach to Christianity from those who participated in harmful acts at residential schools, it is

imperative that those events and their impacts, and their connections to Christian institutions, are acknowledged and inform the approaches taken by camps and staff. The TRC (2015c) emphasized the importance of education as part of reconciliation - knowing the history of what happened as well as the continuing effects, and pointedly referred to churches and Christian organizations as key places where this education is necessary.

The final discourse, that the Gospel, as presented at camp, is essential to reconciliation, highlighted variations in definitions and understandings of reconciliation held by different participants. Discussions of reconciliation with interviewees, as seen in the above results, were often turned from reconciliation between people groups to emphasize the importance of reconciliation to God, or salvation through the Christian Gospel. In their perspective, these participants saw reconciliation to God as more essential than engaging in reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. This discourse indicated that many of these camp staff prioritize this form of reconciliation over reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, or even that, as George shared, knowing Christ and the Christian faith is key for Indigenous people to forgive and find healing.

As Christian leaders have been able to exercise power and authority in historical colonial contexts such as residential schools and missionary efforts, it is important that camp staff recognize the ways in which dictating the essentiality of the Gospel may reinforce colonial power dynamics in the contemporary camp context. By perpetuating the discourse that reconciliation requires Indigenous peoples' participation in Christianity, non-Indigenous Christian leaders may continue to assert authority over Indigenous peoples in these camp contexts.

Conclusion

The results of this research indicate that Christian camps for Indigenous youth are wide-spread in Canada. At these camps, there is a dearth of Indigenous peoples' involvement in leadership and programming. Continued non-Indigenous leadership in contexts intended for Indigenous audiences continues to stifle Indigenous voices and self-determination. Further exploration of Indigenous involvement, and deference to the leadership and knowledge of Indigenous people of their needs and desires is essential in preventing the continuation of colonial power imbalances. Additionally, the concept of reconciliation, as expressed through the TRC (2015a), seems to be relatively absent in these contexts. While efforts are being made at some of camps identified in this research to build more positive relationships and break from the horrific actions undertaken in residential schools, staff education and knowledge of the history of residential schools and operating with the goal of reconciliation between peoples has been asserted by the TRC (2015a; 2015c) as being essential in all Christian contexts.

Making space for and hearing Indigenous voices, including the voices of Indigenous peoples who do not follow, or even oppose Christianity, is crucial to reconciliation in these camp contexts. This requires not only hearing the thoughts and desires of the Indigenous peoples and communities in which these camps operate and acting upon them, but also involving Indigenous peoples in the planning and operation of these camps (if they are desired in the community). Making concerted, continuous, significant efforts to engage with Indigenous peoples, whether local communities, the parents of children attending camp, local Indigenous organizations, or others, is crucial. These efforts will make space for more balanced relations of power and shaping of discourses by Indigenous peoples with varying perspectives on Christianity.

Further research is needed to better understand community members' perspectives on Christian organizations' camp programs for Indigenous peoples. These summer camps are locations in which reconciliation can and should be enacted, as Indigenous and non-Indigenous, Christian and non-Christian peoples interact, and especially as spaces in which non-Indigenous Christians largely exercise power. The voices of Indigenous children attending camps and their families will be essential to future discussions on this topic and in determining the actions that can be taken to enact reconciliation.

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Chapter 3

Summer Camps for Indigenous Youth run by Christian Organizations in Canada: Conclusion and Promising Practices

Christian organizations offer diverse programs across Canada, including summer camps for Indigenous youth. Prior to my research, these programs had not yet been explored in scholarly literature; nevertheless, they present a unique context with complex implications in post-Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada. Through my master's research, I sought to answer three key questions using questionnaires, interviews, and internet-mediated document analysis: i) What are the key characteristics of summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada?; ii) To what extent are Indigenous staff members or volunteers and Indigenous cultures included at summer camps for Indigenous youth that are run by Christian organizations in Canada?; and iii) According to staff at Christian summer camps for Indigenous children, what does or could reconciliation look like in the context of these camps?

