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**Becoming and Being a Camp Counsellor:
a study of discourse, power relations
and emotion**

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Dedication

To my husband; I wish to extend my deepest gratitude for your endless sacrifice and hard work in allowing me to study. My thanks and love for you is beyond words.

To my children; your unconditional love and adoration have blessed my life beyond anything I could have imagined. You were likely unaware that just the thought of you buoyed me through the long hours, missed adventures and late nights. I hope that my work makes a gentler world for you and champions your strength to boldly go into it with love and confidence.

To my parents; thank you for your love, understanding and support. The challenges on this journey have been great. Thank you for letting me lean on you when I thought that they may overwhelm me.

To my family and friends; May the fruits of this labour make more time to enjoy the pleasure of each other's company. Thank you for being patient and waiting for me.

And to camp counsellors everywhere, especially those whose hearts never left; I said a boom chic-a-boom!



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Abstract

This study problematises current knowledge of camp employment in order to explore the role of emotions in both positive and negative experiences of camp counsellors. Young camp counsellors and management staff are reconceptualised in post-structuralist terms, that is, they are selves that are multiple and fragmented, engaged in everyday experiences and interactions, and constituted in discourse and practice (Marshall, 1997). Camp counsellors are situated in a nexus of power relations with campers, peers, camp management and their own self. Just how they negotiate these power relations is central to my study. In this way, a post-structuralist perspective informs a dynamic and deeper understanding of how power is at work in shaping the emotion work of camp counsellors. Thus I bring Foucault's notion of power together with the sociology of emotions and emotion work.

A reflexive methodology guided the design, data collection, analysis and writing of my research. After completing two pilot interviews, I conducted thirty-eight in-depth interviews during the fall of 2009 in Ontario, Canada. Interviews were transcribed and were coded both manually and then again using NVivo software for more complex analysis. Additionally, I gathered field notes, five staff manuals, 51 web-published Mission Statements, various camp textbooks and one leadership program curriculum. The data was analysed for themes as well as discursive practices. Analysis continued throughout the writing process where I included a number of personal narratives of camp experiences.

This dissertation found that camp counsellor subjectivity is shaped by discourses of transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic, and sociable camp selves. These idealistic discourses of how camp counsellors are meant to 'be' contribute to notions of normalised camp subjectivity. Additionally, technologies of camp leadership work to shape the roles, responsibilities and relationships of camp counsellors. Training programs also attempt to teach prospective camp counsellors to develop the moral character of campers through therapeutic, pastoral and parental relationships. Ultimately, young camp counsellors are responsible for the 'total' care of campers which includes their safety, moral character development, psychological and physical well-being and spiritual growth. The burden of responsibility is high and often difficult for counsellors especially when they are barely older than the campers they supervise.

As the front line deliverers of camper experiences, camp counsellors do the emotion work of caring for campers' wellbeing and development within the camp 'bubble'. The responsibilities of camper care are immense but the emotion work required appears to be invisible. In particular, it was the requirement that youthful camp counsellors embody a happy,

fun and caring subjectivity with little privacy or time off that created the greatest strain on youthful employees. While camp counsellor experiences can be immensely positive opportunities for young people to mature and learn about the needs of others, the emotional demands can create pressures that staff struggle to manage. The emotional demands of care are fundamental to the camp experience commodity and hold the most potential for negligence or harm yet are usually entrusted to the most youthful members of staff. This dilemma is central to camp operations and creates intense emotional demands for those young people who take on the role of 'being' a camp counsellor.

By exploring how camp discourses govern the conduct of camp participants, I reveal how camp staff accept or resist the embodiment of normative camp employment experiences. The liminality of camp influences the degree to which camp discourses and practices are taken up and inscribed by camp participants. In particular, the practice of employing past camp participants as camp counsellors, ensures acceptance of camp rituals, work conditions and loyalty to the ethos of camp. Ultimately, by investigating the ruptures to the 'truth' of camp, this study explores the embodiment and effects of emotion work on camp counsellors. My study concludes by illustrating the complexities of camp and ethical implications for managers and decision makers of the camp 'bubble.' Thus I wish to contribute to management reflexivity with the hope it will result in well supported camp employment experiences.

Author's Declaration

This work has not been submitted for a degree or diploma in any other university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the dissertation contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the dissertation itself.



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Glossary of Terms

This glossary includes terms that are unique to the 'language' of camp, how I describe it and any key concept.

Camp – for the purposes of this study, camp refers to rustic overnight residential stays in a nature-based environment where there is organised activities and group living. Also called traditional and sleepaway camps.

Camp counsellor –the direct child care role at summer camps. Camp counsellors usually live in cabins with four to eight campers and are responsible for their safety, care and wellbeing.

Camp employee – anyone who is employed by a camp. This includes camp counsellors, as well as kitchen, maintenance, program, administration and management staff. Most summer camp roles are seasonal with a few, mostly management and administration, full-time and year-round.

Camper – children and youth (5-16 years) who attend camps.

Camp Participant – in this study camp participants refer to both campers and camp employees.

Counsellor-in-Training (CIT) – these are the campers who attend Leadership Development Camps. They can sometimes be called a Camper-in-Transition.

Emotional demands – the discursive practices that work to create the pressures placed on employees in the course of performing emotion work.

Emotion work – the work performed by employees that is premised on the exchange of emotions, personal interactions and the development of relationship. Emotion work is shaped by the commodification of the emotive connection to other people.

Leadership Development Camp (LDC) –training camps designed to help youth prepare for future camp employment. These camps can range from one week to a couple summers in length, are aimed at 16 to 18 year olds, and include tuition in child care, activity skill development, and leadership philosophies. LDC campers, or CITs, are usually expected to pay for this experience.

Lifer – a person who has attended and/or been employed by camps for a long time, or what is deemed a long time by other long time camp folks (a surplus of 10 years serves as reliable estimate).

Session – this is a period of time in a camp summer that children attend. Most camps run week long or two week sessions.

'The bubble' or the camp 'bubble' – the unique and liminal social, emotional and physical environment that is created by and for camp.

Wellbeing –emotional wellness or health as a state of relative mental, physical and emotional balance.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Background to Study

I firmly believe that every one of us who has experienced camp as either a staff member or a camper will not argue when I say that each one of us would have been a very different person if it were not for our experiences at camp (Author unknown, p. 51).

Introduction

Summer residential camps across Canada claim to offer children and youth opportunities to have fun, develop new skills, play, make friends and experience nature. Likewise, camp employment experiences for young people (16 to 25 years) are also seen as a fun way to gain life and workplace skills. Stories of camp experiences speak of the potential for positive change and are circulated broadly within the Canadian culture. Just how camp employment experiences 'change' young people, as the unknown author cited above, is not very well understood. While 'camp job' stories are anecdotally shared about camp employment experiences, they are relatively unexamined within social science literature. It is the aim of my research to explore how camp employment practices influence the wellbeing of young people in camp counsellor roles.

Camp counsellors are responsible for the emotional wellbeing and development of children through recreation activities. Hence, they are required to manage their own and others complex range of emotions in order meet the expectations of camp managers, parent consumers, working peers and campers in delivering the promised benefits of camp. Camp managers' reliance on the expertise and "emotion work" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 551) of young camp counsellors raises many critical questions about the management of young staff. The invisibility of this emotion work in everyday camp operations raises a number of ethical dilemmas about manager's responsibility for employees' and camp participants' wellbeing, risk management and the effective recruitment and retention of young staff.

Previous camp research has largely drawn upon post-positivist traditions that have focused on identifying the benefits and outcomes of camp experiences (Bolden, 2005; Dorian, 1994; Henderson, 1995; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1999; Henderson, Thurber, Schuler Whitaker, Bialeschki, & Scanlin, 2006; Holman & McAvoy, 2005; K. Russell, 2000). My doctoral dissertation aims to address a gap in the literature concerning the need for a more critical exploration of the complex socio-cultural processes shaping camp counsellor employment experiences. I draw upon a post-structuralist approach to engage in a deeper qualitative exploration of how everyday power relations shape the emotional wellbeing of camp counsellors. My dissertation is

concerned with rethinking the management of summer camps beyond a focus on recreation skills and moral development to incorporate a better understanding of how young camp counsellors experience the emotion work entailed in their employment. The findings of this research will contribute to the development of more reflexive management approaches that take into consideration the ethical responsibility camp managers have for the emotional wellbeing of employees and participants. Moreover my research holds wider implications for how emotional work is acknowledged and managed in other leisure service provision roles and settings.

For those who have not experienced summer camp the context of this study may be wholly alien. This chapter provides insights to what summer camp actually is and why I have chosen to explore the experiences of staff in this unusual context. My personal motivation for this study stems from my own involvement in summer camps and outdoor education. This is also explored briefly in this chapter. Finally, this chapter provides the research problem, goals and significance of the study and a summary of how to approach this dissertation.

Background to Study: What is summer camp?

“Hello Muddah, Hello Fadduh! Here I am at Camp Granada. Camp is very entertaining and they say we'll have some fun if it stops raining” (Sherman, 1963).

For the past one hundred and fifty summers children and youth (6 -16 years) have been attending organised summer camps throughout North America. The foci of these camps are to enrich the lives of campers through educational, recreational, social, and spiritual development opportunities (American Camping Association, 2008). According to the American Camping Association (ACA), camp is defined as “a sustained experience which provides creative, recreational and educational opportunity in group living in the outdoors” (American Camping Association, 1993, p. 14). This is provided through a variety of traditional and contemporary recreational activities in the outdoors (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, pp. 4-5). According to Meier and Mitchell, the delivery of camp experiences relies on “trained and well-qualified staff” (1993, p. 5).

The Ipsos-Reid (2001) report states that an estimated 6.5 million children attend camp every year in Canada. This represents half of all Canadian children who are the eligible age to attend. The average week long session at camp costs \$347 CAD per camper with families spending approximately 12% of their annual recreational budget on children’s camps (Ipsos-Reid, 2001). The report found that almost half of parents surveyed attended camp as children

and 90% of parents who themselves attended camp as children have sent their own children to camp (Ipsos-Reid, 2001). In addition, the report notes that the higher the education and/or income of the parents, the more likely their children are to attend camp (Ipsos-Reid, 2001).

Organised camp governing bodies

The Canadian Camping Association (CCA) and the American Camping Associations (ACA) are the governing bodies that set the standards and administer accreditation for organised camps in their respective countries. The ACA is active in providing services to member camps and individuals such as accreditation, legal regulations for camp provision, research into camp experiences and staff training resources. The ACA also promotes the value of camp experience to the public through magazine publications *The Camping Magazine* and *Camp Parent*. By contrast in Canada the CCA serves as a liaison for provincial camping bodies and supports research into camp experiences. The CCA is also becoming increasingly active in negotiating and lobbying relevant government policies. Currently, eight provinces in Canada have governing bodies for camping. The provincial organisations, such as the Ontario Camping Association (OCA), are responsible for setting regulatory standards for and approving accreditation of residential and day camp programs in their geographical regions. This is a voluntary accreditation for camp members; however, it is seen as significant best practice within the camping community. Accreditation also provides parent consumers assurance that camps are complying with government legislation regarding the complete care of children: health, food service, physical safety, administration, pastoral care and leadership (Ontario Camping Association, 2006).

Diversity of Organised Camps

Summer recreational camps are divided into two broad categories; residential and day camps. The focus of my research is on residential summer camp experiences. Residential camps offer camp sessions that last a few days to several weeks throughout the summer school holidays (July and August). Camps may have from 50 to 300 campers in any one session with staff members generally reflecting a 1 staff to 4 camper ratio. Residential camps provide diverse experiences to campers depending on the objectives set for each camp. For example camps funded or supported by particular religious communities may focus explicitly on religious learning. Alternatively, therapeutic camps work with special need populations (i.e. mental health issues, illness and disease, behavioural difficulties) to achieve therapeutic outcomes. In many instances there is overlap between purposes and types of camps.

On perceiving the changing needs of Western liberal society, camps have begun to include more contemporary technologies and facilities. This includes elaborate equipment and facilities for specialized skill activities (i.e. computers, dance studios, etc.) and has required hiring staff with relevant expertise (Lyons, 1998). Kelly (2001, p. 29) argues that neo-liberal discourses of “active, autonomous, responsible entrepreneur” selves have shaped current ideologies of subjectivity. In camps, activities are expected to have productive outcomes that will assist children in their future lives, hence the introduction of computer or science camps. This recent trend has drawn a distinction between traditional or rustic camps versus contemporary or modern camps. Traditional camps have also incorporated modern practices and activities but continue to emphasize simple, rustic, and community living experiences in natural settings. I will mainly focus on traditional or ‘rustic’ residential summer camps in my study due to access to research materials, historical and genealogical links, an abundance of popular media representations and my own personal experiences of camp.

Camp Staff

There is a wide range of camp employment positions involved in the provision of summer camp experiences from director/managers to front line camp counsellors. Camp counsellors are usually senior high school, university and college students who are employed on a two to three month seasonal contract. Almost half of camp counsellors attended the camp of their employment as a camper (Ipsos-Reid, 2001). Camp counsellors are often studying or seeking careers in fields unrelated to outdoor education or outdoor recreation (Magnuson, 1992); hence, summer camp employment is seen as ‘fun’ work rather than career development. Most camp managers, however, require their staff to have specific qualifications or training (Ipsos-Reid, 2001). Consequently recruitment, training and retention are critical issues for camp managers because these must be negotiated annually, if not seasonally (Magnuson, 1992).

The Ipsos-Reid Report (2001) estimates that the salary for seasonal camp employees in direct contact roles ranges from \$500 to \$5000 CAD for the season (the average is \$1901 CAD). Based on these figures the average income for camp counsellors is approximately \$150-200 CAD per week in addition to accommodation and meals. This appears reasonable from the outset, however camp counsellors are expected to work or be on call 24 hours a day for six days each week. Camp counsellors usually have a 24 to 36 hour period off each week and one to two hours off each evening. If camp counsellors receive these rest periods, and are not asked to do additional tasks like writing parent letters or preparing activities in this time, they are paid an average of \$2.08 per hour.

Background to the Dissertation: My involvement with summer camp

I was motivated to do this study out of my own experiences of summer camp in Canada. I am what camp people might call a 'lifer'. My involvement with Canadian recreational summer camps began in July of 1987 when, at the age of six, I attended the first of many summer sessions at a camp in south western Ontario. I attended my childhood camp until I was fifteen then attended a Leadership Development camp as a preparation for summer camp employment. I went on to volunteer and work in a number of positions such as counsellor, maintenance and program director. I continued working in similar contexts (i.e. outdoor education) after graduating with a Recreation degree from University of Waterloo and then moving to Australia. Summer camp was and still is an important part of my life.

Camp provided opportunities during my adolescence to explore questions of self, identity and vocational calling. I feel, like the author cited at the beginning of this chapter, that camp 'changed' my life in positive ways. However, this happened through the challenges of camp life as much as the joys. Now when faced with the grinning and glossy images of camp brochures, I feel both relatedness and alienation. I identify with the 'fun' of camp but also feel the tug of incongruence with the photographs –there is something more or different about my recollections of lived camp experience that is not being said. As I reflect on both the positive and negative experiences that have shaped my camp experiences, I've come to believe that there is something to be said about the influence of negative camp experiences as well as the positive ones that are advertised.

I recall as a young camp staff member struggling with the contradictions that I perceived between what was commonly stated as the positive and character building benefits of camp and my own embodied experiences of camp. My interpretations of my own camp experiences didn't appear to be contained in the normalised discourses of camp as a source of moral development. After moving to Australia, I was reminded again of the tensions within camp and outdoor education discourses and practices. As a staff supervisor, however, my focus was drawn to the emotional demands of ground-level facilitation roles. Particularly, I began questioning the sustainability of an industry that relied so heavily on the emotional expertise and work of young people. How could employees meet the complex emotional demands of direct contact roles and not be subject to burnout? And how do young camp leaders become equipped and able to responsibly meet children's emotional needs?

In addition to my own reflections, I have had the fortune of having spent many years in the 'outdoor' industry which has allowed me to hear many stories from others. This has

reinforced my belief that there is more about the camp employment experience than is reported in the literature. My restlessness with contradictory aspects of my own camp experiences has motivated me to pursue an understanding of the emotion work of young camp counsellors from a critical perspective. As a result of my own diverse experiences of camp I have come to regard camp as having the capacity to be powerful and influential in the lives of young people. Understanding how discourses shapes individuals' employment experiences can provide crucial insight for camp managers/directors who are charged with the ethical responsibility for and support of young camp counsellors in their employment. This calls for continual reflection, questioning, and exploration of camp employment practices so that the wellbeing of camp employees is appropriately prioritised.

Research Problem

My study explores the everyday power relations that shape how young Canadians (16-25 years) experience employment in traditional summer camps. Within the literature there has been little research that has examined how power-knowledge works through discourses and practices to shape the emotions (and embodiment) of camp counsellors. Conventionally, summer camps are associated with positive personal development through recreation. However, this popular discourse obscures the need for more detailed research into the complexities of understanding and managing recreation camps that rely upon the practical expertise and emotion work of young people. This research applies insights from post-structural theory to a qualitative investigation of the discourses, power relations and emotional demands that shape camp counsellor employment. The dissertation aims to develop a critically reflexive approach that will contribute to rethinking recreation summer camp management.

I wish to problematise current knowledge of camp employment experiences in order to explore the role of emotions in both positive and negative experiences of camp counsellors. I reconceptualise young camp counsellors and management staff in post-structuralist terms; they are selves that are multiple and fragmented, engaged in everyday experiences and interactions, and constituted in discourse and practice (Marshall, 1997). Camp counsellors are situated in a nexus of power relations with campers, peers, camp management and their own self. Just how they negotiate these power relations is central to my study. My research 'makes visible' the emotion work of camp counsellors and is critical in developing more reflexive approaches to the management of summer camps. At the heart of this study is the need to better understand the emotional demands and experiences of young people as they negotiate their roles as camp counsellors in the camp context. In addition, I am concerned with how the emotion work articulated through camp counsellor discourses influences individuals' wellbeing in their

employment experience. Emotions, as a lens for considering and a language for articulating meaning, can provide insights into how camp counsellors are affected by the emotional demands of their role. My study aims to contribute to a leisure management perspective that is reflexive about the effects of power relations on the emotion work that camp counsellors' undertake.

Research Aims

By taking a post-structuralist approach, my research aims to inform a dynamic and deeper understanding of how power is at work in shaping the emotion work of camp counsellors. Thus I bring Foucault's notion of power together with the sociology of emotions and emotion work to better understand camp counsellor employment. I examine how camp counsellors' wellbeing is affected as they negotiate the emotional expectations of camp managers, parent, peers and campers in the provision of positive and moral development experiences for campers. Ultimately my research offers a critical perspective to improve reflexive camp management practices regarding the employment of young people.

Research Questions

My research will address the following questions:

- 1) What discourses inform the employment experiences of camp counsellors?
- 2) How do power relations shape camp counsellor employment?
- 3) How are the emotional demands of camp counsellors shaped and experienced?

Significance of Research

Through the literature review process I have identified gaps in knowledge regarding the lived experiences of camp counsellors and how they are managed. I have situated my study within a post-structuralist framework to address these and extend the bodies of knowledge on summer camp employment experiences and practices. How my research contributes to theoretical and practical knowledge of camp counsellor employment will be discussed in the following sections.

Contribution to Summer Camp Literature

Research into summer camp experiences has mostly focused on the direct camper-experience exchange in terms of benefits gained or outcomes achieved (Hattie, Marsh, Neill, & Richards, 1997; Henderson et al., 2005; Henderson et al., 2006). Additionally there have been a

number of studies that explore the processes to achieving these outcomes (B. Bell, 2003; Henderson, 2003; Persing & Baldwin, 2004; Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning, 2004). Although the insights gained from these studies are significant, the findings have mainly supported dominant conceptions of camp being a 'character-building' and 'value adding' experience. This kind of research lacks an 'on-the-ground' approach to the embodiment of camp experience (Chapeskie, 2008). Consequently an exploration of diverse narratives of camp counsellor embodied experiences are worthy, if not necessary, in the consideration of camp research.

Surprisingly camp employment experiences are much less explored in academic camp literature than camper experiences. Yet Meir and Mitchell (1993) advocate the central role of young camp counsellors in shaping and facilitating positive camper experiences. I argue that it is equally, if not more, important to understand how young camp counsellors experience the provision of camper experiences (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000). The emotion work of young camp counsellors is crucial to achieving the proposed camper benefits and has yet to be examined. My examination of diverse embodied camp counsellor experiences illuminates possibilities for rethinking the emotional expectations of these roles. In particular, the complexity of emotion work is explored through this research. Furthermore, this research focuses on how further understanding of the effects of camp employment experiences on the wellbeing of young people contributes to the development of appropriate management practices.

Theoretical contribution to camping bodies of knowledge

My research contributes to camping bodies of knowledge by way of exploring the employment experiences of young camp counsellors from a post-structuralist perspective. Post-structuralism allows me to problematise discourses regarding the developmental benefits of summer camp for campers and camp employees. By drawing on post-structuralist insights my research considers the complex, multiple and contradictory constitution of self in lived camp employment experiences. Embodied experiences as told from the camp counsellors' subjective point of view opens up many lines of inquiry through the use of post-structuralist insights (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Post-structuralism provides an approach through which to consider how power relations (Foucault, 1982c) shape the emotional dimensions of camp counsellors' employment experiences. A discussion on the self in later sections demonstrates a new way for considering camp experiences using this approach.

Application to the Management of Young Camp Counsellors

By making the emotion work of camp counsellors' visible, camp managers and administrators may address the intangible needs of camp staff rather than the mainly regulatory approach currently taken in resolving camp management dilemmas. From my research I draw conclusions for camp administrators, managers and policy makers in order that they may engage in reflexive management practices that support the emotion work of their employees. This research provides camp managers with in-depth understanding of the emotional demands on camp counsellors and also how individuals interpret the effects of these experiences. It will support recommendations for ground level applications in providing optimal camp employment experiences and inform reflexive practices for policy design and camp administration. More broadly, practitioners and stakeholders in the leisure industry can draw relevant insights on supportive and sustainable employment practices for the emotional demands of leisure service provision roles.

Summary: Orienteering this Study

In the course of rethinking the employment experiences of young people in summer camps, this dissertation explores the historical, social and cultural contexts of summer camp in Canada. The genealogy of summer camp, addressed in chapter two, reviews the many discourses that shape both the expectations and experiences of contemporary summer camp participants. Chapter two discusses the historical development of summer camps, and the dominant articulations of camp experiences in popular culture, industry and academic publications. Chapter two also foregrounds the theoretical discussions detailed in chapter three by way of taking a post-structuralist approach to the genealogy of summer camp experiences. This approach recognises that the articulations made for and by camp managers, academics and organisational leaders shape summer camp experiences for the many stakeholders involved, including themselves. Camp norms, I argue, are often taken-for-granted. Camp management practices deserve critical reflection in order to understand their influence on camp counsellor employment experiences.

In chapter three I explore a post-structural framework for considering the embodied experiences of camp counsellors' selves, emotional work and work-leisure boundaries. Understanding how these experiences come to be shaped through the negotiation of power, in a Foucauldian sense, underlies my study. In particular, this chapter considers how camp counsellors' experience the emotional demands of their employment role and negotiate these within the ambiguous boundaries of work and play. By adopting a post-structural approach, however, my study cautions readers from anticipating a hidden truth or assured solution to the

dilemmas it raises. Rather, this study, attempts to make visible the tensions that exist within the discourses and experiences of camp employment. By understanding the complexity of camp counsellors' lived employment experiences, managers of these employees can work towards more responsible and reflexive management practices.

Chapter four describes the qualitative research process and methodology of my study. I engaged a reflexive methodology paired with notions of grounded theory throughout the study in order to stay close to and develop themes from the research material collected: purpose statements, interview materials, field notes, popular publication content and personal accounts. The research materials were thematically analysed with complimentary use of discursive analysis to strengthen and enrich findings. NVivo software was used to assist with analysis. This chapter also discusses the use of narrative practices and storytelling as an effective and affective way of understanding and articulating this research text. Finally, concerns of credibility are addressed through the application of crystallisation.

The Prologue prefaces the analysis presented in chapters five to seven. The prologue and epilogue sit aside from the usual chapters (hence not having a number) as a way of indicating a different and more personal tone as they are commonly used as a literary device in other texts. The prologue introduces and/or reintroduces readers to the camp world or as camp participants call it, 'the bubble.' This chapter describes the liminality of camp experiences and explains how camp cultures are made possible in a unique suspension of time and space. While the liminality of camp makes it possible for camp participants to create or experiment with fresh identities and statuses, it also creates a void from broader social structures and consequently opens possibilities for unique camp norms to develop. Camp norms are often assumed and can challenge participants who are unfamiliar with how power relations and discourses work in shaping the camp space. Hence, the prologue sets the scene for the analysis chapters which take a particular focus on how camp discourses, power-knowledge and emotions shape camp counsellor experiences.

Chapter five primarily draws on web published purpose statements and interview materials to explore the kinds of selves that are discursively produced for and mobilised by camp participants (campers and employees). The chapter opens the discussion with the promises made by camp publications about the value and benefits of camper experiences. These promises shape how camp participants view and govern themselves. The chapter then explores thematically grouped discursive production of camp selves: transformative, spiritual,

rugged, heroic and sociable selves. These selves, with links to genealogical aspects of camp, form a basis of the subjectivities expected to be taken up by future camp counsellors.

Chapter six focuses on the processes of developing camp counsellors (usually former campers). Training processes offer insight to the power relations at work in shaping certain subjectivities. Chapter six draws on post-structural notions of everyday power, governmentality and subjectification to consider how camp counsellors and their employment experiences are shaped. This chapter also considers the liminal status, and thus influence, of training programs. This is followed by an exploration of the technologies of camp leadership and the discursively produced camp counsellor roles employees are expected to embody: camp leader, therapist, pastor and parent. Additionally, everyday camp practices shape the subjectification of camp counsellors to align with camp norms such as times for rest, work and play through the policies of staff manuals. Yet technologies of domination are not impervious and, therefore, this chapter closes with a look at how camp counsellors creatively negotiate and resist dominant camp norms.

Chapter seven takes a specific focus on how emotions 'work' within camp contexts. Initial discussion in this chapter considers the expectation of happiness and fun as 'the' camp experience. Camp counsellors are expected to embody these emotions in the delivery of both. With little time away from campers and other camp employees, this puts enormous pressure on individuals. This chapter takes up an analysis of the concepts of pastoral care and discourses of camper care that shape camp counsellor employment. Camp counsellors are expected to care for campers in a genuine sense and to govern themselves and others behaviour in alliance with discourses of compassionate discipline. Additionally, camp counsellors are also expected to extend friendship to other camp employees, to the exclusion of relationships outside 'the bubble.' This contributes to experiences of social intensity for those who live on-site for the summer. The frustrating and challenging aspects of living and working in a close-knit social community are often glossed over through discourses of nostalgia and storying of camp experiences when the summer season comes to a close. Learning opportunities from difficult or non-normative camp experiences, if not overlooked by the bustle of busy camp schedules, are often lost through the rosiness of nostalgia.

The epilogue bookends the analysis chapters with the prologue to revisit my personal camp employment experience through a critical lens and in light of the knowledge I gained through this study. I examine how my own stories contribute to a deeper understanding of camp employment. This section considers how ethics can derive from the care of the self and

underpin a way of thinking that is critical yet constructive. The epilogue considers ways in which a post-structural approach to camp management can promote ethical and reflexive employment practices.

Chapter eight concludes the dissertation by addressing the three research questions originally posed. This is followed by a discussion of the implications this study has for literature, theory and application. After commenting on the limitations of this study, I consider what fresh possibilities and new questions might be asked in future research.

The language of camp life:

Terminology in relation to camp life has historically been varied and this is reflected in this dissertation. Academic scholars, camp documents, and staff have described organised camps as sites of Outdoor Education, Adventure Therapy, Experiential Education, Skill Development, and Recreation and Leisure. Camps also purport different objectives, program design and philosophies based largely on the identified target population. However, as opposed to informal or (family) holiday camping, the experiences provided by these different branches of organised camping share a distinct genealogy (Paris, 2008) and as such some commonalities (see Chapter 2). For example, camp experiences are often assumed to be based solely around structured, active recreation (Godbey, 1999). The reality is however, that organised camping seeks to deliver not only physical, but also social and psychological benefits to those that attend. This reflects an attempt to provide a broad 'leisure experience' which has been defined over many years by concepts such as: discretionary time, activity, attitude or state of mind, freedom from constraints, freedom to choose, and experiences of flow (Godbey, 1999; R. Lynch & Veal, 1996; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Neulinger, 1980). In order to reduce complexity in relation to terminology in this dissertation, I will employ the term 'leisure' in reference to the broader experience provided by organised summer camps and 'recreation' in reference to the activity components of these camps.

There is a glossary included at the beginning of this dissertation to assist with the many differences in 'camp' language. I include key concepts and any 'language' or slang that was unique to my topic or how I was describing an aspect of the camp experience.

CHAPTER TWO: A Genealogy of Summer Camp

Introduction

Summer camps are a longstanding social institution in North America shrouded in folklore. The mythologies of camper and camp counsellor experiences are disseminated by many public mediums; by popular fiction or memoir, by movies and documentaries, and by camp brochures and research articles. These narratives broadly present camp as a 'growing up' experience, a rite of passage or site of maturation. Youth and parents have already constructed ideas and expectations about the beneficial nature even prior to engaging in a camp experience. How these discourses have emerged and shape current camp practices are therefore significant for situating camp counsellors and their embodied camp employment experiences. This chapter serves as a genealogy (Prasad, 2009), rather than a history, of North American summer camp inasmuch as it considers how historical developments and discursive productions of camp have contributed to the possibilities for and experiences of camp experiences. A genealogy destabilises assumptions of "theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse" to consider how a subject is subjected (Foucault, 1980, p. 85). Outdoor industry and academic sources of recreation and leisure discourses, albeit enmeshed with each other, establish images, expectations and norms for camp counsellor experiences which, in turn, shape how camp counsellors employment is managed (Hamilton, 1990). It is my intention for this, and the following sections, to illustrate predominant discourses of camp experiences while commenting on the relationship of these to one another.

The historical development of summer camps in North America

The 19th century industrialisation of North America brought a number of social changes which created an environment rich for the growth of organised summer camps and their specific discourses. The socio-political conditions that contributed to the development and popularization of summer camp will be explored in the following sections. Further this discussion will consider the targeted recipients of childhood reform and consequentially discourses on childhood leisure experiences. This first section traces camp ancestry to its earlier forms while, in recognition of Foucault's (1980) genealogy, acknowledges contextual yet non-linear notions of development.

Nature, Physical Activity & the Formation of Moral Character

At the end of the nineteenth century in North America, as a consequence of industrialization, workers were leaving rural areas in large numbers and relocating to urban centres (Berry, 1973). With this shift from rural to urban living it was felt that young people had lost the benefits deeply accorded to the outdoors such as “vigorous exercise” and “a natural outlet in which to release pent-up emotions” (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, p. 18). It was perceived that young people were demoralized by the loss of “intimate contact with nature” (Meier & Mitchell 1983, p.18). Thus the scene was set for “widely disparate groups of adults” to agree that rural spaces were healthy, safe and taught children “social acculturation and good citizenship” (Paris, 2008, p. 7). The physical geographies of summer camps (Meier & Mitchell, 1993; Paris, 2008) were, and still are, traditionally rural. These discourses articulated the notion that “a familiarity with the natural world, a slower pace, a rootedness in the land” will restore the moral link that was lost through urbanisation (Paris 2008, p.8).

The natural features of camps, as well as their isolated geographies, helped to separate camp experiences from urban living. The travel to naturally punctuated rural landscapes and rustic amenities demarcated camp leisure spaces as something different, if not polar, to the dirty city. The surrounding trees and fields represented the “borderlines” of camps as a liminal leisure space (Preston-Whyte, 2004, p. 349; Turner, 1994; Weber, 1995). Wood argues that there is a “spatiality of liminality” in summer camps which is shaped by “the material and symbolic geographies of space” (Wood, 2012, p. 338). Camps are, therefore, a suspended reality where purity and innocence are inherent in the very physical features. The rural environment of camps offered a prime setting for the development of morality and citizenship in its participants (Paris, 2008).

Discourses of moral development became a focus for camp experiences and is evidenced in the 1910 Boy Scouts of America pledge which called boys to be “physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight” (Mechling, 1984, p. 24). This can also be seen in many early camp chants and songs that focus on “virtuous physicality, collective labour, and moral character” (Paris, 2008, p. 21). Morality was seen as something that could be regained through physical activities and through personal fitness and outdoor activities (Peterson, 1984; Pryke, 1998). This, according to the beliefs of the time, “improved bodily vigour and provided the basis for higher moral development” (Paris, 2008, p. 25). These beliefs were central to movements of Muscular Christianity which purported a bettering of the self and the achievement of moral high ground through physical and spiritual practices (Kidd, 2006; Lewis, 1966). The foundation of

the YMCA movement was particularly focused on these outcomes for young men moving into cities from more rural regions. In this sense, camping and other leisure activities took on a virtuous quality and reverence.

Child and Adolescent Development

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a rising interest and visible distinction of childhood as a separate time from adult life (Hendrick, 2015; Kett, 1977). This meant the introduction of new laws that targeted and sought to protect, young people. These laws “restricted child labour, made school attendance mandatory for longer periods, and proposed to keep young people (especially girls) sexually pure” (Paris, 2008, p. 4). These laws demonstrated a change in how childhood and adolescents were viewed and have come to be addressed in contemporary times. This special interest in the unique stage of childhood brought with it a host of expertise about what was appropriate for the development of children and youth. Specialised groups, professionals and disciplines such as “municipal agencies, urban reform professionals, educators” and “the fields of paediatrics and psychology” (Paris 2008, p.4) emerged as expert sources of advice. It was argued that innocence, play, education and a lack of work should be the right of childhood (James & Prout, 2015).

The development and increase of public high schools in the early twentieth century also reinforced concepts about extended childhood and adolescence as separate developmental groups (Zelizer, 1985). The innocence of childhood meant that youth were portrayed as malleable and in need of moulding. Turner called this transitory stage liminal, where a youth was “betwixt and between” childhood and adulthood (Bigger, 2009; Turner, 1994, p. 8; Weber, 1995). Adolescence was defined as the time between twelve to sixteen years when youth were “neither too plastic nor too fully formed” (Paris, 2008, p. 18). Consequently, child and youth experts continue to be concerned with the moral transition of youth into adulthood (Wyn, 2000). It was feared that “community and order” would be undermined if this transition was not successful (Wyn, 2000, p. 61). Adolescence was seen, in the 50s and 60s, as a period in which youth “became someone” and where “identity was constructed and the individual was established as an independent entity” (2000, p. 60). According to modernist notions and the discourses of developmental psychology, youth is “a time of experimentation and self exploration,” which ends when an adolescent learns how they “belong in a stable society” (Wyn, 2000, p. 61). Summer camps were and still are seen as opportunities for the development of adolescences into moral citizens. Discourses about adolescences, powerfully position summer

camps as deliverers of moral character development, shape the kinds of activities and experiences that are available and determine how youthful employees are regulated.

Summer camps are removed from much of the pressures of modern urban life by their rural geography and ideology. Consequently, camp leaders can establish systems and communities that suit their beliefs (Paris, 2008). Particular rituals and routines are structured into camp practices which, while addressing adult anti-modern anxieties, reinforce discourses that recreational summer camps provide a refuge of childhood innocence and opportunities for moral development. Rasenberger argues that camps have reflected “adult orthodoxies and anxieties from the start” (2008, p. 24). Adult concerns with the appropriate development of children and successful transition of adolescents to adult citizenship shape expectations for camper and camp counsellor experiences. Paris (2008) also suggests that campers and camp employees contribute to camp norms. Young people, Paris states, “responded to, adapted to, supplemented, and sometimes challenged the camp project” (2008, p. 14), in turn shaping camp discourses.

Discourses about adolescence set youth apart from adulthood inasmuch as they hold a subject position of less status and authority. The power difference between adults and youth is widely acknowledged (Wyn, 2000). Paris argues that youth “have not had the same relation to power or public life as their adult counterparts” and, particularly in camp histories, “their voices can be difficult to recuperate” (2008, p. 12). However, the tension of this power nexus is exacerbated in exchanges with adolescents in camp employment. As Wyn suggests, “a young person is positioned very differently in each institution and to the people within them, having adult responsibility and authority in the workplace” for example and “childlike constraints in school” (2000, p. 62). Therefore, youthful employees are expected to be both adult and child without really being privy to the rewards of either; innocence of childhood and autonomy of adulthood. Camp counsellors are charged with responsibilities of child care yet are regulated in ways that are usually attributed to childhood (e.g., bed times).

Boys and Girls at Camp

In the early 20th century Hall’s ‘recapitalisation’ theory delineated that childhood occurred in developmental stages and play was a very serious endeavour to building mature adults (Arnett & Cravens, 2006; G. Hall, 1904). According to Hall, boys and girls took different paths very early on. Boys must experience a stage of primitivism in order to complete

maturity whereas girls learned caretaking skills in a 'feudal' stage closely aligned to their mothers care (G. Hall, 1904). Boys needed to separate themselves from adult culture and parental supervision. Thus Hall supported summer camp opportunities for boys to be able to do this (Paris, 2008). Youth professionals advocated that organised camps provided character-building as well as, with their connection to the wild, opportunity for boys to revisit Hall's 'primitive stage' in the completion of maturation. Camps were seen as a way of toughening young men who were perceived to have gone 'soft' by the "effeminizing influences of 'civilization'" (Paris, 2008, p. 19). Summer camp discourses of the late 19th and early 20th centuries argued that a rugged outdoor lifestyle would strengthen boys' bodies, minds and souls making them, in turn, "better citizens" (Paris, 2008, p. 18).

Girls, however, were seen as passing through much more restrained stages of development due to "social conventions and domestic responsibility" (Paris, 2008, p. 47). Although early girls' camps provided opportunities to access primitive life, girls did so on different terms to their brothers (Kerber, Kessler-Harris, & Sklar, 1995). Early girls camps were based on "traditional maternalistic ideologies" (Paris 2008, p.47) where they "promised traditional feminine gentility as well as female physicality" (Paris, 2008, p. 49). Girls' private camps were focussed on "superb womanhood" where a "symmetrical physical development" would provide the "fitting temples for their souls" (Camp Idlewood 1904 as cited by Paris 2008, p.48). These notions, taken up and endorsed by Muscular Christianity, were paired with the socialisation of girls for the graces of middle and upper class society (Kerber et al., 1995). However, this was infused with beliefs that they were 'New Women', able to engage in affairs that were traditionally male. As Paris noted, "early leaders of girls' camps tacked between traditional and emergent notions of femininity" (Paris, 2008, p. 48).

Opportunities for girls camping were broadened through the foundation of two girls' youth organisations in the 1910s; the Camp Fire Girls (1911) and the Girl Scouts (1912). The Camp Fire Girls promoted the benefits of outdoor adventure for girls and paired participation in outdoor life with ideologies of maternalism and domesticity (Buckler, 1961). On the other hand, the gender politics of the Girl Scouts was ambiguous. The use of the term scout and military-like uniform sat in tension to the domestic labour that the girls, within the organisation, received badges for. The Girl Scouts contributions to "war work" gained parlance that "girls, along with women, occupied important public roles" but, were traditionally gendered (Paris, 2008, p. 51).

A 1917 Girl Scouts publication, *Rally*, argued that the “gendering of adventure” was constructed rather than biological, inciting that primitive women knew as much about nature as their primitive male counterparts (cited in Paris 2008, p.52). The Girl Scout magazine argued that girls should not have their enthusiasm for the outdoor adventure stifled by gender conventions or being labelled a ‘tomboy’ or unfeminine (Paris, 2008). Camps, thus, gave girls the opportunity to participate and benefit from the physicality of camp and helped to create a leisure culture that troubled traditional gender expectations. This blurring of gendered leisure boundaries also meant that girls and boys were seen to experience camp similarly. A sort of unisex or ‘one-size-fits-all’ attitude towards gendered subjectivity prevailed and still prevails within camp practices and literature (Lyons, 1998). Understanding how different genders experience camp, under a discourse of genderlessness, would benefit from critical engagement and study.

Leisure, class & ethnicity of camp

Throughout the 19th century vacations or ‘fashionable tours’ were promoted by health practitioners, religious leaders and even the media as “a tonic for urban” life (Paris, 2008, p. 22). The middle-classes were eager to “embrace this message” and by mid 19th century the practice of annual summer vacations had taken hold (Paris 2008, p.22). Holidays were the privilege of mainly well-to-do families and a marker of status. Not only could the bourgeoisies afford the expenses of this kind of vacation leisure, they could also afford the time away from paid employment (Aron, 2001). With the termination of traditional summer school terms, rural and working class children were expected to work during these periods; however, middle class children were seen to be at risk of boredom, listlessness and the immoral influences of cities (Aron, 2001). Private summer camps were perceived to provide a solution for these middle-class concerns.

By the early 20th century adults began to “value the camp ideal”, convinced that a broader range of children should benefit from rural recreation (Paris, 2008, p. 19). Organisations, such as the YMCA/ YWCA and the Boys/ Girls Scouts, made camps “affordable, mainstream, and national” (Paris, 2008, p. 45). By providing camps at little to no cost (often being sponsored by community or church groups) working-class parents were relieved of childrearing duties for short periods of the summer. During the interwar years, progressive reformers utilised camps to socialize young people of the immigrant and working classes in “virtuous American citizenship” (Paris, 2008, p. 54) by establishing systems of chores and duties

at camp that promoted a Protestant work ethic (McGerr, 2005). It was hoped that the American ideal embodied at camp would be transferred to camper families. The religious emphasis on “virtuous leisure” (Paris 2008, p.54), promoted by Muscular Christianity at the time, can still be found in the ‘serious recreation’ objectives of contemporary camps.

The ‘Americanizing’ mandates of reformers, however, often excluded the very people they were trying to reach (Paris 2008). For example, Jewish children were not accepted at camp if their parents insisted on kosher food (Heinze, 1992). It is no surprise, therefore, as “ethnic, immigrant, and religious minorities gained power, many founded their own summer camps” (Paris, 2008, p. 58) to serve children and youth of their own communities. These organisational groups could create camps that “were far more socially exclusive than was urban leisure” (Paris, 2008, p. 7). Therefore summer camps became a site for “social consolidation” (Paris, 2008, p. 20). The purpose was to contain exclusive groups in order to reinforce shared values. However discourses of campers’ moral development powerfully shape possibilities for camp participant subjectivities and experiences.

Saving camp souls: Pastoral care imperatives

Pastoral care, in the British education system, became a necessary agenda for educators as a number of changes including “comprehensive school organization, child-centred methods of employment, and raising the school-leaving age” were introduced (Best, Jarvis, & Ribbins, 1977, pp. 128-129). Best and his colleagues (1977) point to significant post-war changes that gave rise to the need for pastoral care in educational institutes. First, the growth in “egalitarian political ideology” meant that students were no longer streamed in their schooling and now needed guidance to negotiate a complex education system in order to produce “appropriately qualified labour” (Best et al., 1977, pp. 128-129). Second, similar to the concerns discussed above, there were rapid changes in urban-industrial societies such as the loss of family connections and influences of mass media (Best et al., 1977). Craft and Lytton (1974) identify an “acute social need to which pastoral care is a ‘psycho-therapeutic response’ (as cited in Best et al., 1977, p.129). Pastoral care philosophies and structures were a way to “manage the tensions and alleviate the anomic effects of rapid industrialization and urbanization” (Best et al., 1977, p. 129). However, it could be argued that pastoral care already had a strong presence through camp orientation based on genealogical links to religious (mainly Christian) ideology. Even prior to the introduction of such discussions in the educational literature, pastoral care was, and still is, at the very heart of the establishment of summer camps. The discussion of pastoral care

in the education literature, however, articulates a shift in pedagogical discourses which is at work in camps, albeit less visibly due to the banner of camps being seen as recreational experiences.