My findings for research question one indicated that these camps are run in Indigenous communities and at permanent camp sites outside of these communities across Canada. They were founded as early as 1948, with the most (six out of 28) being founded in the 1990s. These camps have a variety of affiliations, with some being standalone organizations, and others having connection to specific denominations, local churches, or broader Christian organizations. Programs are provided for youth ranging in age from five to 19 years old, with each camp running for anywhere from one to seven weeks each year. These data, collected through questionnaires and online document analysis of camp websites, provided a crucial foundation to understanding the basic characteristics of Canadian summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations.

Participants' responses to research question two, which concerned the extent to which Indigenous staff and volunteers and Indigenous cultures were included in these camps, drew on two discourses: "Camps have difficulty bringing in Indigenous staff involvement because they

are looking for Indigenous people with the same beliefs (Christians), and those who do have these beliefs not available," and "There is a difference between Bible Camp and Culture Camp; some cultural practices/aspects of Indigenous culture are acceptable at Bible camp, others are not." These two discourses show that non-Indigenous camp staff exercise power over the ways in which culture and the Christian religion may (or may not) be expressed in camps contexts.

The participants also drew on two discourses in response to the third research question regarding what reconciliation might look like in these camp contexts: "Part of reconciliation at camp is showing campers that Christians are not all bad and building trust."; and "The Gospel, presented at camp, is essential to reconciliation." These discourses indicated a desire to break from past wrongs such as the harmful effects of residential schools, but failed to address the continuing impacts of colonialism in camp contexts. Nevertheless, this, in addition to the final discourse, that the Gospel, presented at camp, is essential to reconciliation, may be a means through which camp staff continue to exercise power by insisting that Indigenous peoples' participation in Christianity is a key part of reconciliation.

In this concluding chapter, I expand on these results by exploring the theoretical contributions my research makes to understanding reconciliation and decolonization in the Christian summer camps for Indigenous youth context, identifying promising practices for camps to engage in reconciliation and decolonization (including examples of actions taken by Christian denominations), highlighting limitations and barriers I faced during research, and suggesting areas for further research.

Theoretical Contributions

Through this research, I used postcolonial theory for the analysis of discourses of those who exercise power at summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations

(primarily non-Indigenous camp leaders). These camps have not been the focus of previous research, and due to the complex origins and links to colonialism of both summer camps and of Indigenous peoples and Christianity in Canada, summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations provided an ideal setting for the use of postcolonial theory. The results of this research have highlighted that discourses of reconciliation are used in these camp contexts to reassert Christian dominance in relations of power with Indigenous peoples. More work needs to be done in theorizing reconciliation and research that will inform action and change at summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations. It is essential that the discourses and spaces in which non-Indigenous peoples are in positions to exercise power are sites of analysis, reflection, and action to illuminate how (and even whether) reconciliation might be enacted in these contexts.

My research has shown that summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations can be sites of the re-inscription of colonial discourses and power dynamics through the exclusion of Indigenous voices in planning and programming, the rejection of Indigenous cultural and spiritual practices, and the assertion of Western cultural and religious practices. But they may also be sites where reconciliation and healing are possible through building relationships with Elders and community members, educating staff on colonial and Indigenous histories, and co-creating programming with Indigenous communities. Especially because these camps are spaces for Indigenous youth, Indigenous peoples must be central to the message and programming of these camps and their right to self-determination in programs offered to their children is necessary. In camp spaces where Christianity is welcomed by Indigenous peoples and explicitly shared in programming, the unsettling and decolonization of

Christianity and its expressions is key; this means centring the voices of Indigenous peoples in determining cultural and spiritual expressions at these camps.

To enact reconciliation in Canada, the building of relationships, respect, and mutual understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, Christians and those of other spiritualities, is essential. Especially in the contexts of interacting with Indigenous children outside of the context of their homes or communities, it is essential that Christian camp staff are held to the Calls to Action outlined in the TRC (2015b). They need to be educated on the need to respect Indigenous spirituality in its own right, on the history and legacy of residential schools and the roles of the church parties in that system, and on the history and legacy of religious conflict in Aboriginal families and communities (TRC, 2015a). Learning from and reflecting on the TRC reports and other writings on reconciliation and decolonization are important tools in these contexts.