Pastoral care takes root in the Christian image of 'the Good Shepherd' who, according to Dooley (1978, p. 183), "tends the sheep, who checks that they don't stray, who recognizes each one and who in turn is recognized and acknowledged." This image illustrates the role of a pastor to his parish, that of tending to the needs of the members of his congregation (Dooley, 1978; Follett, 1986). However, this expectation was extended to teachers and can also be applied to the role of camp counsellors. For example, Camp Bimini's (2012) Mission Statement says "It is our goal to give every child and youth a camping experience where they feel loved and valued for who they are," which translates to being acknowledged individually and compassionately by the staff. Pastoral care is expected to be enacted as a way to meet the needs of others with compassion. It is "primarily moral" and is "seen principally, if not entirely, in a fatherly role of patience, kindness and concern" (Dooley, 1978, p. 183). Here the word 'care' is linked to the Latin word '*cura*' which implicates the religious uses of the term 'cure of souls' suggesting that pastoral care is concerned with the care or salvation of souls (Dooley, 1978). The requirement to attend to the emotional and psychological needs of people is seen as a necessary component of camp experiences. In many ways, pastoral care is the main focus of summer camps with other outcomes, such as technical skill development, considered to be subsidiary benefits.

The Christian influences of pastoral care in neo-liberalism are no longer seen as the explicit assurance of 'salvation' from a pastor (Foucault, 1982a). According to Follett, salvation is "sought for in this world" through "well-being, security and protection against accidents" (1986, p. 6). That is, by developing and constantly improving psychological, spiritual and social selves, individuals will be protected from 'bad' things happening. Parent's anxieties for the future wellbeing of their children can be seen in their drive and ambition to develop their children's entrepreneurial skills (N. Rose, 1990d). The assumption here is that by developing multiple talents and capabilities, their children will be safeguarded from having unpleasant experiences. Camp experiences, which are promised to develop moral character, have been and are to deliver immunity to neo-liberal notions of salvation through multiple areas of personal improvement of each camper. The curing or saving of souls in a neo-liberal context of pastoral care is connected to the moral development of children through camp experiences.

Dooley (1978, p. 186) describes three tenets of pastoral care; “1) the flock expects the pastor to know his job, 2) those appointing a pastor believe he can and will do the job, 3) he could not be a pastor unless he had expertise and cared for the job”. These three premises to becoming and performing as a pastor hold implications for young camp counsellors who are expected to deliver pastoral care. The first tenet implies that camp counsellors should and will know the role of a camp counsellor. This appears straight forward although we will see later that, like most employment roles, the covert and ambiguous demands of any job are difficult to navigate especially for the young and largely inexperienced. Secondly, those camp directors and managers who appoint young people to positions of care assume a young person’s abilities as well as their inabilities. In this way the role of camp counsellor is often viewed as a developmental experience. Finally the third tenet positions young camp counsellors and their supervisors as ‘experts’ of child care and development. This final assumption could lead young employees to inappropriately estimate their abilities or power in relation to the care of children. The issues related to the delivery of pastoral care by employees who are youth themselves will be explored in Chapter 7.

Popular culture discourses of camp experiences

Camp discourses of youthful rites of passage map across various genres of North American popular culture from books to movies and newspapers to web pages. There appears to be no limit to the kinds of genres employed or desired for summer camp narratives; film, literature, biography, television –to name just a few examples. Summer camp is pitched both as background and foreground of youth experiences. Popular culture representations of camp discourses offer a wide variety of narratives. There are dominant story lines of maturation in popular culture accounts of camp experiences. A focus on transformation receives significant attention. Alternatively, themes surrounding camp participants’ rite of passage are also featured. These discourses are closely tied to notions of camp being a site for moral development. However, in popular discourses, this is not always achieved. Less seemly camp experiences are attributed to the “growing-up” of camp participants (i.e. physical hardship, sexual encounters, social ostracism, and heartbreak). Youth, being in an impressionable developmental stage according to child development experts, are molded by these experiences. Here too, the liminality of adolescence (Lesko, 1996), is assumed to make the young people who attend camp open to camp discourses of moral development.

Recent literary contributions about summer camp include a range of memoirs such as *Cabin Pressure* (Wolk, 2007) and *Not a Happy Camper* (Schneider, 2007). Additionally, film director Roger Bennett compiled *Camp Camp* (Bennett & Shell, 2008) with Jules Shell. The infamous Disney director, Michael Eisner, published *Camp* (Eisner, 1991). Each of these accounts traces, through antidotes and memories, individual experiences of camp and how camp shaped their lives. Despite challenges and some difficult times, each individual describes the lessons they feel they learnt from their camp experiences and credit these lessons with ongoing influence on their lives. The moral story or the importance of 'life lessons' learned from camp is a dominant narrative.

Edited collections like *Writings on Sleepaway* (2005) offer a range of essays on camp experiences with contributions from many well known writers such as Margaret Atwood, ZZ Packer, Mark Oppenheimer, and Ursula Le Guin. These narratives offer diverse perspectives on childhood camp experiences. *Death by Landscape*, a vignette by Margaret Atwood, tells of the emotional scarring and grief of a traumatic summer camp experience. Whereas Oppenheimer describes, with an air of humour, the unusual events of a semi-nude Quaker camp that he attended for two years in his youth. The passionate girlhood love of horses, in Le Guin's tale, demonstrates the transformational power of equine camp experiences. The stories collected in *Writings on Sleepaway* exemplify the multiplicity of summer camp meanings and possible narratives of self.

Films about camp also employ different genres including comedy, drama and horror. These narratives focus closely on the transitory experiences of childhood to adulthood, positioning the camp site as a unique setting for this to occur. Camps, in film, are presented as a "growing up" experience - a rite of passage or site of maturation. This theme is evidenced as a persistent narrative form over time. For example, *The Parent Trap*, released in 1961, with a remake in 1988, follows the story of twins who meet for the first time, piece their history together and jointly manipulate their parents back together (Meyers, 1988; Swift, 1961). The girls must initiate adult-like savvy to be effective.

Other popular camp movies include *Meatballs* (Reitman, 1979), *Ernest goes to Camp* (Cherry, 1987), *Dirty Dancing* (Ardolino, 1987), *Friday 13th* (Cunningham, 1980), *Indian Summer* (Binder, 1993), and *Camp* (Graff, 2003). With the exception of *Friday 13th*, these movies follow a rite of passage story line. These movies highlight camp experiences as central to the maturation

of the adolescent characters. *Friday 13th*, on the other hand, utilizes the innocence of childhood camp as a background for staging particular horrors. These are deemed that much more tragic due to the fact that the victims are young without parental protection. These movies suggest there is a dark side to camp experiences which feature death, sex, and drug use.

More recently, the emergence of 'reality' programs has utilized camp related experiences to conduct behavioural 'experiments' on young people. The range and purpose of these productions has been diverse. Shows have depicted youth-at-risk and adventure therapy type interventions (i.e. *Brat Camp* 2005, Channel Four Television Production), 'fat camps' have focused on weight loss and the need to look good (i.e. *Weighing In* 2005, BBC) while the controversial *Kid Nation* highlighted what can happen when adult supervision is removed (2007, CBS). The notion that camp has the ability to affect the proposed positive change appears to be unreflexively ascribed. Camp experiences are assumed to be effective interventions or therapeutic cures for those judged as deficient to normalised discourses of behaviour, image, health or personality. Camp operators mobilise psy-discourses to generate a need for the service they are selling while images of camps that deliver camper 'transformation' shape camp 'truth' through popular representations of camp.

The ability for television to reach large and diverse audiences may be obvious; however, the Internet holds potential to reach even wider audiences through global accessibility. Internet sites and resources for camp are extensive. There are internet sites for all aspects of camp experiences; selecting and registering campers, job postings and staff applications, camp memoirs and narrative sharing, and alumni identification and reunification. Importantly, Internet access extends the possibilities for North American audiences to gather narratives about camp experiences. These shape personal constructions of meaning about camp (even for non-participants).

What television, books, movies, and Internet sites produce are images and expectations of what camp experiences are meant to be. The pervasiveness of media, paired with the longevity of its contributions, has established dominant narratives about camp experiences. These, in turn, shape and contribute to the meanings created by individuals for their personal camp experiences. Even prior to engaging in a camp experience, youth and parents have already constructed ideas and expectations. This is highlighted in the Ipsos-Reid (2001) report which described how non-camp participants could speak of the positive value of camp experiences

without ever having experienced it. Parents, participants and non-participants commented on camp's contribution to the maturation process of youth (Ipsos-Reid, 2001).

My examination of popular culture reveals diverse voices and narratives about camp but also the repetition of particular psy-discourses such as transformation, youthful rites of passage and maturation. There are exceptions, such as the essays collected in *Sleepaway*. However, popular culture depictions of camp tend to focus on moral growth. Popular culture representations of camp experiences are consumed by readers/ viewers in complex ways. While there are dominant discourses of the meanings of camp experiences, popular culture publications serve as a reminder that there is no one single understanding of camp truths.

The Benefits of Camp Experiences

The development of good moral character continues to be a central focus within the academic literature on camp and outdoor experiences. The tradition of measuring 'character development' from camp experiences has been long established (Ewert, 1987). Henderson et al. identify the improvement of "physical, emotional, civic and social competence" as a result of camp experiences (2006, p. 3). This study, like many others (Chenery, 1993; Ewert & Yoshino, 2011; Gustafsson, Szczepanski, Nelson, & Gustafsson, 2012; Henderson et al., 2006-2007; Holman & McAvoy, 2003; Williams, 2013), assume that camp experiences are inherently good and will 'add' value to the attending young person. For example, Henderson et al. (2006) raised the critical measurement level above the commonly used alpha-level for social science (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). This change increased the possibility of reporting positive findings in relation to the value of camp. Academic literature widely ascribes discourses of 'benefit' and 'positive' value to camper experiences and, knowingly or unknowingly, these truths articulate camper experiences as positive.

The post-positivist assumptions informing many academic studies have led to largely quantitative studies on camp experiences (Bolden, 2005; Dorian, 1994; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1999). These studies mainly measure the benefits gained or 'growth' of campers with scales of predetermined constructs (Dorian, 1994; Henderson, 1995; Henderson et al., 2006; Holman & McAvoy, 2005; K. Russell, 2000). For example, Henderson et al.'s study utilises a 4-point Likert scale to measure "outcomes believed to be common and central to camp experiences" and to develop a Camper Growth-Index evaluation tool (2006, p. 6). In addition, these authors purport to "ascertain which camp program elements were related to camper outcomes" (2006, p. 5). This highlights another assumption in academic literature that a formula for a 'good' camp

experience exists. They argue that their measurement tool will determine “the relationship between positive youth development outcomes and intentional experiential programming” (2006, p. 5). Despite Henderson et al. conceding that a camp experience “does not automatically result in the achievement of intended outcomes” (2006, p. 4), it could be argued that this view of camp experiences reduces it to a ‘process- equals-outcomes’ equation that denies the plurality, contradictions and messiness of lived experience. According to Allison and Pomeroy (2000, p. 109) academic research that utilises deterministic measurement techniques and adopts a formulaic approach limits the kinds of experiences that can be reported and ignores the expression of embodied experiences.

Personal growth

The term ‘outcome’ is often used in camp studies to indicate the personal attributes gained by camp participants. However, ‘outcomes’ are mostly seen to be positive and are described using words like ‘growth’, ‘development’, or ‘gain’ (Brannan, Arick, Fullerton, & Harris, 2000; Chenery, 1993; Henderson, 1995; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1999; Henderson et al., 2006). Also, it could be argued that using constructs such as “adaptive social skills” (K. Russell, 2000, p. 171), resilience (Ewert & Yoshino, 2008) and self-esteem (Dorian, 1994) to measure camp outcomes places focus on the development of moral character through engaging the language of the psy-disciplines (N. Rose, 1990c). Furedi argues that the interest in personal development marks a shift to a more “therapeutic culture” which is fascinated with “the problem of emotional deficit” (2003, p. 4). Thus, rather than simply an interest in self-esteem, for example, we are concerned with “its low level” (Furedi, 2003, p. 4). The language utilised to ‘measure’ the ‘benefits’ of camp experiences relies on a therapeutic model of self (N. Rose, 1990c). This model frames the camper or young camp staff as deficient and needing improvement, even treatment. The measurement of growth in self-concept domains implies that growth is always desired.

Wilderness and Adventure Therapy programs have also adopted therapeutic discourses in order to focus specifically on the “personal growth, therapy, rehabilitation, education and leadership/organisational development” of special need populations (Gillis, 1992; Hendee & Brown, 1987, p. 5). These populations, for want of a better term, have been deemed, labelled and/or diagnosed as deficient in some capacity of normal functioning according to medical expertise (e.g. DSM-IV) and therefore are in need of treatment (Gillis, 1992). Populations targeted for outdoor therapy programs include ‘at risk’ youth (Davis-Berman & Berman, 1994), dysfunctional families (Bandoroff & Scherer, 1994), mental health patients (Crisp, 1998; Stitch,

1983), people with diabetes (Cheung, Young Cureton, & Canham, 2006), and people living with cancer (Meltzer & Rourke, 2005). Outdoor programs which focus on camper experiences for special need populations gain significant attention in academic literature (Brannan et al., 2000; Holman & McAvoy, 2003, 2005; McTavish, Chatterson, & Schmidt, 1996). These groups are thought to benefit more than their 'normal' or healthy counterparts due to what is seen as their greater deficiencies at the time they first engage with outdoor programs. The research presents a large quantity of evidence for the beneficial outcomes for youth in such programs (Hill, 2007; J. Reid, 1996; K. Russell, 2000; Wilson & Lipsey, 2000). The psy-discourses employed by camp researchers intensify the interest in camp's therapeutic value for special need populations and this creates a gap in the investigations of everyday camp experiences of children and youth.

Allison and Pomeroy (2000) argue that camp research, through its preoccupation with proving camp's value, have ignored subjective meanings derived from camp experiences. By pursuing the question of "does it work?" in the research literature, Allison and Pomeroy state that traditional approaches to camp research ignores "the experiences of individuals and the meanings they make of their experiences" (2000, p. 91). The paradox is that outdoor facilitators pride themselves "on learner-centred practice"; yet the research "treats the learner as a 'subject for study' and ignores their accounts of their experiences" (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000, p. 97). Furthermore, Allison and Pomeroy criticise "outcome -focused, objectivist epistemology" which tends to concentrate on the "product" of outdoor experiences rather than the meanings derived by participants (2000, p. 97). They suggest that researchers should ask "what are participants' perspectives on the experiential education programme? ... the subjective meaning" (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000, p. 96). In order to extract this kind of research "we need to reconsider the way research in experiential education is understood" (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000, p. 97). This, I argue, is a crucial prerequisite for improving the practices of camp experiences. Scholars, such as Barrett (2005), Brookes (2003; 2004), Humberstone (2000, 2011; 2012), Lynch and Moore (2004), Zink (2004; 2010) and Zink and Burrows (2010; 2006), extend the knowledge of outdoor experiences through critical, alternative and post-modern approaches.

Pedagogical value

The educational value attributed to camper experiences echo the central orientation of camp experiences for the development of moral character and citizenship. Pedagogical discourses, regarding the educational opportunities that camp experiences provide, are prominent in research (Hattie et al., 1997; Lindsay & Ewert, 1999). Within the outdoor industry there is significant credence given to nature's ability to serve as an outdoor classroom (Ewert &

Priest, 1990; Goldenberg, McAvoy, & Klenosky, 2005; Goldenberg & Pronsolino, 2008; Hattie et al., 1997; Ives & Obenchain, 2006). For example, Hattie et al.'s extensive meta-analysis explores forty outcomes of camper learning opportunities which include leadership and academic skills (1997). Ewert & Priest go further to suggest that camper experiences contribute to "the education of our populace" (1990, p. 35).

The intentional focus on the educational value of camper experiences legitimates, in a modern entrepreneurial culture, the recreational nature of camp. The educational focus of camper experiences adds a layer of seriousness to the discourses of fun. Pure recreation connotes a certain hedonism that has little room in the productive and purposeful activities of people in liberal capitalist cultures (N. Rose, 1990c). Parents' concerns for their children's future employment increases the importance for activities, even those deemed recreational, to contribute to their child's life and work skills (Peters, 2001). Therefore, camp experiences, and leisure in many cases, have over time been infused with the potential to acquire skills and learning rather than simply having fun or experiencing pleasure for its own sake. Camp managers reflect parental aspirations and concerns by promoting the provision of educational benefits and skill learning through camper experiences (see Chapter 5). Camp experiences are thus justified as cost worthy through discourses of pedagogical benefits for campers.

Social capital

Recent developments in camp research have looked at the extension of personal benefits derived from camp experiences for the broader community. A number of authors (Colyn, DeGraaf, & Certan, 2008; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1999; Lindsay & Ewert, 1999; Yuen, Pedlar, & Mannell, 2005) argue that camp experiences provide "the skills necessary to be a part of, as well as give back to, a community" (Colyn et al., 2008, p. 30). These studies use the auspices of social capital to explore the collection of camper benefits as they contribute to community and citizenship. Social capital, in these publications, includes characteristics such as "social connections" and "civic engagement" (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1999, p. 46). Social capital as represented in these publications, however, draws on a positive inclination of social networks based on "public good characteristics" (Glover & Hemingway, 2005, p. 391). Newton's extension that social capital is about "the common good" (1997, p. 576) is echoed in much of the camp literature (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1999; Yuen et al., 2005). Camps are seen to create benefits that can be banked for future positive citizenship and community engagement.

There are some fundamental issues in the use of social capital in the camping literature. There appears to be no clear definition of what civic society or citizenship is and in what cultural context it is possible. For example, Colyn et al. (2008) ignored that their case study was based in a unique cultural context of post-communist Romania when discussing the ability of camps to contribute to social capital. Also Glover & Hemingway (2005) criticize camp literature for adopting positive and somewhat simplistic notions of social capital. They argue (2005) that both Bourdieu and Putnam's more complex offerings on social capital should be considered. Importantly, how social capital is produced from camp experiences goes unexplored. Colyn et al. indicates that "camps can impact social capital" and "civic society" (2008, p. 34) but there is little description about how this happens. Studies that suggest camps contribute to social capital are hinged on the assumption that the values learned at camp are transferrable to campers' lives when they leave, and that they will be maintained into the future (Chenery, 1993; Henderson et al., 2006-2007; Henderson et al., 2006). This is not always the case (B. Bell, 2003; Miller, 2001) and this challenges the assumption that camp experiences deliver benefits, develop character and teach values that will be actioned as "civic engagement" (Glover & Hemingway, 2005, p. 392).

Experiences of community

The camp community is seen as one of the most outstanding and positive aspects of working at summer camp (Meier & Mitchell, 1993; Ross, 2009). Moreover, feelings of 'belonging' and 'inclusion' are of the highest priority for camp counsellors to provide to the campers in their care. Even by the nature of the cabin arrangements (i.e. 4-8 campers living in one cabin with their counsellor for the duration of their stay), campers and counsellors build strong and intense relationships (Lyons, 2003). The same is said for the larger community of campers and camp counsellors. When each meal is eaten together and multiple activities throughout the day are experienced together, it is no surprise that these relationships form and grow quickly. The result of the formation of these bonds is what Turner calls "communitas" (Andrews, 1999; Côté-Arsenault, Brody, & Dombek, 2009; Sharpe, 2005a; Turner, 1969, p. xvi). Sharpe argues that "communitas emerges when people step out of their structural roles and obligations, and into a sphere that is decidedly 'anti-structural' ...and the rules of everyday life can be altered, inverted and made topsy-turvy" (2005a, p. 256; Turner, 1969).

Experiences of communitas are characterized by "feelings of equality, linkage, belonging, and group devotion to a transcendent goal" (Arnould & Price, 1993, p. 34). Turner himself found something "magical" about experiences of communitas (Turner, 1969, p. 139). When

communitas exists, participants place “high value on personal honesty, openness, and lack of pretensions or pretentiousness” (Turner, 1982, p. 48). Individuals in these kinds of community experiences, as found in summer camps, tend to engage with one another in direct, sympathetic and non-judgemental ways (Turner, 1982). The usual assumptions made in relation to a person’s “role, status, reputation, class/caste, sex, or other structural niche” tend to fall away and, rather, individuals are addressed in terms of their value to the “here-and-now” (Turner, 1982, p. 48). Camp community living represents, in many powerful ways, Turner’s description of communitas. Communitas is made possible by the spatial practices and social discourses of liminality of summer camps. Examples include singing songs and shouting chants which help participants ritualize their belonging to the camp community.

There is a growing collection of studies (Arnould & Price, 1993; Belk & Costa, 1998; Brandmeyer & Alexander, 1986; St. John, 2008) that document the ways leisure settings, like summer camps, “exhibit similar anti-structural qualities” to Turner’s “ritual counterparts” (Sharpe, 2005a, p. 256). Experiences of liminality and communitas are sought in people’s leisure as a break from the expected and routine of their everyday lives (Sharpe, 2005a). People are seeking some of the enchantment and “magic” (Turner, 1969, p. 139) of these experiences and, Sharpe argues, that this simultaneously spurs “the emergence of ... a service industry that aims to deliver this world of possibility” (2005a, p. 256). Leisure service providers play specific roles in creating and delivering a sense of belonging to a liminally constructed community. In summer camps, the successful delivery of this key objective is largely tasked to young summer camp counsellors.

Communitas, in camp environments, also happens out of necessity to a certain degree. The vulnerability of being alone and the desire for belonging contributes to strong bonds being formed. Camp organizers hope that campers will experience the positive support and honesty of “spontaneous communitas” where individuals “become totally absorbed into the single synchronized, fluid event” (Turner, 1982, p. 129). However, Cote-Arsenault, Brody and Dombeck (2009, p. 74) argue that “communitas is often seen as powerful, threatening or dangerous.” Campers, for instance, generally don’t have as much choice about whom to befriend. Usually friend choices are limited to the people in your cabin and peers of similar age within the wider camp. Isolation from familiar surrounds and relationships can be frightening and overwhelming for some campers.

Silencing negative experiences of camp

Hattie et al. contest the emphasis of “positive findings” and the exclusion of “negative evidence” that is “disturbingly common” in camp literature (1997, p. 49). They argue that many camp studies have found no significant differences between pre-test and post-test results yet these studies have claimed that positive effects of camp experiences are “most obvious” (Hattie et al., 1997, p. 49). For example, Henderson et al. noted that their “outcomes study showed campers’ positive growth” and concluded that although “elements of camp components seemed to be working ...no statistically significant differences were found” (2006-2007, p. 8). Henderson cautions that “along with the positive potential of camp is the potential for camp to be a frightening and stigmatizing place” (1995, p. 17).

Although negative experiences seldom appear in camp literature we know that these exist (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000b). Both Bolden (2005) and Dorian (1994) demonstrated in their camp studies that no significant growth occurred in the self-concepts they set out to measure. Bolden’s study demonstrated no significant difference in two of three employment benefit domains measured (2005). Moreover, McCord’s study indicated more troubling behaviours developed from a group of underprivileged boys as a result of camp experiences (1997). McCord’s follow up on a 1939 welfare study showed that the boys who were sent to camp were “almost four times as likely to have a bad outcome” which include being convicted of a crime, dying prior to 35 years old, or receiving a medical diagnosis for mental illness (1997, p. 7).

Academic studies have looked at negative camp experiences in the form of homesickness (Carney & Nottis, 2008; Fichman, Koestner, & Zuroff, 1997; Thurber, Sigman, Weisz, & Schmidt, 1999), injury (Barst, Bialeschki, & Comstock, 2008; Erceg, Garst, Powell, & Comstock, 2008), and/or risk (Salmon, Goode, Lenné, Finch, & Cassell, 2014). However, studies on the experience of homesickness tend to point responsibility to the camper’s personal deficiencies such as their dependency or self-criticism (Fichman et al., 1997; Thurber et al., 1999). Also, where camp incidents of physical injury and illness are explored (Barst et al., 2008; Erceg et al., 2008), the psychological or emotional damage of camp experiences is not. These studies appear to ignore the camper’s subjective experience and point to underlying issues with the everyday management practices of camper and camp counsellor experiences. The lack of research on negative camp experiences raises questions about the ability to prepare for and manage them when they do occur. Reflexive management practices call for managers to not only be aware but have a good understanding of the potential threats to camper and camp counsellors’ wellbeing.

Camp counsellor experiences

Bialeschki et al. conducted a study to explore the “perceived benefits associated with summer camp staff experiences” (Bialeschki, Henderson, & Dahowski, 1998, p. 27). An analysis of the positive outcomes suggested that camp staff benefited by making friends, learning about diversity, teamwork skills, and personal growth (Bialeschki et al., 1998). However this study also reveals contradictions in the attitudes and management of young employees. Participants raised concerns about the lack of pay and personal time (Bialeschki et al., 1998). They felt that they deserved higher wages and more privacy in light of the level of responsibility and intensity of effort that was demanded of their roles (Bialeschki et al., 1998). Bialeschki et al. commented, “part of the concern also related to being acknowledged for the hard work done” (1998, p. 29). Overall the staff felt undervalued.

Developmental and therapeutic discourses appear to thread through the experiences of camp staff as well as those of campers. Camp counsellors are considered to be youth in a significant developmental period (Magnuson, 1992). Thus, it is assumed the developmental benefits gained from camp employment compensate for the work done and justifies low wages (Bialeschki et al., 1998; Bolden, 2005; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1982). The underpayment of camp staff is driven by discourses about the personal benefits they gain from the experience. However, discourses about the life and work skills gained from camp experiences are pervasive, and with little mention of potential negative effects, are widely appealing. Research conducted by Magnuson (1992) showed that young people were motivated to work at camp to increase personal dimensions (i.e. growth, achievement and advancement) and job related skills but there is little research to say these outcomes are achieved. It seems that the unbalanced view of camp employment provided by industry and a lack of academic investigation of camp counsellor experiences has shaped how young people are currently viewed and managed in camp settings.

Responsibility for the delivery of learning opportunities, as well as the development of moral character, is given to camp employees in direct contact roles –namely young camp counsellors. Camp counsellors are responsible for the everyday care and safety of campers in their charge (American Camping Association, 1993; Meier & Mitchell, 1993). Camp managers call on staff to act as a camper’s friend, parent, therapist and teacher. Camp counsellors are expected to facilitate personalised opportunities for campers to gain skills and improve self-concepts through a positive and meaningful camp experience. The essentials of hiring appropriately skilled and qualified staff, thus, present a significant dilemma for managers (Frisby, 2005; Leidner, 1999).

Camp managers tend to focus on the qualifications or skill sets, otherwise known as 'hard skills', in the hiring of young people (Ipsos-Reid, 2001). Qualifications such as First Aid and Lifesaving are highly prized with additional emphasis placed on other specialised skills (e.g., canoeing, high ropes, horse riding or sport). Camp managers, influenced by legislation, accrediting bodies and consumer expectations, are motivated to obtain and retain highly qualified staff. Consequently, the training of staff is also a significant concern for camp managers. Camp managers are keen to ensure that employees receive training in the complex legislation and protocols of child care (Ontario Camping Association, 2006). In addition, with the rise in private litigation suits in North America, risk management has become a critical and expensive component of training camp employees (Attarian, 2001).

While camp employee preparation presents obstacles, there is also a lack of clarity about what camp counsellor role entails. Camp counsellors, according to Bialeschki et al. (1998), are often expected to navigate the implied expectations of their camp counsellor employment for themselves. It appears that the camp industry's expectations of young staff are not well articulated and may be unrealistic for young people (Bialeschki et al., 1998). For example Bialeschki and colleagues bring attention to the disenchantment of camp counsellors when they feel they have not contributed to the positive development of each camper in their care (1998). This shows how industry discourses about the 'good' of camp can shape camp counsellor experiences in a negative way. Little commentary, however, is made about the conditions of camp employment being untenable (Bialeschki et al., 1998). Instead staff management issues are dismissed because it is seen that some people are simply not suited for camp employment (Bialeschki et al., 1998). Given the issues raised here, it would seem negligent for the camp industry not to engage in discussions about 'invisible' expectations of adolescent staff and invest in improving the employment situations for young people in camps.

Summary

This chapter has examined historical concerns that contributed to the development and popularity of North American summer camps, many of which can be seen in contemporary camps today. Discourses such as the wholesomeness of natural spaces, for example, often guided and guides the establishment of camp sites in rural settings. Additionally, discourses of gender and class continue to play a role in summer camps (see Chapter 5 and 6). However, discourses of the separateness of childhood and virtues of Muscular Christianity continue to play central roles in how camper experiences are expected to develop moral character. Academic research on outdoor and camp experiences reflect this assumption by studying

outcomes that are primarily positive and measured using evaluation tools, such as Likert scales, that measure growth and/or improvement. While popular culture representations offer diversity to the kinds of camp stories told, most tend to follow storylines of camper transformation. Academic and popular texts, therefore, limit possibilities for understanding camp participant experiences by failing to engage with participants' subjective and embodied experiences. Additionally, the camp participants' exposure to images and discourses, often long before they become campers, shape their expectations for camp experiences. As such they govern themselves in accordance with camp norms; promoting positive stories and silencing others. Camp counsellors, charged with the responsibility of delivering positive and fun camper experiences, must navigate complex discourses of camper development, enjoyment, and pastoral care. Yet how camp counsellor experiences are shaped by discourses has received little attention in research studies to date. In order to better understand the pressures and responsibilities placed on camp counsellors in the delivery of camper experiences we need to better understand how camp counsellors experience their roles and how power relations work to shape camp counsellors.

CHAPTER THREE: Rethinking the Camp Employment Experience

Introduction

In contrast to traditional theories applied to camp research, post-structuralism offers a different focus on how power relations shape camp employment experiences. As Weedon states, post-structuralism is “a way of conceptualizing the relationship between language, social institutions and individual consciousness which focuses on how power is exercised” (2004, p. 19). Thus, theoretically framing and investigating camp counsellor employment experiences from a post-structuralist point of view allows a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural processes at work in the employment and management context (Weedon, 2004). A focus on the discursive production of meaning about the camp counsellor experience enables my research to move from descriptive accounts evident in the literature to a more critically engaged analysis.

My objective is to problematise the taken-for-granted character of everyday summer camp employment experiences. My problematisation attempts to change the way that camp counsellor experiences are understood and managed in the leisure sector. I seek to reorient conceptualisations of camp employment as a question that due to its “formation and obviousness must itself be subject to analysis” (Rabinow, 1994). The management expectations placed on young camp counsellors must be critically questioned as well as their effects. My goal is to “free up” possibilities for understanding diverse camp counsellor employment experiences and “make visible” the emotional dimensions of the camp counsellor role (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. xix). By critically questioning camp experiences I wish to disrupt the norms informing how camp employment practices are managed and to question the assumptions that produce knowledge about camp employment experiences.

The following sections will explore aspects of post-structuralist theory that inform my approach to the study of camp counsellor employment experiences. I focus on “the subtle and complex ways” of summer camp culture that “shape the minds” of camp counsellors (Elliott, 2001, p. 82). Individuals, like camp counsellors, are subject to and influenced by disciplinary power that is generally invisible but infiltrates into everyday practices (Elliott, 2001). The effects of this and other forms of power relations shape and constitute how camp counsellors experience their employment roles. Marshall (1997) argues that how individuals come to see themselves as working selves is also shaped by discourses that articulate normalised camp counsellor subjectivities. Therefore, I consider how camp counsellors are positioned within camp employment discourses and how this shapes their employment experience and self, coextensively (Allen, 2004). I focus specifically on the emotion work of camp counsellors and

how this influences camp counsellors' emotional wellbeing. Currently, this is an under-researched but important area of the camp experience.

Framing camp counsellor selves

A post-structural approach opens up fresh possibilities for conceiving the camp counsellor subject in contrast to what has been traditionally undertaken in camp literature. Previous liberal humanist approaches to camp experiences have assumed "the unitary nature of the subject" (Weedon, 2004, p. 112). The subjects of camp studies have been conceived as "coherent, bounded, individualized, intentional, the locus of thought, action, and belief, the origin of its own actions, the beneficiary of a unique biography" (N. Rose, 1996b, p. 3). When the self is assumed to be coherent and unified (Weedon, 2004), camp research limits the possibility for understanding diverse meanings of how camp employment experiences are constituted through discourse. In contrast, post-structuralism recognises the fragmentation of experience and of the self (Weedon, 2004). Weedon states that "post-structuralism proposes a subjectivity which is precarious, contradictory and in process" (2004, p. 33). The self, from this perspective, is complex beyond the reaches of traditional definitions of a 'bounded' self. Wearing defines the self not as the unified consistent 'I' of modernity but a synthesis of many subjectivities, past and present, a cumulative self which has power to act as well as react to cultural prescriptions (Wearing, 1998). It is this use of the word 'self' that I employ throughout this research text. A post-structuralist approach to analysing camp counsellor subjectivities opens up possibilities for examining different constructions of meaning about employment experiences and how these are embodied.

Neo-liberalism attempts to govern through the "behaviours and dispositions of individuals, rather than society" (Kelly, 2001, p. 29; N. Rose, 1996a). The subject of neo-liberal rationalities is, consequently, produced or "made-up" (N. Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 192) "via the mobilisation of diverse techniques" and produces a self that is assumed to be "free', 'entrepreneurial', competitive and (economically) rational" (Kelly, 2001, p. 29). That is, an individual, such as a camp participant, is expected to be the "active, autonomous, responsible entrepreneur" of her or his own project of self (Kelly, 2001, p. 29). Yet it is a self that is shaped by the ideals of governing bodies (Beck, 1992). The purposeful everyday discourses that articulate the moral good gained and fun experienced through summer camp experiences, although largely assumed to be natural or normal, align with neo-liberal notions of self and work to shape the kinds of camp selves that are made possible. Given this dominant association between fun, recreation and individual freedom, summer camps are unique sites of subjectification because, unlike schools, they are institutional sites where autonomous choice is

privileged. Yet neo-liberal notions of the unitary, autonomous and entrepreneurial self thread through camp discourses including promotional materials which argue the productive benefits of camp experiences to parent purchasers in contrast to the fun promised child consumers. Consequently, questions of what role discourses of fun and freedom play in shaping camp liminality and camp participant selves, surface.

Weedon argues that, from an early age, we learn to “see ourselves as unified, rational beings, able to perceive the truth of reality” (2004, p. 80). These assumptions “are a part of our most familiar landscape, and we don’t perceive them anymore” (Foucault, 1982b, p. 11). The emphasis on the camp counsellor as ‘unified’ and ‘rational’ selves in previous camp literature has largely rendered the emotional dimension of camp counsellors’ experience invisible. Rose suggests it is necessary to “destabilize and denaturalize” the “common normativity” that is at work in “practices that act upon human beings” (1996b, p. 3). The notion that camp counsellors are “sovereign individuals” is therefore problematic (Weedon, 2004, p. 8). Allen and Weedon suggest that individuals, such as camp counsellors, are “embodied, embedded in a social and cultural milieu” and “constituted by power relations” (Allen, 2004, p. 235; Weedon, 2004). The camp counsellor self is relational and interpreted through everyday interactions, past experiences and discourses about identity. Thus, power relations work through discursive and non-discursive practices to produce ‘truth’ (Rabinow & Rose, 2003), in this case about work and leisure in the camp counsellor employment experiences. By problematising “our contemporary regime of the self” (N. Rose, 1996b, p. 2), post-structuralism opens up the relations between emotion work and wellbeing via the camp counsellor employment role.

Summer camp as a site of power

The following section situates the camp counsellor in the camp context and offers a critical perspective on how power relations shape camp counsellors’ emotion work and experiences. In particular, tensions surrounding the work-leisure relationship of camp counsellor experiences raise questions surrounding the less obvious effects of camp employment discourses and management practices. Understanding the effects of power on the camp counsellors’ employment role and emotional wellbeing from a reflexive perspective will contribute new knowledge to the outdoor recreation field.

Power, subjectification and technologies of the self

“How is power exercised? How do we come to be subjects in the sense of being people with a certain view of ourselves and as subjects who are subjected?” (Marshall, 1997, p. 36).

Power, from a post-structural perspective, is not something that can be possessed but is “distributed throughout complex social networks” (Marshall, 1997; Rouse, 1994, p. 106; Hardy & Clegg, 2004; Weedon, 2004). Camp counsellors are positioned in an inescapable web of relations within and across camp industry, popular culture, academic discourses as well as personal relationships within the camp context. Power is “always-present” in social structures (Weedon, 2004, p. 114). Camp discourses and practices not only shape the counsellors’ experiences of camp but also shape how camp counsellors come to see and govern themselves as employees. This kind of monitoring of one’s own behaviours, in alliance with normalised discourses, is the process that Foucault names subjectification (Foucault, 1986; Marshall, 1997). Foucault argues that subjectification can be realised through technologies of self (Foucault, 1986) which occurs when individuals, with or without the help of others, affect a “certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality” (Foucault, 1986, p. 2). Technologies of self, much like processes of subjectification, are unquestioned and invisibly influential.

Camp counsellor subjectivity is shaped not just through subjectification but through power relations of camp government. Governmentality, in a Foucauldian sense, is concerned with the mentalities, rationalities and techniques through which subjects are governed or rather the “conduct of conduct” (Foucault, 1982a, pp. 220-221). Different modes of governmentality influence individuals’ “abilities and resources, relationships of communication, and power relationships” within a regulated system (Marshall, 1997, p. 37). Camp managers can achieve certain outcomes by organising space, time and capacities in particular ways. In this way, power relations are discursively and non-discursively produced (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). The spatial organisation of buildings on a campsite is a non-discursive practice that works to maintain norms of behaviour by positioning campers and camp counsellors as objects of surveillance. The organisation of camp structures often imitates Bentham’s notions of ideal prisoner surveillance; a panopticon where dwellings ring the managerial buildings in the centre and/or highest point in the site. In addition the use of bells and schedules regulates the rhythm of camp days. On the other hand, welfare discourses about the wholesome or moral benefits of nature experiences means that most campsites are situated in rural areas, often featuring lakes or woods. Alternatively, the moral development imperatives promoted by camping bodies create expectations for camp counsellors to deliver socially and emotionally beneficial camper experiences. Influences from pedagogical, welfare, therapeutic and leisure discourses play a

role in shaping knowledge of the everyday management practices and norms for camp counsellor employment.

Management practices can work as technologies of power by producing “a field of possible knowledge” (Foucault, 1977; Rouse, 1994, p. 98) for the ‘normal’ experiences of camp counsellors. Camp managers exercise power by articulating, categorizing, and comparing individuals hierarchically in a “normalising distribution” (Foucault, 1977; Rouse, 1994, p. 98). By establishing what is ‘normal’ or expected from individuals, such as camp counsellors in their employment roles, it is possible to “measure gaps” and highlight discrepancies (Foucault, 1977; N. Rose, 1990c; Rouse, 1994). Camp managers are able to examine, break down, and rearrange camp counsellors in ways that persuade, discipline and produce a “docile”, compliant and manageable employee (Foucault, 1982c). For example, by collecting information about a camp counsellors’ age, gender, skills, medical status, or mental health history camp managers are able to constrain the behaviours of employees according to what is ‘normal’ for these classifications.

Discourses about what is ‘normal’ for youth, camp experiences and moral development position the camp counsellor in particular ways. Norms of camp counsellor subjectivity, the environment and even camps’ everyday practices shape camp counsellors’ experiences in both positive and negative ways. Marshall argues that technologies of power work on individuals, like camp counsellors, as they are “adopted and accepted by individuals, so their selves are also constructed” (1997, p. 38). For example, should a camp counsellor see their time at camp as an opportunity to improve self-confidence, as is commonly advertised in literature for campers (see Chapter 2), then the camp counsellor may mobilise certain activities or behaviours that he or she believes will result in this outcome. They may also mobilise the language of self-improvement in order to articulate the change they feel they have embodied. Such technologies of power, which are individualised, enable “more continuous and pervasive control of what people do” (Rouse, 1994, p. 96). By taking up camp employment discourses, camp counsellors reinforce the truths created by the camp industry. Normalised notions of ‘good’ camp experiences may be established as ‘truth’ but are also open to contestation when divergent viewpoints are acknowledged.

Camp counsellors are not necessarily bound to the roles or identities prescribed to them within camp practices and discourses. To conceive of people as totally ‘made up’ by the social and political discourses, reduces them to a kind of predetermined robot (Elliott, 2001). Camp counsellors are capable of identifying “modalities of power that constrain, limit or repress forms of self-expression” and thus employ multiple identities to creatively negotiate power relations

(Elliott, 2001, p. 101). Camp counsellors, therefore, are not passive to control; they are creative agents in resisting or accepting camp discourses and practices. For example, agency is exercised when camp counsellors break camp rules such as going on 'raids' after curfew, and drinking underage or while on duty. Camp counsellors have "creative and constructive" agency in constituting the kinds of employees they want or choose to be (Elliott, 2001, p. 101). Allen (2004) and Elliott (2001) argue that people are able to creatively engage power relations to produce selves through the acceptance of, or resistance to, discourses and practices. Camp counsellors can mobilise or resist camp discourses that shape their working selves.

Camp counsellors' experiences of agency and freedom are at the heart of the camp-as-leisure experience. Camp counsellor employment practices are shaped by discourses regarding the inability of young people to make mature decisions as well as the expectations on them to provide positive camper experiences. Employment practices, including training manuals, contracts and employment policies, respond by being prescriptive and lacking respect for camp counsellors' autonomy. This creates tensions between the employers' desire for compliance and the individuals' sense of creative agency. For example, camp counsellors' recreational time is regulated but they are charged with the responsibility of camper safety while in remote wilderness. Foucault suggests that the "mobile and transitory" nature of power relations produces "cleavages" in the camp counsellor experience that furrow "across individuals themselves" (Foucault, 1979, p. 96). These cleavages in, or moments of resistance to, camp norms highlight the complex workings of power relations. Power relations within the camp context, therefore, cannot be remedied by more employee regulation. A reflexive examination of how the design, regulation and structure of camp employment practices generate both favourable and adverse effects for young camp counsellors is required.

Everyday politics of youth: the power of "betwixt and between"

The liminality of adolescence, as a developmental time period, contributes to the potential for and intersection through which to examine how power is experienced in liminal camp spaces. Wood (2012, p. 338) argues that although young people "are not autonomously members of society" they do not belong to the categories of child or adult and so "carve out their political identities at the intersection of children's and adults' worlds." The very "legal-political in-betweenness" of adolescents, or as I argue young camp counsellors, makes way for the "possibility and multiplicity" of a "melded and blended P/politics" (Wood, 2012, p. 338). At times, camp counsellors demonstrate the highest adult responsibility, such as safe guarding campers from a bear attack, but at others demonstrate the least likable moments of childhood

when they have a public tantrum about a task they dislike. Perhaps the assigned task was disagreeable or even inappropriate to ask of the young employee; however, how these, and many other, moments are negotiated in the camp context can illustrate how power is at work.