While Christian organizations may have goals of instructing and spreading their spiritual beliefs, it is imperative that, in light of historical efforts to suppress and eliminate Indigenous spiritual and cultural practices (e.g., residential schools, the *Indian Act [1876]*, etc.), these organizations respect Indigenous peoples and their cultural and spiritual freedoms. Several scholars (Heinrichs, 2013; Leblanc & Leblanc, 2011; Smith, 2010; Twiss, 2014; Twiss, 2015; Woodley, 2015) have argued for the essentiality of an understanding of Christianity as separate from Western influence, and instead making space for Indigenous expressions of Christianity. This discussion is crucial, they argued, for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Christians. Greater efforts to make space for and support Indigenous leadership and discussions of Indigenous self-determination are imperative going forward in order to interrupt the continuation

of colonial power dynamics in spaces such as summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations.

In working for reconciliation, non-Indigenous Christians must recognize and challenge the continued effects of colonialism in various contexts. One key tool in dismantling colonial power structures is decolonization. Decolonization refers to the political process of "changed relationship between the colonizing power and colony" or the "the undoing of colonialism" (Ahmad, 2012, p. 110). In an understanding of the ongoing effects of colonialism in settler colonial societies, it also refers to "positive intervention of 'unsettling' settler colonialism," asserting that "we do not have to accept the current colonial conditions and can transform them" (Sailiata, 2015, p. 301). Decolonization has implications for diverse spheres of life including policy, history, infrastructure, and food production.

In all spheres, Indigenous people are the only ones who can dictate and lead decolonization. As Corntassel (2012) stated,

> Decolonization offers different pathways for reconnecting Indigenous nations with their traditional land-based and water-based cultural practices. The decolonization process operates at multiple levels and necessitates moving from an awareness of being in struggle, to actively engaging in everyday practices of resurgence. After all, whether they know it or not (or even want it), every Indigenous person is in a daily struggle for resurgence. It is in these everyday actions where the scope of the struggle for decolonization is reclaimed and re-envisioned by Indigenous peoples. (p. 89)

Decolonization must be centred around Indigenous visions and worldviews; non-Indigenous peoples can be allies and partners, but decolonization cannot be enacted without the leadership of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples such as those involved with NAIITS or in edited

volumes by Heinrichs (2013, 2018) have expressed the need to critically analyse and decolonise Christianity and Christian spheres. In the context of Christian summer camps for Indigenous youth, Indigenous people must articulate and co-create their vision for them, and camp leadership need to listen and respond to these visions, including those that reject these camps and Christianity in their entirety.

Shore (2015) made suggestions for decolonization in summer camp contexts, which involves reflecting on the philosophical foundations and ongoing goals of summer camps, including problematic practices of racial mimicry. Long-term changes must be made to shift leadership from white settler peoples to Indigenous educators by building relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators (Shore, 2015). Decolonization also requires that decolonization initiatives are constantly interrogated, revisited, and reformulated (Shore, 2015). Reflecting on and taking action against problematic philosophical foundations such as appropriation and distortion of Indigenous cultural practices, as well as, in these Christian camp contexts, the rejection of Indigenous cultural practices and expressions, is essential.

But as with all decolonization initiatives, centring Indigenous voices and goals of self-determination are key to decolonization in camp contexts. My research shed light on some areas in which decolonization is necessary, but only Indigenous peoples can lead and determine how decolonization can be enacted. Some Christian denominations and organizations in Canada have begin to engage in this process, and offer examples as to what this might look like. I discuss a few of these responses below.

Reconciliation and Decolonization – Canadian Church Responses

A number of church denominations, as well as the ecumenical organization KAIROS, have presented direct responses to the TRC's (2015b) calls to action and Indigenous leaders calls

for decolonization in Canada. These denominations include Mennonite Church Canada (MCC); The United Church of Canada (UCC); and the Christian Reformed Church in North America (CRCNA), all of whom have released statements and resources regarding work for reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. This work can also inform some of the changes needed at summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations.