A number of studies have been conducted to understand “how children and young people actively usurp, negotiate, and resist adult regulation within adult-defined spaces” (Wood, 2012, p. 338). Studies have largely focussed on traditional and every day youth spaces like schools, after-school care and youth centres (Anderson & Jones, 2009; Gallagher, 2007; Matthews & Limb, 2003). It is assumed that because camp is a much ‘freer’ setting than the traditional confines/structures of schools, youngsters will not feel the need to challenge or even rebel against its governance. Yet, I would argue, camps are just as, if not more, heavily regulated than school environments. Heavy regulation has proven to be necessary in order to ensure the physical safety of participants in the various adventure activities available at camp. The governance of expected social behaviour and moral/citizenship development, I argue, is just as highly regulated. It is simply that these forms of governance are implicit. By their very invisibility the practices and discourses that work as technologies on the self are taken-for-granted. For example, rather than consider that something intrinsic to the way camp ‘works’ has caused a young employee’s tantrum, camp leaders tend to dismiss these behaviours as childish and lacking maturity. The opportunity for reflexivity is lost and camps continue in the same manner.

It is for this reason, that I take a particular interest in the “micro-politics” of summer camp employees’ experiences (Philo & Smith, 2003, p. 102). I am interested in the “informal, and personal politics” that are “related to issues of identity, agency, and participation, and more commonly the domain of children and young people” (Wood, 2012, p. 338). Examining such mundane and domestic interactions of young employees’ camp lives allows for “the possibility of seeing everyday politics within these liminal sites” (Wood, 2012, p. 339). By making visible the way power is exercised in camp spaces I hope in some way to engage in the “powerful movements for social change” (Moore, 1980, p. 211).

Pastoral Power at work in camp experiences

Dooley argues that there two distinct roles of pastoral care; that of compassion, “patience, kindness and concern” and one of command, the “fatherly role of ...showing the way” (Dooley, 1978, p. 183). Because the role of pastor involves guiding their pastorate to doing what is ‘right’ or ‘holy’ this involves exercising power, even authority. Pastoral care, in this regard,

can be seen as a form of power. Dooley (1978) argues that the second interpretation or use of pastoral care renders the first one suspect. He suggests that the acts of care and concern are merely a performance in order to achieve that of command (Dooley, 1978). This statement by Dooley implies a polarity in the interpretations of pastoral care which I do not wholly accept. I differ with Dooley's analysis of pastoral care in two ways. The first is that by exercising the overt acts of authority as father or pastor in the realm of pastoral care, one does not render the virtues of compassion insincere or ineffective. These virtues (i.e. patience, kindness and concern), rather, sit in tension with a sense of authority but are often embodied together. Secondly, through the very act of "arranging, organizing and carrying out of programmes with the specific intention of enabling others to eat, and further to eat what is beneficial and sustaining [Food, here, is conceived in a spiritual way]" (Dooley, 1978, p. 183) the pastor exercises power. Therefore, even the most compassionate acts of pastoral care can be acts of power; command or authority is not necessary for power to be exercised (Foucault, 1982a). Follett (1986) argues that this ecclesiastical power of pastoral care has now taken form in "individualizing 'tactics'" which are characterized by "a series of powers" (Follett, 1986, p. 6). Technologies of self serve as one of these tactics, in correspondence and interaction with others, through which a person works on their self (thoughts, behaviours, belief) to change themselves and attain a desired state (happiness, wisdom, purity) (Foucault, 1977, 1982b). Summer camp provides a rich site for the study of the technologies of self through various forms of pastoral care.

Foucault's four folds of pastoral power

(i) Foucault explains that pastoral power is "a very special form of power" (Foucault, 1982a, p. 783). Foucault suggests that pastoral power is "salvation oriented," "oblativ," "individualizing," coextensive and continuous with life and is linked with the production of truth; "the truth of the individual himself" (1982a). In a contemporary context, Foucault argues that pastoral power has "spread and multiplied outside the ecclesiastical institution" into "the whole social body" and found support in "a multitude of institutions" (Foucault, 1982a, pp. 783-784). Foucault explains that "Instead of a pastoral power and a political power ... there was an individualizing 'tactic' which characterized a series of powers; those of family, medicine, psychiatry, education, and employers" (Foucault, 1982a, p. 784). Therefore "we can see the state as a modern matrix of individualization or a new form of pastoral power" (1982a, p. 783). I will explore the four tenets Foucault proposes for the operation of pastoral power and how they implicate camp organizational culture and its participants.

(ii) Foucault argues that through pastoral power the pastor “must be prepared to sacrifice itself [pastor] for the life and salvation of the flock” (Foucault, 1982a, p. 783). Unlike royal power, where subjects sacrifice themselves for the throne, pastoral power demands self-sacrifice (Foucault, 1982a, p. 783). This notion of ‘others before self’ features in the servant leadership literature of organizational studies (R. Russell & Stone, 2002; Smith, Montagno, & Kuzmenko, 2004; Stone, Russell, & Patterson, 2004) and appears to be a direct descendent of ideal Christian leadership as emulated through Jesus Christ (Sendjaya & Sarros, 2002). Servant leadership can also be found in leisure management texts (DeGraaf, Jordan, & DeGraaf, 1999) and strongly features in camp leadership development and training texts (Meier & Mitchell, 1993; Ross, 2009). The concern here is that the notion of servant leadership could be interpreted as self-sacrifice at any cost by either or both the camp manager and camp staff. As suggested in the work of Leidner (1999, p. 84) managers may feel “legitimately entitled to intervene in workers’ looks, words, feelings, thoughts, attitudes and demeanours” and consequently a young camp counsellor may embrace an overreaching attitude of ‘all things camp’ before self to their own detriment.

(iii) Foucault states that pastoral power must “not look after just the whole community but each individual...during his entire life,” (Foucault, 1982a, p. 783). In a camp setting, this means that every single camper is the subject of pastoral power. This is mobilised as a desire to work on and improve the identity of each individual who attends camp. Camp Kinesserie’s advertising illustrates:

Camp is a special place where everyone feels at home. Campers are encouraged to take responsibility, to make decisions, and to exercise initiative through positive interaction. Every opportunity is provided for self-expression and self-discovery. At camp every camper can be a star. It is our goal to provide each camper with a positive and lasting camp experience (Camp Kinesserie, 2012).

However the everyday realities of these promises are challenged by the number of campers in attendance (from 60 to 300+ campers) not to mention the complexity of providing inter and intra-personal benefits to each. My own experiences as a camper meant that I often felt lost in a sea of faces and I recall being acutely aware of the difference of how this felt in contrast to my family-life. I genuinely struggled with not feeling ‘special’ which was compounded when the Biblical teaching of the day reiterated our (the camper’s) divine specialness. Camp counsellors are charged with the challenge of giving individual attention and nurturing to each camper. The achievement of this tenet of pastoral care, within a camp setting, is complex and challenging.

(iv) Finally, Foucault concludes that “this form of power cannot be exercised without knowing people’s minds ...it implies a knowledge of conscience and ability to direct it” (Foucault, 1982a, p. 783). This last statement implies a level of expertise as well as a ‘commanding’ form of pastoral care. The pastor, or in this study the camp counsellor, is charged with the responsibility and thus the power of knowing the needs of their campers. Dooley adds that, “there is no requirement that those in need have any genuine awareness of these needs” (1978, p. 184). This lack of self-awareness is typically assumed of campers. Dooley (1978, p. 184) goes on to say that it is “crucial to the concept of a pastor” that “he is the one who must determine what the needs of the individual members of the flock are” and so too, the expectation is for camp counsellors to be aware and actively seeking to address the needs of their campers. One of the issues is that camp counsellors may not even have the maturity to recognise what their own needs are let alone others. The task of being aware of and serving the needs of others is further compounded by the number of campers in the counsellor’s care and the demanding conditions of the role. Should they achieve the desired level of awareness, perception, motivation and service, the assumption is then made that camp counsellors know how to meet such needs. This is where, as Dooley (1978) highlighted, the authority and commanding form of pastoral care could be misunderstood, misappropriated or overlooked altogether.

Follett (1986, p.8) extends our understanding of the pressures on people who work in positions of pastoral care by highlighting that “the quality of that relationship [that of teacher and pupil] was seen as conditional upon the quality of the teacher himself.” All the employees and managers in McCuaig’s education study stressed the importance of “the teacher embodying Christian values as the necessary basis for education” (2012, p. 867). McCuaig’s investigation of High Physical Education teachers supports the assumption that the “disposition of teachers were considered of paramount importance ...for it was their display of enthusiasm, vitality and interest in pupil achievement that ‘evokes an alert, active and keen response in children’” (Depart Education Qld as cited in McCuaig 2012, p.867). Camp counsellors are likewise under enormous pressure to embody the discourses and norms of the camp organisation they are employed by. If the relationship between camp counsellor and their campers appears to be difficult then managers and peers assume that the individual camp counsellor is of questionable quality or is rebellious or intentionally difficult. Only in extreme cases where a camper’s behaviour is erratic is it conceded that the camper had contributed to an unsuccessful counsellor-camper relationship. Reflections on the contribution of organisational cultures to unsuccessful pastoral care relationships rarely surface.

Follett (1986) suggests that “the importance of moral training, moral values, service to others, etc. still continues to inform and influence the notion of the pastoral role of the teacher” and I would add, camp managers and counsellors. The four tenets of Foucault’s pastoral power thus help identify and articulate the complexities of subjectivity and practices of power that shape the experiences of camp attendees, whether camper or staff.

Forms of Pastoral power and agency

The commanding and compassionate authority of the “pastor”, or in this case camp counsellor/ manager, is not absolute. A camp counsellor cannot force their campers to eat their vegetables or even the discipline of the camp director cannot ensure a child’s safety from their own violent behaviour. Bevir argues that pastoral power is not total in as much as pastoral power “has to flow through the consciousness of subjects in such a way that they internalize the relevant laws, rules, and norms so as to regulate themselves in accord with them” (1999, p. 355). Moreover, power operates as a “type of influence ...because it must work by convincing the subject of the rightness of certain acts” (Bevir, 1999, p. 355). It must treat the subject “to the very end as a person who acts” (Foucault, 1982a, p. 220). Thus, Bevir (1999) and Foucault (1982) acknowledge the agency and creativity of subjects such as camper and camp counsellor selves.

Collective and individualizing tactics of power are at work in camp social environments. Much like Foucault’s second tenet of pastoral power, the pastor is interested in both the collective and individual salvation of its pastorate. That is to say, camp managers, and consequently camp counsellors, are set the task of collective social harmony and enjoyment as well as the individual self-improvement of each camper. Similar to the structures of the school Physical Education sector, the child-leader relationship in camps is designed to be much more “personal” and “horizontal” in which “there is an exchange of equals” as opposed to the hierarchical structure of traditional schools (Brown & Evans, 2004). This, Armour and Jones (1998, p. 120) argue, allows for “meaningful and caring relationships” to be built. While this is true and can be a significant pleasure in the camp counsellor employment experience, Guerrier and Adib study on tour representatives demonstrates how even this ‘befriending’ can also be used as a tactic for “when behaviour needs to be constrained or controlled” (2003, p. 1408).

Other forms of power and normative control work to discipline subjects to control unwanted behaviours. Many camp staff employ and are influenced by normative discourses and peer pressures to embody the appropriate behaviours of camp selves. Follett argues, “Where importance is placed on group authority the individual who breaks the pattern is subjected to an authoritative, corrective discipline, based on the sub-summation of the individual’s interest to that of the rest of the group” (1986, p. 5). This form of control “has never been completely dominant and a good deal of self-discipline has always been sought after” (Follett, 1986, p. 5). Organisational discourses of a ‘good’ camper or camp counsellor articulate how individuals should shape their subjectivity in normalised ways. Bevir (1999) reminds us to make room for agency and local reasoning in any analysis of pastoral power and this consequently adds more layers to the complexities of power relations.

Camp Counsellors’ Emotions at Work

Denzin suggests that “emotionality lies at the intersection of the person and society” thus the study of emotion is central to “all the human disciplines” because “to be human is to be emotional” (1984, p. x). However, emotional dimensions of embodied experience have been largely neglected within sociology and anthropology (Lupton, 1998), and more specifically in the leisure and camp literature (Sharpe, 2005b). Historically, the emotions have been seen as irrational and vulgar (Lupton, 1998). Further, liberal western traditions have emphasised the position of mind over the body in constituting experiences of the self to the extent that emotions are overlooked in traditional approaches to social science (N. Rose, 1996b). Lupton argues, however, that the emotions inform everyday experiences and embodied meaning as they are “integral to, and inextricable from, subjectivity” (1998, p. 32). We are embodied subjects that experience life with and through a body (Lupton, 1998) and it is a body that feels.

Emotions act as “expressions of and lenses through” which outdoor leaders, like camp counsellors, can understand embodied camp experiences (Sharpe, 2005b, p. 29). Emotions allow people, like camp counsellors, to ‘make sense’ of their experiences and interpret these for themselves and others (Lupton, 1998). Emotions, and the language used to describe embodied experience, shape how camp counsellors construct and express meaning. The emotional interpretations camp counsellors make of their employment experiences provide insight into aspects of camp that affect, in both positive and negative ways, their emotional wellbeing and their ability to perform their jobs. In addition, Sharpe argues that “often our emotional responses are guided by broader social norms” (Sharpe, 2005b, p. 29). For example, camp counsellors may recount the ‘fun’ they had while working at camp despite the hardships or

challenges of fulfilling their camp counsellor role. This example, although it appears contradictory, illustrates how normalised discourses about camp counsellor experiences can influence the meaning an individual attributes to their own experiences even when these differ from their initial reactions or interpretations. Thus the meanings that individuals derive from the emotional aspect of their experiences, according to Allen (2004), are shaped by broader social discourses as well as those pertaining to the expectations for employment. Emotions, therefore, work and are at work in shaping camp counsellor employment experiences.

The Emotion Work of Camp Counsellors

The emotion work performed by camp counsellors in the provision of fun and beneficial camper experiences remains largely invisible in industry discourses, academic literature and camp management practices. The emphasis placed in summer camp literature on psych-oriented camper 'benefits' and 'outcomes' has obstructed investigations into the scope of camp counsellors' emotion work. My research addresses a gap in the literature about the emotion work experienced by camp counsellors. The nature of camp counsellors' emotion work and the power relations that shape this are critical to the development of reflexive management practices that can address recruitment, retention and wellbeing issues. While some authors argue that emotion work can be connected to employees' sense of fulfilment, satisfaction and self-assurance (Leidner, 1999; Peart, Roan, & Ashkanasy, 2012; Wharton, 1993), others argue that the commodification of emotions and personal connections can cause personal conflict and/or dissonance for individuals (Boyle, 2002; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987), as well as burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Mancini & Lawson, 2009; Zapf & Holz, 2006; Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini, & Holz, 2001).

The 'front-line' delivery of and responsibility for camper experiences requires young camp counsellors to manage their own and campers' emotions. This, Hochschild (1983) argues, is emotional labour. Emotional labour exists when employees, like camp counsellors, must expend their emotions "to produce a certain quality of interactions" and manage the emotions of campers in order to achieve the camp product (Leidner, 1999, p. 82). Hochschild suggests that this is done through the 'performance' of emotions which can be inauthentic to the 'true self' (1983). I argue, however, that the notion of true or false selves ignores the discursive practices that shape how individuals interpret self as true or false. The camp counsellors' subjectivity is multiple and as such individuals can experience emotions, in the course of emotional labour, as authentic and inauthentic to varying degrees.

Emotional labour is “crucial to the performance of interactive service work” (Leidner, 1999, p. 81) such as in the work of camp counselling. Managers, like camp directors, depend on employees, like camp counsellors, to interrelate with campers. The ‘people work’ required of camp counsellors places the facilitation and negotiation of their own and their campers’ emotions at the heart of the work they perform; yet this is largely ignored in management literature. The emotional labour performed by service workers, such as camp counsellors, is “not really recognised and rewarded” (Hillman, 2006, p. 5). For example, camp counsellors deliver promised camper experiences through positive and caring personal interactions. They are expected to ‘bond’ with the children in their care but not notice or care when these children leave and new ones arrive. Camper experience provision, in this way, relies upon the exchange of commodified relationships.

The performance of camp counsellors’ emotional labour is shaped by and within their relationships with campers and camp managers. Campers “act as judges” of the adequacy of camp counsellors and “can create difficulties if they are not satisfied” (Leidner, 1999, p. 83). For example, a camper may throw a tantrum or run-away in order to display their dislike of a camp counsellor. Due to the expectations of interactive service provision, however, employees must also negotiate employers’ involvement in emotional labour (Leidner, 1999). Leidner suggests that managers tend to “take a direct interest in ...aspects of the workers’ selves” because they view “emotions and personalities” as part of the employment role (1999, p. 83). In doing so, camp managers may feel “legitimately entitled to intervene in workers’ looks, words, feelings, thoughts, attitudes and demeanour” (Leidner, 1999, p. 84). For example, camp counsellors who display anger or frustration when campers misbehave are disapproved of because camp norms dictate that they must be ‘happy’ in order to deliver ‘positive’ and ‘beneficial’ camper experiences. Consequently, camp counsellors must “cope with their own emotions being managed while they try to manage the emotional responses of others” (Leidner, 1999, p. 83).

My research problematises the assumed nature of emotional labour and makes visible the emotions at work in providing leisure experiences. While existing research has considered the nature and effects of emotional labour (Cohen, 2010; Gray, 2010; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Korczynski, 2003; Mann & Cowburn, 2005; Taggart, 2011; Van Dijk, Smith, & Cooper, 2011), this study critically considers the multiplicity and embodiment of emotions at work within summer camp employment. Drawing on post-structural notions of self (Weedon, 2004), I use the term emotion work, rather than emotional labour, to conceptualize a more nuanced and complex understanding of embodied experiences of emotions at work. Emotion work, for example, encompasses the in-situ employment of emotions implicated in emotional labour but

also considers the work involved in processing the thoughts and feelings a camp counsellor may have as a result of a socio-emotional exchange. Boyle (2002) argues that staff need space to process their emotions, moods, thoughts, and experiences; however circumstances, such as the twenty-four hour nature of camp counsellors' work, stifles emotional processing. In her study, this meant that employees were unable to unburden emotional stress (Boyle, 2002). Yet individuals are not always aware of how they feel. This is often assumed by "rationalist beliefs of a self-knowing and masterful subject" (Fullagar, 2008, p. 37) and camp counsellors may not be aware of their needs to rest or debrief.

In this study, I consider how discourses, everyday camp practices and power relations within camp experiences shape camp counsellors' emotion work and affect the emotional wellbeing of camp counsellors. Camp practices and discourses shape camp participant experiences as they advance the 'truth'. These discourses attain "specific powers" and "produce effects" in ways that certain experiences are promoted and others are muted (Marshall, 1997, p. 34). While discourses of camper care articulate that nurturance is attended to equally, assumptions of feminised caring see female employees shouldering the bulk of responsibilities. How camp counsellors employ their own creative agency to address power relations also shapes the nature of their emotion work and emotional wellbeing.

Gendered assumptions of emotion work

Summer camps appear to be shaped by discourses of gender equality, or genderlessness, from genealogical ties to Girl Scout movements that saw girls as able to perform the same tasks as their male counterparts (see Chapter 2). There is a prevalent assumption that camp counsellors perform their roles in much the same way regardless of gender (Lyons, 1998; Torland, 2011). Lyon's (1998) suggested that employees assumed a 'one size fits all' approach to camp counselling implying that there is an absence of gender in camp employment. Yet emotions, themselves, are embodied and as such the male and female experience of emotion is different (Lupton, 1998). For example, Lyon's study (1998) revealed that camp employees experienced distinctly gendered emotion work. Camp counsellors were expected to draw on feminine notions of nurture and care in relation to campers while embodying masculine assumptions of strength, physicality and survival. It would appear, much like the paramedics in Boyle's study (2005), camp counsellors are situated in an overwhelmingly masculine, even military-like, context. The juxtaposition of feminine and masculine emotions creates tensions for camp counsellors about how much of each to embody and/or perform.

Despite the assumption that camps provide a genderless environment, Lyon's study found that, although the gendered roles experienced by camp staff were different among men and women, these differences were largely ignored (1998). Specifically, women's roles as carers or nurturers were invisible. Female staff indicated they felt responsible for the emotional wellbeing of campers and camp counsellors alike and expressed frustrations that their male counterparts left "the girls" to carry a larger load of caring responsibilities (Lyons, 1998). Research into the division of emotion work of intimacy, sex, household labour and family work among heterosexual couples demonstrated similar findings (DeVault, 1999; Duncombe & Marsden, 1993; Erickson, 1993, 2005). The notion that camp employment is genderless obscures the exploration of a diverse range of gendered experiences and can, by expecting the 'same' from men and women, undermine and undervalue the experiences and work of camp counsellors.

The work-leisure life of camp counsellors

Camp counsellor employment, much like that of tour representatives in Guerrier and Adib's (2003) study is seen as a way of enjoying child-like leisure through seasonal work. The 'fun' of camp employment is promoted by camp managers, organising bodies and summer camp folklore. Further, the provision of camp counsellors' accommodation, meals and meagre pay is justified through discourses about the inherent 'fun' and developmental nature of camp employment that is assumed to be sufficient compensation. Yet young camp counsellors are charged with around the clock responsibilities of child development, social facilitation, and risk and safety management. Not only are camp counsellors not paid the professional equivalent for their work (i.e. teacher, day care provider, therapist, etc.) their own leisure is highly regulated. Thus camp counsellor experiences are paradoxically shaped by competing discourses such as fun and discipline, freedom and conformity, personal development and service provision. However, the 'it's all fun' notion of camp employment becomes problematic for camp employers and employees.

Guerrier and Adib (2003) argue that the boundaries between work and leisure are particularly blurred for leisure providers, like camp counsellors. The work of camp counsellors "involves the enactment of leisure" which Guerrier and Adib suggest confound the work-leisure relationship (2003, p. 1404). Camp counsellors need to perform "having fun" as they are providing leisure activities to campers. Camp counsellors are also with campers for most hours of the day making times and spaces for work and leisure ambiguous. For example, camp counsellors sleep in cabins with campers or other camp employees so there is very little private

or non-working space. Camp counsellors, like Guerrier and Adib's tour representatives, must embody the "iconography" of the camp at all times (2003, p. 1405). Tensions regarding the work-leisure relationship are often a site of confusion and disenchantment for camp counsellors (Bialeschki et al., 1998). The work-leisure and freedom-regulation tensions in camp counsellors' employment roles raise questions about whether it is even possible for camp counsellors to experience time away from work as leisure.

The experience of freedom, that is central to leisure experiences, exists in tension with power relations such as the discourses that articulate the discursive practices of camp employment (Foucault, 1982a; Wearing, 1998). Freedom, like power, is discursively produced through a nexus of relationships that shape how individuals, like camp counsellors, perceive and understand autonomy (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Consequently, a camp counsellor's ability to make choices for her or himself in the camp environment presents a complex task. Dominant discourses about young peoples' lack of maturity (Wyn, 2000) exist in tension with the responsibilities conferred on camp counsellors for the care and wellbeing of campers. Camp counsellors must not only negotiate imposing discourses about their ability and maturity as young people but also the subject position of the caring employee delineated for them within camp hierarchies.

The issues between freedom and the exercise of power are of particular interest from a leisure management perspective (Frisby, 2005). How do camp managers ensure the leisure experiences promoted for camp counsellors are within the boundaries of regulative camp discourses (i.e. risk and safety management, child care and development expertise, etc.)? Given the low pay, lack of private space and regulations about recreational choices in the name of 'fun' and developmental opportunities for camp counsellors, camp employment practices present a number of ethically contentious issues such as the healthy balance between work and leisure time. Summer camp, thus, presents a unique site for the exploration of the work-leisure relationship experienced by camp counsellors. My research investigates how relations of freedom and power are experienced through camp counsellors' work-leisure lives and the affects regulating work-leisure experiences has on camp counsellors' emotional wellbeing.

Summary

By framing the camp counsellor self as that which is not unified but 'in process,' this study opens up possibilities for understanding the complex, embodied and everyday experiences of what it means to take up this role. A post-structural approach to power reveals

that camp counsellor selves and experiences are shaped by discourses such as fun and freedom, pastoral care and command, and the capabilities and immaturity of youth. Pastoral care imperatives of summer camps contribute to a moral technology in the way that “surveillance and self-examination, obedience and self-regulation” (McCuaig, 2012, p. 865) are expected to be exercised by and produce ‘upright and righteous’ camp subjects. Camp counsellors govern themselves through processes of subjectification, and others, through technologies of power, in accordance to camp norms. Camp employment presents a unique site to examine the nexus of power relations that shape young camp counsellor selves, their emotion work and their wellbeing. I am particularly interested in how camp counsellors’ emotion work is understood, shaped by camp discourses and experienced. Just how camp counsellors’ wellbeing is affected by the performance of their emotion work is at the heart of this study. While there is some indication that emotion work has varying effects on camp counsellors, emotion work is largely invisible in both academic texts on camp and industry texts, policies and practice. The lack of knowledge on camp counsellors embodied experiences, emotions and wellbeing seems odd in light of the level of concern expected to be garnered by them on individual campers. It would appear that camp counsellors’ wellbeing, often assumed to be the foundation for delivering positive and beneficial camper experiences, does not come under scrutiny and therefore is not provided responsible and responsive support.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Research Process

Introduction

This chapter explains the methodological assumptions and choices made in this study regarding the research process. I chose qualitative research methods because they have enabled me to capture and comprehend the meanings participants gave to their camp employment experiences (Baumgartner & Strong, 1998, p. 174). In the following sections I will explain how my research is positioned and has been shaped by post-structural concepts of self, language and power. I will also describe how my data analysis has been influenced by a reflexive methodology approach. I have created an overall approach that is open to themes emerging from the data while acknowledging the construction of knowledge and valuing my own insights on the research process. This chapter will also address the pragmatic decisions inherent in 'doing' research and the inevitable limitations and boundaries of this task.

A Reflexive Methodology

I adopted a reflexive methodology to guide the design, data collection, analysis and writing of my research. Reflexive methodology suggests a framework for "drawing attention to and mediating between various core dimensions of reflection" (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000b, p. 247). This approach involved reflection upon and engagement with multiple layers of meaning that I identified in relation to language and embodied meaning making (Stronach, Garrat, Pearce, & Piper, 2007). A post-structural approach, according to Pillow (2003, p. 176), "routinely uses reflexivity as a methodological tool to better represent, legitimize, or call into question their data." This approach also acknowledges a post-structural framing of the multiplicity of embodied experience and the construction of knowledge. Reflexive research requires the researcher to employ their own critical judgement and intuition to explore the research texts (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000a; Maranhao, 1991). Researchers must question the assumptions on which knowledge is based and consider "the filters through which we see and experience the world" (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000, p. 92). Therefore, the use of reflexivity is necessary in order to be aware of the beliefs and norms that shape choices and actions within the research process (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000; Finlay, 2002; Holland, 1999). While scholars have critiqued the innocence of reflexivity (i.e., as encouraging narcissism or perpetuating subjugations of 'other'), I have drawn on Pillow's argument for the substantiation of this approach in that our use of reflexivity "accounts for multiplicity without making it singular and acknowledges the unknowable without making it familiar" (2003, p. 181). I use reflexive

methodology, therefore, to critically question assumptions and knowledge produced regarding camp counsellors' embodied experiences.

Reflexive methodology draws attention to the contribution of the researcher's dialogue with the research subject, literature, herself and the reader in "the process of research and in the (final) textual product" (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000a, p. 249). I argue that, in particular, research on camp counsellors' employment experiences is "co-constituted" by the researcher and participants (Finlay, 2002, p. 212; Hamilton, 1990). The meanings constructed by individuals, like camp employees, are based on interpretations of their lived employment experiences (Morse & Richards, 2002; Neuman, 2006). These are influenced by particular social contexts, including their relationship to the researcher, and thus may yield different understandings in another time and place (Finlay, 2002). Therefore, this research dissertation does not intend to proclaim the "truth" about camp employment experience. Rather, it is a depiction that is situated and produced in a particular place and a particular time (Charmaz, 2006). As Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000a, p.249) argue, it is not possible for researchers to produce "definite truths, authoritative interpretations, or superior insights" about the camp counsellors studied. In this way "knowledge is tentative" (Phillips, 1993, p. 59, p.59), partial and situated (Richardson, 2000b). There is no 'truth' or singular definition of camp employment, rather a dynamic interpretation and reinterpretation of these experiences. As such, I engaged reflexive methodology to locate "the intersections of author, other, text, and world, and for penetrating the representational exercise itself" (Macbeth, 2001, p. 35). Camp experiences are mediated through cultural texts and therefore my study illustrates an intersection of a socio-cultural context.

A reflexive methodology requires engagement with the messiness of occupying and navigating multiple subject positions as researchers. My experiences, for example, as a camper, camp counsellor and manager generated tensions in producing a multi-textual research that troubled camp discourses, empowered research participants and acknowledged my "folded subjectivity" (St. Pierre, 1997, p. 178). I acknowledge my role as a producer of knowledge about the camp counsellor experience and as such emphasize that I am "an acting, feeling, thinking, and influencing force in the collection and interpretation of data" Daly (2002, p.324). I draw on my own experiences and insights to explore the discursive and non-discursive camp practices that shape camp counsellors' employment experiences. I interpreted the various sources of knowledge to create my own narrative about the nature of the camp counsellor experience and draw suggestions for improved camp management practices. This required that I adopt an honest yet critical engagement of personal camp experiences. I considered the many texts and

narratives that I have collected and compiled in this study and wish to acknowledge that my experiences, values and thoughts are also working to shape this piece of research. What I have experienced and read shaped the nature of the questions I posed and even the codes I assigned to research texts as I worked through various stages of making sense out of it. I have also included my personal narratives, at times, as they crystallised and reinforced my thematic analysis and provided a rhetorical device for eliciting understanding and evoking the emotions of a camp counsellor's experiences. Being reflexive about the subjective experience of doing research can enhance understanding and interpretation of experiences (Finlay, 2002; Richardson, 2000b). Self-reflexivity has not only been beneficial but necessary throughout the research process as I attempt to weave many texts together into a coherent multi-vocal research narrative while staying critical and accountable to the various perspectives that inform my study of camp counsellors emotion work and wellbeing.

Data Collection

Participant Recruitment

Initially, I recruited potential interview candidates by utilising convenience sampling (Marshall, 1997). This meant that I emailed a number of familiar contacts from my camp experiences in South-Western Ontario (see Appendix A). I made 'cold' contact with a number of key or potential 'gatekeepers' in the Ontario camping community. I did this through published contact details on the Ontario Camping Association (OCA) website. This website holds and makes available a comprehensive listing of all camps that have accreditation from the OCA. Accreditation from the OCA means that a camp has voluntarily met and maintained certain standards (see Chapter 1). An OCA accredited camp is generally well-regarded among camp managers and parent consumers. While this may have excluded non-accredited camps, my research aimed to examine camps that were leading examples of best practice. These initial contacts were encouraged to fill out an on-line survey (linked in the email) as a part of my qualitative sampling process (Appendix D). I also asked contacts to forward my email to people they thought were 'information-rich' individuals on the topic of camp counsellor employment. In this way, snowball or chain sampling techniques were employed as a recruitment strategy (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 28; Neuman, 2006).

The questionnaire I created was designed to collect information about individual's demographic background, camp organization and camp counsellor experiences (see Appendix D). I did this to assist in the selection of interview candidates to ensure diversity in terms of demographic characteristics, as well as camp roles performed and temporal distance from their

camp employment experiences. I asked two open-ended questions; 1) what did you enjoy about being a camp counsellor? and 2) what was challenging about being a camp counsellor? I asked open questions to elicit a range of responses and I anticipated that they would reveal stories that were unusual or outside the norm. At this point in my research process I had a sense of a clear dominant discourse being articulated in popular and academic publications about camp experiences.

Fifty-eight individuals completed the online survey within a period of five weeks from 3rd of July 2009 to 11th of August 2009. It appeared to take participants an average of 20 minutes to complete. I was satisfied that this was a good starting point because I intended to continue collecting names of potential interview contacts from those I met and interviewed while in the field. In this way, I used a snowball sampling technique (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Neuman, 2006) to gather more contacts. I also made personal contact with other key people in the Ontario camping community who facilitated access to possible interview candidates.

I thought it would be productive to send the recruitment email during the month of July as I expected camps to have most staff on hand to complete the survey. I thought that this would be convenient and would prove useful and valuable but I misjudged the timing. This was the middle of the busy camp season and camp employees had other priorities and limited access to emails. Upon reflection, I can see why this did not meet my expectations for generating contacts. It appears that the initial responses to my email, and survey, were mostly past participants and a handful of current ones who were working as 'day camp' staff who were home at night and on their own computers. From this initial response, I continued to use snowballing techniques and word-of-mouth to contact individuals that had worked the 2009 summer that had just concluded. These contacts were often groups of individuals from the same camp as the initial contact, i.e., a camp director or manager would often introduce me to two to four possible interview candidates from their camp.

A summary of demographic information for the survey respondents can be found in Table 1 (see Appendix G). There were 58 respondents to the survey. This summary was compiled on 11 August 2009. The date is noted here because this was the initial pool of candidates from which I selected interview participants. More were acquired throughout the interviewing period; however, these were mainly individuals who had been referred to me. I asked them to complete the survey at the interview so I could gain their demographic details. The majority of survey responses were from females (79.31%) with males accounting for 20.69% of responses. Survey respondents were well educated with 79.31% holding tertiary

education qualifications; 37.93% having completed an undergraduate degree, 29.31% holding a postgraduate qualification, and 12.07% with a college education. A large percentage of respondents indicated an affiliation with Christianity (86.20%) with others indicating none (12.07%) or other (1.72%). Similarly, the majority of respondents identified as Anglo-Saxon ethnicity (82.76%) with only a small proportion identifying as First Nations/Native Canadian (3.45%), French Canadian (1.72%) and/or Other (5.17%). The remaining respondents (6.90%) did not answer this question. Some respondents indicated they were currently involved in camp affiliated management or professional roles 17.24% while most of the remaining respondents (68.97%) held roles that demonstrated some connection to camp experiences (i.e., people-oriented and service delivery work, education or ministry). The vast majority of respondents spent a number of summers as campers with 13.79% spending one to two summers, 39.66% spending three to six summers and 27.59% spending more than seven summers at camp. Only one respondent had not been a camper prior to working for a camp. Most respondents spent many summers working for a camp, with 10.34% novices (one to two summers), 58.62% Intermediates (three to seven summers), and 18.97% Lifers (over eight summers).

Selection of interview participants

Purposive sampling allowed me to choose participants that represented diversity in demographic characteristics such as gender, age, and ethnicity (Malhorta, Hall, Shaw, & Oppenheim, 2004). Specifically, I used dimensional sampling to choose a variety of research participants on two dimensions (J. Johnson, 1990; Miles & Huberman, 1994); the amount of time a participant had spent at camp (as a camper or staff) and how proximal participants were in time to their employment experiences. I originally anticipated that camp employment experiences would vary between those who were new to camp counselling (novices) and those who had been involved (as a participant and/or staff) for a long time ('lifers'). For example, experiences that may present problems for novices may be taken-for-granted by people who are 'lifers.' On the other hand, novices may not be as sensitive to nuances in camp employment practices in the way that 'lifers' might. The second dimension, proximity to camp experience, was designed to address the influence of nostalgic memories that may reconstruct camp as a largely positive experience. In addition, perspective and critical reflection on personal camp employment experiences may vary according to proximity to the experience and the age of participants.

I set out with the intention of interviewing 20 individuals with camp counsellor employment experiences and 20 individuals with camp counsellor management experience. I

found, however, that the categories and dimensions that I anticipated would differentiate the interview population were relatively fluid and my desire to keep them in their 'boxes' was futile. Coherence was constructed in some instances and abandoned in others. Hamilton argues that, "there isn't a transparent window between the position people occupy in society, their experience of it, and their articulation of that experience" (1990, p. 128). My experiences of categorizing interview employment types suggested that subject positions are helpful in gaining an understanding of a person's experience, interpretations and narratives but are not static or concrete. I engaged categories for 'containing' or 'comparing' reflexively. I placed emphasis on narratives of camp counsellor experiences; however, I also included a range of other camp employment perspectives (i.e., management, volunteer, leadership development). At 38 interviews I found that no new data was being unearthed and therefore I stopped interviews in light of saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

By asking for suitable participants from a handful of camp directors I was given names of camp staff that were considered model employees and which may not have represented the less favourable experiences of summer camp. This approach also led to groups of individuals coming from the same camp as one contact would refer me to three or four camp employees. I specifically sought individuals that had been camp counsellors, as this was the central focus of my study, and did not include kitchen or maintenance employees that are traditionally considered at the bottom of the employment hierarchy of summer camps. I also interviewed participants from camps that are commonly understood to be wealthy or prestigious. This was not intentional but it was easier to obtain participants from private and successful camps and it was more difficult to find interview participants from camps that had closed due, in part, to loss of contact information. These factors have likely contributed to a largely white privileged social lens to the interviews which, Rose and Paisley (2012) argue, already dominates camp populations.

Interview Participant Characteristics

My intention was to choose people that represented as much diversity in experience, employment roles, and age as could be reasonably gained within the limitations of my research dissertation. I interviewed 38 individuals who nominated, voluntarily, to participate in my study. The interview participants were aged between 17 to 59 years with the highest number coming from the 25 to 29 year bracket (39.50%). Interview participants were female 63.16%, and 36.84% male. The majority of respondents identified as being Christian (78.95%) which is not surprising in that my initial contact group was from United Church camps located in South-Western Ontario. Interview participants were highly educated with 37.93% holding

undergraduate and 29.31% holding postgraduate qualifications. This is consistent with those who completed the survey. The majority, 67.24%, of respondents were tertiary educated. All participants were Canadian (two resided in Sydney, Australia at the time of the interview). All other respondents were residents of Ontario and the majority resided in the South-Western region. A summary of interview participant details can be found in Appendix H and the individual characteristics of each participant can be found in Appendix K.

Using both the survey and interview data, I coded each interview participant into one of four employment level categories. This allocation of categories was difficult because interview participants had a tendency to speak to and from a number of subject positions through the course of an interview –and often without signifying a change from one to another. Therefore, this coding or classification is a gross allocation and should only be seen as a beginning point for understanding the variety of employment roles and subjectivities in summer camp experiences. I coded each participant based on a combination of indicators which included: role level achieved, most recently performed role, years involved in camping and position from which they comment the most in their interview. Interview participants were, largely, employed in three different capacities within camps; as camp counsellors (34.21%), middle management or program staff (28.95%) or as management or directors (31.58%). A small portion (5.26%) worked as instructors on Leadership Development programs. This is supported in Appendix H and in more detail in Appendix I. **Due to the fluidity of employment positions from which interview participants spoke, I have intentionally omitted this from their references in the analysis chapters.**

Interview participants varied in the number of summers they attended camps as campers and/or were employed by a camp. A summer, for the most part, is considered a two month contract that runs from the last week in June to the last week in August. It should be noted that the term ‘summers’ is used loosely and is a crude measurement. The largest number of participants attended five summers as a camper (13.16%) with 10.53% of the sample attending four, eleven and no summers as a camper respectively. I was careful to include interview participants with no camper experience to highlight camp norms that might be taken-for-granted by more experienced participants. Likewise, I included those with considerable camper experience to investigate more nuanced operations of camp power-relations. Camp counsellor employment experiences ranged from none to over twelve years of experience; however, interview participants worked three (15.79%), one or four (13.16% respectively), and two or none (1.53% respectively). Thirty-one interview participants had also performed roles other than camp counsellor within a camp setting, such as lifeguard, or in areas such as

administration, management, programming, maintenance or the kitchen. Most interview participants (52.63%) had performed these other roles from one to five summers. However, 23.68% had done so for over twelve years. Full-time positions in camps are rare, however, I have tried to include these individuals. This group were largely made up of camp managers, owners and/or directors who worked in these roles as full-time professionals. A 'summer' period may include one week up to full-time employment.

I had intended to consider temporal distance from camp employment experiences; however, I found it hard to contact those who were no longer employed at or associated with a camp through the sampling techniques used. The majority (65.79%) of interview participants had either just completed a summer season (47.37%) or were currently (18.42%) employed in camp roles at the time of the interviews. Only six (15.79%) had completed camp employment roles in the previous two to four summers, and three (7.89%) had finished camp employment earlier than five years prior. The details of the temporal distance from camp employment can be found in Table 4 (see Appendix J). Details of all interview participant characteristics is presented in Table 5 (see Appendix K).

Pilot Study

I conducted two pilot interviews. Pilot testing has advantages to ethnographic and post-positivist approaches that go beyond refining research instruments to include anticipating research problems, being efficient in data collection, considering research "validity, ethics, representation and researcher health and safety" (Sampson, 2004, p. 383). My aim in the first pilot interview was to test the eight or so open-ended questions I had drafted for my interview guide. For example, did the wording make sense? Did the questions get at the meanings and accounts of experiences I wanted to learn more about? By asking for accounts of experiences, I gained access to "a form of reality as it is discursively produced" (Mason, 2002, p. 24). The second pilot interview allowed me to concentrate more on the content and the issues being raised within the narratives of the interview participant. These pilot interviews also gave me a glimpse at the multiple layers of mental processing as well as emotion work involved in doing interviews.

I learnt that the first set of questions I drafted tended to be singular in their focus and only directed at camp counsellor experiences, and consequently adjusted them. I realized that the process of becoming and being a camp counsellor could also be understood through other camper and camp employee experiences. I redrafted my questions to encompass and consider

alternative views of camp counsellor experience phenomenon. The second pilot interview reminded me to ask about, seek and explore contradictions presented within narratives of camp experiences and subjectivities within the happy or beneficial discourses promoted for these experiences. This meant getting comfortable with being uncomfortable. Not only my own discomfort of stepping away from discourses of morally beneficial summer camp experiences, but also opening up conversations with interview participants on when their camp experience did not meet their expectations of carefree summer fun and moral development. I had to push myself, and at times interview participants, to 'trouble the lines' of camp employee discourses and selves. The interview guides that were developed are provided in Appendix E and F.

Conducting In-depth Interviews

I conducted in-depth interviews (Richardson & St.Pierre, 2008), using a semi-structured interview guide (Charmaz, 2006), in order to understand derived meanings of camp counsellor employment experiences, how this shapes their emotion work and the effects on their emotional wellbeing. The majority of interviews took place in South-western Ontario, Canada in the autumn months (September to November) of 2009. The interviews were conducted on an individual basis in one sitting and in a place chosen by the participants that was most convenient and comfortable for them. This tended to be in public places (i.e., coffee shops, university common areas) which presented some auditory issues with transcription. Each interview lasted 60 to 120 minutes and was digitally recorded for later transcription with participants' permission. Participants were given a pseudonym to protect their identity and ensure anonymity (Browne & Sullivan, 1999). In-depth interviews were chosen in order to gain a rich understanding of the subjective (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000a) and embodied experiences of camp counsellors from their perspective.

Prior to the face-to-face interview, most interview candidates were asked to fill out a short survey. The purpose of this survey was to gather pertinent demographic, contact and camp experience details. However, a dual intention was to prompt participants' reflections on camp counsellor experiences with two open-ended questions. Interview participants were given ethical conduct information, an ethical consent form, and a brief explanation of the research project (see Appendices B and C). Where possible I emailed the interview guide to research participants in advance (see Appendices E and F). The interview guide and accompanying explanation of the research were designed to prompt research participants to reflect on the specific dimensions of their camp counsellor experiences. I wanted to explore and understand the complexity of camp counsellors' embodied experience, and thus, it was important for the

interviewees to have time to consider their own feelings. This may also have reduced the amount of time needed to 'warm up' or break the ice with interview participants (Charmaz, 2006).

The interviews were treated as a "conversation with a purpose" (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, & Alexander, 1995, p. 81). In this way, the interviews echoed those of narrative enquiry practices (Hamilton, 1990). The interviews were intended to be comfortable and unobtrusive in the sense that the participant need only disclose the information that he or she was willing to share. It was assumed that the interview participants would want to recount 'camp stories' but they may not have considered the ways in which their camp experiences had shaped their camp counsellor selves or the effects of their emotion work on their own wellbeing. The interview guide therefore focused on experiences of emotional work and how the interview participants viewed these. The interview guide created an overall structure but also gave me a degree of freedom to use prompts and probes to explore particular topic areas, such as management dilemmas, or rebellious behaviours, or new topics as necessary (Drever, 1995). I utilised a semi-structured interview guide to allow flexibility and enhance the flow of the interview conversation. In addition, and due to my familiarity with camp employment, the structure ensured I stayed on topic and gave me confidence as a relatively new researcher. The same questions, from the semi-structured interview guide, were asked in most interviews but may have been asked in a different order based on the nature of each interview and the relationship established between each interview participant and myself. Probing allowed me to clarify or elaborate on incomplete answers as well as delve more deeply into the responses to more complex questions about participants' experiences (Neuman, 2006). The interview questions focussed on a wide variety of experiences and canvassed both positive and negative dimensions of camp counsellor wellbeing in their employment roles.

Dupuis states that, "a reflexive methodology recognizes the researcher's connectivity with the world around her or him and involves the use of empathy throughout the research process" (1999, p. 60). Whilst I believe that connecting and empathizing with interview participants are desirable aspects of any interview (Dupuis, 1999), I recognize that this is not always possible. Yet interviews that are not congenial can be as insightful, if not more so, than interviews that are. In specific cases, I just couldn't empathize with a particular view or condone a particular action. Although I respected participants' contribution to my research and openness in sharing their views, I struggled with my own thoughts and emotions in response. Do I say something to the interview participant that might provoke more reflection? Should I tell them what *I'm* hearing? Do I just bite my tongue? Do I encourage the revelation of more? In

navigating these questions, and the interior havoc these created for me, I have learnt a great deal about the art of interviewing inherent to the act of doing research. The layers of intellectual and emotional processing that were occurring reminded me that conducting research, just like being a camp counsellor, is embodied emotion work. I did a lot of debriefing into my recorder on those long drives home after (another) interview circuit. Dupuis (1999) argues for the unapologetic inclusion of the 'human' researcher, and for their emotions and their relationships with interview participant to be at the heart of reflexive qualitative research methodologies.

Textual Materials

From the beginning of this research dissertation, I have taken an interest in what is being said about camp experiences in various forms of print and media. My earlier genealogical analysis and literature review included camp leader textbooks, academic publications, fictions and movies in order to analyse the images presented to the public of camp and through which discourses and meanings of camp are mediated. Throughout the research process I have collected and been sent bits and pieces of camp 'news'. My parents would see an article in the local newspaper, cut it out and send it to me. I receive regular updates and newsletters from the Council of Outdoor Educators Ontario, the Canadian Camping Association, International Camping Fellowship, the American Camping Association and from one of the camps where I had interviewed the Director/Owner. These, and other, publications combine to construct camp images and discourses. I argue that these publications largely contribute to dominant discourses of beneficial and supportive social camp experiences with the use of photographs of smiling faces of campers and staff in the sunshine of beautiful Carolinian forests or the Muskoka woods. Charmaz (2006) supports the use of supplementary texts as, "such texts may provide useful statements about the organization's professed images and claimed objectives –the front stage view aimed to shape its public reputations" (2006, p. 38).

Camp purpose statements as found on web-pages

I explored purpose statements (i.e. Mission, philosophies and Vision statements) published on various camp websites in order to gain a glimpse –a snapshot really –of what camp organizers and managers felt was the essential purpose of the camp experience they sell. What is a fun and carefree camper outdoor experience? Was it a physical skill set that the camper was to achieve in their time onsite or an experience that would impart intrinsic psychological and morally oriented improvements? As I discovered, and to some extent expected, these goals and many more are often implied in the constructed tag lines of summer camps.

An initial Google search using the words "summer camp Canada" revealed 178 million possible websites. I selected 51 camps based on the survey data I collected prior to selecting

interview participants. The camps I chose to look at are the camps that the interview participants had said they had worked for. I compared this to the list of camps the participants had said they had attended as campers and also included any camps from this list that I knew to be prominent in the province (i.e., they had a similar profile based on a combination of operating budget, size, location, age and notoriety). I also included two camps that I attended and/or worked for to see what they had to say and whether my experiences and memories reflected their rhetoric. I found that many, if not most, of the websites did not have Mission statements. Most addressed this criterion by publishing a Philosophy Statement, guiding principles or objectives. I have, for the purpose of my study, called these purpose statements. A summary of my discursive analysis of purpose statements can be found in Table 6 (see Appendix L).

Supplementary texts

I collected five camp manuals from interview participants to analyse examples of how rules and regulations are constructed and then utilised within camp contexts. The manuals gave me insight into policy making processes and how these decisions reflected the embodied experiences of camp counsellors or did not. The manuals also helped me identify the areas in which camp employees are trained. I have de-identified the staff manuals included in this study due to their connection with particular interview participants. A table of staff manual characteristics can be found in Appendix M. Additionally I gained one copy of a Leadership Development Camp curriculum which gave insight to the process campers go through to become camp counsellors, as discussed in Chapter 6. I also included excerpts from published camp counsellor textbooks also featured in Chapter 6. Occasionally, I drew on other supplementary extant texts (i.e., newsletters, blog posts) to illustrate points or concepts throughout the analysis chapters as they were relevant. These were not sought specifically for this study but were received as regular updates from camping organizations I am affiliated with (e.g., CCA and ACA). I have identified these sources within the in-text citation for each. These supplementary texts contributed to the crystallisation of data (Richardson, 2000b) reinforcing themes as they appeared in multiple genres and sources and which illustrate the proliferation of camp discourses as they are presented throughout the analysis chapters.

Data Analysis

I have adopted a modified grounded theory method as part of my research design. Grounded theory methods, originally penned by Glaser & Strauss (1968) “consists of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing qualitative data to construct theories

'grounded' in the data themselves" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). Due to the "usefulness" and "explanatory power," many researchers employ grounded theory methods to "control their research process and to increase the analytic power of their work" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 6). My grounded theory methods tend to draw more on Strauss's (1987), and later Strauss and Corbin's (1994), developments in thought and practice as these compliment and support a reflexive approach. Charmaz argues that grounded theory methods can "complement other approaches to qualitative data analysis" and this is why they "continue to appeal to qualitative researchers with varied theoretical and substantive interests" (2006, p.9). Ultimately, "when combined with insight and industry, grounded theory methods offer sharp tools for generating, mining and making sense of data" (Charmaz 2006, p.15).

Glaser and Strauss's original text "invited their readers to use grounded theory strategies flexibly in their own way" (Charmaz 2006, p.9) and, like Charmaz, I accepted that offer and challenge. I interpret the premises of contemporary grounded theory methods to investigate the production of camp counsellor selves. Glaser and Strauss built the premise of Grounded Theory on "discovering theory as emerging from the data separate from the scientific observer" (Charmaz 2006, p.10), hence the "grounded" aspect of the theory. This requires, according to Dey (1995), an open-minded approach to the studied world. But Dey (1999, p. 25) warns, "there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head." I have endeavoured to have an open mind and heart (recognising the often invisible emotional aspect of doing research) and in this way have held true to the tradition of being "grounded" in my research. I did not, for example, create a recipe list of ways to accomplish my research. Instead, I stayed close to the data and let it and my research questions shape the methods I chose. As I reflected, wrote and explored the nature of camp counsellor experiences my curiosity and passion for the topic spurred me to follow a number of tangents, some more fruitful than others. For example, when I began writing about the context of camp counsellor experiences I began to explore connections between camp organizational objectives and cultures. I focussed my analysis on the purpose statements that camps had published on the internet to identify patterns of thinking. This textual analysis material developed from being attentive to the research problem and the multiple layers of meaning that come to shape camp experiences.

Thematic Analysis

The interviews were digitally recorded during a one month period. This meant that I was unable to transcribe my recordings between interviews and so I kept field notes and made auditory notes as I was driving to, between, and from interviews. I kept two kinds of field notes;

a catalogue of details on each interview participant and a more personal journal (Charmaz 2006). The first of these field notes were kept as a semi-organised catalogue of participant details, a summary of significant ideas or stories told, notes linked to theoretical materials I had considered thus far and comments on any method difficulties (e.g. background noise). I did this for each participant and usually on the same day or within a day of the interview being conducted. When I had the chance to sit, I would type or hand write notes about my impressions and thoughts in a field journal. As mentioned above, I also made these notes by talking to my digital recorder while driving. This served as much as an opportunity to debrief, unwind and process my thoughts and feelings as to record significant moments I had noticed within interviews. These were more sporadic, being largely limited by time, and usually were motivated by a strong emotional reaction to an interview or conversation. The creation of both these kinds of field notes created a space for me to begin considering some of the themes that were becoming visible from my research process. They served as rough sketches or draft 'memos' that could be later developed into written themes (Charmaz 2006).

When I returned to Australia I began to transcribe the interview recordings. I began by transcribing 10 or so interviews that I had deemed particularly informative. I manually coded this first group of interviews into broad topics. I did this primarily based on the topics that appeared in the interview transcripts and on reflection of my previous experiences and research on the topic. This included, for example, colour-coding narratives about nature, adventure, 'hard' skills, or risk in green to represent an interest in understanding how the natural environment played a role in shaping summer camp experiences. This is what Charmaz (2006) calls 'initial' coding. Open, axial and reflective coding are the common coding strategies used to organise the quantity of data in qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994). However I adopted Charmaz's (2006) approach, which frames coding as the flexible progression through initial, focused, axial, and then theoretical coding. I have employed Charmaz's (2006) understanding of coding as it supported the fluidity of this process.

Coding of the research material was facilitated by the use of the qualitative data analysis software NVivo. As Charmaz suggests, "coding is the first step in moving beyond concrete statements in the data to making analytic interpretations" (2006, p.43). For example, I had a clear idea from initial coding that the analysis chapters could be loosely framed around the chronological process of becoming a camp counsellor, i.e., from camper to employed staff. Coding labels data according to the meaning expressed by the participant and follows by grouping these according to like concepts or themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Richardson & St.Pierre, 2008). Chapter five drew on nodes such as psychological, spiritual, adventure, hard

skills, nature, risk and safety, friends, and social life. Each of these labels represented a folder with multiple quotes, from interview transcripts, which centred on each topic. Rather than simply taking the frequency at which a concept or theme occurred, however, I analysed the interview texts in relation to the language and metaphors that give meaning to emotional and embodied experiences (Lupton, 1998; Mason, 2002). I also began to describe “the properties and dimensions” of these categories and the rich relationships around the themes considered (Charmaz 2006, p.60; Strauss and Corbin 1994). So, in the example above, I grouped the nodes based on their relationships to how camp selves were constituted and experienced through camp discourses (e.g., transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic and sociable). My interpretations of the categories, supported with my journal and field notes, aided my thematic analysis (Kellehear, 1993). Constant comparison “stimulates thought that leads to both descriptive and explanatory categories” and was used reflexively throughout the coding process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 341). Hence, reflective coding was being performed (Symon & Cassell, 2012). According to Symon & Cassell (2012) the ultimate goal of grounded theory research, is to theorize conceptually. Theoretical analysis, according to Symon & Cassell (2012), looks at the key relationships of research materials and theory. Thus as Charmaz explains, “grounded theory coding generates the bones of your analysis. Theoretical integration will assemble these bones into a working skeleton” (2006, p.45). By analysing and integrating themes and theory, my research produced a deep and robust research text.

Much of the reflective and theoretical analysis of my research took place through the writing process. Game argues that “method becomes part of the writing, rather than the occasion for putting off writing until a result is found” (Game, 1991, p. 28). Through the act of writing, organizing, and reorganizing writing, I discovered how complex meanings and theoretical concepts were related and how these could be articulated in clear ways for the reader. Using the same example as before, Chapter five is structured on the theoretical notions of discourse, subjectivity and government. These notions flow throughout the chapter and underpin the theoretical, as well as pragmatic, direction of subsequent chapters. While this was not always clear at the beginning of writing each new section, subsequent re-writes deepened my analysis. My dissertation assembles a narrative of the becoming and being of summer camp employees that is informed, shaped and structured by thematic and theoretical analysis. According to Parry (2007, p. 123) lived experience is “constructed in the text when it is written by the researcher.”

Discursive analysis: paying attention to language

Discourse analysis considers how meanings are produced and prioritized within a particular context (Iedema & Wodak, 1999; Symon & Cassell, 2012). My approach to discursive analysis reflects a post-structural concern with “the way in which texts themselves have been constructed” and situated (Cheek, 2004, p. 1144). My post-structural approach to discursive analysis understands that language is “not transparent or value free;” it is assigned particular meanings by both speaker and listener” within the context it is being used (Cheek, 2004, p. 1144). I seek to make the practices and meanings of summer camps visible, as well as describe how these govern and constitute camp counsellor experiences and selves. Discursive analysis has allowed me to move beyond “a narrow focus on the use of a specific word or words” to consider “aspects of the wider context” (Symon & Cassell 2012, p.473). For example, words like ‘self-esteem’ or ‘confidence’ appear frequently in the purpose statements made by camps on their websites; however, I explore how these contribute to the pastoral care agenda in camps through the employment of pop-psych discourses of self-improvement. I have used discourse analysis, therefore, to explore “organizing processes and organizational practices” (Symon & Cassell 2012, p.473) and to demonstrate how these discursive practices work to produce certain camp selves.

I have focused primarily on pre-existing written texts about summer camps such as staff manuals, Leadership Development curriculum and popular publications (i.e. newsletters, newspapers). I used discourse analysis as a complementary approach to the analysis of research materials. I utilised these textual artefacts to discern grand narratives of summer camp organizations and narratives that are suppressed or silenced (Fairhurst & Grant, 2010). Thus my critical approach explores, “the existence of a hegemonic struggle between a privileged discourse and a marginalized discourse” (Symon & Cassell 2012, p.477). A Foucauldian approach, however, suggests that texts are “both product of and, in turn, produce discursively based understandings of aspects of reality” (Cheek, 2004, p. 1145) and, as such, my research reveals “a repertoire of interpretations (i.e. multiple co-existing meanings)” (Symon & Cassell 2012, p.477) to summer camp employment experiences. Consequently, I focus on discursive formations of camp practices and selves.

Discursive approaches are “especially valuable mechanisms for studying the more subjective and intangible parts of organizational and social life” (Symon & Cassell 2012, p.488) such as power, affiliation, and identity. In particular I concentrated on the emotional language and metaphors used to articulate the embodied nature of camp counsellors’ employment experiences. The language of emotions, Lupton (1998) argues, can signal to both the listener

and storyteller that some aspects of experience bare more importance than others. Mason, however, cautions that emotions are difficult to pin down and as such interview participants may employ commonly ascribed metaphors or “interpretive repertoires” to describe their experiences with camp employment (2002, p. 32). For example, when analysing the purpose statements from camp websites I looked for similar meaning words around self-improvement. Stories about camp counsellor experiences, including their emotive components, provide unique and dynamic insight into the construction of meaning about and for the camp employment experience. In addition, insight can be gained by researching multiple subject positions, like the perspectives of camp managers, to consider different meanings with respect to what stories get told and those that do not (Hardy & Clegg, 2004).

In the interview transcripts I coded words or ‘moments’ that were emotionally laden. These texts were highly imbued with value for the speaker in one way or another. Once a pattern of significant words or language appeared in the coding, I would run queries through NVivo on those words and other synonyms to check if I had missed any relevant materials in my initial coding. I also took note of particular words, sayings or metaphors that were unique to the vernacular of summer camps. This drew on my own experiences and knowledge of summer camps but, at times, was made obvious because the outsourced transcriber was not able to spell the word correctly. The camp slang used in these stories often flagged a level of belonging that the interview participant felt or held within their camp setting. Finally, in the transcript coding process, I created a folder for “power quotes” (Pratt, 2008, p. 501) for expressions that were poignant in conveying meaning. These quotes often reinforced dominant discourses or stood out because they were rarely talked about or were less explicit. These latter quotes were also often charged with frustration at not having their feelings previously recognised or acknowledged.

Narrative practices: Writing (Myself into My) Research

I’ve always loved storytelling. I come from a lineage of story tellers. Humour and heart strings have been equally played by my story telling kin. And so I have always had a desire to join these revered ranks. What I didn’t realise is that I have always been a storyteller myself but it took the construction of this research narrative to realise that I prioritise storytelling over other forms of literature and/or account. In a recent conversation, I realised that I enjoyed the richness of storytelling over the accuracy of events. As I said this out loud, I realised this kind of statement could get me into trouble in a culture where “truth” is often the focus of research endeavours. Accuracy, as equated to *the* truth, seemed to be a priority in the research projects that surrounded me and it is my difference on this point that highlighted for me the priority of

storytelling in my dissertation. In this section I will explain the importance of my understanding of narrative practices as it implicitly and explicitly frames my research. The following section will explain my post-structural approach to utilising narrative as a practice of meaning making. Storytelling is a practice that is imbued and shaped by discourse and audience but can be used as a practice of freedom and, for me, care of the self (Foucault, 1987). The following section discusses how I position myself as a camp person and a researcher through the storytelling of and in this dissertation.

Storytelling as an effective/affective narrative practice

Bell defines narrative as "a sequence of ordered events that are connected in a meaningful way for a particular audience in order to make sense of the world and/or people's experiences in it" (Hinchman and Hinchman 1997, cited in S. Bell, 2002, p. 6). I agree with Bell that narratives are not "fixed text" and that they have the ability to be altered in each "telling and may be interpreted differently by different audiences" (2002, p. 7). The "flexibility" of narrative is what I was inferring in the introduction to this section about giving precedence to storytelling over accuracy and fact. In narrative research, Hamilton argues, "life is not 'how it was' but how it is retold, and reinterpreted and so on" (1990, p. 131). That the narrative is not altogether factual is not important. In fact there is much to be gleaned from the 'fictioning' or, as Hamilton describes the "self-dramatisation" (1990, p. 131), of a personal story. So rather than researchers being concerned about the disparity of "truth" from fiction, one should be attentive to the creation of coherent fictions of self which are constructed to deliver "truths" in terms of their meaning more than factual events might have given. Minot (2003) calls this literary or creative non-fiction. The language of camp stories is able to convey a meaning beyond the chronicled events and "in the mastering of ...rhetoric one is able to see far beyond" the stories (S. Bell, 2002, p. 9). In this way, camp stories can be a powerful medium of communication and meaning making.

Personal narratives allow us to create truthful fictions of our own experiences that are influenced and embedded in context. Like narrative, Hamilton concedes that autobiography is "a cultural and linguistic 'fiction' constituted through historical ideologies of selfhood and the processes of our storytelling" (1990, p.130). Auto-ethnography can provide "a form of self-narrative that places the self within the social context" (Buzard, 2003, p. 73). Early definitions of auto-ethnography have been discarded where an ethnocentric individual was given the right to comment and define a culture without respect for the experiences of being an insider and was bound by the outsider's cultural perspectives (Buzard, 2003)(Buzard 2003). More recent

literature, such as feminist post-structural work, illustrates how auto-ethnography "opens up a space of resistance between the individual (auto-) and the collective (-ethno-) where the writing (-graphy) of singularity cannot be foreclosed," and in which the author "simultaneously appeal[s] to and debunk[s] the cultural traditions [she] helps to redefine" (Lionnet 1989 as cited in Buzard, 2003, p. 79). In this way auto-ethnography can open up possibilities for critically considering the self, culture, experience and its meaning. Reid & Robertson (2005) argue that the creative use of narratives, and I contend personal narratives, makes space for lived experiences of outdoor leadership in leisure research.

I have intentionally chosen to call my stories of summer camp "personal narratives" rather than describing them or their place in my research as auto-ethnography. The use of my and others' narratives, from a post-structural perspective, "enables me to embrace and share multiple definitions, without comparing and contrasting" (A. Reid & Payne, 2011, p. 3) and, as a collective, offers critical insight into camp experiences. While I draw insights from post-structural conceptualisations of auto-ethnography (e.g. the power-relations of discourse), my stories are included reflexively to serve the following objectives: to help paint an organizational picture of camp, to give voice to silent or quieted stories of summer camp, to elicit meaning for the reader that they may not otherwise gain from a research text alone, and to expose my personal involvement in my work. Reid and Roberston (2005) argue for the value of this as an important part of the research process. According to Reid and Robertson (2005), "narrative inquiry holds promise as a means to create new understanding of the leisure experiences from both the participant and researcher perspectives" and offers an opportunity to address the gap between research and practice. I have included my own stories, or personal narratives, to make the discourses that shape camp cultures, experiences and embodiment of camp counsellor roles more visible.

By incorporating my stories, along with the stories told by interview participants and various forms of texts, I engage creative analytic practices. Creative Analytic Practice (CAP) involves showing what the researcher has learned from the research process through "evocative and creative writing techniques" (Parry & Johnson, 2007, p. 121; Richardson, 2000a). I do so to represent the complexities of lived leisure experiences (Parry & Johnson, 2007; Schwandt, 1997). Parry (2007) and Hemingway (1995) argue this is traditionally missing from leisure research and by consequence limits the way leisure experiences can be understood. By including myself as a "human" (Dupuis, 1999) and telling my stories, I offer a nuanced understanding of the meanings produced for and from summer camp experiences. I want to contribute to the growing community of leisure researchers that are exploring conversational,

multi-vocal, and critical representations of their research (C. Johnson & Samdahl, 2005; Lashua & Fox, 2006; Parry & Johnson, 2007; Parry & Shiness, 2004; Samdahl, 2002; Stewart & Floyd, 2004). Throughout my research, for example, I engaged my own memories and written incantations of these to add to the stories interview participants told in order to create a textured and poly-vocal narrative about summer camps. Extant texts that proliferate in camp environments such as meal time grace lyrics, camp slang, staff manual curricula, and song lyrics also pepper my writing. These texts are included to represent the richness of camp cultures and bring alive the embodiment of this space. Parry argues that quality CAP research should be aesthetic, reflexive, substantive, make an impact and resonate with the lived experiences of those studied (e.g., would camp counsellors know the name of the moose who drank all that juice?). Creative Analytic Practice offers ways to illustrate the multiplicity and contradictions of camp counsellor experiences while demonstrating the constitution of and disruptions to camp 'truth' through post-structural notions. This combination of textual sources, perspectives and narratives inspire deeper reflection on the complexities of lived camp experiences.

It is my explicit goal to bring the reader into my dissertation and to "encourage the audience to form their own understandings" (Parry & Johnson, 2007, p. 124). The ability for CAP to do this, Parry and Johnson argue, makes research findings accessible to "a larger community of people (i.e., not just academics) as opposed to more traditional forms of research write-ups" (2007, p.124). By evoking feelings of exclusion or 'not belonging', for example, I want the reader to empathise with the frustration and hurt of the storytellers in this study and, by consequence, desire something different for the young people who work at summer camps. I want the reader, be it academic or industry, to "imagine how it might be different" (Denzin 2000 as cited in Parry & Johnson, 2007, p. 125). Thus, Parry and Johnson argue, "CAP is... founded on a 'politics of hope'" whereby researchers "change the world by the way they make it visible" (2007, p.125). My personal narratives, I believe, are one more way that this might be possible. Actively building a multi-textual, multi-vocal research narrative from the ground up provides new and promising ways of considering and doing camp.

My personal narratives appear in the prologue chapter onwards. They are used throughout the analysis and discussion of each findings chapter where a story may illustrate a point, evoke a particular feeling or crystallise a theme. The intention is to enhance and contribute to the reader's understanding and/or "feeling" of camp culture and employment. These stories appear where they are most helpful not necessarily in the same places in each chapter. I also include, occasionally, a comment within the analytic discussion that demonstrates my similar or differing experiences as it highlights the variants of experiences

possible. I have included a prologue and epilogue in my dissertation. These two literary devices were built into this dissertation, in part, due to the desire to highlight the narrative practices and contributions that a CAP adds to this research text. I have included a prologue to introduce the reader to the liminality of camp or the camp 'bubble' and to provide relevant understanding to the reading of the analysis chapters. I follow the conclusion with an epilogue, and like its definition, surmise on where the characters might go next. These narrative devices flag the beginning and end of *this* story but don't pretend to contain all that is to be said, nor the final say, on summer camp counsellor experiences.

Addressing Credibility

Post-structuralism assumes that there is no "privileged form of authoritative knowledge" (Richardson, 2000b, p. 8). My research, therefore, does not claim to reveal "truth" about camp counsellor employment experiences but rather an interpretation of interview participants' derived meanings. Richardson suggests that language "produces meaning and creates social reality" which cannot be universalised (2000b, p. 8). In addition, the narratives participants tell about their camp employment experiences will be different depending on the discourses available to them (Richardson, 2000b). Consequently concepts of reliability and validity are problematic (Holliday, 2002). I address reliability by adopting crystallisation to validate findings. Richardson argues that in post-structuralist texts, the structure of a crystal is a more appropriate metaphor for validity, in contrast to triangulation, because it "reflects" and "refracts" (Richardson, 2000b, p. 13). Crystals can "grow, change, and alter but are not amorphous" (Richardson, 2000b, p. 13). Crystallisation "deconstructs the traditional idea of validity" and provides a "deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understanding" (Richardson, 2000b, pp. 13-14) of camp counsellors' employment experiences and effects on wellbeing. This approach supports my intention to provide an alternative approach to understanding the diverse experiences of emotion work in the camp counsellor role and how this affects young employees.

Ethical Clearance

Ethical clearance was approved in May 2009 according to Griffith University requirements. The survey link, which was emailed to my initial contacts, included an explanation of the proposed research and confidentiality practices applied to this dissertation. The survey link also required the individual's consent to participating in the survey. If they did not agree the survey page closed and they could not proceed. The survey asked participants to indicate if they would be willing to participate in an interview. If an individual indicated they would not like to participate or if this question was left blank, the individual was not contacted.

Participants were only contacted if they agreed to this component of the survey and were then asked if they wanted to meet for an interview. The participant and the interviewer would then agree on a time and a place to conduct the interview. Prior to the interview commencing the participant was required to fill out another consent form. They were also given an additional information sheet which included contact details for counselling and support services should their interview raise distressing issues. To maintain confidentiality interview participants were allocated pseudonyms and identifying organisational information has not been used. All information, including candidate surveys and interview transcripts, were kept in confidential files. Participants will be informed of the study's completion and findings will be shared with them upon request. All these practices are in keeping with the standards set and required by the Griffith University Human Research Ethics Committee, Research Office (attached in Appendices B and C).

Summary

A reflexive methodology supports a critical and rigorous approach to the investigation of emotional demands and effects on summer camp counsellors. Reflexivity allows me to analyse the accounts of interview participants, textual materials and my own narratives in order to better understand how camp counsellors' experiences and emotion work are discursively produced and lived. A reflexive methodology is complimentary to a post-structural approach as it accounts for the multiplicity of embodied experiences, mobilisation of camp discourses, and the production of camp selves. In addition, reflexivity considers the researcher as a source that shapes the knowledge produced. I recruited, selected and interviewed (through convenience, snowball and purposive sampling) 38 participants that represented a range of camp employment experiences with a particular focus on total summers of employment, roles of employment and time since last employment experience. I incorporated a number of CAPs in this research text, including my own personal narratives, to deepen the analysis and effectiveness of this research text. This inclusion also serves to acknowledge how discourses about summer camp employment are produced in many ways and through many sources. While traditional measures of validity and reliability would be difficult to apply to a dissertation of this nature, credibility as determined by crystallisation supports my work in being robust, substantial and thorough. The stories told (and analysed) through the following chapters bring the emotions of 'becoming' and 'being' a camp counsellor to life.

PROLOGUE: Welcome to ‘the bubble’

Introduction

It's a farm road. I can't remember if it's paved or gravel or just dirt, but you know the kind... Trees line both sides: big old maples and oaks. In my memories of driving into camp, the trees are always green. That's because most of my camp memories are from summer. But I've been there in all the other seasons too. Yes, I've been to camp in winter. The pond was frozen and we played pick-up. We always passed a dairy on the way in, I seem to remember; but most of this is blurry until we see the sign "A sacred meeting place." It's like this space has been marked out as special for me. I know this camp is special—I just do. I know that this place has been set aside by something Greater. There is a reverence here. And the volume on my feelings was turned up. I feel just a little more connected here. Connected to what, I don't entirely know... maybe nature? Maybe people? I guess it didn't concern me much back then—I only started over-analysing later in my life—but I knew then as I know now, this place is sacred (personal narrative).

This personal narrative recognises the specialness of my childhood camp or, at least, the specialness I attributed to it. The feeling of entering a space and time that was uniquely there for ‘fun’ and ‘fellowship’ was constituted through discourses, some of them competing, and resulted in my belief that my camp was sacred. Perhaps it was the Iroquois name that translated to “a sacred meeting place” or my camp’s explicit faith-based association that set the tone of the spiritual element but there was a clearly acknowledged specialness among attendees. For this and other reasons, I often call camp “the bubble” and, it turns out, so did many of my interview participants¹. When asked about it, one interview participant replied, “We all call it that!” implying that this slang is obvious, common and normal parlance of camp folk. As my research progressed, it showed that this sense of specialness toward ‘their’ camp was felt by most long-time camp participants (campers and staff). I knew that I wanted to pursue how this ‘specialness’ was constituted for and by camp participants, particularly camp counsellors who spend all summer in and creating this specialness.

This chapter considers the liminality of camp experiences that make this ‘specialness’ possible. Like traditional prologues, I take this opportunity to bring my own voice forward in order to welcome you “conversationally” (Bruster & Weimann, 2004, p. vii) with the warmth that I always felt upon entering the camp environment. As such, I have not used the names of interview participants in this chapter in order to keep the ‘personal’ foregrounded. I claim a

¹ Throughout the Prologue I reference interview participant quotes without using their names. I have done this to create clarity by foregrounding my voice in keeping with the personal style of this chapter.

certain “authority” in my own experiences of camp yet I do so with “modesty” (Bruster & Weimann, 2004, p. vii) knowing that there are many more experiences and representations throughout the texts and chapters that follow. This chapter illustrates how the liminality of camp space and social life contribute to a unique and “socially significant space” (Bruster & Weimann, 2004, p. vii) for camp counsellor experiences. As another interview participant said, “those who are inside it [camp] can’t explain it, and those who are outside it can’t understand it”. Therefore, in this chapter, I attempt to make the liminality of ‘the bubble’ visible.

Camp Liminality

And now the driveway, the very long driveway, climbs over the landscape and down into the main camp site. The driveway is gravel. It’s a steep hill down and up and down again. The pond is on the right, then the director’s house is on the left, which is followed by the field (where we played sponge wars), and then the little pool, and—oh! The freezing rush of early morning polar bear dips comes over me just thinking about that pool. On the right, as you come into the main area, is the camp office and dining hall; homemade macaroni and cheese is still my favourite (personal narrative).

When camp people speak about ‘the bubble’, they are referring to camp being a physically and socially exclusive place apart from their ‘real’ lives, or rather, the lives they lead outside of camp. Camp participants even talk about their non-camp lives as “the real world” (interview participants), illustrating how camp is somehow perceived to a degree of fantasy or fiction. For example, one interview participant commented “...you literally live in a little bubble. I mean you really don’t hear anything that’s going on in the outside world.” The removal of, or limitations placed on, access to the ‘outside world’ separates camp employee’s home selves from their camp selves. The relationships, boundaries and experiences of camp counsellors’ non-camp lives are thus largely ignored. Even the vernacular of ‘the bubble’ and anything outside as ‘the real world’ demonstrates an assumed division to embodied reality. Discourses of what is ‘real’ suggested that camp environments are perceived, by individuals who partake of their mythology, as being exempt from the structures and regulation of broader society. Leisure experiences, like camps, are perceived as being invariably more ‘free’ than normal or ‘real’ life, with play and recreation privileged as contemporary spaces of individual freedom (Rojek, 1995). As such, camp functions as a liminal space (Turner, 1994).

Drawing on Van Gennep’s (Gennep, 1960) work, Turner (1994) explored the rituals surrounding transition or transformation of an individual from one state to another. Turner studied the rites of passage of tribal boys who were sent away from their community and family environment, often into wilderness, in order to pass through a time of liminality in which they

acquired the skills and knowledge to be considered men in their community (B. Bell, 2003; Bigger, 2009; Turner, 1994). This was followed by rituals that celebrated the acquirement of a new social status upon their return (Côté-Arsenault et al., 2009). In many ways summer camps, with a focus on the moral development of youth, are positioned as liminal places for rites of passage into adult citizenship. The social and physical seclusion of liminality of camps provide the 'anti-structure' necessary to form what Turner calls a status of "betwixt and between" (Moore; Sharpe, 2005a; Turner, 1994, p. 8). This limbo space is "at once no longer classified and not yet classified" (Turner, 1994, p. 6). These discourses work to shape summer camps into authentically 'real' but oddly suspended realities for 'moral' transformation.

There is a rich and slippery potential inherent in the liminal periods of 'betwixt and between' (Bigger, 2009; Côté-Arsenault et al., 2009). This, I argue, is what provides the potential for youth who attend camps to redesign and test out alternative identities in summer camp settings. Liminal camp spaces present freedoms from the given structures and discourses of everyday life (Preston-Whyte, 2004). Bigger (2009) explains that there is a certain creative agency in the subjectivity of anti-structure. Using a Foucauldian approach to power, I interpret this as the creativity that is embodied in resisting taken-for-granted discourses and practices of regulation. This freedom, or sense of freedom, is intoxicating and contributes to what Preston-Whyte (2004) describes as the "dreamtime" of liminal spaces where there are possibilities of "spiritual rebirth, transformation, and recuperation". I argue that camp discourses are powerful due to the very 'betwixt and between' nature of camp time, space and subjectivity. This makes the access and control of camp liminal spaces that much more complex, contentious and in need of study.

Camp space

And that's sort of where the driveway ends and the rest of the camp takes over. That funny little shack that's inscribed with my cousin's name and the woods... what was it called again? Something romantic, like Beech hollow or Oak valley. It's where the kitchen staff used to eat lunch. Then staff quarters for those who didn't have a cabin with kids. The toilet and shower block. Then 'the horseshoe', with little cabins ringing the edges, nestled neatly into the forest. The craft shack and a set of swings sits in the middle. In my childhood, I believe, there was other play equipment in the middle too. Someone once told me that there was a bridge in the woods, behind the cabins somewhere; a kissing bridge they said it was, or was it a rock? I never ventured that far so I still don't know if it exists (personal narrative).

'The bubble' occupies physical space that is signified by the natural geography of the camp site and its surrounds and the physical allocation of buildings in camp environment.

Elements such as gates, signs, gravel driveways, and tree-lined avenues demarcate the “borderlines” of camp liminal space (Preston-Whyte, 2004, p. 349; Weber, 1995). The trees, for example, separate camp and reinforce the geographic isolation of camp from the outside world. While discourses of nature are imbued with wholesomeness, they also work to reinforce participants’ sense of community within camps bolstering their desire to stay at and participate in camps. For one interview participant, “It’s [camp’s] like a utopia, you know? And if you go look at it, you wouldn’t be able to tell what year it was, you know, it still looks like the sixties or seventies.” There is a sense of timelessness to camp spaces. The liminality of camp time and space creates a sense of nostalgia and enhances participants’ sense of and desire for belonging. Space, according to Foucault, is “fundamental in any form of communal life” and as such “space is fundamental in any exercise of power” (Foucault, 1980, p. 252). Camp space shapes personal and social life within ‘the bubble’ in unique ways. How camp geography works to govern the behaviour of campers and camp staff will be explored further in chapter six.

Communitas: enclaved social life

The whole site was filled with sound. Birds and insects? Yes, but the air was perforated with children laughing and yelling and having a great time. You could be noisy at camp. In fact, being noisy made you king! If you could sing loudly or shout with enthusiasm then you belonged to the musical and social fabric of this world. And songs... we sang all the time. We sang to wake and eat and wait and walk and play and sleep. The constellations of sounds that engulfed us at camp were heady and giddy at times, soothing and reassuring at others. Music set the rhythm and pace of the day (personal narrative).

The lack of mobile-phone reception in rural areas is seen as an advantage of summer camps (interview participants). So too is the limited number of electricity outlets in rustic cabins which facilitates the ‘unplugging’ of camp participants. The natural, as well as imposed, limitations on electronic distractions are beneficial because the absence of television and newspapers helps camp people focus on “real relationships and skills” (interview participant). Likewise, camp counsellors have very little contact with family and friends outside of the camp environment. Time for phone calls or emails is limited due to the work hours expected of them as well as limited web access. As one interview participant said, “you have no idea what’s going on in the world. Which is great at the same time because that’s half of it, right?!” Unplugging from one’s multifarious and fast-paced life was seen as a means of investing fully in the camp experience. The limitations and regulation of contact with ‘home’ also contribute to the possibility of experiencing communitas: the liminal production and experience of community.

Camp participants build relationships with one another in the interest of experiencing community and in the absence of other, more familiar relations. As such, belonging and acceptance are highly prioritized social objectives for camp experiences.

Like Turner, interview participants considered experiences of camp social life and community “magical” (Turner, 1969, p. 139) due to the equality experienced when the usual status, roles or labels are no longer relevant and camp participants are “reduced to a human common denominator” (Turner, 1982, p. 210). Like experiences of *communitas* (see Chapter 3) the investment of camp participants in the communal aspect of camp life gives rise to “intense passions and emotions” such as strengthening affiliation with the camp norms and by “bring[ing] all those who share them into a more intimate and more dynamic relationship” (Olaveson, 2001, p.94). Camp values and habits, for example, of fun and happy experiences are coextensively reinforced. One of my interview participants echoed this notion about camp *communitas*, “You live, breath, eat together, you everything together” so campers and staff “form bonds and you have good memories.” Like much of current camp literature, the positives of “personal honesty, openness, and lack of pretentions or pretentiousness” (Turner, 1982, p. 48) are reported as benefits of camp *communitas*. The aim of most camp organisations is to create camper experiences that foster “equality, linkage, belonging, and group devotion” (Sharpe, 2005a, p. 256). The assumption is that positive relationships will form as a result of this unique social life and as such, belonging is desirable even at the cost of being cut-off from relationships at home.

Summary

When I revel in these memories and indulge this nostalgia, I feel like summer camp opens up like a grand theatre curtain at the beginning of a much-anticipated performance. In fact, when I muse over this short narrative, I can almost imagine my summer camp experiences coming to life in wildly exaggerated animation, like the beginning of a Looney Tunes cartoon. There is something ‘cheesy’ or ‘canned’ about my recollections, yet I teeter toward not recognising this because I buy, and want to buy, so completely into this constructed fantasy. I want to believe the discourses about the happiness and innocence of camp that is so privileged in this particular leisure space. I want to be in this bubble world, even if only for a short while, so that I may enjoy the pleasures and invoke the dizziness, like falling in love, which it incites. I long to hang in the fictional hammock created for and by camp experiences (personal narrative).

Reflecting now on my time as a camper, the fun and desire to belong to my camp’s *communitas*, obscured my ability to critique those experiences. I saw camp *communitas* as an overwhelmingly positive experience. Even the language used to describe camp landmarks like

Sunset Bridge, Vesper Point or Campfire Circle, worked to maintain the fantasy and my desire to stay and play. I mobilised dominant discourses of recreational fun and moral development as the purposes of camp experiences. It was not until I was a camp counsellor, positioned to govern my own and others' camp experiences that I began to recognise the ruptures in these discursive formations about the truth of camp. For example, how was it that camp was all about having fun but there were times where paddling three days down a river felt like work? Foucault explains that this happens when discursive formations sustain a regime of truth (Foucault, 1980; S. Hall, 2001). We take for granted the discourses about a thing or a place, such as camp, unquestioningly, and reproduce this as *the* truth for others and ourselves. The camp 'bubble' produces a unique intersection at which to explore the liminality, discourses and selves of camp counsellor experiences within a broader context of neo-liberal society.

By exploring how camp discourses govern the conduct of camp participants, in the following chapters, I reveal how camp staff accept or resist the embodiment of normative camp employment experiences. The liminality of camp influences the degree to which camp discourses and practices are taken up and inscribed by camp participants. In particular, the practice of employing past camp participants as camp counsellors, ensures acceptance of camp rituals, work conditions and loyalty to the ethos of camp. Ultimately, by investigating the ruptures to the 'truth' of camp, this study explores the embodiment and effects of emotion work on camp counsellors. My study concludes by illustrating the complexities of camp and ethical implications for managers and decision makers of the camp 'bubble.' I am still fond of my camp experiences, as the narratives throughout would indicate. Thus I wish to contribute to management reflexivity with the hope it will result in well supported camp employment experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE: Discursive productions of camp (counsellor) experiences

Introduction

Moral discourses about the ‘good’ gained and ‘fun’ experienced through camp are assumed, and at times invisible, yet they work to shape the kinds of camp experiences possible. Many camp purpose statements articulate their camper experience through promising the benefits of “character” growth (Camp Couchiching, 2012; Camp Kilcoo, 2012; Glen Mhor Camp, 2012; Muskoka Woods Resort, 2012; Taylor Statten Camp, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012, Purpose Statements). The promises of transformation in camp experience marketing make it not only possible but probable that camp participants will mobilise discourses of self-development and improvement. Camps promise that campers will experience “success” (Camp Couchiching, 2012; Camp Kilcoo, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012, Purpose Statements), or be a “winner” (Pearce Williams Christian Centre, 2012, Purpose Statement) or a “star” (Camp Kinesserie, 2012, Purpose Statement). These statements position camp counsellors to both embody and deliver camp ‘star’ experiences. I wish to problematise the commonly accepted notions of camp being good for participants in order to explore how camp discourses work to shape camp participants’ subject positions. By approaching camp selves as that which, “does not construct its own conditions of possibility separate from its performance of itself” but “reiterates and confirms those conditions that make it, and go on making it, possible” (Davies, 2006, p.426), I am open to how discourses intersect and constitute camp selves. This chapter makes visible how camp discourses shape both camp participants’ experiences as well as how they come to see and govern themselves within ‘the bubble.’

This chapter begins by exploring how popular texts, such as web published camp purpose statements, discursively produce the possibilities of experience of camp counsellor subjectivities. This section explores how discourses about personal benefits and fun are mobilised as a way of selling camp experiences and how these discourses shape camp counsellors’ work experiences in particular ways. The genealogical ties to pastoral care imperatives are explored in the following section to illuminate how spirituality is considered as an integral part of camp objectives. This section finishes by considering how benefit discourses, among others, are assumed to outweigh the need to attend to business practices expected of other organizations (i.e., Human Resources regulations). The second half of this chapter explores five thematically grouped discursive productions of camp selves: transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic, and sociable selves. By drawing on interview materials I explore the discursively

produced selves that camp participants are expected to be and to become. This chapter also considers the discourses articulated in camp marketing and promotional materials. Camp discourses, such as those of fun and moral character development, appear to be pervasive yet implicit, obvious and yet assumed aspects of camp employee experiences. By better understanding the discourses that shape camp counsellor experiences, I open up possibilities for alternative experiences and subjective accounts as well as making the discursive productions that shape employment experiences visible to those who manage camp employees. This chapter explores the first research question of how discourses operate in shaping the employment experiences of camp counsellors.