MCC

Steve Heinrichs is a key voice in the discussions at MCC, and he has edited a number of books (Heinrichs, 2013; Heinrichs, 2018) and pamphlets (Heinrichs, 2015) on decolonization and reconciliation, bringing together Indigenous and non-Indigenous, Christian and non-Christian voices. He and others at MCC compiled a list of actions for settler Canadians to engage in reconciliation: listen to and reflect on Indigenous voices (books, documentaries, news sources, comedians etc.); read the Bible, paying attention to the stories of liberation and justice it contains; learn about and reflect on your family history in relation to Indigenous peoples (and perhaps take action/make reparations for wrongs done); explore critical issues (i.e., treaties, residential schools, missing and murdered Indigenous women, white privilege, Indigenous Christianity); invite Indigenous people to share in your community; spend time on the land and learn about Indigenous peoples' relationship with the land; and bring friends to an Indigenous place of learning. Reconciliation for MCC, therefore, involves engaging with other settlers, connecting with host (Indigenous) peoples, and connecting with the land. Heinrichs' books, and the recommendations made by MCC, would be helpful tools for educating non-Indigenous staff at camps for Indigenous youth.

UCC

The UCC issued a response in 2018 to the TRC Calls to Action (2015c), addressing each Call to Action pertaining the churches and outlining the actions it was taking to respond. These included, “moving toward Indigenous self-determination in its structures and policies” (p. 2); working to bring policies, programs, and procedures of the church into alignment with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN General Assembly, 2007); developing resources to educate their congregations on colonization and residential schools; and making financial contributions to healing and cultural revitalization projects, among other responses (UCC, 2018). This work for education on colonial legacies and policies of Indigenous self-determination could be used to inform practices at Christian summer camps for Indigenous youth, such as the analysis and transformations of camp programs and policies to align with the UNDRIP.

CRCNA

The Office of Social Justice (OSJ) of the CRCNA has asserted that:

> acknowledging the gifts that Creator God has given to Indigenous peoples, recognizing the signs of common grace in their cultures, and overcoming our sense of cultural superiority is about the integrity of the gospel…it is about honoring the image of God as it is uniquely displayed in Indigenous peoples (CRC Office of Social Justice, n.d., para 5)

The CRCNA operates the Indigenous Family Centre in Winnipeg and does advocacy work alongside Indigenous partners such as advocating for equitable funding Indigenous education reform (Meehan, 2018). It has committed to engaging congregations in discussions about the UNDRIP, continuously reflecting on mission and social justice initiatives in light of the UNDRIP, and “engag[ing] in education and advocacy efforts to honour Indigenous self-determination, diversity, and rights” (Roorda, Kaastra-Mutoigo, & Kater, 2016, p. 2). This move

to recognize and affirm the validity of Indigenous cultures and expressions within Christianity would be a valuable approach for summer camps to take.

KAIROS

Finally, a key locus of work for reconciliation is the ecumenical (representing multiple church denominations) organization KAIROS. In its work for Indigenous rights, KAIROS has explained that it is "committed to truth, healing, and reconciliation for the past and Indigenous justice for the present" and "support contributing towards the recognition of Indigenous peoples as distinct peoples and nations, with rights to land and self-determination" (KAIROS Canada, n.d.–a, para. 4). KAIROS developed a key teaching tool, the KAIROS Blanket Exercise, in which participants journey through 500 years of shared history as Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples to what is now called Canada (KAIROS Canada, n.d.–b). The Blanket Exercise has its weaknesses: it covers a long period of time in a very short timeframe; it discusses very little before the arrival of Europeans, and it could benefit from further interactive aspects to balance out narrative. Nonetheless, the KAIROS Blanket Exercise is a unique and valuable tool for engaging diverse audiences in understanding the past and present impacts of colonialism and engage in a physical, dynamic way. It and would be a valuable tool for helping staff at camps for Indigenous youth better understand the shared histories of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Promising Practices for Summer Camps for Indigenous Youth Run by Christian Organizations

While recommendations for reconciliation will not fit in every context, reconciliation means it is important to continually critique and revisit the programming and practices at camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations. Two key aspects of reconciliation, in line

with the TRC (2015b), are education and facilitating self-determination with Indigenous peoples. In camp contexts, staff education and training are key, with topics including Indigenous cultures and histories, the inter-generational impacts of colonialism on Indigenous peoples, and stories of resistance and resilience. This is important; as the TRC (2015b) noted, truth must be known for reconciliation to be enacted. Staff at each camp should reflect on the camp's (and its affiliated church's or denomination's) history of interactions with Indigenous peoples, and work needed to work with Indigenous peoples to determine steps to repair relationships and ask for forgiveness. To increase staff members' understanding and reflection on the past and present impacts of colonialism, I suggest the following: watching documentaries that highlight the resilience of Indigenous peoples, participating in the KAIROS Blanket Exercise, and reading books by Indigenous authors on topics such as reconciliation, Indigenous worldviews, decolonization, residential schools, etc.

Supporting the self-determination of Indigenous peoples and upending colonial power dynamics involve questioning positions of power held by non-Indigenous camp leaders, and engaging Indigenous peoples in sharing power over programming. Promising practices would include taking steps to build relationships and learn from Indigenous elders, teachers, and community members. In the day-to-day camp context, employing Indigenous staff members would make space for voices of Indigenous peoples on matters that affect their lives and their children, and share power in camp contexts to disrupt colonial power dynamics. Building these relationships would require inviting elders and knowledge holders to the camps, and listening to, honouring, and respecting them and their knowledge (including spirituality, whether it be Christian or otherwise). One interviewee in this research, Thomas, indicated that this is already a practice his camp engages in. The camp he works at includes Indigenous and non-Indigenous,

Christian and non-Christian staff and campers, and incorporates a number of Indigenous cultural practices, led by the Indigenous staff.

Indigenous peoples have diverse cultures, histories and desires, and therefore the input of each community in which a camp operates is essential for camp programming. These discussions may highlight culturally safe activities that could be offered at camp, the desires of the community regarding spirituality and religion, the unique needs of their children, or ways that camp could partner to provide important skills (water safety, literacy, etc.). One participant non-Indigenous participant, Scott, described feeling apprehensive about incorporating Indigenous cultural practices at camp; this apprehension is appropriate, as Indigenous community members and staff should be those teaching and shaping Indigenous cultural practices at camp. Involving Indigenous staff members will facilitate this, allowing for cultural knowledge to be passed on in camp contexts. Leeanne, one of the participants, indicated that there are a number of local Indigenous community members invested in and connected to the camp at which she works, including young adult leaders from the community, thus demonstrating that such involvement is possible.

The TRC (2015a) mentioned an important aspect of reconciliation as the prevention spiritual violence, but this is not defined. In camp contexts, this might involve reflection on culture and Christianity – recognizing that Christianity is not acultural; rather, it is imbued with cultural biases and influences. This means recognizing Indigenous peoples' autonomy to approach and shape Christian life and practices according to their cultures, and also autonomy to reject Christianity, which requires that non-Indigenous staff continue to engage in dialogue with Indigenous community members about these topics, and defer to the leadership and direction of Indigenous community members in these areas. In addition, learning about Indigenous peoples'

spiritual practices, and for those who practice it, expressions of Christianity might involve making connections with those conducting Indigenous ceremony (where appropriate) or Indigenous churches (where they exist).

Along with the above actions, I suggest that Christian organizations running camps for Indigenous youth connect with their local church or denomination to work for long-term decolonization within churches, and for reconciliation with local Indigenous people. Building connections with other organizations running camps for Indigenous youth could also assist in sharing best practices and lessons learned in processes of decolonization and reconciliation.