The business of selling camp

Summer camps must compete with numerous recreational and child care services for the short period of school holidays in July and August. Summer camps, therefore, are under pressure as it is a relatively short and competitive 'income' season. For example, an initial Google search using the words "summer camp Canada" revealed 178 million possible websites many of which are actual camps (searched in 2013). In order to set the traditional summer camp experience apart from day camps, sport trainings, day care and family vacations, camp organizers must engage language that highlights the beneficial differences. Language such as 'community' or 'nature' are invoked in camp marketing materials to position camp as unique from the other possible school holiday options. Pair or combine 'community' and 'nature' with 'learning,' 'growth' and 'self-esteem' and you have a persuasive argument to put to most parents for appropriate, if not beneficial, summer recreation.

Camping experiences are seen as 'value for money' in terms of summer holiday child care. In a lot of cases parents rely on summer camps to occupy their children during the school holiday period (two months) because they are cheaper than childcare and most working adults are only entitled to two weeks annual leave each year (this includes Christmas) in Canada. For those families that can afford more expensive camp experiences, it is likely that they can also afford other summer recreational activities (i.e. holiday homes or cottages and travel) and more time off work. It is imperative that summer camps capture and persuade families to buy their product. The summer camps that survive, and even thrive, in capitalist labour market conditions have embraced the business imperative of selling their product intentionally. They appear to employ creative marketing strategies to make their product relevant, appealing or competitive.

After analysing 51 summer camp purpose statements published on websites (March 2013), I argue that camp promoters mobilise a discourse of moral improvement to promote camp. The website statements studied suggest that through the camp experience participants (camper and/or camp counsellors) will become better people (Camp Couchiching, 2012; Camp Kintail, 2012; Camp Tawingo, 2012; Glen Mhor Camp, 2012; Taylor Statten Camp, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012, Purpose Statements). Each statement describes the various ways their camp will contribute to those who attend, such as “...camp is the perfect opportunity for individuals to grow –spiritually, physically, mentally, and socially” (Camp Kannawin, 2012; Camp Kintail, 2012; Circle Square Ranch, 2012; Five Oaks United Church Camp, 2012; Jackson’s Point Salvation Army Camp, 2012, Purpose Statements). Others are more specific such as Hurontario (2012, Purpose Statement) which states “Our ‘woody’ approach teaches environmental ethics”. The message is the same, that is, by sending your kid to ‘our’ camp you can be assured that they will be ‘improved’. Although a supply-demand lens for considering the camp experience transaction may appear cold, especially compared to the warm and emotive language used to sell it, using this lens highlights the awkward idealism that is for sale. In this way, camp experience is a commodity of the “experience economy” (Fullagar & Pavlidis, 2012, p. 11; Pine & Gilmore, 1998).

Discourses about the value of camp in the camping industry strongly shape how consumers understand camp experiences (e.g. personal and social benefits). The language used to describe, promote and sell camp experiences mediates the “truth” about the value of camp as a leisure commodity. The documents and marketing material utilised by the camp industry to sell their product, acts collectively as an instrument of power (Rouse, 1994) which establishes and reinforces norms about the meanings attributed to camp experiences by campers and camp counsellors (i.e. good, disciplined citizens, enterprising selves). Dominant discourses of the beneficial qualities of camp experience can limit alternative stories about camper and camp counsellor experiences (e.g. negative experiences, marginalisation). For example, Camp Pocono Ridge (NJ) advertises that campers who attend their camp “will grow every minute of the day to find themselves stronger and more confident than they ever expected to be” (American Camping Association, 2009). The campers of Fairview Lake YMCA Camp (NJ) will build “self-confidence and self-reliance” in a “safe environment” (American Camping Association, 2009). The tag lines and slogans found in camp promotional materials contribute to central assumptions that camp experiences deliver benefits and are good for all camp participants. These discourses represent the principal promise of summer camp experiences.

Selling a world of good: Promising moral development

“Camp gives kids a world of good.’ We all subscribe to that belief”

(Henderson, 1995, p. 17).

It is generally well acknowledged that ‘camp is good for everybody’ (Henderson, 1995). According to a number of respondents (Andy, Arthur, Beth, David, Elissa, Eric, Henry, Rachel, Rebecca, Steph, Terri, Tom, and Zoey²) camp ‘people’ largely agree that camp provides positive, if not life-changing, experiences for those who attend. Elissa reinforced the view that camp is beneficial and necessary, “I think that everybody needs to have camp at some point in their life.” It is, however, much more challenging to gain consensus from camp participants about what benefits were gained or what improvements were inscribed on the character of those who attended. In fact, there is a plethora of examples and anecdotes of life-changing experiences to give weight to and evidence for this commonly held belief. Camp websites statements “encourage young lives to grow spiritually, mentally, socially, and physically in an exciting, fun-filled and safe ‘adventure experience’” (Circle Square Ranch, 2012, Purpose Statement). Camps list the many aspects of participants’ selves they intend to grow, improve or change (Camp Couchiching, 2012; Camp Kannawin, 2012; Circle Square Ranch, 2012; Jackson’s Point Salvation Army Camp, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012, Purpose Statements). Popular media publications, such as these, reveal assumptions that underpin the moral improvement of coherent and self-actualised campers through ‘fun’ activities at camp.

Camps are portrayed as ‘value added’ leisure experiences where the participant purchases an outdoor recreation package and comes away a better person for having taken part. The ‘good’ of camp is assumed to benefit all children as emphasized above (Henderson, 1995). The ACA’s Vision states that camp experiences are “essential to every child’s growth and education” (American Camping Association, 2008). They contend that the individual benefits (e.g. self-esteem, character, courage, responsibility, resourcefulness, and cooperation) gained from the camp experience will contribute to children becoming “committed, responsible citizens” as adults (American Camping Association, 2008). ACA’s executive director, Peg Smith, personally concludes that “it’s not about camp but about making people better” (Rasenberger, 2008, p. 24).

² The interview material was collected during October and November of 2009. Interview material will be referred to by the pseudonym of the person speaking only. Where research material comes from another source (e.g., website, policy manual, etc.) it will be indicated within the citation. I have intentionally omitted the employment role of interview participants due to the fluidity of subject positions from which they spoke.

The ACA states that they wish to be seen as “a leading authority in child development” (American Camping Association, 2008) and hope to legitimise their expertise in achieving good and moral citizenship. Rather than a purely recreational enterprise, camps and their governing bodies are mobilizing psy-expertise to articulate what constitutes ‘appropriate’ child development. They position themselves as a form of normalised educational and therapeutic intervention program for children and youth (N. Rose, 1990a). For example, the ACA argue that camps “help children develop self-esteem, character, courage, responsibility, resourcefulness, and cooperation” (American Camping Association, 2008). These assertions resonate with the language of psy-disciplines and self-concepts. The ACA’s main organisational message, “enriching lives, building tomorrows,” assumes that camp benefits gained equate to future benefits for society (American Camping Association, 2008).

The popularization and growing influence of psych-disciplines has made the use of psychological terms and concepts widely accessible (Furedi, 2003). Furedi argues that this marks not just a change in language but also a shift in “cultural attitudes and expectations” surrounding the “idiom of therapeutics” (Furedi, 2003, p. 4). Camp managers and organisations, through the mobilisation of therapeutic language, position themselves as experts (if untrained experts) on the conditions of the psyche. Concurrently, they direct Rose’s “individualizing gaze” or psychological analysis on all campers and staff (N. Rose, 1990a, p. 132). In this context “the soul of the young citizen has become the object of government” (N. Rose, 1990d, p. 131) via the recreational camp ‘expertise’. Rose states that “psychology has played a key role in establishing the norms of childhood, in providing means for visualizing childhood pathology and normality, in providing vocabularies for speaking about childhood subjectivity and its problems, and in inventing technologies for cure and normalisation” (N. Rose, 1990d, p. 131). Drawing on popularised discourses of psychology, camp managers are positioned through marketing materials as experts for the normal development of children. Camp, thus, becomes the physical and social context in which development occurs.

Parents are drawn to the discourse of promise offered by camps. Parents are pressured to ensure their children’s “‘normal’ development,” specifically “to actively promote certain capacities or attributes such as intelligence, educability, and emotional stability” (N. Rose, 1990d, p. 121). Camps echo this with promises of children’s growth in education, emotional skills and social citizenship (American Camping Association, 2008). When parents purchase camp experiences for their children they are making decisions “according to social norms but through the activation of their hopes and fears” (N. Rose, 1990d, p. 130). Sending a child to

camp means, with the assurance from the ACA, that parents are doing the right thing in addressing the 'normal' and healthy developmental needs of their children. The relationship, therefore, between parent consumers and camp promoters is mutually reinforcing. Parents want to purchase moral character for their children to fulfil their duties as caring parents and camps want to sell their product.

Camp employees take up the language of improvement; inscribing this discourse in their everyday subjectivities. Thus, language works as a technology of self in constituting camp counsellors subjectivity. For example, when Arthur was asked about the joys of working in camp environments, he responded that they include "seeing a young person grow and develop and become more mature and move on and do something else." When Elissa was asked a similar question, she said it was "Knowing that I'm making a difference in some small way. That I'm helping campers to build relationships that were so important." Troy expressed that counsellors wanted to feel, "as though you are doing something that benefits not only yourself but them [campers] as well, foremost them." The promised benefits of camper experiences are taken up by camp employees who are positioned to deliver these assumed outcomes:

...some of my favourite moments are the growth that you see in a lot of the kids. A lot of times they have very closed perspective on their abilities and it's important that they have a five-step program, or five qualities that they try to improve, and those are team work, goal setting, environmental knowledge and awareness, adventure skills, and, responsible leadership—responsibility and leadership. ...Seeing a real positive change in all of these characteristics... it just makes you feel that much better about helping these kids because your still a positive value to them (Eric).

Eric expected his campers to benefit and grow in a range of areas related to moral improvements. However, Eric's comments also exemplify the way language is personalised by camp employees. Eric reveals how he is positioned and positions himself as the deliverer of "five core" benefits. The personal growth of campers through leisure is the main focus for camp experiences and these are seen to provide altruistic benefits to employees. Employees are motivated to work at camps to see the promised improvements come to fruition. Through employee statements, one can see the complexities and influence of camp discourses on the delivery of camp experiences.

It is the camp counsellors, as 'front-line' or 'on-the-ground' facilitators of camper experiences, who are charged with the everyday responsibilities of campers' moral development. The welfare and therapeutic discourses adopted in the promotion of camp experience benefits are expected to be delivered by relatively inexperienced youth. For

example, Camp Lenoloc (NJ) specifically indicates that “fun, fun, fun” and “campers' self-confidence”, “soars from the love and care” that camp counsellors provide (American Camping Association, 2009). Camp Ralph and Rose Hittman (NY) offers another example. Their brochure states that they offer “outdoor adventures where values are ingrained and prejudices abandoned, for a lifetime” (American Camping Association, 2008). This would be a challenging, if not impossible, task for professionals working with committed adult consumers. Camp Ralph and Rose Hittman, however, promise to do this within a few weeks under the guidance of adolescent staff in a recreational setting. Such descriptions of camp experiences, raise many questions about the reflexivity of camp managers’, and more broadly camp organisations and the employment practices used in an attempt to deliver such promises.

Selling a world of ‘God’: The spirituality of moral development

Given the Christian genealogy of summer camps, it seems fitting to look at those camps that place overtly faith-based virtues in their purpose statements as central to the camp experience they sell. For example, Pioneer Camp’s states “Our purpose is the transformation of youth into fully committed followers of Jesus Christ” (2012, Purpose Statement). Cave Springs UCC says, “The Mission of Cave Springs Camp is to serve Christ by encouraging campers and staff to grow in their relationship with God and others while learning about Christ, themselves and creation” (2012, Purpose Statement). These camps largely assume that their consumers understand what is meant by ‘growing in relationship to God’ and ‘being a follower of Christ’. In so doing, camp organisers and marketers, albeit unconsciously, limit the possible purchasers of and participants in their camp experiences. Camp marketing language shapes the kinds of camp experiences possible in powerful ways.

The mission statement for Camp Shalom (a Jewish camp included in the purpose statement analysis) is very similar to that of Christian camps. For example, both Camp Shalom (2012, Purpose Statement) and Silver Lake United Church Camp (2012, Purpose Statement) include reference to principles of ‘servant leadership’. Servant leadership, in this context, refers to a management approach to caring for campers that has deep ties to pastoral care. Servant leadership refers to the Good Shepherd who serves his flock and meets their needs in order to show them the ‘right’ or ‘righteous’ way. Servant leadership has now been adopted by many organizations as a way of describing the approach taken by individuals in ‘caring professions.’ The notions of pastoral care and servant leadership have close ties and are deeply imbued in the purpose statements and thus camp discourses.

The messages conveyed by faith-based camp purpose statements to the ‘insiders’ they are attempting to attract are the “moral precepts” (Camp Shalom, 2012, Purpose Statement) being taught to the children that attend. As many contemporary religions openly question the morality of post-modern and consumerist society, religious based summer camps appear to offer a sheltered (even isolated) haven for moral teaching and development. For example, Camp Ararat (2012, website) is clear in its desire for only Christian Armenian children to attend. This echoes earlier attempts by Jewish communities to host exclusive camps and ensure the continuation of ethnicity (Paris 2008). Some camps go as far as to regulate dress, the use of electronic devices and co-ed relationships in order to guard against the ‘sins of the flesh’ or ‘worldliness’. For example, Camp Crossroads states that it is a “Christian co-ed camp and expects campers and staff to wear appropriate clothing” (2012, Purpose Statement). Camp Crossroads believes that these “guidelines are in keeping with Biblical instructions of decency, not offending others and striving to help each other be pure and without blame” (2012, Purpose Statement). The benefits of ‘pure’ experiences imply that these children will have a better or more value-adding time at this camp than at others. It also suggests that children who attend will be spiritually elevated from those attending secular camps that do not have dress codes.

Many of the purpose statements that were analysed were not affiliated with any religion. They acknowledged that they were ‘secular’ or ‘mainstream’ camps and invited campers from diverse backgrounds (YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012; YMCA Camp Wanakita, 2012; YMCA Cedar Glen Camp, 2012, websites). Some purposely seek campers from different or disadvantaged backgrounds (Stevenson's Children's Camp, 2012). Despite the desire for these camps to be inclusive or to secularize their program to appeal to a wider range of children and young people, Judeo-Christian practices can still be observed. For example, when I worked for a summer at YMCA Camp Pinecrest, we would sing a blessing or ‘grace’ before each meal. We would substitute the word ‘God’ with ‘Sun’. It was assumed that by doing this, the religious implication was removed. This strategy demonstrated a lack of critical reflection on the very Christian act of prayer before a meal. A similar oversight at YMCA camps fails to recognize that this acronym represents Young Men’s *Christian* Association. The YMCA has a history of Muscular Christianity (see Chapter 2) and not surprisingly, still emphasizes “healthy lifestyles” (YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012, Purpose Statement) and “technical” skills (YMCA Camp Wanakita, 2012, Purpose Statement). Genealogical processes and pastoral care imperatives work to shape even the smallest everyday habits and rituals.

Selling a world of “fun”

Experiences of fun are taken as self-evident and dominate the landscapes of subjectivity in summer camps. “Fun” is given the highest priority as the ethos of camp that engages campers in all aspects of social, spiritual, and nature based experiences. When asked, Trudy said the priority for camp experiences is “Fun, make sure you have fun.” Rachel talks about the camper experience as “They’re there for a week, that’s their week of fun.” While Grant, when asked what he liked about being a camp counsellor said, “I mean you work a lot but it’s fun.” Trudy, Rachel and Grant are not alone in their view of camp as ‘fun’ for both campers and camp counsellors. Thirty interview participants mentioned “fun” 240 times. Fun is expected to permeate all aspects of camp experiences. I knew a counsellor who invented “extreme walking” as a way of turning the commute from cabin to dining hall into a game. At camp, no activity is too small that it cannot be infused with fun.

The concept and language of “fun” is also employed to promote and sell summer camp experiences. It is also likely to appeal to child consumers and youth employees more than the moral character development benefits promised from camp experiences. Discourses of fun and summer recreation set summer camps apart as a holiday care option for both child and parent consumers. Therefore it is no surprise that “fun” is frequently found in the purpose statements of camps (Camp Ararat, 2012; Camp Arowhon, 2012; Camp Couchiching, 2012; Camp Kannawin, 2012; Camp Tawingo, 2012; Canadian Adventure Camp, 2012; Circle Square Ranch, 2012; Glen Mhor Camp, 2012; Jackson's Point Salvation Army Camp, 2012; Muskoka Woods Resort, 2012; Pearce Williams Christian Centre, 2012; Stevenson's Children's Camp, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012, Purpose Statements). Where the idea of fun may be fairly self-explanatory, the use of this language appears to acknowledge the power of children and youth to influence the decision of which camp they attend. Many children are invited to join the family in deciding which camp they should go to and, thus, exercise power in camp selection. Statements such as **“FUN IS OUR TRADEMARK!”** appear to be clearly shouting out to youthful consumers (Muskoka Woods Resort, 2012, Purpose Statement, emphasis in the original). Parents too want their children and teenagers to have fun and enjoy recreation at camp but, parents expect personal “growth” and “development” hence these words occurred as frequently as fun in purpose statement materials (Camp Couchiching, 2012; Camp Kintail, 2012; Camp Tawingo, 2012; Glen Mhor Camp, 2012; Taylor Statten Camp, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012; YMCA Camp Wanakita, 2012, Purpose Statement). Rose (1990d) and Peters (2001) both argue that parents have a desire that the activities their children engage in, and they pay for, will benefit their child in the long-run in becoming a successful and enterprising citizen. This desire Rose (1990d) refers to as the entrepreneurial self. These are the performative pressures, Rose (N.

Rose, 1990d) argues, for parents in neo-liberal societies (N. Rose, 1990c). Hence words that described personal and social development occurred as frequently as fun in purpose statement.

The discourses of camp as being beneficial and offering value-adding experiences are multifaceted and align with related discourses about entrepreneurial selves in neo-liberal society. Parental ideas and expectations of camper experiences also shape the kinds of experiences possible for the camper, camp counsellors and managers of camps. Henry gives an example of the high, and at times unreasonable, expectations of parents for their child's skill development at camp:

"We had a parent that called up and said you know she had a great time at camp and she made lots of friends and everything was fine at camp, she had a great time but she didn't jump a fence. She didn't jump 3.6 or something. And then we'll say, "you know what? our riding staff must have felt that she wasn't ready for that."

"Well she is ready for that. And we went to camp specifically so she would jump this fence, and she didn't jump this fence or they didn't get to go kayaking enough."

"Well how was there overall experience?"

"There was no problem there, but they wanted to go kayaking..."

Well you see you can get some indignant people" (Henry).

Henry's example illustrates how parents invest significant value in the learning of certain skills and expected outcomes. It illustrates the commodification of camp as, in the eyes of the parent, a skill development experience that produces an entrepreneurial self even at the cost of an enjoyable "overall experience" (Henry). Additionally, campers and counsellors are not beyond these discourses and are primed to 'achieve' or make campers 'achieve' various skills.

Not all parents, however, see the value of camp as a fun childhood experience. Recent interest in recruiting children of immigrant populations to attend Canadian summer camps raise questions about the assumed universal meanings of organised camping and outdoor experiences to diverse populations. Rose and Paisley explain experiential education is better suited to those who come from positions of privilege because they "may be freer to respond" than those with "existing oppressive structures" as the "contrived challenges" may be inappropriate or injurious (2012, pp. 144-145). Parents who struggle to meet their family's basic needs are unlikely to perceive rustic or basic community living as fun or beneficial. For some families, the word camp may be associated with refugee, displacement, prisoner-of-war, detention or extermination camps. Summer camps in Canada draw on discourses that privilege white Anglo-Saxon middle to upper class families who, because of their privilege, see value in simplifying or "unplugging" (Arthur) in a rural setting. Bonnie reinforced the position of privilege articulated through discourses when she said, "camp is a white kid sport." According to Bonnie, even friends that fit the "white kid" description with "Portuguese or Italian" ethnicity

responded to her invites to join her at camp with “I can’t believe your parents are sending you away to sleep in a bag.” The discursive ideals and benefits of rustic camp experiences does not appeal to all those who are assumed to fit the target audience.

Selling is no good: privileging moral imperatives above (the responsibilities of) business

The business imperatives which inform camp management discourses are rarely visible in industry publications. There is a curious lack of information regarding satisfaction guarantees, refund policies, or quality assurance that are typical of other commodities or service experiences. Instead publications speak extensively about the moral benefits that children could gain (American Camping Association, 2008). While tending to the ‘good’ children gain from camp, managers and administrators appear to dismiss corporate responsibility for the consumer transaction. Unlike other businesses which must adhere to strict regulations regarding accurate product representation, camp experience providers appear to ignore this in the interest of promoting welfare agendas. While camp providers are seemingly well intended in their efforts to deliver the benefits they promise, the promotion of welfare discourses of moral development and therapeutic discourses of self-improvement mask the ethical responsibilities of camps as business enterprises. In particular, I am concerned with how these discourses encumber reflexivity on camp employment practices. The altruistic focus on the moral development of campers can lead to a lack of recognition of how camp counsellors’ experiences and wellbeing are impacted by the delivery of these outcomes.

The expectations of camp consumers, which influence their satisfaction with the camp product, are generated and shaped by the discourses that the camping industry creates for public consumption. For example, when statements (like those given by key ACA spokespeople such as Henderson and Smith) about ‘the world of good’ that camp experiences give all children are accepted uncritically by camp managers then campers who are suffering homesickness are told they cannot call or go home because it will be ‘good for them.’ Likewise, the benefit discourses of camp experiences are extended to that of camp counsellors and often justify the lack of pay, work hours and lack of privacy within the camp setting (see Chapter 7). The discourses shaping camp manager and consumer behaviours have consequences for the everyday experiences of camp counsellors. If the discourses that shape camp supplier and consumer relationships are accepted as truth and left unchallenged then ethical awareness of camp management practices remains limited.

The liminality of camps also appears to exclude camp management practices from the application of broader regulations such as recent federal policy changes to boating qualifications (Canadian Camping Association, 2013) and employment of foreign workers (Canadian Camping Association, 2015). In the latter case, the CCA successfully lobbied the federal government to exclude the regulation of working hours for foreign workers based on camp employment experiences being a “cultural exchange” (Canadian Camping Association, 2015) rather than a work experience³. This action reflects a lack of critical engagement with how welfare discourses not only shape what is possible for camp employees but also reinforces for camp workforces that benefit agendas outweigh the regulation of work and rest periods for the youth employed. When national organisations initiate such efforts, and prioritize camper growth experiences over staff wellbeing, it is little surprise that individual employee complaints about working hours are dismissed or ignored when there are no collective or unionizing bodies to support them. Individual camp counsellors either quit or are dismissed as just “not camp people” (Bonnie). Camp governing bodies and leaders appear to exist in a socio-political vacuum where regulation is developed and implemented as it suits the (internal) camp culture and can largely side-step broader regulation as it applies to other child centred education and recreation experiences. In 2013, for example, the Canadian Camping Association (CCA) attempted to lobby the national government to make an exception to recently passed safety legislature related to watercraft transportation (2013). This example illustrates that not only are assumptions about how power is operationalized in camps invisible and unchallenged but it is believed that this alternative world of ‘camp’ should not be tampered with even by the national government. This approach raises questions about what issues/concerns are being ignored and at what cost to not only campers but to camp counsellors.

On the other hand, national, provincial and camp specific (local) safety regulations have been implemented to address the risks and anxieties related to campers’ wellbeing. Attempts to regulate and unify safety practices across camps appear to reassure camp consumers. For example, camps that are Ontario Camping Association (OCA) accredited can be trusted to have passed an intensive safety audit. Safety regulation, however, is interpreted in practice and context. April suggested that she needed to educate her staff to understand the correct or appropriate level of safety that was required for her camp despite them viewing her as being

³ It is worth noting that the concern regarding working hours was raised by foreign workers who are not subjected to common welfare discourses regarding the benefits of camp and where summer camps are less popular and less taken as a national cultural institution.

overly concerned. April said:

I'm a safety paranoia person and think that comes a little bit from "o my god, liability of the camp". My staff actually make fun of me and they go "safety paranoia" and I say to them "I know you that you make fun of me" but I say "please, look through that perspective too". So I'm slowly developing all my staff into safety paranoia as well. And I say to them, I say "you're going to make mistakes with safety, especially since you're young."

April's comments reflect her desire to instil a sense of vigilance in staff regarding the possibilities of something going wrong. April governed herself and others in accordance with discourses of safety and risk.

Regulative bodies, camp managers and organizations can be perceived as embodying "safety paranoia" and are criticized for making regulation and standardization redundant and repetitive. Henry said, "Because the standards are really set by the government, so in many cases these camp standards are just redundancy. You don't need to go over again and again and again." April ironically suggested that camp managers and staff can also be over protective and over-regulative:

"There's a no-run-rule because they have so many roots and stumps, this is in Algonquin park, so many kids were falling and breaking their face open or hurting their ankle but you have to do that, right? ... no running? They're kids. They run. If you break your face you're going to learn to pick up your feet more" (April).

Finding a balance between 'safety paranoia' and making camp experiences perceptibly 'free' enough for fun is problematic but absolutely necessary.

Welfare discourses central to the provision of summer camps sit in tension with the financial feasibility of summer camps. Of the 51 camps selected for purpose statement analysis, approximately five had closed in the last twenty years. It appeared that many small (and often traditional style) summer camps, both in budget and attendees (i.e. 80 or less campers) have struggled to make enough income to continue. Welfare discourses, often with added Christian discourses of charity, make it difficult to raise the price of summer camp experiences because this can be seen to make camp experiences unattainable for some families (often those deemed in most need of the moral character benefits of camper experiences). The summer camps that are financially successful consciously attend to business imperatives and appear to employ creative marketing strategies to make their product relevant, appealing and competitive. They mobilise discourses attuned to parental concerns (moral character development and skill development) and purchaser needs (relief from child care responsibilities while working) which

appears to justify their prices in a market often driven to have low prices due to welfare discourses.

Discursive productions of camp selves

The following sections explore my analysis of discursively produced domains of camp selves; transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic and sociable selves. Dominant camp discourses portray camp participants in humanist terms, such as “coherent, intentional and individualised” (N. Rose, 1996b, p. 3) and thus shape ideals about an ‘ultimate’ camp self. These discourses imply that ‘good’ camp participants naturally possess certain traits and attributes which make them successful in outdoor community living. I contend that the discursive and non-discursive productions of camp selves shape what is and is not possible for camper and camp counsellor experiences. Camp participant experiences are plural, multiple and (at times) messy however discourses regarding camp participant selfhood contribute to the belief that there are ‘good’, and even singular notions, of what makes a camp person. The following sections illustrate how discourses shape what is expected of camp participant selfhood within camp contexts and, how these were taken up and reproduced in various ways by interview participants. The camp selves described here are based on discourses about camp participants (i.e., campers, counsellors, support staff and management staff) as they appeared to apply to all participants in the camp environment to varying degrees. The following sections articulate the parameters, produced through discourse, within which camp participant selfhood is conceived for camp participants.

Drawing on interview materials, I thematically grouped discourses about camp selves into five domains. These categories illuminate relationships of power that produce camp subject positions rather than a prescriptive or limited catalogue of roles or identities. This analysis of transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic, and sociable selves could be perceived as limiting what ‘being’ a camp subject represents. However, I draw on post-structural notions of self to highlight the complex discourses at work in being a camp subject. As the section title implies, *Transformative Selves* explores the ‘life-changing’ stories of camp participant experiences and how psy-discourses are mobilised in the production of camp selves. Language such as ‘self-esteem’, ‘confidence’, or ‘values’ are used to describe the benefits that are assumed to be delivered to campers and thus mobilise psy-discourses (previously discussed in Chap 3: Framing the Camp Counsellor Experience). *Spiritual Selves* considers how idyllic discourses of nature shape practices of appreciation and awe. It also includes aspects of spirituality, specifically overt descriptions of Biblical and religious learning that shape understanding of camp participant morality. *Rugged Selves* demonstrates the influence of nature based discourses

on the relationship of self that plays out through challenge, hardship and recreational pursuits. *Rugged Selves* are expected to test one's 'mettle' and come out the stronger for it. *Heroic Selves* are produced through the experiences and storying of adventure and risk while *Sociable Selves* identifies the complex relational or interpersonal skills that camp participants are expected to develop from living with others in community. Camp participants are expected to embody an ever-loving social persona in order to belong as well as elevate camp community life. All five camp selves connect and overlap with the others in complicated and unexpected ways. These camp selves are taken as the base from which camp counsellor selves are extended through leadership discourses and training processes (see Chapter 6). Importantly, they also illustrate the discourses that camp counsellors mobilise in the delivery of 'morally improved' camper selves.

Transformative Selves: discourses of contemporary salvation

*Rushing wind blow through this temple,
Blowing out the dust within,
Come and breathe your breath upon me,
I've been born again.*

-Keith Green (1977)

Like the song above that was sung at my childhood camp, camp experiences are assumed to provide opportunities for personal growth and transformation akin to rebirth. Popular accounts of maturation, confidence building and 'life changing' experiences permeate all genres of camp publications and personal narratives (see Chapter 2). These texts reiterate a discursive production of summer camp as an experience of self-transformation; the acquisition of emotional maturity, psychological insight and moral character. In turn, these publications articulate possibilities and normalise notions that transformation will occur to camp participants in the eyes of both the individual and others. Of all the interviews with participants, April's account most typified the genre of 'life-changing' narratives that were commonly told about summer camp experiences and demonstrates how she governed herself and others:

This is a wonderful story. I'm not going to do it justice. You would have to see the transformation yourself. We had a boy that came and this was his fourth summer at camp ...He had a whole range of learning disabilities, slight autism, Asperger's -that sort of thing. And he came as the most unstable -he was a mess. He was really a mess. And then we worked hard with him for a month. ...And this summer, he just completely transformed into the most popular boy at camp ...It was a complete transformation. It's like it [camp] had gotten rid of his problems almost ... I think camp saved him ...

Camp publications set up expectations for the positively self-transfigured camper. Campers and camp counsellors are positioned to take up discourses about self transformation making experiences of self-improvement and the development of moral character not only possible, but probable.

April's account of the transformative power of camper experiences reveals a complex discourse about salvation, albeit a secular one. It draws on the notion that camps were once established to provide a moral oasis from the evils and discomfort of summers in the city (Paris, 2008). The exercise of power through this form of pastoral care positions camp counsellors as secularized pastors who deliver moral character development as a contemporary form of individualized 'salvation' (i.e., good, healthy children). For example, Eric illustrated how he viewed his role in the positive self-transformation of his campers:

...seeing a real positive change ...it just makes you feel that much better about helping these kids because you're a positive value to them. And I really felt that was the biggest highlight was just helping these kids realize they can do so much in the world.

Eric reveals that "making friends" and coming "out of their shell" are changes that are desired for campers and that these behaviours symbolize changes which occur *within* campers. Through these practices campers become docile camp citizens. Eric identified the benefits of his role as 'pastor' as being of "positive value to them." In this way, pastoral care discourses work as a technology of self, inasmuch as camp counsellors take up these discourses to shape their own and other selves through the caring and transforming of their 'flock'. Camp counsellors appeared to take up the role of pastor to improve or transform campers, as April explained, "you're trying to change these kids' lives." Camp discourses about the transformative self suggests that campers and camp staffs are expected to change in profound psychological and spiritual ways.

Camp counsellors also address camper 'salvation' by teaching skills that appear to have protective qualities (see Chapter 2). This assumption is informed by pastoral care notions of ensuring the "well-being, security and protection against accidents" (Follett, 1986, p. 6) of individuals in the flock, in this case campers. Salvation stories, based on the attainment of skills were frequently told. For example, Lisa illustrates one version of 'salvation' of campers through improving their swimming abilities:

...we always did at the beginning of the week a swim test, and they would get Red, Yellow or Green. If you were Red, you had to stay in the shallow end, Yellow in the deep end with a lifejacket and Green could go anywhere in the pool. Kids coming back for

several weeks during the summer, you could see their progress and they might move up a colour. Even though we weren't teaching formal lessons, it was just that practice of being in the pool; you could see them benefit from that (Lisa).

Salvation, here, can be measured by one's swimming colour. Consequently, obtaining and collecting qualifications is seen in camp discourses to act as a kind of spiritual solvency. Camp counsellors have successfully performed their 'saving' duties by teaching campers how to swim five meters further than they could when they arrived.

Stories that recount the improvement, if not transformation, of camp selves were pervasive in the interviews. Self-development discourses and popular psychology have largely taken the place of traditional religious doctrine in regard to seeking salvation in the here-and-now (Dooley, 1978). For example, while the changes recounted appeared to have occurred for and in camp participants, these stories illustrate the assumptions that positive changes directly resulted from camp experiences. There is no mention of the many experiences and processes of maturation children may have gained during the other 11 months of the year. Summer camp discourses often position camp experiences at the centre of personal development in totalizing ways. The desire for camp participants' selves to be improved, places pressure on camp counsellors to act as therapists and secularized pastors. Camp counsellors are expected to 'counsel' campers to help them reconcile their multiple selves to foster a more linear narrative about successful personal growth and development. Young camp counsellors occupy a difficult subject position as they exercise their power through caring and disciplining practices. They are entrusted to 'know' the inner being of campers, and thus shape the 'right' improvements. Spiritual development is seen as a key benefit of camp experiences.

Spiritual Selves: nature, awe and spirituality

There is a sacredness to the beauty of what 'just happens' out there in the woods when nobody's looking. The wonder of an unfurling green fern reminds me that beauty - nature's beauty - happens for its own sake; intrinsically, quietly, humbly. It happens whether we take notice or not but what a pleasure when we do?! And perhaps, I realize, this is one of the greatest gifts camp gave me - a deep appreciation and awe of nature. Through these feelings I also developed a spiritual connection and reverence for the sacredness of nature. According to my Aunt, Six Nations are my people because I belong to this land rather than the other and white way around. This philosophy of the First Nations of Canada suggests a belonging that is spiritual, rather than possessive/possession, and which is deeply rooted in the natural environment. My childhood camp, like many others, aimed to be a place of spiritual belonging through an appreciation of its natural environment (personal narrative).

Camps have historically been positioned as intrinsically 'good' by virtue of their moral association with nature and engagement in outdoor activities (Paris, 2008). Romantic notions of pure nature and rural idyll pervaded accounts of camp experiences (Andy, Henry, Lisa, Bonnie, Amie, Mary, Rebecca, and Tess). For example, Tess recounted a love of "lying out on the dock in the middle of the night watching the stars with friends". There was a child-like awe and appreciation in the interviewees' statements about the intrinsic beauty of the natural environments of *their* camps. Many interview participants commented about the natural features of their camps in similar ways (Andy, Henry, Lisa, Bonnie, Amie, Mary, Rebecca, and Tess). Each one drew on special memories of the natural environment of their camps; trees, rivers, rocks, lakes and woods. Henry, for example, described the joy of playing in mud puddles and the spontaneity of weather dependent activities like this. Rebecca and Lisa both reflected on moments in the shade of great trees. Being in and sharing the joys of 'the great outdoors' also featured significantly in the survey responses on what was most enjoyable about camp. Highlights included "Exploring the great outdoors," "Backcountry camping," "sharing the outdoors with kids, particularly ones from the city," and "teaching them [campers] new outdoor skills". Others wrote about the active lifestyle that goes with outdoor living, the creativity of outdoor recreation and the beauty of camp sites (survey responses).

Genealogical discourses of the moral 'good' of outdoor experiences continues to be articulated and appeared in both the web-published purpose statements (Camp Bimini, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012) and interview responses. Bonnie, who was a particular enthusiast of expeditions, said "I just love sleeping in a tent. The first couple of nights in a tent every summer I am like "this is awesome. I sleep so good in a tent and I love it."" Here, the lineage of Muscular Christianity appears as a good night's sleep under the stars. At camp, it is understood that there is something intrinsically 'good' in being outdoors. The intrinsic moral value of being in the out-of-doors, thus, plays a central role in producing campers' outdoor selves.

One of Henry's aims for opening a camp was because he "wanted to teach kids to love nature." At camps this is achieved by small and everyday acts of guiding a child to see and appreciate, for example, a spider's web in early morning dew. Additionally nature appreciation is explicitly taught in a traditional school-like manner during skill development sessions at camp (Henry, James, Lucy, Vicky, Eric and Amie). Alternatively, like many adventure learning and experiential education philosophies purport (Attarian, 2001; Bisson & Luckner, 1996; Ewert, Garvey, Prouty, Panicucci, & Collinson, 2007; Prouty, Panicucci, & Collinson, 2007a, 2007b), experiences of nature are expected to speak for themselves. Campers are facilitated, formally and informally, to reflect on and discuss their experiences of awe at the natural world

they are experiencing at camp. As such camp practices of noticing, engaging with and narrating nature in terms of awe, beauty, and embodiment (Fullagar & Hailstone, 1996; Humberstone & Stan, 2012) are at work in shaping a camp participants' selves. Camp discourses about nature being wholesome, positive, and spiritual position camp participants to develop spiritual connections to and a sense of responsibility for, the stewardship of the natural world.

The spiritual development of camp selves featured as an area in which camp participants' character should, according to camp discourses, be improved. Genealogical links to early Christian camping movements draw attention to the discourses of spiritual development of faith-based camps. For example, Cave Springs United Church of Canada stated that their mission was, "to serve Christ by encouraging campers and staff to grow in their relationship with God and others while learning about Christ, themselves and creation" (2012, Purpose Statement). Elizabeth makes the connection between the desire to development campers' relationships with God or Christ with the personal and positive development of moral character. She said, "...We're interested in growing good little people and for us in the United Church, we have a spiritual component to personal growth...what we call spiritual welfare." Elizabeth's comments are a reminder of how moral development continues to feature as a central discourse to camper experiences. Arthur argued that faith-based camps provide an opportunity to experience "God's love through our staff." Arthur's point illustrates how camp counsellors are positioned to govern campers to be docile and moral subjects. Faith-based summer camp experiences hold great potential to demonstrate the power of divine love yet despite the good intentions discourses can produce a range of unintended effects. For example, overtly Christian language or practices could act in exclusionary ways by discouraging those who do not understand it from attending a camp. The pressure for young camp counsellors to deliver positive spiritual development, as a component of the spiritual camp self, is great.

As many contemporary religions openly question the morality of post-modern and consumerist society, religious based summer camps appear to offer a shelter for moral teaching and development. Some camps regulate dress (Camp Crossroads, 2012, website), the use of electronic devices (Elissa, Henry and Arthur) and romantic relationships (April, Diane, Elissa, Matthew, Sara, Tom, and Trudy) in order to guard against the 'sins of the flesh' or 'worldliness'. For example, Camp Crossroads believes that their guidelines "are in keeping with Biblical instructions of decency, not offending others and striving to help each other be pure and without blame" (2012, website). Arthur reinforced this when he said, "we expect them [staff] to get to camp and form this community and culture where we are asking them to think pure because they're going to have kids coming in cursing and swearing and making all kinds of

sexual innuendos and we are asking our staff to clean up the cabin.” The benefits of ‘pure’ experiences illustrated here suggest that the children attending faith-based camps will have a better or more value-added time in comparison to other camps. Children who attend these camps, according to the discourses of development, will be spiritually elevated from those attending secular camps that do not have, for example, strict dress codes.

Spiritual development, however, was not exclusive to overt opportunities for learning about religious doctrine even if less structured spiritual experiences were implicitly incorporated. Both faith-based and secular camps employed many practices of play and make-believe (e.g., games like Freeze Drama and songs like Fred the Moose) that create certain fiction and inspired a kind of awe for the ephemeral (Tess). Camper experiences are designed to be deeply spiritual. This is achieved through small and every day practices such as morning flag ceremonies, group singing and campfire or vespers but, in particular, through the ideals of being in nature. ‘Awe’ and the appreciation of natural environments is a socially mediated relationship which is central to summer camp cultures. To maintain the image of summer camps as wholesome natural spaces, for example, many camp organisers regulate the use of undesirable distractions. For example, Andy and Elissa said “I wish you could get rid of technology” and “at the start of the day I confiscate cell phones” respectively. There is a desire to keep natural settings pristine so that the purity and wholesomeness, which is assumed to contribute to moral development, can occur more effectively. These discourses lay the foundations for what stories are told, what narratives are privileged, and what camp selves are possible through experiencing the great out-of-doors that camps offer. Camp participant experiences are encouraged to be deeply spiritual where overtly religious lessons and everyday spiritual practices make it possible, if not expected, to have experiences that develop a spiritual self.

Rugged Selves: challenge, fun and ‘character’

Summer camps often portray and are symbolic of the enjoyment of the summer season. In fact, I would go as far as to say that Canada’s prevalent natural beauty (which includes drastic seasonal changes) has significant impacts on the population’s behaviours, habits and rituals including the attendance of summer camps. Like other camp people, I wait impatiently for the warm days and cool nights of summer to adventure into the woods -to taste, smell, feel, hear and see the water, rocks and trees of Canadian landscapes. “Yes, the water is cold! Man up! It’s better once you get used to it!” or “your body goes numb” I think to myself. Nature and all the challenges it throws at you are supposed to enjoyed. “Stop complaining and get in!” Canadian camps are sensual experiences. I know my camp by being in it. Camp, in Canada, is an embodied summer tradition (personal narrative).

Nature is often less than idyllic and experiences can be challenging as rain pours, temperatures drop and the infamous Canadian wildlife forage for your last tub of peanut butter. Limited resources (i.e., food) and unexpected challenges (i.e., weather) can exceed the abilities of participants and move the expedition experience from one of recreation to survival. The challenges of outdoor living are often the context and, at times, the contender in a battle to develop physical skills and mental fortitude –in sum, strength of ‘character’. Camp selves discourses draw on images and descriptions of ‘character’ from a variety of texts. For example, Louv argues that camp encounters with nature provide moral character development (2008) whereas the mission statement of Taylor Statten Camp (2012, Purpose Statement) states that their “back to basics” approach, which includes “challenging environments” and “canoe tripping”, will develop “character” in “campers and staff.” Amie discussed how experiences of hardship or challenge are designed to teach campers to focus their energy on problem solving and “survival skills” development. These statements imply that through wilderness experiences camp participants will develop outdoor competencies, self-confidence and mastery (Camp Arowhon, 2012; Camp Hurontario, 2012; Camp Kinesserie, 2012; Camp Wenonah, 2012; Doe Lake Girl Guide Camp, 2012; Muskoka Woods Resort, 2012; Pearce Williams Christian Centre, 2012, Purpose Statements). Thus, the outdoors is positioned as a site of moral development that is heavily inflected with the tradition of Muscular Christianity movements. These include “bodily vigour” and “strenuous activities such as competitive sports and wilderness trips” (Paris, 2008, p.25) as the means of working on the body and soul.

Outdoor challenges, and all the physical labour that it might entail, is expected to appeal and assumed to be available to all that attend camp regardless of gender. Bonnie said, “to be honest on a physical level, both [genders] are equal which is awesome.” That is to say that both genders are expected to perform physically at the same level. Bonnie was happy to enjoy this kind of assumed equality; equality only enjoyed if you can perform physical tasks at the same standard as male counterparts (i.e., throwing a thirty kilogram canoe on their shoulders and walking a couple kilometres (Bonnie)). Discourses of *Rugged Selves* privilege masculine embodiment by drawing on ‘hard’ skills and as embedded in outdoor experience narratives and stories of conquering nature. Ironically these assumptions are discouraging of feminine embodiment of the outdoors. Outdoor experiences, physical exertion and adventure are expected to be innately desirable in camp discourses for both girls and boys, “it’s interesting because I don’t ever remember as a kid anyone preaching that girls can do what boys can do. It’s just a natural part of the camp experience” (Bonnie). The desire to endeavour, exert and achieve physical feats regardless of gender illustrates techniques of self in how all camp participants are expected to take up outdoor discourses of male embodiment.

For campers to experience 'success' in the outdoors it is essential for them to develop skills and knowledge about how to meet the challenges presented. Camp or outdoor education people call these 'hard skills' drawing on a metaphor of masculine inflection (Fullagar & Hailstone, 1996). Activity blocks are allocated to everyday camp schedules so that campers can choose and develop particular skill sets (Andy, April, David, Henry, James, Lisa, Mary, Rachel, Richard, Sophie, Steph and Zoey). Pastoral care notions (Dooley, 1978) can be seen in the desire to teach campers skills that appear to have protective qualities. Likewise, a camp counsellor's list of 'hard skills' not only reassures parent purchasers and camp managers that campers will be safe but also speaks to how employees have worked on and governed their own self development in alliance with discourses of moral character through the acquirement of qualifications. These discourses of moral development and secularized salvation are taken up and reproduced for campers. Lisa, for example, told of a camper who was a "holy terror" when he first arrived but, eventually, through continual development of his skills (i.e. Bronze Medallion), he began to be "really good" and excelled. Lisa's comments revealed her belief that by acquiring skills campers can develop moral character. Skill development discourses suggest that camp participants will improve their own and others' moral character and gain a secularized salvation through the development of outdoor competencies.

Although skill achievement might be difficult, campers are meant to enjoy the process as well as the result. It is through fun that children learn the skills and hence children's characters become morally improved (McCuaig, 2012). While there is no doubt that campers experience fun, the discursive formation of selves that are connected to fun and recreation also make the laborious qualities of outdoor skill acquisition palatable. 'Fun' is given high priority by campers and staff as discussed in the previous section 'Selling a world of fun.' The discourses of fun and enjoyment are reinforced so pervasively that all camp experiences, no matter how challenging, benign, or uncomfortable, become viewed with an attitude of positivity. As Rachel recounted:

...we're stuck in between these two pieces of floating land mass and we had to send these 2 kids up to the office because we're stuck, we couldn't go anywhere, you can't walk on it. It's awful, but it's so much fun. I mean I know people on staff who couldn't handle it, they'd get freaked out, but I loved it. ... Like we couldn't do anything, so I spent like an hour treading water in the lake, waiting for people to come down and get these canoes, but it's fun.

Fun, in this example, serves as a powerful discourse which silences discourses of discomfort and unpleasantness at camp.

Wilderness experiences, like Mary's canoe trip, where "we did 35 km and 16 portages" can be very serious and labour intensive but are supposed to be enjoyed. Bonnie reinforces this when she said, "I love the physical side of it." Campers are expected to take pleasure in experiences of challenge and exertion. However, the beauty of sleeping on the ground with limited food resources is not a 'pleasurable' experience to everyone. For many campers, taking pleasure in 'rustic' or 'basic' living conditions requires coaxing and massaging by camp counsellors. Sara, Eric, Rebecca and Steph talked disparagingly about times when campers or experiences did not conform to discourses of pleasurable outdoor experiences. In fact when a camper did not embrace the 'outdoorsy' aspects of camp, Andy said, "I don't think you should come back next year because there are people that would like this spot more than you". With this kind of pressure to enjoy the outdoors it is little wonder that most camp participants, or at least the ones that return year after year, become enthusiasts even if they don't start out that way.

Camp counsellors often utilise the enjoyment of an activity to gain compliance. For example, when 'fun' is not obvious to campers, such as during cabin clean-up, staff may infuse 'fun' by way of strategies such as awarding a clean cabin trophy. In this way fun, in camp contexts works as a site of power revealing a tangle of discipline and pleasure. There are tensions within the kinds of serious or obligated fun that is expected for camp participant experiences. In a context like camp, fun is produced in highly regulated ways (Hemingway, 1996; Juniu & Henderson, 2001; Wearing & Wearing, 1988). Leisure literature tends to prioritize 'free choice' (Godbey, 1999; R. Lynch & Veal, 1996; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Neulinger, 1980) as one of the fundamental aspects needed in order for it to be experienced, yet in a context like camp there are varying degrees of freedom (Rojek, 1995; N. Rose, 1990c). Campers, for example, are expected (and told) to have fun through participation and cannot choose to 'sit out' or not participate. Camp counsellors are expected to enact 'fun' in order to ensure that campers experience 'fun' even when both are unwilling, exhausted or not up to the task (i.e., physical strength for portaging). In this way, camps are a unique site of subjectification through which discipline and regulation are exercised through notions of fun.

Heroic Selves: adventure, risk and hero stories

"The bears aren't that big of a deal –just make sure you string up your food at night and don't leave toothpaste in your tent!"

To think that I actually gave this advice to an Australian seems absurd now. Bears are no big deal?! Man, I must have spent too much time at camp. Or perhaps this just shows how

much I accepted the 'naturalness' I attributed to northern Ontario wildlife in my camp experiences. The possibility of bears was a real one at the last summer I worked camp. So real, in fact, that one teenage male black bear made himself at home on our rocky water bound site. This was mostly due to the constant and reliable stream of food being disposed of not too cleverly each meal. When camp management requested that he be relocated, the rangers simply refused saying he was comfortable so it wouldn't be any use as he would just keep returning. Rather than fight this fate we, the staff, discussed strategies of how we would go about living peaceably with said bear and avoid having any of our campers eaten. This involved some debate about whether blowing a whistle would effectively scare him away. The way camp staff calculate and understand risk is never as straight forward as staff manuals would have you believe. We down played and underestimated some risks and became almost hypochondriac about others. How is it that staff are paranoid about campers wearing lifejackets when in canoes but don't seem to worry when cabin doors are only two or three steps from the lake? Should we have put campers to bed with life jackets on to avoid disastrous midnight rambles? Surprisingly, even now, I don't feel very bothered by the residential bear. Nope –no panic or fear can even be conjured to mind. It does occur to me that this might be a bit odd (personal narratives).

Outdoor activities are unpredictable and unforgiving. As Devon said, “the potential for danger is really present...” there is “always something that can go wrong.” Nature, especially in popular ‘outtripping’ (this usually entails paddling a canoe far from radio or mobile contact into the wilderness for up to 6 weeks) experiences, can present excitement and danger, adventure and risk. It is not surprising that “safety” is frequently mentioned in camp web-published purpose statements (Camp Ararat, 2012; Camp Bimini, 2012; Camp Couchiching, 2012; Camp Kannawin, 2012; Camp Kintail, 2012; Camp Shalom, 2012; Camp Tawingo, 2012; Circle Square Ranch, 2012; Glen Mhor Camp, 2012; Muskoka Woods Resort, 2012; Pearce Williams Christian Centre, 2012; Stevenson's Children's Camp, 2012; Taylor Statten Camp, 2012, Purpose Statements). Camps want to reassure parents, and potential campers, that despite the risks of outdoor living and pursuits, these experiences will not cause anyone any serious harm. April echoes this preoccupation with safety, “... you know you are caring for somebody's child. They're main concern is the safety of these kids, right?!” Yet concerns about safety sit in tension with notions of adventure in that some amount of challenge is necessary for experiences to be engaging, memorable and fun (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). For example, and perhaps ironically, April was concerned that safety “paranoia” could be crippling to the fun of camp experiences. The tensions of risk and safety work to shape camp participant experiences of adventure.

No matter how scary or risky an adventure experience gets, campers and more importantly camp counsellors are expected to be calm and emotionally stalwart. Devon recounted a story of a paddling trip where things could have gone very badly:

my cousin who was on a canoe trip and there was a monsoon going on, and there was 3 boats, and they got separated from the campers, they were gone for 5 or 6 hours, and one of the canoes floated away cause it just been there for an hour ... it just was weather conditions really, they just couldn't stay together, and that was basically a bad call, to go out, cause we met a guy out on the dock and he said don't go out there it is pretty bad, but the ...camp motto is to like to just go through it to push through it, and to you take your time, but it was just a bad call ...boaters just went around luckily and picked up some kids, everyone got back together on an island somehow, no idea how, yeah just really really lucky.

Being tough or strong in the face of challenges is expected of summer camp participants. There is little room for weakness or timidity. Camp participants mobilise discourses that expect them to push through. Overcoming fear is part of the outdoor self-narrative. Within the mythology and folklore of summer camps, surviving against the odds makes for great stories. These are narratives of overcoming the limits of self and nature, however, the underlying ethos of 'going out against the odds' can also impair judgement and result in making poor choices or a "bad call" (Devon).

Narratives of overcoming the limits of oneself and nature, proving one's worth to others and testing one's "mettle" (Devon) are privileged. Wilderness experiences, like Bonnie's canoe trip, where she did "35 km and 16 portages [carrying a canoe on one's shoulders over a land passage to the next water inlet]" can be very serious and labour intensive but are supposed to be enjoyed. As she explains:

Oh my God. I love to stretch my legs. I love the exhaustion you feel at the end of a hard portage. I love the feeling of "I don't know if I can do this". Like I don't know if I can finish this thing you get to the end and it's just the greatest feeling. I love the challenge too, I guess.

The achievement of an 'epic' adventure is positioned as a rite of sweat and labour and attests to Muscular Christian notions of purification of one's soul delivered through the exertion of the body. Much like traditional quest narratives, stories of surviving signify the value and strength of the protagonist. Camp counsellors are expected to ensure that expedition experiences are safe (but not so safe as to be boring), memorable and pleasurable for campers. Camp counsellors sometimes resist these expectations such as ending a trip early due to inclement weather or a lack of morale (Andy and Bonnie). Camp counsellors must also facilitate camper narratives to reflect pleasurable experiences with near-miss stories being told and retold as hero stories (Bonnie, Mitch and Rachel). Risk taking is normalised in the production of camp selves and camp counsellors are charged with the difficult task of balancing risk, adventure and personal challenge with safety and, as always, fun.

There is pride in getting through scary, risky or difficult situations. For example, the adventure of Mary's broken yoke:

It's a 3 km set of rapids or one and a half kilometre portage. ...But this portage, water levels were so high and it rained so much the summer, we were in knee to thigh deep in mud for the first half of it. And I went to take one step a couple hundred meters in and I thought my leg was coming. My body went and the canoe went but my legs didn't and I snapped back and dropped the canoe. I heard a snap but I didn't really pay attention. I thought I'd hit a tree branch. ... The clients were ahead of me with barrels and they were like "oh my god, are you okay?" They thought it was a body part that had snapped. And I said "no no no. I'm fine." I got my shoe and I got out of the mud and put the boat back on and that's when I realized it was the yoke that had snapped and I still had 1400 m to go. ...And, oh my God, we carried that boat for two more days.

Mary tells this story with pride and a faint smile. She survived an epic adventure and closely escaped serious injury. She recounted this as an achievement, tinged with humour, normalizing and down grading the danger. Within camp culture, such near-miss stories are often inflated to heroic proportions.

Hero stories, of the variety above, are told and retold over generations of camp participants. These narratives are the ones remembered and grow in their retelling both in exaggeration of facts and significance. As Mary states, "those are the stories you remember." Rachel recounts a kind of enthusiasm for difficult situations that is typical of camp personas, "I strive for chaos. ... As horrible as it sounds I love when people get hurt. Like I like the business of it and using my skills, the challenge. I love the adrenaline." Rachel agrees that it is these extreme, risky and unusual experiences that she remembers most, "I remember the crazy injuries, I remember the turned over canoes, having to tread water in the lake... but I love that." Living experiences and recounting stories of accomplishment, heroism, survival, pioneering spirit and bravery (sometimes to the point of stupidity) are desirable and appreciated in camping circles. Outdoor expeditions and storytelling practices encourage the mobilisation of adventure and hero discourses which govern behaviours of camper and camp counsellors alike.

Sociable Selves: outgoing persona, community living and belonging

*Make new friends, but keep the old.
One is silver, the other is gold.
A circle is round, it has no end.
That's how long, I will be your friend.*

-Boy Scouts (n.d.)

There is immense pressure to fit in, make friends and belong in new camp environments. For example Steph revealed:

I don't like the first day. You know, when everyone gets to know you; it's so crucial. I guess I'm just one of those people who is shy ... I always feel for the kids the first night. You know, they show up and they just want to be accepted into the group, they want to be treated well, and they've had this experience built up for them by all the people who've already done it ... "you'll love it, these are going to be the people you'll make friends with for the rest of your life", and just the pressure of that.

Given the almost total cut-off from all other supportive relationships, making new friends is essential and needs to be done quickly (Trudy). This comes easier for some more than others. Matthew, for example said, "I'm shy so camp wasn't that fun for me. I wasn't outgoing enough to be a favourite of a counsellor or anything so it was just lonely." Shyness, here, reflects an inability to perform a normalised notion of the social self. The development of an 'extroverted camp persona' along with social or intrapersonal skills is seen as desirable, albeit necessary. Discourses of camp selves suggest that camp participants are expected to have personal characteristics of genuine warmth, openness and friendliness. A gregarious camp persona is seen as central to the development of harmonious camp communities.

Idealised camp personalities are usually defined by collections of personal characteristics surrounding fun and moral character. Extraversion, defined as being "outgoing" (Amie, April, Terri, Trudy and Troy) and "silly" (April, Henry, Eric, Grant and Rachel) is a desirable and highly sought after attribute in campers and staff. For example, "I always liked the outgoing ones" (Amie) or "we're looking for outgoing, amiable people" (Arthur). Shyness or reserve was seen as something that needed to be overcome (Amie, April, Eric, James, Lucy, Rachel, Steph and Terri). Campers who did not enact an extroverted camp personality were expected to be drawn "out of themselves" by their experiences at camp (Eric and Rachel). Rachel said that she was "quite shy ... for my first summer, but I came out of my shell." Discourses are mobilised by camp participants who govern themselves to attain normalised camp modes of being. In the example above, Rachel's confidence was judged by the enactment of a 'fun' persona and, if not evident, had to be rectified by camp counsellors in compliance with discourses about outgoing camp selves.

The development of this kind of 'extroverted camp persona' along with social or intrapersonal skills (Camp Hurontario, 2012; Camp Kintail, 2012; Camp Shalom, 2012; Circle Square Ranch, 2012; Jackson's Point Salvation Army Camp, 2012; Muskoka Woods Resort, 2012; Taylor Statten Camp, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012, Purpose Statements) are seen as

desirable, albeit necessary, and are equated in camp purpose statements with 'lifelong friendships' (Camp Bimini, 2012; Camp Hurontario, 2012, Purpose Statements) and 'life skills' (Pearce Williams Christian Centre, 2012; Taylor Statten Camp, 2012, Purpose Statements). Social skills, such as understanding and respect (Eric) or empathy and sociability (April), are seen to be worthy life skills available from camp community living. The desire and assumption is that summer camps are a special place where friendship and consequently acceptance occur easily. It is assumed that camp participants will want to, and will, make friends with everyone in the camp community. Accordingly, personal 'connections' are expected to be genuine, positive and lasting. This ignores that camp relationships are produced for only a short time in a particular liminal context. Camp counsellors are assumed to understand that "being accepted is huge" (Matthew) and that they "need to make camp a special place for campers" (Rachel). Camp participants work on themselves to shape their conduct in accordance with discourses about fitting in, being liked, and being friends with everyone.

When Rebecca was asked what she thought was the main objective of camp she responded:

I think it's really just like building the community, even for a short period of time, with new people ...definitely about making new friends. When you're a kid you can play with anyone, so you get thrown into a place for six days with ten other kids around your age, and you're happy.

The social life or community of camp is assumed to create a positive and 'happy' context for all. Belonging and acceptance are highly prioritized social objectives (Matthew and Rachel). Many of the camp websites analysed stated that "social" growth was a central aim of camp experiences and was uniquely available from the "community" of camp (Camp Hurontario, 2012; Camp Kintail, 2012; Camp Shalom, 2012; Circle Square Ranch, 2012; Jackson's Point Salvation Army Camp, 2012; Muskoka Woods Resort, 2012; Taylor Statten Camp, 2012; YMCA Camp Pinecrest, 2012; YMCA Camp Wanakita, 2012, Purpose Statements). Camp communities are expected to create camper experiences of "equality, linkage, belonging, and group devotion" (Sharpe, 2005a, p.256). Andy echoes this notion about the community of camp, "You live, breath, eat together, you do everything together" so campers and staff "form bonds and you have good memories." By living in such close quarters, campers are expected to establish friendships. Given that most children who attend camps generally have their own room at home, or share with one sibling, moving in with seven to ten children they have never met before (and with varying backgrounds) can be challenging for them. The organisation of camp accommodation, however, assumes that by simply being together campers will form strong bonds that imitate family relationships (April). Camp participants are expected not just to

accept the living conditions but enjoy and benefit from relationships with cabin mates of diverse backgrounds.

Olaveson (2001, p. 99) argues that when “people are so far outside their ordinary conditions of life, and so conscious of the fact, that they feel a certain need to set themselves above and beyond ordinary morality”. Arthur described this kind of higher morality in camp community as how “the church is really supposed to be.” He said,

Camp is a better reflection of Christian community. Almost better than anything else that exists because it is servanthood, it is selflessness, it is caring, it is sharing, it is laughter, it is work -- the Christian camp is almost the best reflection of Christian communities that we have (Arthur).

This notion can also be seen in April’s desire to care for camp peers in generous, compassionate and familial ways. April, for example, reflected on her habits of conscientiousness like keeping her things tidy in the cabin and sharing (limited) supplies of candies with cabin mates. April’s understanding of sharing jube-jubes is almost childlike yet it speaks volumes to the kind of assumed relational self required to be successful socially at camp.

In contrast to the masculine ideals of adventure, skill and survival, the social life of camps privilege the feminine or “soft skills” of facilitation and relationship building. Women and girls are assumed to be ‘naturally’ good at the nurturing required in cabin and camp community living. In this way, the gender norms applied to the social skills of camp counsellors are not equal (Lyons, 1998). There is a certain dismissal of male staff’s inadequacies in the “domestic” duties of camp staff such as keeping a cabin tidy. There also exists a sort of ironic understanding in the industry that sometimes male applicants are appointed just because “we need warm bodies” to fill out the gender ratios (Beth and Arthur). Female staff are relied on to deliver warm and nurturing experiences of community at camp as it is assumed they have the intuition to deal with the emotional needs of campers. However, this is rarely made explicit in camp.

Belonging to and gaining acceptance into camp communities is highly significant to camp participants’ sociable selves. In order to be accepted and belong in harmonious camp communities, campers are required to give up many markers and desires of their individual selves such as wearing makeup (Andy, Mary, Rachel and Trudy). Camp counsellors may utilise techniques of discipline and surveillance to draw campers in line with discourses of sociable selves. Campers also subject themselves to these and other discourses in order to belong. The drive to be accepted and ‘get along with everybody’ puts pressure on camp participants to subsume themselves within the collective and for this camp participants are required to apply

“a good deal of self-discipline” (Follett, 1986, p.5). Thus governing oneself (Marshall, 1997) as a social subject is part of the process of subjectification in camp communities. This is not an easy process to negotiate for campers or staff. Emotions and behaviours that display kinship are promoted whereas frustration and conflict are downplayed or silenced in order to maintain the ideal of camp as a ‘good’ and ‘happy’ place for everyone. The emphasis upon developing emotional and social closeness in camp relationships disciplines participants to not only display, but to ‘feel’, positive emotions through their desire for friendship. Those who cannot embrace the social imperative are questioned, “I look at some of the ones that really struggle and you wonder, is it worth it? It’s almost more damaging for them -taking them out of their own [home] environment” (Rachel). This process, which puts great pressure on sociable camp selves, demonstrates how normalising power “reaches into the very grain of the individual” (Foucault, 1980, p. 39).

Summary

This chapter began by illustrating the kinds of ‘camp promises’ promoted in various texts (e.g., purpose statements, organisational publications and academic sources) about the benefits of camp experiences for children and youth. Dominant camp discourses suggest that improvement will be made in the psyches and souls of camp participants resulting in the development of moral character. These discourses, which are taken up and reproduced by camp participants, shape the kinds of ‘good’ and ‘fun’ camp participants are expected to have and obscure, at times, responsibilities and regulations common for service delivery businesses. While camp experiences are commonly assumed to be ‘good,’ my analysis suggests that this discourse is problematic for the narrow population of campers that attend as well as the camp counsellors who are positioned to deliver camp experiences. Further, camp subject positions are produced through discourses about camp selves. Discourses about transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic and sociable selves suggest a set of attributes required to become an ideal camp type and these discourses, in turn, shape the ways that camp participants govern themselves in order to meet these ideals or be ‘successful’ within camp contexts. According to discourses of camp selves, camp participants should be naturally outgoing with enthusiasm for adventure and challenge. Accordingly, they should also experience (spiritual) transformation as a result of participating in camp experiences. Alternative discourses such as fear of or discomfort in, rugged outdoor experiences or the intense social requirements of camp community living are expected to be overcome or silenced. Combined discourses about the benefits of camp experiences and camp selves work in powerful ways to shape the possibilities for the lived and everyday experiences of all who enter the camp ‘bubble’.

CHAPTER SIX: Becoming camp counsellor: everyday power and the process of subjectification

Introduction

Becoming a camp counsellor is assumed to be a given progression from 'camperhood' and is expected to flow naturally from desires to extend camper experiences into paid (albeit lowly paid) employment. Camp counsellor employment is assumed and articulated as an ideal professional extension of camper experiences. The transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic and sociable camp selves (see Chapter 5) inform how the 'ultimate' and 'authentic' camp employee is constituted. The process of developing campers into employable camp leaders varies from camp to camp. It seems, however, that 'training' to become a camp counsellor starts as early as five or six years old when participants' first experiences of being a camper inform how they view the role of camp counsellor. They begin to take up notions of camp leadership, such as what they would and would not like to be as a camp counsellor themselves one day (Beth, Elissa, Elizabeth, Tom, Troy and Trudy). According to interview participants, most camps required their staff to successfully complete some kind of development or training program, like a Leadership Development Camp (LDC), ranging from two weeks to over two summers (Richard, Tom, Troy and Trudy). However, not all employees completed a LDC (or equivalent) program. Camper experiences, discourses of camp selves (see Chapter 5) and everyday practices of power encourage potential camp counsellors to work on themselves as a project of self-government in the process of becoming a camp counsellor. That is to say, they are expected to work on their thoughts, attitudes, actions and beliefs and align them with the norms of camp counsellor subjectivity. In employing these techniques of self, they are marked and mark themselves as available for camp counsellor employment. This chapter explores how power relations produce camp counsellor selves through the mobilisation of discourses and everyday practices. Hence this chapter is largely focussed on the processes of subjectification whereby employees become and govern themselves as camp counsellors.

This chapter first explores the power relations and liminality of being a Counsellor-In-Training (CIT) as a precursor to becoming a camp counsellor. This is followed by an analysis of how camp texts work as technologies of camp leadership and produce roles (e.g., therapist, pastor, and parent) for camp counsellors to 'become' or embody. The next section considers the everyday practices of power that shape possibilities for camp counsellor employment experiences. Throughout this chapter I consider how discourses are accepted, adopted and resisted in different ways and the processes of subjectification as individuals work toward

'becoming' a camp counsellor. I conclude the chapter by illustrating the agency some employees exercise, knowingly and unknowingly, to state their divergence from camp norms and regulation. In this chapter, I draw on interview participant statements, five staff manuals and one leadership training curriculum to illustrate relations of power at work in constituting ultimate or ideal camp counsellor selves.

The “betwixt and between” of C.I.T. selves: the power of liminality

*We are the CITs so pity us
The kids are brats, the food is hideous
We're gonna smoke and drink and fool around
We're nooky bound
We're North Star C.I.T.s*

–Meatballs (1979)

The song above is sung at the closing campfire of Meatballs, a classic camp movie, and illustrates what camp means to North Star's CITs. This movie, thanks to a stellar performance by Bill Murray (deservedly called Tripper), largely focuses on the experiences of Leadership Development Camp (LDC) and within the opening minutes manages to combine girl chasing (“She probably wants it!” Fink/Larry), a general disregard for the rules (“Here are the camp rules” Tripper says as he rips and tosses them in the bin, “they’ll be in here if you want to check these out a little later.”) and a sense of camaraderie –fraternity even (“my men, my main men” Tripper) (Reitman, 1979). I recognize the characters in this comedy as well as the functions and processes at work in producing familiar ‘camp moments’. Chasing the opposite sex is still today an assumed and real objective of many CITs and staff. Manuals full of rules are still disregarded as arbitrary, archaic, and disembodied from what camp is ‘really’ like. The food and campers continue to vary in likability and the exuberance of campers transitioning to staff status continues to be a site for discipline in shaping youth into camp counsellors who will deliver memorable and morally enhancing camper experiences.

Leadership Development Camps (LDCs) provide, much like other camper experiences, a site for youth transition and transformation albeit with additional (and competing) agendas. In addition to ideal transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic and sociable selves, leadership campers are given the responsibility for the care of campers through discourses and practices of leadership. Camp training programs work to shape and produce camp employees who will develop moral character and entrepreneurial skills in campers through fun recreational experiences. Yet leadership campers and young camp employees are often positioned as children who need to be monitored themselves by common discourses of adolescent’s liminality

(Allan & Dyck, 1987; Scott, 1998). Consequently, youth on the verge of becoming camp counsellors are positioned as “betwixt and between” (Bigger, 2009; Turner, 1994; Weber, 1995) the status of camper and camp employee (see Chapter 3). Even the terminology of Counsellor or Leader ‘In-Training’ assumes the unilateral path to camp staff employment and the transitory stage that this period of ‘training’ signifies. One camp manual studied, alternatively called CITs, Campers-In-Transition. This language strongly signals the transitory or “betwixt and between” (Turner, 1994) position of CITs. In addition, it points to the dilemma that CITs are, in fact, campers/children and should be viewed and treated as such while being trained to be responsible care givers.

While LDC is seen as a natural progression from camperhood, it is also seen as the crux to attaining camp employment (Andy). Typically, a LDC involves youth of sixteen or seventeen years of age participating in an intensive training program for a month or longer followed by internship or placement experiences within a camp setting (Andy, Beth, Devon, Elizabeth, Eric, Grant, Henry, Lucy, Matthew, Rachel, Rebecca, Richard, Sara, Sophie, Terri, Tom, Troy, Trudy, & Vicky). Once a CIT completes LDC they are expected to serve a number of weeks in ‘placement’ as the final phase of leadership development and as an opportunity to gain experiential knowledge of what it takes to ‘be’ a camp counsellor. Counsellor-In-Training campers are evaluated, by LDC leaders and/or camp directors, to determine what placement is most appropriate for the maturity and abilities demonstrated throughout the LDC program. The language and curriculum operationalised through LDCs would suggest that the obvious next step would be to work in a cabin as a counsellor. For example, CIT most often stands for ‘counsellor’ rather than ‘camper’ in-training. According to Tom, placement entails working alongside an experienced camp counsellor in a cabin: “... you have a lot of time to be given responsibilities so you can get a feel for it.” CITs are expected to evaluate and emulate experienced camp counsellors’ performance assuming the experienced camp counsellor mobilises the ideals discursively produced for ‘good’ camp leadership.

In order to “place” CITs, LDC leaders are constantly surveying and evaluating CIT behaviours, beliefs and values throughout the LDC process (Steph and Matthew). How CITs are evaluated was never clear. There did not appear to be a standard set of criteria even within a single LDC program. Rather, evaluation appeared to draw on an individualising gaze (N. Rose, 1990d) to scrutinize the development of CITs shaped by norms about camp selves and camp counsellor performance expectations. The process of evaluating and placing CITs, particularly the lack of evaluation criteria, presented dilemmas for LDC leaders and CITs. Steph explained one such difficult situation:

Susan and Mark bring their three children along and how the campers [CITs] respond to those kids tells a lot about how they can respond to kids in general, right? So, we had this one guy and he just seemed totally disinterested ... He just didn't know what to do with them, was uncomfortable with them. So, we were looking at that and it was just kind of hard imagining placing him in a cabin where he's responsible all week for looking after little boys. So, we gave him kitchen placement, program placement, maintenance program and at the end of it, he was having trouble understanding why he didn't get a counselling one.

In this case, the LDC leaders had not had a chance to see the CIT working within a cabin context before making a decision of his abilities to perform as a camp counsellor. Matthew discussed a similar dilemma he faced in resolving whether to prioritise camper safety and experience or give a young CIT the chance to experientially learn and improve his abilities as a developing camp counsellor. The practices of evaluation through CIT placement reinforces the necessity to conform to camp counsellor norms should an individual wish to pursue/be chosen for camp counsellor employment. If a CIT is allocated to a kitchen or maintenance role rather than to a cabin, they have largely been labelled as being less successful in meeting camp counsellor norms and transitioning through this developmental phase: the LDC rite of passage. Although there is a practical need for non-counsellor roles (programming, administration, kitchen and maintenance) to be filled, not gaining a camp counsellor placement can be devastating and post-mark a CIT for what kind of camp employment they will be able to gain in the future. This illustrates how governing the conduct of others, such as the evaluation and placement of a CIT, works in invisible yet powerful ways and can have negative effects on individuals however unintentional.

CITs and potential camp employees are also expected to survey and evaluate their own behaviours to ensure that they live up to the expectations that they have observed, been taught, and adopted through disciplinary technologies. For example, Eric said: "I definitely did do some reflection ... and through reflection you see what worked well for you, what your particular strengths are, and where you could make programs better or what you would do differently the next time." Eric's self-reflection and subsequent self-improvement appears to act as a technology of domination in shaping his camp counsellor subjectivity but it also holds the potential to be a technology of the self, inasmuch as reflection could lead to alternative and improved practices of camp counsellor subjectivity. Ford et al. (2008, p.21) illustrate how the self becomes an object of analysis, "In being urged to develop self-awareness, the subject is required to analyse the self as if the self were an object that can be looked at, assessed and then worked on so as to change it." By surveying and altering their own behaviours, in line with discourses of a good camp leader, CITs are engaged in the process of subjectification (Marshall,

1997). If pressures to subject oneself to the discourses and practices of becoming a camp counsellor were not powerful enough, the hope of being recruited into a camp counsellor position only increases the incentive of prospective camp employees conform to camp norms.

LDCs stand out as one of the most clearly defined rite of passage experiences into camp counsellor-hood with staff recruitment and training as the symbolic markers of having 'arrived'. The liminality of LDCs presents an intersection of "betwixt and between" subjectivities that reveals how power-knowledge is at work in producing camp employee selves. This transition period allows for "the possibility of seeing everyday politics" (Wood, 2012, p. 339) and processes of subjectification (Foucault, 1982a; Marshall, 1997) that produce camp employee selves. Camp counsellors are expected to embody leadership qualities (e.g., charisma) and behaviours (e.g., inspiring confidence) through the engagement of multiple roles in relation to campers. Meier and Mitchell remind the young trainee in their text, "serving as a camp counsellor means that you must be many things to many people" (1993, p.46). Upon completion of a leadership training program, CITs are assumed to 'be' a camp counsellor and are recognised as holding a 'camp leader' subject position within camp culture. That is, as long as CITs follow the rules, embody the discourses of camp leadership and avoid being (too) "nooky bound" (Meatballs, Reitman, 1979).

The technologies of camp leadership

Becoming a camp counsellor usually includes intensive leadership training periods, such as Leadership Development Camps (LDC) and staff training, where the performance expectations of camp counsellors are taught in more overt, as well as subtle, ways. The section first considers how texts (textbooks, LDC curriculum and interview materials) about camp leadership work as technologies in shaping camp counsellor embodiment. These technologies act in such a way as to discipline prospective camp counsellors to think, act, and believe the ideal expectations for camp counsellors. Drawing on two camp counsellor text books, leadership development curriculum and interviews, my analysis focuses on how camp employment expectations discursively produce three modes or relations of camp counsellor leadership: therapist, pastor, and parent. A discussion of each follows. Prospective camp counsellors are expected to embody, not simply perform, the camp counsellor roles prescribed and thus must work on their 'self' in the process of 'becoming' a camp counsellor. Finally, this section, closes with a discussion on *Choosing camp counsellors*, and how recruitment processes further discipline prospective camp employees. Becoming a camp counsellor is not simply the signing of

a contract or unpacking into one's summer cabin but rather the production and embodiment of an assumed but expected camp counsellor ideal.

Many interview participants struggled to define what a "good camp leader" actually was (Andy, Arthur, Cam, Cathy, Devon, Ed, Elissa, Elizabeth, Eric, Grant, Henry, James, Lisa, Lucy, Matthew, Rachel, Rebecca, Richard, Sara, Sophie, Terri, Tess, Tom, Troy, Trudy, Vicky and Zoey). Part of this struggle is due to "leadership" being an "empty signifier... that is, it is a term that is not attached to anything" (Ford et al., 2008, p.10). Camp counsellor textbooks, popular culture narratives, and campers' personal experiences all contribute to the multiplicity of discourses on camp leadership making a single understanding or definition unattainable. One camp counsellor text, for example, demonstrates the difficulty of defining camp leadership; "some leaders are loud, energetic, charismatic and love stage front. Others are calm, quiet, dependable and prefer the wings" (Ross, 2009, p. 27, textbook). Consequently, camp leadership is often described by collections of personal qualities, behaviours, or roles (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, textbook; Ross, 2009, textbook). Words like "maturity" (Lisa, Steph, Terri, Troy, Trudy), "judgement" (Bonnie), "awareness" (Lisa, Eric), and "responsible" (Beth, Eric, Lisa, Rachel, Steph, Terri, Tom, Vicky) were frequently used to illustrate the expectations for leadership development in future camp staff and are qualities seen to be necessary for becoming a camp counsellor. Even when definitions of camp leadership are unclear, CITs and new counsellors are expected to "get it" (Bonnie and David) and become "it" even if "it" isn't well defined or made explicit in camp culture.

Meier and Mitchell's (1993) textbook describes a collection of personal qualities that camp leaders should master; an "appreciation of and liking for people" (p.45), being "an Example" (p.45), being "Youthful in Spirit, Yet mature in Judgement" (p.46), a "Love of the Out-of-Doors" (p.47), and "Camping Skills" (p.47). Mastery here can link to both technologies of dominance as well as self-mastery as a technology of the self (Rose 1998, p.29). Meier and Mitchell's (1993) list of ideal camp counsellor qualities reflect a trait approach to leadership: one that is common in camps. A trait approach, according to Ford et al. (2008, p. 14), "assumed one is born rather than becomes a leader" because leaders are seen "to have certain innate personal attributes." For example, Richard described good leaders as having commitment, "sincerity," natural skills that they "shine" in, self-satisfaction in their work and a clear sense of purpose about what they are doing in camp. Sophie added "being really positive" and Tom added "hard work" as a "personality thing" to the list of leadership qualities. In this way, prospective camp counsellors draw on camp ideal personality discourses to govern themselves according to camp leadership norms. Ford et al. argue, however, that common leadership traits

are difficult to find consensus on in organizational and leadership literature. Hence, many researchers have turned from a trait approach to study “how leaders *act*, rather than what they *are*” (2008, p. 14). In camp counsellor textbook (Meier & Mitchell, 1993; Ross, 2009), this appears as lists of what camp counsellors ‘do’ or ‘should do’ in order to qualify as a ‘good’ camp counsellor/leader.

Ross’s (2009) camp counsellor textbook opens the third chapter with a list of behaviours that good camp counsellors ‘do.’ She not only offers twelve behavioural statements of camp leadership but also concludes each example with what camp counsellors should not do. For example, “A good leader leads by example. She *shows* others the right way rather than merely telling them. She’s the one *wearing* her sunhat and sunscreen”. Elissa’s description illustrates how demonstrative qualities are sought and evaluated in decisions about what makes good leaders:

...she’s always very well prepared for camp. She’s always looking out for her campers, ahead of her own needs, or she’s supporting other staff. I know that if there’s a hold up at lunch she’ll be the one up there leading songs or asking for camper requests for songs.

Henry and Grant also described people they thought embodied ‘good’ leadership such as working “as a team” and being “positive” (Grant) or knowing when to have “fun” and when it was time to be “serious” (Henry). Meier and Mitchell (Meier & Mitchell, 1993) make a similar list to Ross with fourteen points of what camp counsellors should do. Thus, camp counsellors and CITs are, thus, expected to be aware and critical of how their actions represent their abilities while also always working to improve these in accordance with texts, peer and manager expectations of a ‘good’ camp counsellor.

Camp counsellors are expected to affect followers or, in this case, campers (Ford et al., 2008). For example, Ross (2009, p. 28, textbook) suggests that, “A good leader inspires confidence in others.” Troy concurred “you want to gain their [campers] loyalty and trust, so that they can come to you about anything, and that’s what makes a good camp counsellor: that the kids trust you and can look at you as a role model.” In this way, camp leader discourses draw on concepts of transformational leadership through which camp counsellors govern themselves and others by their ability to inspire and be inspired. Inspiration, here, can be seen as a means to gain compliance or docility from campers. Ford et al. (2008, p. 15) explain that transformational leadership is understood by “the effectiveness of a leader ... in terms of his or her influence on the way followers view themselves and interpret events.” Persuasive but genuine engagement with campers to elicit their growth was reported pervasively throughout

the interviews (Andy, Arthur, Cam, Cathy, Devon, Ed, Elissa, Elizabeth, Eric, Grant, Henry, James, Lisa, Lucy, Matthew, Rachel, Rebecca, Richard, Sara, Sophie, Terri, Tess, Tom, Troy, Trudy, Vicky and Zoey). Transformational leaders are expected to have, and exude, “an extreme, almost evangelical and highly charismatic role” (Ford et al., 2008, p.15). Grant recalls a sense of awe for camp counsellors, “I think when you’re a camper you sort of have a vision of them being almost like a god.” Likewise, Ross (2009, p. 30, textbook) suggests that counsellors can be so influential that “you will do anything” for them. The sense of awe expected to be generated in campers by a camp counsellor illustrates how emotions can illicit and reinforce hierarchical, even sovereign-like, power-relations.

To become a camp employee, CITs and potential future staff must embody or ‘become’ camp leaders rather than simply perform it. Ford et al. (2008, p. 22) argue that managers, and in this case camp counsellors, have “to absorb leadership into his/her very identity.” The task that CITs and camp counsellors “must undertake” is “the work on the self: the development of self as leader” (Ford et al., 2008, p.22). Often this is seen as “becoming” the ideals for the transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic, and sociable selves (see Chapter 5) but in a way and to a level that is something more or greater than what was expected of campers and other camp participants. Pressure to subjugate oneself, through technologies of domination and self, to ‘become’ camp counsellor are intense and accelerated in the camp context. Ford et al. (2008, p.22) argue, “It is no longer sufficient to be a person who does leadership; now the entire person must become ‘the leader’”. This is true, I argue, for CITs and camp employees even when there is complexity and plurality to the norms for being a ‘good’ camp leader. Likewise tensions between discourses, such as the required outgoing charisma of camp leader and the selfless humility of camp pastor, add to the complexity of navigating the camp counsellor role. Camp counsellors are responsible for their own “DIY project of the self” (Beck, 1992, p. 29) within the camp contexts. The process of becoming a camp counsellor, therefore, illuminates a complex intersection of power relations.

Camp counsellors are assumed to embody leadership ideals through the engagement of multiple roles in relation to campers. Meier and Mitchell outline the roles that camp counsellors are expected to play, “foster parent, teacher, friend, confidante, taskmaster, and model” (1993, p.45). Similarly, Ross’s textbook includes six chapters titled “The Counsellor as...,” the “Leader”, the “Member of the Staff Team”, the “Teacher”, the “Disciplinarian”, and the “Risk and Crisis Manager” (2009, p.vii-viii). My analysis suggested three particular modes or relations of camp leadership; as a therapist, pastor and parent. Additionally, Ross’s chapter on camp counsellor behaviours begins with the question “How well do you measure up?” This ‘invitation’ for self-

scrutiny reinforces self-governing practices in alliance with norms of becoming and being camp counsellors. CITs or prospective camp counsellors are expected to work on their selves according to a list of behaviours that, when achieved, will deem them a 'good' camp counsellor. According to Rose (1998), this is how technologies of the self work in shaping the individual to particular ends, in this case, becoming a camp counsellor. According to Ed and Terri, a camp counsellor must be aware and careful because "...you never know what moment a camper is going to remember" so camp counsellors have to make "every moment count" (Ed). Practices of self-scrutiny, and thus self-governance, are expected within the minutiae of everyday camp counsellor embodiment (personalities, behaviours and roles). Meier and Mitchell remind readers that "serving as a camp counsellor means that you must be many things to many people" (1993, p.46) and, I might add, at all 'moments' of every camp day.

Becoming a camp therapist

Language that was once the domain of psychological expertise (i.e., stages of development, self-esteem, self-determination) has now permeated camp culture. The prevalence of psychological discourses indicates the adoption of a therapeutic model of self (N. Rose, 1990d) which frames the camper as deficient and in need of improvement, even treatment. Through this logic, camp organizers and camp counsellors are positioned, and position themselves, as the experts who act to improve campers' inner selves. Accounts of the desire to 'improve' campers' psychological selves pervaded interviews. For example, Henry explained his approach to solving one girl's problems: "The first summer she came in here she just went right off the deep end. And I thought, what's wrong with this kid? There's some serious mental disorder" but Henry concluded that "the kid stays at camp." Camp, in this context, was assumed to provide the therapeutic support that would improve the child's inner wellbeing or presenting behaviours. Debates about the emergence of conditions such as Nature Deficit Disorder (R Louv, 2006) also work to legitimate camp counsellors as therapeutic practitioners in the provision of enriched time spent in natural environments. Even the term camp 'counsellor' reinforces the view that campers are seen as needing guidance, and/or psychological help or improvement which can be delivered by the youthful staff.

CITs and future camp counsellors are expected to evaluate or 'survey' (N. Rose, 1990a) their campers for discrepancies in relation to normalized discourses of appropriate childhood development and recognize "childhood pathology" (N. Rose, 1990d, p. 131). Ross's (2009) camp textbook, for example, includes a chapter on "Camper Problems" which discusses bedwetting, homesickness, fears, self-centred campers, complainers, theft, bullying, and helicopter parents.

This final item shows children's deficiencies are also seen as a symptom of failed parenting, placing parents and parenting under the scrutiny of youthful CITs and camp counsellors as well, thus extending the individualising gaze. Lisa suggested that watching the normal development of emotional maturity was as simple as, "being able to look out for the younger kids and notice if somebody was falling behind or having difficulty with a craft and offering to help them." Eric similarly identified his 'helping' roles as a camp counsellor as "...identifying when there was a problem with the kids, and listening to whatever they had to say, giving them advice, and, um, reassurance, encouragement." In this way, camp counsellors are not only positioned to recognise abnormality but also to address or redress the concern. Given the diversity of campers who attend summer camps (see Chapter 7), camp counsellors can be overwhelmed by the responsibility of acting as therapist to those in need.