Limitations and Barriers

I faced a number of limitations while conducting this research. The first limitation included my location and my inability (due to lack of funds and feasibility) to travel to all of the locations where participants lived and worked. Had I been able to travel to the camps, I may have been able to build stronger rapport with the participants and thus had data that was even more insightful. Additionally, the lack of face-to-face contact meant that I had to send several emails and reminders to several of the participants before I was able to finally collect questionnaires and/or conduct interviews, and some who expressed initial willingness to participate eventually did not respond after what I deemed a reasonable number of reminder emails (three). Despite this challenge, the single-interview approach, with most interviews by phone and Skype, facilitated less of a burden on interviewees and was most feasible. Further, by making the most of online research and snowball-sampling, I was able to connect with many organizations, and glean as much information as I could through the questionnaires and interviews.

Another barrier that I encountered was that some of the potential participants that I contacted had apprehensions about me and the research I was conducting. Some wanted to know

my or the university's stance on certain issues like religion, politics, etc. Others had questions or wanted me to clarify how the research would be used. In response, I was open about my own stance as a researcher hoping to learn about the practices of camps and explore reconciliation in these contexts, and also being a Christian who had worked at similar summer camps.

I expect that part of the reason I mainly spoke with camp directors or those in leadership positions may have been the camp staff leaderships' intention to control what was shared about camp. This may have been because many members of camps' staff are young people participating for short amounts of time, and the topics we discussed included some socially and politically charged issues (religion, residential schools, etc.). This was a further limitation, as I connected with camp staff through the contact information provided on the website, through which I connected with either an administrator or to the camps' directors themselves, and they were the ones to determine whether or not they would share the recruitment information with their team. Overall, I was only able to interview one person who was not a director or an administrator, which restricted my participant pool. Despite this limitation, these participants nonetheless provided valuable data.

Another important pool of informants that would have enriched this research incredibly would have been the Indigenous children and youth who attend these camps and their parents. It is essential that on issues and topics related to Indigenous peoples, their voices are central. Accessing this pool of participants, though, would have been very difficult without travelling to Indigenous communities and also going through Band Council research ethics for all of these communities. Additionally, the burden of research on Indigenous peoples is very high and many feel they have been "researched to death" (Goodman et al., 2018). The research I did conduct is nonetheless valuable, as understanding the perspectives of those running these camps allows for

critical reflection on the ways that camp practices and structures may reinforce colonial power dynamics, but also how these camps may be spaces in which reconciliation can be explored and enacted.

Finally, as a Christian, non-Indigenous, Eurodescendant, settler Canadian researcher, I must acknowledge that I carry an “invisible knapsack” (McIntosh, 1989) of assets and advantages as a White person, the contents of which have shaped this research. Throughout my studies, I have attempted to approach the topic with a critical lens and aimed to advocate for decolonization, reconciliation, and the self-determination of Indigenous peoples. I have wrestled with sometimes-differing convictions as a researcher and as a Christian. I believe that as Christians we should be looking to the radical example of the life and teachings of Jesus, and that those are not in line with the philosophies and actions of colonialism, and therefore I do wish to be critical of Christian organizations and practices. But attempting to be thoroughly critical of Christian programs, while also holding religious convictions affiliated with Christianity, brought tensions. I am aware that some academics may denounce Christianity in its entirety, and some Christians may not appreciate the critical stance I have taken. Knowing the potential audiences of this research – within or beyond academia, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, Christian or of other spiritual beliefs, I have found it difficult to address the concerns of all audiences.

By remaining flexible with time, being persistent and personable when contacting camps and staff, and being open and honest about me and my research, I mitigated these limitations as best as I could.

Areas for Future Research

My research opened a discussion about summer camp programs for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations in Canada, but much is left to be done. Future research should include

in-person observations, interviews and focus groups, and a focus on the voices of the Indigenous children and youth who attend these camps. The perspectives of their parents and local community members, and what reconciliation and positive relationships could entail for them in these camp contexts, would also be extremely valuable. Further, researcher presence and local networking in areas where camps are concentrated; more focused study of a particular area, organization, or single camp; would also be valuable areas for future research.