The exercise of power through the therapeutic role of young camp counsellors can have unintended effects. Camp counsellors may, for example, feel entitled to impose their beliefs about what is 'normal' on the personal and private lives of campers and/or other camp participants. For example, the regulation of homosexuality appeared in some staff manuals (Peterson Camp and Knight Camp Staff Manuals, 2009⁴) and one interview participant spoke of attempts to hamper the progress of one past-staff's career development due to, in part, their sexual orientation (Richard). My own experiences of LDC included cleaning out the home of a hoarder. Witnessing her distress while we threw away her memorabilia away was confronting and caused me to question how my LDC leaders had concluded that this was the 'right' thing to do. This experience made it clear to me that as a camp counsellor you possessed significant power in making decisions about what was 'right' for the lives of others, even if you weren't initially aware of the power of the position you held.

Becoming a camp pastor

The pastoral care imperatives of camp experiences, position camp counsellors as quasi-pastors of the campers in their care. Pastoral care discourses appeared in camp texts under the guise of servant leadership philosophies. According to Greenleaf, servant leaders are leaders who put other people's needs above their own (2002). Ross's textbook, for example, states "A good leader puts the needs and interests of others before his own. He willingly gives up seconds in dessert" and "A good leader knows that leadership is about service, sacrifice and responsibility, not power and privilege" (2009, p. 28). Camp counsellors who prioritize

⁴ The camp staff manuals analysed in this study were all collected at the time of interviews in 2009 and reflect the manual employed in the summer season prior except for Silver Loon which was closed in 2008.

campers' experiences are admired, for example "She's always looking out for her campers, ahead of her own needs" (Elissa). Arthur, David, Elissa, Lucy, Steph and Trudy all described "sacrifice" and "selflessness" as being part of leadership in camp settings. The Peterson Camp's objectives expect staff to "forego personal privileges for the common good of the camp, its campers and other staff/faculty members" (2009, manual). Even academic literature, which is focused on camper outcomes and experiences places the camper as the most important individual in the experience transaction (Chenery, 1993; Hattie et al., 1997; Henderson, 2003; Henderson et al., 2006-2007; Henderson et al., 2005; Henderson et al., 2006; Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning, 2004). These texts show that the camper's experience is prioritized above all others and, it could be argued, that the camp counsellor holds a subsumed subject position to the camper. Biebricher argues, "In these continuous relations of 'care' unconditional obedience from each member of the flock is required just as much as the absolute commitment of the shepherd who is accountable for each and every sheep" (2011, p. 404). The imperative to put campers first is strong and it is understood to be contingent for a counsellor to keep their job, "She [the director] was very camper focused and if you were not, you were replaceable" (Elizabeth). Regardless of the challenges of putting the needs of campers first, camp counsellors are expected to "serve" the needs of campers "no matter what's going on" because "the camper comes first" (Terri).

It is assumed that servant leadership "raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and led" to "higher levels of motivation and morality" (Sendjaya & Sarros, 2002, p. 58). Servant leadership philosophies, therefore, link with camp pastoral care imperatives to build and improve the moral character of campers in light of advanced liberal concerns of selfhood such as to "grow healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, and more likely themselves to become servants" (Greenleaf, 2002, pp. 13-14). By 'serving' camper needs of moral development, camp counsellors act as a pastor through providing campers the right or 'righteous' way (Dooley, 1978; Follett, 1986). For example, Eric mobilised pastoral care discourses of knowing what's best for his campers when he insisted they "eat a little bit" of "salad" even when campers "were not interested." Eric's desire for campers to eat 'healthy' food is an example of camp counsellors' pastoral requirements to 'know' what is 'right' for campers. Foucault argues that that this kind of individual 'knowing' is central to pastoral power (Foucault, 1982a). Servant leadership has taken an "unusual twist" in the "meaning and function of leadership power" as it has been redefined from "'power over' to 'power to'", making power "an enabling factor to choose to serve others" (Sendjaya & Sarros, 2002, p.59). This view of power in camp texts appears to exclude the commanding qualities of pastoral power (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, textbook; Ross, 2009, textbook; Wright, 1995, LDC curriculum). As discussed in

Chapter 2, in order for a pastor/camp counsellor to guide their flock/campers to what is 'right' or 'holy' they must exert authority or command (Dooley, 1978, p. 183). The power-relations embedded in the practices of servant leadership philosophies are complex in that power can be exercised in many, and seemingly, contradictory ways.

Discourses of servant leadership are mobilised through techniques of domination such as the modelling and expected imitation the exercise below suggests:

At the beginning of camp and other strategic points, the staff should highlight the opportunities to serve that are available at every meal. After modelling servanthood and initiative at mealtime, the staff may choose to deliberately not initiate meal clean-up so that the opportunity is available to the Leaders-In-Development campers (Wright, 1995, p.6, LDC curriculum).

This exercise illustrates how the demonstration of servitude is assumed to shape future camp employees selflessness and will guide them to govern themselves to self-sacrifice in the service of others. Rachel reported a similar attempt to model servant leadership when she went looking for her camper's shoe in a muddy river. She said that, at the time, her thoughts were, "oh, my gosh, I'm doing this because of you; because I am such a good staff member; and I'm going to set that example for you." Rachel wanted to demonstrate the kind of selflessness required of future camp counsellors. By demonstrating servant leadership philosophies, LDC leaders' behaviours work as techniques of domination inasmuch as they govern the expectations for CIT behaviour. CITs govern themselves and others through the discourses articulated by servant leadership. LDC leaders and CITs are also caught in power relations with others who are themselves examples of the exercise of pastoral power.

The process of becoming camp 'pastor' assumes that individual camp counsellors develop their own moral character as a precursor to the development of that of campers. In some leadership programs this meant becoming "pure" or "clean" in a spiritual sense (Steph and Arthur). CITs, according to the LDC curriculum studied, were expected to develop superior moral character through opportunities to put "servanthood into action by providing program leadership and physical work at the camps" (UCOM LDC curriculum). Here notions of Muscular Christianity surface in relation to the improvements of self and purifying of the soul through physical exertion (Paris 2008). The "physical work" and exertion involved in leadership training camps is assumed to improve moral character and also enhance maturity, by broadening young CITs' perspectives of what "hard work" actually entails (Arthur). The labour of LDCs illustrates powerful inscriptions of subjectivity through embodying and performing as camp counsellors. Devon's training, for example, involved a number of physical efforts, "...doing odd jobs all day,

like taking out docks or setting up for camping or just random maintenance like building stuff.” In doing physical labour, CITs were expected to develop their own moral character through an appreciation of the “blessing” or provisions they had been given and were also meant to recognise their responsibilities as a leader to provide these for campers themselves (Arthur). Additionally, LDC leaders may have hoped that the exhaustion of physical work might minimise night-time shenanigans and romantic encounters. While CITs were learning about pastoral imperatives of being a camp counsellor, they were also subjecting themselves to discourses of moral improvement and subsequently becoming docile and wholesome future employees.

Becoming a camp parent

Staffs expect that working at camp will match the kind of fun they had as campers and some anticipate that being staff may exceed these expectations. A number of interview participants were aware of the problems with believing that being camp staff meant having a carefree summer holiday (Grant, Lucy, Tom, Arthur, Henry, & Eric). Lucy’s advice to new camp counsellors was, “know that it’s not all fun and games. Be ready for challenges, be willing to do it”. Lucy appears to be trying to prepare incoming staff for the responsibilities of being a camp counsellor and moreover, highlighting the challenges of becoming a camp parent. The responsibility of camp counsellors for the care of (multiple) children is often described through the metaphor of parenting. For example, many camp counsellors refer to their campers as “my kids” while on-site. Ross’s textbook states “A counsellor’s role is very similar to that of a parent – albeit temporary” and goes on to summarize the tenets to good parenting inviting the reader to substitute parent with counsellor and child with camper (2009, pp. 32-34). Ironically, the subsequent section in Ross’s textbook (2009, p. 34) is titled “Have fun!” unintentionally emphasizing the tensions of work and play in camp employment experiences.

The differing understandings of responsibility and the tensions that they produced were discussed by many interview participants. Rachel suggested that one of the problems is that young employees don’t “know” or appreciate “the fallout” from their actions should they be irresponsible. This appeared to cause camp managers and leaders a good deal of anxiety (Rachel, David, Lucy, Lisa, Terri, Tom, Trudy, Zoey). Rebecca offered an example of just such a situation, “...it’s literally this unbelievable chaos coming down around us and me trying as hard as I can, and there’s Scott strumming his guitar, and around him this whole group of staff.” David reported that a person’s level of responsibility was a deciding factor of prospective camp counsellors’ employability, saying “You’ve got to realise that I need the best counsellors to take care of somebody else’s kids.” Interview participants, who were CIT trainers at some point,

suggested that concepts of fun and work and 'fun work' are especially tricky to teach to youthful CITs and prospective camp counsellors, particularly in the face of fun as the ethos of camp experiences. Tom explained, "... you can make it a very enjoyable job because you are doing some things with the kids but it's not about hanging out with your friends anymore." According to Trudy, "...you definitely have to shift your responsibility and your actions." Camp employees are expected to "shift" (Trudy) their way of 'thinking' and 'doing' in order to become a "great leader", "great role model" and a great "citizen" (Tom). These interview participants were commenting on the need to change the way they initially perceived camp employment from carefree fun to responsibility and accountability. Camp counsellors are positioned as a pseudo parent for campers and as such are "responsibilised" (Kelly, 2001, p. 30) with the safe delivery of camper moral character development through recreational fun.

The responsibilities of camp employment are often underestimated or are not clear to those who have not yet experienced camp employment. Amie, for example, highlighted the value of recreation in her role "Like, I get paid to go swimming." Sophie expressed that she "just wanted to be a kid" so her friend said, "why don't you be a kid and go back to camp and help other people?" This statement illustrates how the discourses of carefree summer recreation are assumed to apply to camp employment and obscure the responsibilities of being in charge of many children at once (Lucy and Tom). Yet Elissa clearly illustrated how being a camp counsellor was challenging and felt like responsibility:

... They gave me eight 12 year old boys and they did ... things ...that 12 year old boys will do; they put bugs in my hair, they threw snakes at me. You name it, they did it! They ran off on me, they hid things in my bag. It was a good growing experience for me... there's a bit of crying in there... My experience of 12 year old boys is that they are hard work.

Likewise, Eric observed that looking after children, especially when they present difficult behaviours, "forces you to really work hard, to be responsible and aware of everything that was going on." This illustrates that understandings of responsibility do exist but, at times, the emphasis on the discourse of fun obscures it. The work of camp counsellors can be seen in these examples to move experiences that were expected to be fun to those more aligned with parenthood. Tasks like ensuring campers have proper sleep, affectionate care, healthy eating and mid-night toilet runs are typical of early child rearing and are assumed to be inherent to camp counsellor responsibilities. Technologies of child care govern camp counsellors to act as parents 'on steroids.'

Young adults in high school or university are seen to be the only options for camp employment because they have significant time free in the summer. Yet there are dilemmas in

employing youthful workforces due to the levels of maturity and responsibility required. Teenagers or young adults may not have sufficient experience or be capable of independent child care yet. Lisa suggested that youth are seen as suitable for camp employment for financial reasons:

I honestly think part of it is; you don't have to pay them very much. You can pay them minimum wage and you can ask for a huge amount of responsibility if you think about it, you ask for programming and responsibility and you can pay them minimum wage. And who else is going to take a job like that for that amount of money? Nobody else is going to take that job unless you're desperate for money and have no other options. That sounds very negative, but it's reality.

This "reality" of camp employment, was raised by a number of interviewees with management experience and resonated among other management dilemmas raised for camp contexts (Lucy, Arthur, Henry, Elissa, Richard, & Steph). Camp managers and leaders must rely on the energy, skills, attitudes, and experiences of youth to deliver enriching camper experiences. Therefore, camp counsellors are caught between discourses of their own enjoyment and the parental responsibilities of child care provision whereas camp managers must navigate the tensions of discourses regarding the inexperience of youth and viably delivering safe camper experiences.

Choosing camp counsellors: how practices of selection reinforce processes of subjectification

Meier and Mitchell state that "the real success of the camp depends upon the quality of the counsellors" (1993, p. 47, textbook). Therefore camp directors are under immense pressure to recruit the 'right' staff. Camp employees have usually been campers in previous summers. There is a particular affinity, according to Andy, Bonnie, and Henry, for garnering CITs from the camper population and staff from the CIT population of the previous summer. Henry illustrates this expectation:

We home grow most of our people right here. They start off as campers, and we move them as they get older and move through leadership programs. ... And so that's generally how we do it (Henry).

Returning staff and graduate CITs are presumed to be given preference for camp staff positions (David) and recruitment was assumed to be best done "in house" (David, Beth, Tom, and Richard). Those with family lineages at a particular summer camp were also seen to be favoured (Grant, Tess and Trudy) similar to the American fraternity/sorority concept of "legacies" where new generations are usually guaranteed a place. In short, "insiders" are wanted (Richard). Lucy and Lisa discussed the assumption that returning staff got priority, "...I think a lot feel obligated

to hire those [CITs] people” and “... if you are returning staff you get the job” (Lucy). It is assumed that if you have grown-up or at least participated in a certain camp culture for a while that you will perform better as an employee in it too (April, Andy, David and Tom). Tegan said:

That way it will be funner for everybody, and ... you won't be frustrated with everyone around you. And I know that I'm sure there are great counsellors but in that environment you want a whole staff that's connecting well and it just makes the whole experience... run.

Teagan's statement illustrates the assumption that if you come from a certain camp heritage then you will fit in better and by consequence the camp experience will be more readily delivered. This belief alludes to an attitude of 'our way is best' and highlights a certain fear of invisible but core camp norms being challenged or changed. In this vein, therefore, camp employees are selected based on the degree to which they take up and mobilise camp truths.

In contrast, some camp managers saw hiring from outside camp alumni refreshing and helpful in dislodging narrow ways of thinking and doing. David said:

When new people come into the system, you change your view because they don't have all your past training and history but they are so good to bring in fresh ideas, fresh concepts ... Like it's almost like they have a leg up.

David concluded, however, that you “can't really tell anybody that.” “The bubble’ of camp remains intact inasmuch that particular camp discourses and practices are not challenged. Those who do not come into camp via internal processes can find themselves overwhelmed in adapting to camp culture. Each camp site has, over the years, developed its own micro-culture and those who enter are expected to learn and conduct themselves appropriately in these spaces. The pressure is increased for the staff expected to act as leaders and be the greatest enthusiasts for *their* particular camp culture. April uses the metaphor of learning a new language to suggest that new camp staff should “submerge” themselves;

You know how they say if you want to learn a language properly you have to just go and submerge yourself –then it will happen. I think that's the same sort of thing, if you want to be a great camp director go to 15 different camps and work there for two years you'll probably going to know what you're doing.

This submersion is not limited to language but extends into practice, thought, belief and action. The desire for staff to submerge themselves illustrates the power relations at work in shaping camp counsellor subjectivity and points to the “self-renunciation” required of prospective camp counsellors in the process of becoming camp counsellor (Foucault, 1982b, p. 180). In learning a

new language, especially by immersion, one's native language must be suspended for the period of stay.

Sometimes managers are aware that they aren't hiring the best quality staff but are prepared to work with individuals in developing their abilities. Arthur suggested that "you can afford to have a few projects but if you have too many it distracts from the whole team." To Arthur there is a responsibility to make a place for some of the less "able" individuals but also a responsibility to maintain the functioning of the whole team. April, on the other hand, struggled to understand this choice by an employer:

What was she thinking hiring these people. This is not the right camp person" but you know I could just see. She's done it for so many years, hiring and training that she was able to see. Camp kind of transformed them into the right person almost.

April relied on camp to "transform them into the right person" even if they were people she didn't expect would be successful as camp counsellors. This powerful example illustrates how technologies of self work to produce normalised docile subjects. However, many camp directors are conscious of a need to over-hire as a way of compensating for those who "don't make it" as camp counsellors and either quit or get fired during the summer (Bonnie). The last camp I worked at, for example, over-hired by 30% resulting in fairly accurate staff ratios by the end of the summer. These kinds of management strategies reiterate the need to critically consider assumed discourses that shape camp management practices.

Staff training marks the end of camper-hood and the beginning of camp counsellor-hood. The liminality of Leadership Development Camps (LDC) is set aside and employees are viewed with full-fledged camp status. Staff training periods usually last from a day to a week prior to the arrival of campers. Ross stated that "Most camps schedule a mandatory, on-site, training period" (2009, p. 17, textbook) and covers this topic in only one paragraph. The brevity of Ross's explanation of staff training summarizes the common understanding of staff training experiences: short and easily forgotten in the face of actual camp counsellor experience. For example, employees often said that training was helpful but couldn't describe what they learnt there (Eric and Grant). Many interview participants suggested that managers "don't cover everything" (David) in training. But, after a summer or two of employment, being a camp counsellor is so "second nature" that the "stuff taught appears incredibly obvious" (Andy). Staff training is often seen as a time to build staff cohesion, review policies and emergency procedures, and ensure legal responsibilities of child care are addressed (e.g., child protection training, first aid or National Life Saving standards). While staff are expected to have a thorough

understanding of how to perform their roles as camp counsellors the 'real' learning is assumed to occur experientially in the cabins once the campers arrive. Hence, staff training acts as a ritual that marks the opening of the camp season.

The everyday practices of power

Anti-structure, such as those of liminal camp experiences, at once produces freedoms from the roles and responsibilities of everyday life but also creates a void for new forms of power relations to fill (Olaveson, 2001). Camp discourses, cultures and management practices fill that void; for example, most camps produce training manuals that outline acceptable standards and behaviours for a whole range of activities, social behaviour and risks. In this way, I argue that employee selves within camps are highly regulated and governed in relation to camp discourses and practices. Some camps, for example, set schedules that account for every minute of the waking day and others extensively regulate appropriate dress. While "the way camp is done" has been shaped in similar ways in North America over the past 100 years (Paris, 2001), this does not imply that camp-governing structures are universal. Each camp has adapted and adopted its own ways of doing things and has become part of each camp's specific culture. For example, messages about the moral and physical development of youth permeate camper experiences from the moment that campers wake up to the singing of Christian praise songs to the games that are played during a canoeing session. Revealing how camp employees are shaped by these practices makes it possible to explore the intersection at which this occurs and makes visible how camp counsellors are governed.

The following sections explore how everyday practices of power shape camp counsellor as 'docile', compliant and manageable employees. The first section considers the effect of allocating physical space on the behaviour of camp employees drawing on the concept of Bentham's panopticon. The second section, considers how work conditions (i.e., hours, pay, accommodation) mixed with welfare discourses surrounding camper experiences shape certain attitudes toward camp counsellor employment as a work-leisure experience. This illustrates how boundaries about work and leisure, private and public are obscured for employees within camp cultures. The final section focuses on the application of staff rules and regulation through staff manuals with emphasis on the extent to which the employer gaze is applied and accepted in the evaluation of staff performance. These everyday practices of camp experiences are powerful reminders for camp employees of their status within camp contexts and guides behaviours based on assumed norms of what makes a 'good' staff.

“The fishbowl”: the geography of camp governance

Not only does the geographic location of camps in nature-based settings (see Chapter 2) reinforce the liminality of camps but the allocation of physical structures, or camp space, also adds to the construction of a unique camp experience. As Hall states, “space speaks” (E. Hall, 1959, p. 147). The physical layout of buildings is “crucial” in developing a context within which “altered expectations” emerge (Edwards, 1998, p. 809) and are shaped by discourses of fun and moral character development. In many ways summer camp space provides a heightened sense of fun, like a theme park, with high-energy activities that often involve elements of perceived risk (e.g., high ropes courses, zip-lines, water-skiing, and dive towers). These activities are expected to be enjoyed. Summer camp spaces, however, also mimic Bentham’s Panopticon (Foucault, 1977) in the way that they allow for the surveillance of campers and camp staff at all times. For example, Devon said “we nickname our staff quarters the fishbowl because it’s got huge windows all over it and if it’s the right time of day you can see right in there. If it’s night time and the lights are on, you can basically see everything.” Also, the horseshoe of cabins described in the personal narrative above is another example of how a person sitting on the swings was able to observe all the cabins at once. “Goat Patrol,” as my childhood camp called it, was a purposeful part of camp staff’s daily routine when, after “lights out,” two staff (one male, one female) would ensure that the campers were safe and quiet in their beds while the remaining staff would have an hour off before their own curfew. Just the layout of buildings in this manner was a powerful reminder of the panopticon gaze and thus the need to conduct yourself accordingly.

Although camps are not built intentionally as a Panopticon, “the diagram of unseen surveillance” works “as a technology” to “produce self-monitoring subjects” (Huxley, 2008, p. 1645) within camps. For example, it is typical for the main administrative building of camp to be located in the most central and/or highest point in the camp’s physical environment. Devon’s “fishbowl” example also illustrated the ability for occupants to look out and survey camp grounds, activities and participants as they go about their everyday routines. Likewise, this central vantage point serves as a reminder for those within camp space that they are being surveyed without revealing by whom and when. Consequently, camp participants govern themselves in alliance with camp norms, regardless of being watched or not, because surveillance has become internal (Foucault, 1982a).

However, constructing a particular space like camp does not always produce “the effects that are intended” (Huxley, 2008, p. 1647). Although the construction of certain spaces “might seek to create ordered sites ...with the aim of inculcating certain ... behaviours in subjects” they

“do not, in and of themselves, produce obedient, docile subjects” (Foucault, 2007; Huxley, 2008, p. 1645). Camp participants are creative agents in determining how they behave and how they define their own selves. This is true for how camp participants engaged with discourses of camp space and/or spatial practices. For example, many camps segregate campers’ living quarters by sex with heavy regulation so males and females do not mingle without supervision. However, campers often resist by inventing new locations away from the eyes of staff to meet. In the narrative above this took the form of a kissing rock somewhere deep in the forest beyond the physical structures of my childhood camp. By having a co-mingled rendez-vous point campers resisted regulation and surveillance to create spaces of individual freedom and the exercise of power. Counter-spaces (formal, informal, spontaneous, ritual) are frequent within camp physical environments and even contribute to discourses of acceptable resistance. Whether a kissing rock existed or not still eludes my compliant childhood nature but the storying of it demonstrates how camp participants engaged and resisted spatial practices within camps.

All in a day’s work: pay, hours and conditions

Even when work conditions for camp counsellor employment are well defined, the emphasis placed on the personal benefits and recreational fun of camp employment experiences obscures the problems these present. The pleasure of attending, and subsequently working at, summer camp is assumed to such a degree that the work conditions related to working as a camp counsellor are normalized. For example, Devon and James said, “I always loved camp and I loved going to camp, and if I can get paid to go there, then all the better for me” and “I honestly can’t think of a better summer job I want to do.” In this way normalisation, according to Foucault (1980, p. 39), acts as a “mechanism of power” on the “actions and attitudes” of people in their “everyday lives.” It can lead to work conditions such as poor pay structures and minimal scheduled rest times going unquestioned. Entering ‘the bubble’ invites camp participants to imagine a world of fun away from the demands of the real world and hence camps are perceived as spaces that enable greater freedom. Yet, summer camp practices play out in rule bound contexts where freedom is produced in particular ways through work and play as well as post-modern notions of moral development (Rojek, 1995; N. Rose, 1990c). Consequently the wages, hours, and other conditions of working at camp do not reflect industry relevant roles (e.g., child care workers, teachers, therapeutic counsellors). The following sections provide a basic outline of the range of pay, hours, and conditions of a camp counsellor role and how these were normalised by camp counsellors and their employers.

Pay

Interview participants stated that they were paid as camp counsellors from nothing (all staff were volunteers, Tess & Rebecca) to three or four hundred dollars a week (Andy, Devon, Elizabeth, Eric, Arthur, Grant, & Henry). The average appeared to be around \$250 a week (Devon, Eric & Elizabeth). Starting out as a first time camp counsellor usually meant accepting you won't make very much as you needed to "earn your stripes" (Trudy & Andy). Grant reported that, "First year we got paid \$360 for the summer...and then it goes up by about a thousand a year." Camp employees at traditional "stay-over" camps also received room and board as a part of their contract and were expected to stay on site. The value of camp room and board is difficult to estimate given that staff usually room with one to ten others in fairly small quarters (e.g. as Director of waterfront I shared a three meter by four meter staff cabin with four other girls) and the quality of food varies by camp, budget and kitchen staff. This is considered to be a significant gain, or at least justifies the lack of "cash-in-hand" pay (Elizabeth & Devon), "it's actually not bad. I get paid \$2200 this summer and that includes food and housing. I think if I was living anywhere else and having a job I wouldn't make much more" (Devon). The hourly income of a camp counsellor works out to be just short of \$2 an hour, which includes being 'on-call' and staying in the same cabin as campers. Given the responsibilities placed on camp counsellors for the total care and wellbeing, not to mention the moral development, of campers two dollars an hour seems inadequate. Yet camp counsellors are largely accepting of low pay. "It's not a big money maker. I think that people know that they're not going to go there to make big bucks for the summer, they're there because they want to and they really enjoy it" (Andy). The personal self-improvement benefits and recreational fun is assumed to be motivation enough for those who want to work at summer camps and thus low pay relative to industry equivalents is normalized.

Some camp directors felt that their pay scales were generous. When asked how much camp counsellors were making at his camp, Arthur replied "too much.... compared to other camps". Arthur's leadership experience with multiple camps had provided him perspective on the range of financial support that church affiliated camps can have or lack. The camps collective he was leading/managing at the time of the interview was well endowed and in comparison to what some were paid in similar camp contexts (e.g., \$50 a week) he felt the \$300 to \$400 his staff earned each week was generous but that this was not necessarily appreciated by his staff. However, the church organisation that supported these wages struggled to reconcile discrepancies in applying Human Relations regulations with camp employment. According to Arthur, two things "bothered" the "Human Resources woman:"

One; the kids weren't being paid anywhere near minimum wage. You couldn't possibly pay them anywhere near minimum wage. And Two; the whole thing about overtime. Look how many hours per week they were doing and they can't work that many hours but, I said, they have to work that many hours ...and that's not finished yet.

Arthur recognised that if you “wanted to put employment practices lenses on what happens in camp, it could shut camp down.” While Arthur was optimistic that they would find some way to make camp work, it was clear that he had concerns about the challenges that this presented. Many believed that camps must be subject to different regulations than others. For example, Elizabeth felt that camp was “under different labour laws because it’s a 24 hour gig. It’s not your eight hour day so it’s different laws.” When (beloved) camp counsellors do not return for following summers because they “need to make money” this is accepted as a normal progression of camp employment rather than as a problem related to the wages awarded staff. In this way, camp employment can be seen to be only for those privileged enough to gain substantial income from other sources. These examples illustrate how norms about the wages of staff not only shape the views of camp counsellors but also those of camp employers and this contributes to a lack of problematisation of camp wages.

Hours

Camp employment assumes that camp counsellors are actively engaged with or on-call for campers twenty-four a day seven days a week. In most camps, counsellors receive a 24 hour rest period in every seven days or equivalent (Beth, Devon, Arthur, Grant, & Richard). For example, Arthur’s staff generally goes home on a Saturday afternoon and returns on Sunday night whereas Devon’s experiences of working with special needs campers meant that sometimes he wouldn’t get a day off for a couple of weeks and even then this might be substituted with three night’s off. These rest periods were often rushed for camp employees who usually needed to complete a number of necessary tasks such as laundry, attend weddings, and enrol for university courses. Additionally, social or leisure oriented opportunities were limited by the distance involved to travel home or to visit friends and family. If staff were lucky they, or a camp friend, would have a nearby cottage for recreational time. However, if camp staff spend rest time with other camp staff, then they never gain relief or change from camp power relations; camp as a mentality is transposed not escaped. News of who a camp counsellor ‘hooked up with’ will haunt them onsite even if something romantic happened off-site and in ‘off’ time.

Camp counsellors are also given approximately one hour rest period every day of work (or equivalent). The rest periods (i.e. after lunch nap time or “siesta”) and bedtime curfews

scheduled into daily routines for campers are assumed to also offer staff rest. However, Grant states that as camp counsellors, “you still have to do work.” Many interview participants suggested that daily rest periods were usually inconsistent and could frequently be overrun by other tasks or unsupported by a lack of staff resources (James, Grant, Elizabeth, Beth, Devon, Eric, Grant, Lisa, Lucy, & Terri). Grant said, “You get your night out if you’re co-counsellor will cover. Sometimes it doesn’t work out perfectly. The first week I worked I got one night out and my co-counsellor took the rest, because I was a first year counsellor.” Camp managers may also expect counsellors to complete tasks (e.g., writing letters to parents on their child’s camper experiences) during designated rest periods when they are not directly caring for campers. (Andy). The daily ‘off’ periods could also be scheduled at inopportune times or position camp counsellors to choose between the physical rest they needed and the social release they desired. Eric described this dilemma: “Bed time was set at about 9:30pm so if I wanted to go to bed I could have. But a lot of the time the counsellors would stay up and socialize.” The desire and need to discuss camp counsellor experiences as a form of emotional processing is often underestimated within camp contexts. Peer socialization provides benefits of catharsis, empathy and camaraderie yet are often assumed to be nothing more than youthful flirtation and gossip rather than a constructive and necessary aspect of camp employment (Rachel). The regulation of curfews and ‘bed time’ were often a site of tension, if not in direct contradiction, with the needs expressed by camp counsellors and their embodied experiences of camp experience delivery.

Additionally, certain aspects of daily routines that were expected to be restful were reported to be a pressure point for carrying out more tasks in the service of camper experiences. Lucy explained that her employers assumed that lunch time was “supposed to be the break” but then described that making sure children ate properly was demanding. The tasks involved in feeding campers may even prove so time consuming that counsellors don’t get a chance to eat themselves. Sophie said, “You can’t enjoy or even consume your meal because you’re making sure your campers are eating right.” Counsellors are expected, according to servant leadership discourses, to place their needs after those of campers even when it comes to food consumption. Add in the noise from 300 hungry campers coming and going with their food, counsellors cannot even eat in peace:

...the dining hall drove me nuts. Just being in that dining hall stresses me out... Even when I’m there visiting I don’t go to meals now...even in my last years, I would run in late for meals, eat what I need to eat and leave and go back and do my work (Bonnie).

Where meal times were assumed to be restful, daily camp schedules were reported to be busy and intense (Andy and Lisa). The very busy-ness of camper and camp counsellor days ensures compliance and docility inasmuch as they did not have time or energy to misbehave, break rules or challenge norms.

The youthful exuberances, limited resources and assumed inexhaustible servant leadership of camp staff obscured the need to ensure that rest periods were strictly enforced (James and Lucy). Discourses, such as genealogical links to Muscular Christianity (Chapter 2) and rugged selves (Chapter 5), contributed to the assumption that challenges like fatigue would lead to the personal growth of camp counsellors. Beth, for example, demonstrated how she reconceptualised the fatigue and demand of her “24/7” camp counsellor role:

... so you learned a lot but you didn't realise at the time that you were learning a lot so you tended to be really grumpy if something wasn't quite well for you and your little group of campers” (Beth).

Beth governed herself to carry on, regardless of emotional cues related to her wellbeing. In alliance with camp norms that assume all camp experiences are positive and enriching, Beth, despite being tired and “grumpy,” felt she must be learning something or developing her own moral character. Through assumptions of camp norms that articulate camp experiences as positive and enriching, Beth governed herself to carry on, despite emotional cues regarding her wellbeing. Her ‘project of self’ then became working on herself to develop her moral character and ‘learn’ from her discomfort. ‘Negative’ emotions such as being ‘grumpy’ were also to be worked on and eliminated. Camp norms assume that constant work is not only acceptable but expected. Terri described how difficult it was to convince ‘outsiders’ of these assumed camp work expectations.

Camp employment practices are so entrenched that challenges to the lack of rest periods, for example, are viewed as odd or out of place rather than drawing critical reflection on work-rest expectations of camp employment practices. Rachel appeared surprised and frustrated with the lack of understanding displayed by a CIT she was training:

We would give them time off, you know every once in a while. Like a half an hour every few days, and they'd have their time before bed.... Some of them took advantage of it to shower, some of them didn't. But for him it was like I have to shower every day, so we said to him that's fine but you have to get up before that time to shower. But then he's like I need to sleep because there's only so much sleep time scheduled. Well yeah, but you only have that much time because we have so much to teach you. Trying to get them used to that. Yeah, and kind of saying look like you're a camper, but you're not really a

camper. You're one of our SIT's and we're trying to show you this is what it's like for staff, like us, we shower when we get the time and sometimes we have to make the time. Like if I've gone 4 days without showering I may get up a little early, and go shower.

Bonnie recounted a similar lack of understanding of the "always on" nature of working in a camp environment. She described a new fulltime employee who "just couldn't handle it" and was stunned when he was "trying to bank lieu time every hour over 40." According to Bonnie "this is crazy... He didn't want to work more than eight hours a day...he quit before he got fired." Despite employment and human resource regulations applying to full-time positions (even in camps), employee hours in camp contexts are expected to be done flexibly and in response to the demands of the work (which appeared to be often more than the hours sanctioned for a given work week). Discourses about camp employment work hours did not allow for other work practices such as those found in employment laws or regulations. According to this logic, camp counsellors' work is "never over" (Terri).

Conditions

Accommodation and full board are also considered to justify the lack of "cash-in-hand" pay (Elizabeth and Devon). However, Rachel used the word "abysmal" to describe some staff living quarters and Terri said there were "some pretty ghetto cabins" at her camp. Living quarters for staff are often very basic and crowded with either campers or other staff. Additionally, the quality of food was reported to vary by camp, budget and kitchen staff. For example, Grant's camp menu was a "two-week cycle. So by the end of summer it's like 'oh, today's this'. I know I'm not going to go to this meal because it wasn't very good last time and I'll have Chunky soup after dinner, back at the cabin". Grant also found he needed to supplement his meals by shopping for fruit when he was 'in town' on a break. Showering was raised as a significant everyday challenge due to the lack of privacy (Chapter 7). For example, Vicky said "I thought it was crazy 'cause the staff had to shower with their kids ...not that they showered *with* their kids, but that there was only group showering....There's no privacy, and so it's just like one room with shower heads all around." Not showering was a common and normalised way to get around the challenges of showering: "One summer we... had a competition to see who could go the longest without formally cleansing themselves" (Elissa). Elissa added that "we embraced it" while conceding that the lake or pool were acceptable options for some kind of rinse. The discomforts of camp living were often normalised by making a game out of them.

The everyday employment practices of camps rests largely on assumptions that camp experiences are inherently good; providing personal benefits and recreational fun to both campers and staff. Thus camp-employment norms of long hours, low pay, lack of privacy and

emotional demands of camp counsellor roles have largely been accepted by employees with little resistance as would be the case in the external business environment. Where concerns have been raised by individuals, they are often dismissed as someone who “just couldn’t handle it” (Bonnie). Camp counsellors’ desires for personal time and pay equivalent to professional roles are down played, even silenced, in light of discourses of altruism and personal benefit. On the odd occasion when employment practices are questioned, such as in the earlier example from Arthur, it is assumed that camps would collapse if they had to change to be accountable to broader regulations (i.e., Canadian labour standards and law). Therefore, camp employment practices, the naivety of a youthful workforce, the dismissal of challenging questions and the tendency to choose ‘insider’ staff as decision-makers together make a powerful combination which underpins the maintenance of traditional camp employment norms and habits. In order to work for a beloved camp, camp counsellors appeared to accept work conditions by drawing on discourses of the moral satisfaction of helping others and personal opportunity for fun (April, Arthur, Bonnie, Elissa, Elizabeth, Eric, Henry, James, Lisa, Lucy, Mary, Rachel, Rebecca, Sara, Steph, Terri, Tess, Tom, Troy, Trudy, Vicky and Zoey). A need for reflexive engagement by industry leaders in regards to camp counsellor work conditions is foundational to ethical management practices.

Staff Manuals: rules and romance

Most camp organisations produce a staff manual that guides the conduct of employees. Sometimes these are drafted into contractual policies that camp employees agree to abide by with a signature (e.g., Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). In other instances, the behaviours and standards in policy manuals are expected to be followed by virtue of holding a position on staff (Ross, 2009, textbook). Ross reminds readers of her textbook that when they sign a contract they also agree to any relevant consequences if they do not abide by staff manuals. Camp manuals, policies and codes of conduct offer opportunities for camp directors and organisations to articulate the expectations of camp staff performance in explicit albeit complicated and competing ways. In the following section I include excerpts from seven staff manual/contract documents alongside interview materials. The manuals analysed were often extensive documents (e.g., one document is 56 pages) which usually included purpose statements, staff conduct, employment practices (hiring, evaluations, terminations), camper behaviour management, health and safety policies, and emergency procedures. I have mainly focused on “Code of Conduct” sections (Peterson Camp, The Maples Camp, Knight Camp, and Camp Fleur Staff Manuals, 2009) and items that are not usually included or illustrate tensions within camp discourses (e.g., regulation of romantic relationships). This section explores texts

that regulate staff performance and experiences, the conditions that give rise for such manuals and some of the ways that staff negotiate policies.

The purpose statements provided in manuals were assumed to give meaning to and justification for the expectation that camp staff would follow the regulations provided in the document (Camp Fleur, Peterson Camp, The Maples Camp, and Knight Camp Staff Manuals, 2009). For example, Peterson Camp Staff Manual listed a number of core values which included “salvation, holiness, intimacy with God, compassion, respect, excellence, integrity, relevance, cooperation and celebration” (2009). Consequently, Peterson Camp (2009, manual) had a policy on “Leading a Child to Christ.” Peterson Camp, Knight Camp and Camp Fleur (2009, manuals) appeared to have some of the most extensive Codes of Conduct in the manuals studied and are utilised in the following paragraph as a foundational example of regulation in camps. Despite having diverse agendas for camper experiences, all three camps regulated similarly on appearance, camper relations, curfew, leaving camp, prohibited substances, and personal electronic devices.

The manuals studied described the kind of attire that was not acceptable such as, “halter tops, short shorts or inappropriately tight clothing” (Knight Camp Staff Manual, 2009). Regulation regarding the style of footwear, expected dress/uniform for arrival and departure days (Devon) and the prohibition of certain brands and language on clothing were common (Bonnie). Additionally, staff were not allowed to “alter” their appearance (e.g., haircuts or piercings) prior to departure at Peterson Camp (2009, manual). Interview materials suggested that “tidy appearances” were required (e.g., clean shaven policy –Beth). Profanity, bigotry, racism and sexism were “not tolerated” according to the manuals studied. Staff-camper relations were regulated to protect both groups, for example, employees were told to refrain from “suggestive” and/or physical contact to avoid any misunderstandings (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). Dating campers was not permitted (discussed below) even if they were “the same age as you” (Trudy). Manuals also advised staff members to treat campers with the utmost care and regard in all interactions. This instruction was followed by lengthy descriptions of abuse behaviours. Each camp manual studied expected their staff to be in their cabins and asleep by certain times. This was sometimes framed within a wellbeing or self-care philosophy whereas others presented it as a rule with no apparent explanation. This rule was monitored to varying degrees as noted in the manuals, such as, “This will be strictly enforced by the Program Manager and other designated staff. Designated staff will be checking all sleeping areas. Names of staff not in their cabins before 11:00PM will be given to the Program Manager” (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). The manuals also stated that staff could not leave the camp site at

any time unless permission had been given by the Camp Director. Alcohol, illicit drugs and all tobacco products and their use were banned with termination of employment as an immediate consequence. Finally, personal electronic devices were banned from two camps with the third allowing them only for personal use (Camp Fleur Staff Manual, 2009). Knight Camp (2009, manual) stated that personal phones “will remain locked in the camp office until your departure” with the camp phone “reserved for business. Personal calls by staff are not permitted.” While this is not an exhaustive list of the regulations found in the manuals studied, this summary offers insight to some of the personal aspects of camp employment that are seen as having potential to cause problems and the degree to which staff are regulated while employed. The regulations reviewed for this study demonstrate some of the areas of tension, as well as the intensity and, even, intrusiveness of the regulative practices within camps.

While some of the regulations described are obvious requirements when working with children (e.g., camper-staff relation, abuse, illicit substances), other aspects are less obvious and much more complex. Policies regarding leaving camp proved challenging for Eric to understand (and oblige) due to the fact that he had been an independent adult for some years prior to his camp employment, “the one rule that I kind of didn’t like so much was the fact that you had to stay on site.” He explained that he was able to gain permission to leave when he had previously accepted commitments but spontaneous or recreational motivations to leave site caused him concern,

...the thing that I was kinda hesitant about was that you needed permission to go whenever you wanted to leave and you weren’t free to go out. But one night, another counsellor and I went out on our own, just because we wanted to get away for a while, and had a drink.

Eric went on to describe how management did not even notice they were gone because they came back before “they locked the gate” for curfew. Curfew, likewise, was a rule that wasn’t always appreciated or followed (Andy, April, David, Devon, Rachel, Sara, Tess, Troy, Vicky and Zoey). In fact, breaking curfew was even seen as a rite of passage for staff (April); thus a certain amount of larrikinism was expected and encouraged.

Romantic relationships were the single most regulated aspect in the staff manuals studied. Statements included, “A staff member may not engage in, or be perceived as promoting the following activities; extra marital sexual activity (adultery), pre-marital sexual activity (fornication), homosexual activity or relationships, and viewing of pornographic material. Such activity will result in “immediate dismissal” (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). Prohibitions

were articulated for “Becoming romantically or sexually involved with a camper (including parents) and/or those in the Leadership Development Programs” and “Sexual relationships between staff while camp is in progress and/or on camp property” (Camp Fleur Staff Manual, 2009). The discourses underpinning policies of this nature draw on Christian ideologies of celibacy (assuming staff are too young to be wed), discourses of the uncontrollable urges of youth (Deardorff, Tschann, & Flores, 2008) and their inexperience to act professionally. The pursuit of a romantic relationship is assumed to be a distraction from camper care and experience delivery. Camp staff are also told to avoid “putting yourself in compromising positions with other staff” (Camp Fleur Staff Manual, 2009) which might include being in the cabin of the opposite sex, having “questionable literature, games or materials” or dressing in a revealing way (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). These policies come with strong warnings like “Failure to follow this rule is grounds for dismissal” (Knight Camp Staff Manual, 2009) yet camp staff folklore and experiences are rife with accounts of romantic encounters. Troy even suggested that the regulation of relationships and consequently the extremes of public and private (or even secret) life at camp added to the enjoyment of a romantic relationship. Troy described the enjoyment that having a private and romantic relationship at camp afforded and, although permitted, he highlighted that neither he nor his girlfriend “felt comfortable” with “hugging” at camp (even though hugging is very common) because they felt it was “too revealing.” In this way, Troy and his girlfriend adopted implicit discourses about the discretion required of romantic relations to the extent that they governed their behaviour in accordance with this norm despite not having this kind of regulation at their camp. Nonetheless, regulations and norms such as these raise questions about what authority managers have to survey and govern aspects of camp counsellors’ personal choices and/or private lives.