It is imperative to continue reflecting on the history of residential schools and links that summer camps for Indigenous youth run by Christian organizations carry with them, as well as the problematic foundations and formations of summer camps in North America. Further research about the nuances of Christianity in Indigenous peoples lives is required – reflecting on and critically analysing these programs must occur with cognizance that some Indigenous peoples embrace and practice Christianity, while also recognizing the hurt and harms caused in contexts run by Christian organizations and people. Further exploration of the historical relationships in these contexts and their continuing effects in present-day contexts, including and beyond summer camps, is needed.

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Appendix A – Ethics Approval

File Number: H09-17-05 **Date (mm/dd/yyyy):** 10/11/2017

Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice

Health Sciences and Science REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

First Name	Last Name	Affiliation	Role
Audrey	Giles	Health Sciences / Human Kinetics	Supervisor
Michelle	Rumford	Health Sciences / Human Kinetics	Student Researcher

File Number: H09-17-05

Type of Project: Master's Thesis

Title: Recreation, Religion and Reconciliation: A Multiple Case Study of Church-run Camp Programs for Indigenous Youth in Canada

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
10/11/2017	10/10/2018	Renewal

Special Conditions / Comments:
N/A

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File Number: H09-17-05 **Date (mm/dd/yyyy):** 10/11/2017

Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2010) and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above named research project. Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled "Special Conditions / Comments".

During the course of the project, the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the project (e.g., change of telephone number). Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes which increase the risk to participant(s), any changes which considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project and safety of the participant(s). Modifications to the project, including consent and recruitment documentation, should be submitted to the Ethics Office for approval using the "Modification to research project" form available at: https://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.

Please submit an annual report to the Ethics Office four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval. To close the file, a final report must be submitted. These documents can be found at: https://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at extension 5387 or by e-mail at: ethics@uOttawa.ca.

Gabriel Petitti
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Daniel Lagarec, Chair of the Health Sciences and Sciences REB

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Appendix B – Questionnaire

How long has your camp been operating (since what year)?

Each year, how many weeks of camp do you operate, and in which locations? (if not consistent, an average per year, and in which provinces)

What format(s) do your camp(s) take? (i.e. staff/volunteer team travelling to community, run at a permanent/designated camp location, temporarily renting a camp location, wilderness camping, day camp or overnight camp, etc.)

What ages of children does your camp serve?

Does your camp(s) have any affiliation to broader organization(s)?

Do you have any pamphlets, info-sheets, or other literature about your camp that you would be willing to provide?

Do you know of other organizations running camps that I could contact?

Appendix C – Interview Guide

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself: where you grew up, where you live now, sex/gender, age range, cultural background, and education? This information will be pooled and not associated with the rest of your answers.
2. Would you be comfortable sharing what religion or faith you identify with?
3. How long and in what capacity have you been involved with this camp program?
4. Why did you get involved with this program? What motivated your involvement?
5. Do you have any previous experiences with summer camps or other similar programs?
6. What does the program look like on a day-to-day basis?
7. What are the goals of the program you have been involved with? What are you aiming to achieve?
8. How does Christianity affect or influence the program?
9. How many staff/volunteers do you have? How are they recruited? How are they trained/prepared?
10. How much involvement do local community members have in planning and running the program? Are they part of your team?
11. Is Indigenous culture used/reflected in the programs, if so, how?
12. Have you experienced any resistance to your work from anyone?
13. How much do you know about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?
    a. Would you say that this program is in line with goals for reconciliation commission, as outlined by the TRC?
14. Do you think there are any tensions in your work in light of residential schools?

15. What does reconciliation mean to you?

16. Is it reflected in these programs? How could it be reflected?

17. What impact has working for this program had on you?

18. Is there anything else you think is important to add before we finish?

Appendix D – Contributions

Michelle Hope Rumford developed, designed, and undertook this thesis, its theorization, analysis, and writing. Dr. Audrey Giles supported all aspects of the dissertation's development, theorization and analysis, and provided assistance and input into writing and reviewing the final product. Any papers derived from this thesis will be published with Rumford as first author and Giles as second.