Camp regulation and policy manuals have been developed in response to the unique risks and challenges presented in camp environments. The wellbeing and safety of children are paramount to camp operations and thus formal, informal, external and internal policies have been developed. There are also very potent business implications too, “[our] insurance said ‘guess what, we’re not going to cover you any longer because ... we feel camps are too risky, so we’re dropping you’” (Henry). When youthful camp staff make poor choices, such as working while under the influence or hung over, their behaviour reinforces discourses that already position them as ‘risky’ and consequently compel camp managers to respond by articulating desired and undesired behaviours through policy texts. The dilemma with prescriptive texts of this nature is that they fail to be reflexive. Beth experienced this on a life-changing scale when, after decades of service in the upper management, she was dismissed for having a romantic

relationship with the full-time maintenance staff whom, in her late forties, she ended up marrying. What was created to manage the assumed sexual urges of teenagers, and which she was a party to enforcing for years, was applied to her in an inflexible manner.

While anti-structure provides a creative space for youth to experiment with identity and relationships, it also creates, by its very definition, a void of and thus a need for governmentality. In camps, these structures are reinforced and filled by the discourses and practices of camps as places for the moral development of children and youth. These are drawn from a long genealogy of Muscular Christianity (Paris 2008). Into the void of anti-structure, I argue, camp experience discourses of utopian society has resulted in high, if not excessive, levels of regulation. The liminality of camp spaces makes it possible for greater regulatory power because Turner's anti-structure produces the opportunity to structure camp in suspension of the broader social and cultural norms. Hierarchical models of camp management and everyday practices of power have resulted in the presumption that the camp director is sovereign. Becoming a camp counsellor means, in this vein of thinking, that you will "forego personal privileges for the common good of the camp, its campers and other staff/faculty members as may be required" (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). By taking a camp job, youth agree to give up personal electronic devices and the social media connections that they use to express themselves, desires for romantic relationships and control over bedtime, drinking alcohol, smoking and the independence of free time. The enthusiasm of receiving a position at a beloved camp often obscures consideration of what this might mean for new employees. To what degree camp employees are governed by policies, govern themselves and govern others, is far more complex than staff manuals would suggest. How policies are developed and enacted, however, has implications for all those who live and work in the camp 'bubble.'

Vive la resistance: compliance, negotiation and resistance

Given the multiple pressures of camp employment, camp directors have attempted to manage and regulate "camp morale" through policy. For example, the Peterson Camp Staff Manual (2009) stipulated that "camp morale is generally reflected in the enthusiasm with which you carry out your responsibilities." This manual listed a number of employee behaviours which would alleviate "tension" and promote "happy relations" which included "abiding by camp regulations" and not openly criticizing the decisions of management (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). In particular, the policy states that "The slightest amount of grumbling can do untold harm to the morale of Camp. Gossip will not be tolerated" (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). Despite their best intentions at regulating employee morale, camp managers may actually be regulating against the very behaviours and habits (e.g., gossip (Troy), romantic

relationships (Troy), excursions off-site (Eric), and alcohol consumption (Terri), that facilitate the emotional processing of camp experiences and/or release needed to meet the demands of working every day in 'the bubble'.

Strategies for managing the pressures of camp work included different forms of socializing. For example:

We let our hair down in a very significant way. During the week we have to be smiley when we're tired, and we have to acknowledge parents who kind of walk over us ...so when we have an opportunity to get together and we don't have to be our best selves, sometimes we will have a whine (Elissa).

Rachel spoke about the "usual 16-17 year olds that are away from home" stuff like "socializing, hanging out" and "flirting" being important parts of a staff member's day. Troy captured this form of social debriefing nicely when he said:

...to be honest at a place where you are taking care of children all day, where you don't drink and there is no real sort of anything except for exercise, unfortunately gossip can be a good adult part of your day (Troy).

Troy recognised that gossip gave relief to his day and allowed for something more 'adult' especially in light of how other adult activities, like drinking, were not available. Gossip, in some cases, contributed to rather than detracted from, camp counsellor experiences in terms of alleviating the emotional demands of work in 'the bubble.' Camp counsellors negotiated norms and regulations about gossip and curfews as a technology of self in that it allowed them re-energize for the on-going demands of their roles.

In particular, activities surrounding drinking alcohol appeared to be a significant part of many interview participants' experiences of camp employment. Ed described the bar that was on-site at one camp he worked for, the staff habits surrounding pub time and the necessity of a space like this on an island camp when commutes to the mainland and "civilization" were infrequent. Tom and Devon spoke of parties which took place at the end of a session or season (i.e., when everyone had completed their camp contract). Tom said "the last night everyone leaves then the next night it's always wild. Wild like it's bigger than most other parties I've been to." Tom suggested these parties occurred because:

...people ... haven't had a chance to party like that even on their day off ... if they've been with camp people, so at the end of the summer...it's the first time that everyone is able to engage socially like that.

Despite the need to “let their hair down” (Elissa), camp counsellors appeared to choose times and places that were more appropriate to engage in adult activities or, in some cases, break rules. Camp discourses of responsibility governed behaviour, to varying degrees, even when staff “let loose.” For example, David said he would “Never ever put a child in jeopardy. Ever. If I was gonna, or did break a rule onsite I made sure there was a back-up so that the kids were safe.” In this way, camp counsellors negotiated complex (and competing) discourses of regulation, responsibility and fun in various ways.

Some camp counsellors intentionally break rules or contradict camp norms. Counter-conduct and rule-breaking are, at times, glorified within summer camp contexts. Camp counsellors’ creativity in breaking camp rules were often applauded in subtle (and not so subtle) ways (e.g., staff lodge posters that keep track of staff ‘hook-ups’). Camp staff shenanigans were also ritualized. For example, Trudy said that on Fridays nights (the last night of every camper session before all staff would leave and not return) no staff would sleep. She said they mostly stayed up and talked but there were definitely a few occasions when they would break into the pool and have a swim which was clearly against camp rules (Trudy). Night time shenanigans on high ropes courses in the dark with the camp director and misadventures of skinny dipping are within my personal collection of favorite camp stories. Eric’s example of driving off camp with a friend just to have a drink without permission illustrated the ways in which camp counsellors regained a sense of control and/or ownership of their time and selves within the power nexus of camp regulations. This example demonstrates how a rebellious act can work as a technology of self, inasmuch as Eric regained a sense of himself and prioritized his own needs for rest and recreation. Steve told me about his night-time habit of “doing lard bombs.” He explained that he would rise in the middle of the night when everyone else was asleep, light a campfire on the beach whereupon he boiled a pot of water and, when the timing was right, would drop a stick of butter in sending boiling water skyward like a geyser. This story stood out because Steve had no audience for his efforts. He created these ‘lard bombs’ for no other purpose but his own entertainment and, I would argue, to see himself as not controlled by camp rules. The highly regulative environment that was his camp, as well as other aspects of his life, appeared to be suffocating his sense of self and consequently this small, unwitnessed and risky act reinforced his ability to resist regulation and to see himself as separate from governing structures.

Elissa illustrated that camp directors may be unaware of staff behaviours that were not altogether appropriate. She related that the counsellors of one of her childhood camps had nicknames such as, “BJ for short. When my mum phoned to complain, the director said “well, I

don't know any of the staff nicknames.'" Elissa also reminisced about her own camp counsellor days which ended at the pub long before she was legal drinking age. Ironically she revealed that "now that I'm Director, I'm like "are the staff doing that? Oh my gosh! Tell me they're not wearing their camp t-shirts.'" The examples given throughout this section illustrate how camp staff dealt with and resisted the pressures of camp norms. However, examples like 'lard bombs' also gives justification for the regulation (even over-regulation) of camp counsellors' behaviour by managers in the interest of safety. When social communities are heavily regulated, such as camps, individuals will find creative ways to cope, comply, rebel and resist (Rouse, 1994). Consequently, camp managers have a significant challenge on their hands in navigating the complex power relations surrounding the management of camp counsellors' behaviour. Managing young camp counsellors appears to require a balance of relief and regulation to ensure that staff behaviours fall within the boundaries of what is safe and appropriate yet respects personal choices and time when employees are not delivering camper experiences. A lack of effective management can lead to dubious staff behaviours and over-regulation can, inadvertently, lead to the promotion of subversive and rebellious activity.

Summary

Reflexive engagement on the processes of 'becoming' camp counsellor reveals that the subjectification of camp counsellor selves is situated within a complex web of power-relations. CITs, for example, take up camp counsellor subjectivities in relation to discourses of youth, liminality, leadership and practices of recruitment, employment conditions and regulation. Consequently, technologies of camp leadership and everyday camp practices shape camp counsellor subjectivity. The 'betwixt and between' status of CITs, with their hopes of gaining a favourable placement or future employment, makes youth open to and more easily influenced by camp training discourses and practices that inscribe ideal modes of camp counsellor 'being'. The processes of 'becoming' a camp leader, as therapist, pastor and parent obliges prospective camp counsellors to "think about themselves ... and transform themselves" (Harvey, Rail, & Thibault, 1996, p. 167) in particular ways. *Becoming a camp therapist* revealed how camp counsellors are positioned to recognize and redress concerns in accordance with norms of child development. *Becoming a camp pastor* considered the implications of pastoral care imperatives for the 'moral development' and secularized 'saving' of camp souls. *Becoming a camp parent* drew on parenting metaphors to look at the responsabilisation of camp counsellors in attending to around the clock child care. Discourses of 'becoming' a camp counsellor assume a leader who will always survey and address the deficiencies of campers, compassionately develop moral character in themselves and others, and take responsibility for the 'total' care of campers. LDC and staff training processes work to inscribe the embodiment of these ideals and

so prospective camp counsellors govern themselves to perform/embody camp leadership ideals. In this way, prospective camp counsellors engage processes of subjectification; “forming oneself as a subject within power relations” (Thorpe, 2008, p. 209). Camp power-relations articulate truths about the subjects camp counsellors are to become and produce.

The processes of ‘becoming’ a camp counsellor are such that some youth struggle to make the transition and may find they are not prepared to subject themselves to the discourses, demands and norms of camper care and development. Camps provide “simultaneously spaces of adult regulation, socialisation and control, yet also sites of youthful agency, subversion and resistance” (Matthews 2003 as cited in Wood, 2012, p. 338). The tensions between the heavy regulation of camp spaces by their leaders and the resistance of youthful camp employees illustrate the plurality, rather than the assumed sovereignty, of power within the camp ‘bubble.’ In fact, the liminality of camp spaces is what makes it possible for such extremes of authority and resistance while simultaneously creating a poignant backdrop to their dramatic unfurling. It is not, however, the “formal *strategies*” of various forms of resistance I am most interested in, but rather the everyday “ruses, tactics and manipulations” (Wood, 2012, pp. 339, italics in the original) that camp staff use that illustrate the scope and pervasiveness of power relations. Kissing rocks, underage drinking and lard bombs tell us as much (and perhaps more) about the power relations of camp employment as do documents that outline behaviour standards. There are tensions of youthfulness and responsibility, fun and safety, compliance and larrikinism that make navigating discourses of camp employment complex. Yet camp counsellors must govern themselves and others in alliance with camp discourses and norms no matter how tricky they are to navigate. Camp counsellor subjectification is shaped by and shapes the power relations of ‘becoming’ camp counsellor.

CHAPER SEVEN: Being a Camp counsellor: Emotions at work

Introduction

The emotion work of camp counsellors, such as the care and nurturing of therapist, pastor and parent (see Chapter 6), is largely invisible and taken for granted. Even the leadership discourses, which position the care of others before the care of the self, are taken up and embodied through these subjectivities. However, the demands and costs of this kind of work do not appear to be acknowledged through pay structures or the allocation of working time and privacy. Staff manuals also exacerbate the need for emotional processing by regulating against aspects that might provide staff release from the pressures of 'being' a camp counsellor. Yet there is no denying that the emotional demands placed on camp counsellors are real and essential. Hence tensions of fun and work, care and command and the assumed pleasure and altruism as reward and rest rather than pay and time off, exist for the embodied experiences of 'being' camp counsellor. Camp counsellors must creatively navigate the discourses and practices that govern and intensify the demands of their roles. As such, camp counsellor experiences that disrupted the regimes of truth that camp is a 'happy' and beneficial experience stood out for interview participants.

Alternative views that conflicted with the glossy images of camp experience provided the opportunity, if only momentarily, to see how power and emotion intersected in shaping camp counsellor experiences. These moments of insight were often slippery, ambiguous and were quickly passed over or missed due to the hustle and bustle of everyday camp life. The next canoeing lesson, for example, took precedence over contemplation. As such the learning possible from discordant camp moments often went unnoticed and/or was dismissed by camp counsellors and managers. The nature of embodied camp life is such that space for reflection is rare (Cathy) and the discourses are so deeply entrenched, that reflexivity on how these shape the experiences of camp counsellors is rarely, if ever, contemplated. Yet, as Heyes (2007, p. 8) noted, "the very complexity and slipperiness of disciplinary practices prevents them from maintaining the degree of coherence required for a situation of complete domination, it is in these fissures that counter attack might occur." That is to say, camp counsellors did not altogether accept or govern themselves in accordance with camp practices and norms. Interview participants were often animated in recounting how their camp counsellor experiences did not adhere to the assumptions of extended summer recreation and carefree fun. They described diverse experiences of emotional distress (e.g., feeling overwhelmed, socially isolated, depressed, overwrought, anxious, fatigued) as a result of their camp counsellor

employment. Ruptures to the assumed discourses about camp employment illustrate the constitutive power of camp practices and language (and helps open up a reflexive engagement with them) yet they are, at times, uncomfortable and even painful to embody. The seeming invisibility or lack of acknowledgement of these experiences by camp managers was at once a surprise and yet acceptable to most interview participants. I argue that a deeper understanding of camp counsellors' emotional experiences is essential in order to deliver responsive and responsible employment practices.

In this chapter, I bring together Foucauldian concepts of power-knowledge and governmentality together with the sociology of emotions to illustrate how the delivery of 'camp' shapes the emotion work and experiences of camp counsellors. It was often the language of emotions within the narratives of interview participants that alerted them (as well as me) to when something 'wasn't quite right' about a 'moment' they had experienced at camp during their employment. Hence, discursive analysis was employed as a complimentary method for flagging meaningful contributions to thematic analysis and the overall research text. Managers and camp director voices were also incorporated in this chapter to acknowledge the emotional complexity of camp employment. This chapter discusses three major themes in regards to the emotional demands of 'being' a camp counsellor. The first theme considers the precariousness of the assumed 'happiness' of camp employment and the implied need to govern oneself to 'be' happy. This section includes an exploration of the work conditions and gendered pressures camp counsellors are under as they "paste on the smile" (Terri). The second theme, considers the demands of caring which includes the variety and extremes of camper behaviours camp counsellors are expected to face with insight and compassion. This section also looks at the silent command or disciplining aspects of caring for campers. The third theme focuses on the social pressures of living in a small and close-knit community. This section closes by considering the ways that discourses shape post-camp experiences and memories. There is a nexus of social relations, power, discourse and genealogy at work in and through each of these discussions and as such I concluded that 'being' a camp counsellor is highly complex. This chapter investigates camp counsellor experiences in order to reveal how the embodied experience of 'being' a camp counsellor has emotional effects on those who choose to take up this role. By drawing on a post-structural approach to the emotions of camp counsellor experiences, my research supports the need for bold engagement with camp discourses with the view to finding new and reflexive ways of 'doing' camp.

Emotions at work in ‘the Bubble’

The emotional experiences of working as a camp counsellor are diverse yet those of fun and happiness are valued over other emotions and are recast, within camps, in particular ways (i.e. such as entrepreneurial and liberal discourses of productive fun). This section explores how camp counsellors are expected to be ‘happy’ in and through their work and how they governed themselves in ways to meet camp ‘happiness’ discourses. This discussion also includes interview participants’ accounts of sadness or frustration which illustrated tensions between discourses of happiness and their embodied experiences. Additionally, camp counsellors were expected to be always ‘on’ thus creating pressures for them to selflessly and tirelessly care for campers in a continuous positive and fun manner. This, in turn, raised questions about opportunities for personal time and problematised assumptions about the care of the self within camp contexts. This section also explores assumptions regarding the gendered dimensions of emotion work in camps even though interview participants often referred to the assumed expectation that camp employment should not be gendered. The invisibility of emotion work has meant that the effects of this kind of work are indirectly, if ever, supported by camp managers. The emotion work of camp counsellors, however, implicates managers for the mental wellbeing of staff in light of the everyday challenges of their roles.

“It’s not all sunshine and lollipops” (David): The (fragile) happiness bubble

David’s statement contrasts with the commonly held idea that camp is a hyper-happy and sugar-loaded experience. Happiness (or hyper-happiness as David said: “it’s like everybody’s on pixie sticks all the time”) is expected for, and of, all camp participants. Yet David’s statement also comes as a sobering warning that camp employment is NOT going to be twenty-four hour fun. Staff often believe that working at camp will match the kind of fun they had as campers and some anticipate that being staff may exceed these expectations. Fun is expected to permeate all camp experiences and it is assumed that by delivering this fun, camp staff will be experiencing it too. But this is not always the case and an unrealistic expectation. Most interview participants reported the “fun” they had at camp (Amie, Andy, April, Arthur, Bonnie, David, Devon, Elissa, Elizabeth, Eric, Grant, Henry, James, Lisa, Lucy, Mary, Rachel, Rebecca, Sara, Sarah, Steph, Terri, Tess, Tom, Troy, Trudy, Vicky and Zoey) but many also tempered those reflections with comments like, “you work a lot but it’s fun” (Grant). Some interview participants were aware of the problems with believing that being camp staff meant having a carefree summer holiday (Grant, Lucy, Tom, Arthur, Henry and Eric). Lucy’s advice to

new camp counsellors was, “know that it’s not all fun and games.” Lucy appears to be trying to prepare incoming staff for the responsibilities of being a camp counsellor.

Camp is meant to be a “happy” place (Beth, David, Elissa, James, Lisa and Terri). In fact, happiness is written as one of the health care objectives for one camp; “To ensure that each individual camper has a **happy**, healthy and safe camp experience” (Silver Loon Camp 2009 manual, emphasis added). Happiness appears to be a requisite for camp counsellor embodiment and the entire camp context; however, the work expectations of camp employment means that camp counsellors do not experience it at all times. In fact, Elissa suggested that the “happy bubble” that “people” talk about is, in “reality,” “a fragile bubble, and it can burst so easily.” Elissa adds that “working in camp means trying to maintain that bubble.” Happiness, therefore, is not necessarily a natural consequence of camp employment but a purposeful performance and embodiment of camp discourses by camp counsellors. In fact, ‘being’ happy can be seen as a technology of self to which camp counsellors must discipline themselves in the fulfillment of their role.

Managers also commented on the desire to hire “happy” people (Arthur) and that “happy staff makes happy campers” (Beth). With camper experiences hanging on the happiness of camp counsellors, camp counsellors govern themselves to embody and perform happiness. Interview participants often discussed the need to perform happiness, such as “I put on my happy face” (James) or “we have to be smiley when we’re tired” (Elissa). Lisa drew on psy-discourses of self-mastery to explain her techniques for conjuring happiness as an ‘authentic’ expression of self:

And just being able to make sure you’re in control of yourself and you’re able to put out a positive/happy feeling. It’s not about being able to fake it, it’s actually putting out a positive feeling and the kids notice you’re actually enjoying being with them, and they feel good and they want to do good at what you’re attempting to get them to do. I think there’s an important message in that, whatever your putting out they are mirroring back and you’re day can go really well or really crappy depending on that.

Here, Lisa described how displays of her own ‘genuine’ enjoyment of campers influenced the conduct of her campers and that she expected that her mood be “mirrored” in return. This example illustrates how camp counsellors are expected to govern their own emotions in alliance with camp norms, or as Hochschild puts it “feeling rules” (1979, p. 563), in order to deliver expected camper experiences. In this way, Lisa commodified her feelings. The emotion work involved in camp counsellors ‘being happy’ acts as an expression of successfully meeting the

expectations of 'being' a camp counsellor. However, Meier and Mitchell's textbook insists that "Pretense and sham soon are spotted in the intimacy of camp life" (1993, p. 46) and as such suggest that happiness is not something that you can merely paste on but that should be an expression of a genuine emotional state. It is this embodiment of the camp 'happiness' norm that sells and delivers the camp promise (see Chapter 5).

In contrast, expressions of unhappy emotions are considered unacceptable by camp managers and staff peers. Anger and sadness, which are perceived within 'the bubble' as the antithesis of happiness, are expected to be managed privately and withheld from being publically expressed. Terri illustrated the internal struggle among the personal emotions, normative expectations and emotional displays of camp counsellors:

... it's [happiness] an expectation, and it's ... the guilt, like I should be happy right now, I should be smiling, like that volunteer who drove me nuts because they are so enthusiastic and I can't even conceive of that kind of energy right now. You still kind of paste on the smile and go (Terri).

In particular, Terri's "guilt" exemplified the pervasiveness and her subjectification of 'happiness' discourses. Occasionally camp manuals articulated the expectations surrounding the expression of wanted and unwanted emotions. For example, the Peterson Camp Staff Manual (2009) states "Leaders must be enthusiastic at all times" which is followed by "A staff member must not lose his/her temper around or in front of a camper at any time." Similar examples were found in camp textbooks (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, textbook; Ross, 2009, textbook). The regulation of unwanted displays of emotion, like frustration or anger, is discussed later in this chapter. Structured practices that inscribe happy feelings, or at least the expression of happy feelings, are frequent. Zoey described "warm fuzzy parties" where camp counsellors would "write something nice" for other staff or debriefing sessions that "structured dialogue" about how employees were feeling. Elissa stated that "the expectation is that they [counsellors] don't have emotions other than happy. They are just loving human beings who don't exist outside of that sphere." Discourses of happiness work as a technology of power inasmuch as they govern the conduct of emotions. Happiness is seen as 'the' only state of 'being' for a camp counsellor.

Happiness as a constant state of being and/or expression, however, is unrealistic and unhealthy (Ahmed, 2010). The happiness bubble of camp is quietly acknowledged to be fabricated within camp contexts even when it is expected to be embodied as "authentic" (Cam, Elissa and Terri). Terri problematised camp discourses through her suspicion of authenticity and the disingenuous displays of happiness in a new camp setting:

...at first everyone seemed so happy, and seemed to love each other, and I was like what is this place? This is not real because even in other camps, there's that idea but you see pretty quickly that's not the case so I was a bit worried. Then I found my people and it was ok. And they were like, "yeah, this isn't real."

And I'm like, "ok, perfect, as long as we're all on the same page here."

So, that helped out a lot. Until it [camp] got real within the environment, I guess. (Terri)

Terri's comments are slightly contradictory. She resolved that the environment became 'real' to her despite first impressions making her feel uneasy about the seemingly conjured happiness of camp and the social relationships. Terri demonstrated how she took up camp happiness discourses even in the face of her own problematisation of its legitimacy. Much like Elissa suggested earlier, camp counsellors must "work at" or mobilize discourses of acceptable camp emotions to ensure that the bubble does not "burst." Yet, suppressing unhappy emotions, according to David, makes counsellors "a time bomb."

Elissa suggested that the maintenance of the happiness bubble required the expressions of certain personal emotions and the withholding of openly processing other emotions:

...working in a camp means trying to maintain that bubble when you're girlfriend has just broken up with you, and your grandfather died, and you can't stand your parents, and ... all your other stuff is happening on the edges, you have to sort of ignore that.

Elissa's comments demonstrated how camp counsellors' were expected to subsume their emotions, by pushing their experiences to "the edges," in order to maintain the ideals of happiness within 'the bubble.' It seems unnatural to expect someone to 'switch off' the experiences and feelings of life events because they did not take place within camp time and space or if they do not serve the discursive productions of camp 'happiness.' Yet the liminality, alluded to through the metaphor of 'the bubble,' suggests that this is not only possible but expected from young camp counsellors. These practices raise questions about what effects habits of silencing emotional reactions and connections have on camp counsellors beyond their camp employment.

It is no surprise that some interview participants really struggled when emotions were deemed unacceptable in the face of maintaining camp happiness (e.g., anger, sadness, fatigue, etc.) (David, Lisa, and Terri). Terri said "you shouldn't be expected to be happy go lucky, like that's not fair either, I don't think" and David felt that you should be "allowed to be mad at somebody. It's a fair emotion ... It's a realistic emotion to have. Why are you trying to hide it? Not everything has to be sunshine and lollipops all the time, it's not realistic" (David). Both Terri and David struggled to have their emotions taken seriously and given a place within the

'happiness' of camp contexts. When I asked David if it was unhealthy to teach young camp counsellors that they always have to be happy, he said:

...yes and no. You see, there is a perceived image that should definitely stand on the surface side of things but there is the realistic side of life in camp, in an environment that is twenty four hours a day. It has to be more realistic that way.

The tension of "being" happy while recognizing that this is not "realistic" (David) is a challenging experience for camp counsellors. For some, David said, this causes a lot of "stress." It is moments of contradiction, tension or a 'burst' in idealized discourses of camp euphoria which open up intersections where camp feeling norms can be better understood. Moments when camp counsellors don't 'feel' happy problematise camp discourses and provide insight into the nature and effects of camp counsellor emotion work. These moments disrupt the 'truth' of camp and the power relations that shape this environment. Yet, the governance and subjectification of happiness discourses within camp employment contexts often means that the experiences or causes of other emotions are not explored or are dismissed. In doing so, insights to the effects of camp counsellor emotion work are missed or ignored. As Elissa concluded, real camp counsellor experiences of emotions are "complicated" and "messy" and thus deserve attention from camp managers and policy makers.

"Personal time is overrated" (Sophie): no time for emotional recovery or processing

When Sophie and I were wrapping up her interview, I asked one of my favorite 'camp' questions, "What are your pearls of wisdom for future staff?" Her response was simple and upbeat. She described a t-shirt in the style of "I heart NY," that was popular at the time, and said "I heart camp. Personal time is overrated." At the time I laughed along with her and agreed to the feeling that I didn't have much time to myself at camp. In fact, I thought, maybe you don't get any at all. During the process of collecting and analyzing data for my PhD and through reflecting on my own camp experiences, I have come to recognize the profundity of Sophie's statement in relation to the demands of emotion work as a camp counsellor. The expectations of embodying camp counsellor discourses are ever present and, with a lack of personal time or space, never cease in the face of work in 'the bubble.' This can be exhausting and leaves camp counsellors in need of both physical and emotional rest. Sophie's statement highlights that 'being' a camp counsellor is rewarding but also comes with costs. Andy stated that she was desperate for "more time off at camp, like in camp" but that this had to be "true time off not just time off with your kids, it's like time off away, separate, something different." The desire for and challenges in finding time for rest, privacy, and ways of constantly 'being happy' are complicated for camp

counsellors. The personal time needed to sustain and reenergize staff for the many demands and expectations of 'being' a camp counsellor is limited within daily camp schedules.

Despite employment manuals' promises of rest, such as "all staff have time off each week," it does not always provide the "time for refreshment, renewal and relaxation" (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009) that is intended. The fact that staff generally can't leave the camp site during their time off, as Grant explained in Chapter 6, means that even during 'off' times camp counsellors are still 'on' by the mere fact of their physical presence. By being on the camp site it is assumed that staff are available to work or respond to requests from campers, peers and managers. This "on demand" experience (Lisa) can be exhausting mentally as well as physically. In contrast, times that were clearly delineated as 'time off' and when staff could leave the camp site were also problematic. The desire of camp managers for staff to act as role models and take up discourses of idealized camp counsellor subjectivity (hence representing their camp brand) at all times, regardless of working hours, meant that there was no or little rest from work expectations even when staff were officially off duty and off site. For example, the Peterson Camp Staff Manual (2009) iterates that "all staff members are expected to be an example of Christian maturity and leadership at all times, on or off duty." Where employment is usually delineated by start and finish times, camp counsellors are never free from the discourses governing their performance. In fact, the detailed structuring of space and time acts as a disciplinary technology (N. Rose, 1998, p. 26) rife with tensions of appropriate work-life balance for employees within camp contexts.

Shower stories also featured among many interview participants' examples of the pressures of time, space and lack of privacy in summer camps, (Vicky, Trudy, Tom, Terri, Sophie, Sara, Rachel and Matthew). For example, Lisa spoke of how 'available' or on-call she was expected to be even when it was her time off and she was taking a shower:

I can remember a dad banging on my door one time while I was having a shower and his daughter had been stung by a bee and he was in a big panic about it; and I was like 'does she have an anaphylactic allergy?' He said no, so then I told him to put some ice on it and that I would come and see it in half an hour because I was having a shower and this was the only 20 minutes I had a day. Like if she's not dying then I'll talk to her later.

Thus, the social norms of privacy expected by most adults do not appear to exist at camp. Camp counsellors are assumed to always be available and willing to help. The stories that my interview participants told often illustrated how they normalized the lack of private showers facilities and/or time. For example, Sara explained that she showered at 11pm at night and then said, "I don't shower that often really...It's funny 'cause some people will be like, "man what day

it is? Day 6? Shoot, I haven't showered yet". In fact, games and/or competitions of how long camp counsellors could go without showering were common (Terri, Tom and Vicky). In some cases, the longer camp counsellors could go without a shower marked the mobilization of discourses of rugged selves (see Chapter 5). Camp participants circumvented the lack of privacy and norms of personal hygiene by having leg shaving "parties" (Trudy) or not shaving legs at all (Rachel). These practices normalize the lack of access to and time for hygiene in the face of delivering camper experiences. Tom told of an extreme case where privacy was interrupted:

...this previous summer one of the younger staff members had a ...period off, was resting in his cabin and when everyone was doing a cabin clean up and one of the boys went to open it [cabin] up and walked in on him masturbating and he got teased about that.

In Tom's story, not only was the young employee's social dignity ignored, his situation was used as entertainment for the wider camp community resulting in ongoing teasing and embarrassment. The latter illustrates how camp employees are disciplined, in this case through shame, to govern their own conduct not just in regards to the performance and embodiment of work expectations but in personal and private habits.

Although not common among the interview participants, some camps did encourage staff to develop habits of self-care within the bustle of busy camp life (Sara and Zoey). In particular, camps that identified as having more demanding clientele (e.g., children with cancer) were explicitly encouraged to exercise therapeutic discourses of self-care (Sara, Sophie, and Zoey). Elizabeth's director made clear the imperative to 'care for yourself' at camp:

...another thing that she[director] really drove into us was to keep ourselves healthy, because how were we able to take care of other people if we don't take care of ourselves. So even though you're tired because you're doing stuff from 6 in the morning until 10 o'clock at night when you do that you sleep well, if you give yourself a chance to sleep... And when you do go to bed, go to bed. Don't stay up and chit chatter or whatever, cause you can tell the people that did cause they were sick and had the snuffles and they were tired and cranky. ...she was very good at instilling in us that health and wellbeing is important.

Elizabeth and her director recognized the need to get rest yet, despite the hours cited, neither realized that perhaps it was the length of the day or the demand of camp counsellor work that gave staff the "snuffles". They both dismissed the need and value of "chit chatter." Camp managers, in this example, were concerned with the ability of camp counsellors to physically make it through the summer by addressing exhaustion through staff getting a good night's sleep. Rest and recuperation from the emotional demands of 'being' camp counsellor were assumed to be addressed through sleep and, occasionally, personal exercise. Ironically, the camp curfews

that are designed to ensure adequate rest are not applied to staff wake-up times. In fact, staff in the above example were encouraged and applauded for getting up prior to campers to do physical exercise despite the fact that this shortened their sleeping time. Exercising at night was seen as an inappropriate use of potential sleep time whereas morning was seen as mobilizing therapeutic self-care discourses. With strict regulations on staff bed times and promotion of certain habits of self-care, it is no surprise that staff governed their behaviours to conform and hang on to coveted camp counsellor positions.

Self-care discourses within camps appeared to be encouraged through physical rest rather than emotional rest (Troy, Matthew, Elizabeth, and Sophie). Consequently, interview participants spoke of the struggle to get time alone for emotional processing or meaningful connection, “as a staff member I struggled with privacy. I really liked alone time, and alone time could be with my significant other or just by myself, but camp doesn't provide for that” (Troy). Despite Troy's view that camp doesn't provide opportunities to be alone, he argued that it was essential “to provide that for yourself, and if you can't you aren't going to survive the summer.” For Troy, he just needed an hour a day with “no one talking to me, and just looking at a road and no one talking, and for me it's one of the best for stress relief.” Camp counsellors expressed a need to rest in emotional, social, mental and/or soulful ways and this appeared to be in tension with camp employment practices of 24 hour camper care and development. However, even socially oriented emotional processing, particularly informal peer discussions as opposed to structured and management lead debriefing, were discouraged, limited, and undervalued (see Chapter 6).

The emotional demands of 'being' camp leader, as therapist, pastor and parent (see Chapter 6) were invisible, exhausting and unsustainable. Yet they were rarely questioned or problematised. When emotion work of camp counsellors is invisible then the support, space and time needed to process and recharge emotionally are also not recognized. Camp managers and camp counsellors are expected to just keep going despite clear cues of emotional exhaustion which may also, unintentionally, jeopardize camper experiences and safety. When employees are 'tired' they can be forgetful of key safety practices and/or unable to attend to the emotional needs or distress of campers. Although the short summer season makes it possible for employees to maintain the performance and embodiment of camp counsellors for the required two month period, they are then left to address emotional recovery by themselves once they are home. Thus, the effect of emotion work remains, for the most part, invisible; yet it is critical to successful camp experience delivery.

Promoting 'genderlessness' while doing gendered emotion work

Gendered camp discourses (see Chapter 3) were evident throughout interview participants' comments (Bonnie, Devon, Lisa, Rachel, Sara, Terri, Tess and Vicky). As Bonnie observed "I don't ever remember as a kid anyone preaching that girls can do what boys can do. It's just a natural part of the camp experience". Bonnie's comment illustrated the assumption that it was 'natural' to expect both genders to perform in the same ways. While this is a powerful boost to the perception of women's abilities in camp contexts, it suggests that a certain unisex or one-size-fits-all construction of gender is taken up by camp participants. Bonnie was only alerted to the view that genders should not always perform equal physical tasks when she worked with 'non-camp people'. Her guests' reaction to her indiscriminate engagement with physical labour alerted her to the possibility that camp gender norms were, perhaps, not applied the same way everywhere:

I was at the cargo cart before they were and I was grabbing boats. They freaked out when they saw that. They were like "oh no no no. Let me get it." So the guys were trying to push me out of the way to get all the boats and gear off the train. And I was like, "you know what? It's a lot easier if I do it because I know how to pack my truck and trailer"...They freaked out.

Bonnie's long service in and with camp people meant that this was a novel experience for her, "This is so mind-boggling for me. I had never been in this kind of situation. Never ever ever." At one level, this is a profoundly encouraging view of women's abilities and attitude. However, it also demonstrates an assumption that a woman's performance in the outdoors has to be man-like in order for her to gain recognition. This can (unintentionally) limit, silence or even degrade experiences of femininity in the same context.

Discourses that equate genderlessness with the performance of masculinity by both sexes (e.g., valuing women's contribution on a male-only scale of worth) can limit the expression of and possibility for diverse gender experiences within camps. Camp counsellors, like Bonnie, mobilized camp 'genderless' norms: "I worked with guys all the time and we did the same amount of stuff and we carried the same amount of things. It's not like they took the heavier stuff and I took the lighter stuff or anything like that." In fact, the promotion of masculinity over femininity within camp contexts disciplines camp participants to govern themselves accordingly. For example, I injured my shoulder due to overuse on a paddling trip

purely out of my desire to prove my abilities to stern⁵. Expecting women to do the same physical tasks as men, as I learnt, may be unsafe or unhealthy. The masculinity of camp experiences is embedded within everyday discourses and practices such as the genealogical links to primitive activities like archery and canoeing or the language of naming the male staff cabin “Heaven” (Tess).

Girls and women, especially staff, are encouraged to down-play or suppress common displays of femininity like shaving their legs (April, Elizabeth and Tess), wearing make-up (Andy, April, Elizabeth, Rachel, Tess and Sophie), doing their hair (Andy, April, Rachel, Rebecca, Terri, Tess, Trudy and Vicky) or nails (Rebecca). Make-up application was not seen as a good use of time and Sophie even discussed “role modelling” a natural look. In fact, female employees who wore make-up were regarded as “weird” (Rachel) and often other staff felt “they don’t actually get it” (Tess). Rachel said, “It doesn’t feel like camp, you know, that person.” Sara also commented that some staff would go as far as to “take mirrors down” in the teenage girl’s cabins. When there is so little personal time for camp counsellors, “you just get over physical appearance” (Rachel). Minimizing expressions of appearance, which are often highly gendered, appeared to be normalized within camp spaces. Rachel suggested that a compliment of smelling “good” from a male camp friend felt uncomfortable but from a non-camp friend was desirable regardless of the romantic attraction to one over another. Being told you smelt bad by a male at camp, however, “just means I’m working hard.” On the other hand, Terri could never get used to the “stink of camp.” While camp provided some girls and women experiences of freedom from conventions of femininity in other aspects of their lives, they were also being governed in accordance with camp norms of masculinity under the guise of ‘genderlessness.’

Traditional gender assumptions were also voiced by interview participants. These included comments implying girls would be less interested in outdoor activities. Troy, for example, said:

...getting a girl into a kayak is sometimes pretty tough to do, and ...boys are running to get into the kayak whereas the girl will be like “I don't want to get my hair wet” ...it is so evident in a camp atmosphere, something that gels with boys more than girls is the outdoors and rugged atmosphere ...

Troy felt that engagement with outdoor activities would be and were “more worthwhile” for girls because they could “break out of that cocoon.” According to Troy, girls had more to be proud of than boys as girls “really feel that effect a lot more, and don't take it for granted as

⁵ Sterning is the position that steers the canoe from the back.

much as a boy who already possesses the physical qualities.” In this statement, Troy mobilized traditional gender discourses that attribute physicality to boys and, as such, experiences of ruggedness are seen to be empowering for girls. His comments imply that experiences of the outdoors and physical activity are novel, or more novel, to women. The discourses to engage and enjoy the masculinity of the outdoors were also taken up by female interview participants. For example, Sophie said some of, “the boys were such babies saying “I can’t paddle that far.” She also felt that short canoe trips were “soft.” Thus, women, within camps, also mobilize masculine discourses of physical prowess as a reflection of gender equality.

Camp discourses of gender neutrality became even more problematic when I began to ask interview participants questions about the ‘way’ camp counsellors counselled relevant to gender. Interview participants’ largely viewed camp counsellor styles through traditional discourses of masculinity and femininity. Male employees were seen as generally “louder” (Lisa, Vicky, blah), “more playful” (Lisa,), and “rough” or “physical” (Lisa, Tess and Vicky). In contrast, female employees were considered more, in some cases exclusively, “nurturing” (Lisa, Tess, Vicky). For example, Vicky suggested that male employees “approaches are more like a drill sergeant. Like we’re all gonna get in line and we’re gonna march from here to there in the mud.” Whereas, female counsellors were more conscientious about issues such as cleaning and airing cabins and wearing clean clothes every day (Vicky). Tess said that female counsellors worried more about the care of their campers and behaved “like mums who are like, ‘no, don’t do that. That could lead to this, which could lead to this, which could lead to this.’” Male counsellors were more “action” oriented (Tess) whereas female counsellors were more socially oriented with a focus on “conversation” (Tess). Interview participants also suggested that craft and kitchen activities were uniquely the domains of women within camping contexts (Devon, Lucy, Troy and Vicky). Devon concluded that “a lot of the guys aren't into that stuff” and Lucy said, “I think the girls are more craft and the boys are more sports.” It would appear broader gender norms still prevailed in the discourses and practices of camp experiences despite assumptions that camp experiences were genderless.

Some interview participants recognized that personal qualities and motivations affected how camp counsellors cared for campers and that gendered norms should not be applied “universally” (Lisa). In fact, Terri warned against having “dichotomous categories” of gender yet when it came to gender specific emotion work, female counsellors were seen overwhelmingly to play roles of caring, nurturing and social sensitivity within camp contexts (Eric, James, Lisa, Terri, Troy and Vicky). Troy suggested that girls “are very sensitive to other people’s feelings.”

James found that “girl camp counsellors...have more patience” and are “more organized.” Troy suggested that female counsellors were sensitive to the point that “if they say something to a girl and they know it has affected that girl they will feel bad and probably start crying” whereas “with a guy you kind of have to spell it out by saying, ‘hey what you said has obviously had an effect on this person. You shouldn’t be saying that type of thing.’” Furthermore, Eric felt that female counsellors were more emotionally demonstrative; for example, females were more likely to hold hands (Vicky). Interestingly, Vicky and Troy, despite very different perspectives, both seemed to see women as naturally skilled at nurturing while men were seen to struggle to not only perform but also learn skills of empathy. Ironically, if emotional or relational skills cannot be taught, camp directors and managers are presented with a dilemma, such as how to train all camp employees (regardless of gender) to be “empathetic”, “understanding” and “to identify with people” (Terri).

In camping contexts, this lack of emotional literacy meant that male employees were given leniency in performing feminine or “soft” skills (Terri and Vicky). The tensions of needing to hire male staff for camper ratios versus staff that were capable of camper care were common (Arthur, Terri and Vicky). Arthur suggested he would not have been hired otherwise, “I had nothing to put on my resume. I found my resume and it was all blank and I thought, I wouldn't have hired me. But I was male and breathing and they needed lots of males.” Terri was particularly frustrated by the attribution of different standards because it allowed male staff performance to be less than ideal but with no consequence, “they kind of get that power just from being dudes.” She said, “there are times I can remember interviewing people, and like ok, you’re a dude, you don’t sound that great but we need dudes, so let’s try this and see what happens.” Terri (and Rachel) saw no solution to the problem of needing to hire “emotionally immature” male staff. However, in doing so, it made it not only possible but acceptable that “all you need to do” as “a male at camp... is just show up.” This then leaves female counsellors with the role of primary care for the young campers (and potentially with the bulk of emotion work at camp).

The demands of camper care: camp counsellor emotion work

The demands of child care are draining enough for parents of one to three children, but are exponential for the young adults charged with the care of eight to ten children (of the same age) in a single room cabin. This section explores the tensions that are created by the requirement of camp counsellors to ‘care’ about and for campers. The work of camper care is at

the heart of the commercial exchange of camps and hence features the emotion work of camp counsellors. Due to prevailing discourses about the benefits of camper experiences (e.g., fun, moral character development) paired with welfare imperatives (e.g., camp is good for all), campers who present challenging conditions and/or behaviours (e.g., physical or mental health diagnoses, family history of neglect, etc.) are usually welcomed if not encouraged to attend. Camper recruitment is governed by welfare and inclusivity discourses. Consequently, camp counsellors are positioned as authorities in the care of children, despite being young themselves, and are expected to not only manage but address deficiencies and difficult behaviours. The tensions of caring for children who present challenging behaviours in the face of being obligated to 'love the unlovable' has effects on the camp counsellor who performs this emotion work. Camp counsellors must navigate a complex nexus of discourses in these situations which include pastoral care expectations of 'kind' discipline (Dooley, 1978) in the face of, sometimes, unsafe or threatening individual and/or group behaviours. The following sections, explore each of these concerns and the effects of emotion work on camp counsellors.

"You are going to care about these kids" (Zoey)

Zoey's comment demonstrates the priority for camp counsellors to "care" for campers and that this sense of care, or emotional connection, is assumed to come 'naturally' from 'being' a camp counsellor. Camper counsellors are expected to embody compassion, kindness and patience in their performance of camper care and through the mobilization of discourses of pastoral care (Dooley, 1978). Camp counsellor care should ensure campers' safety but, as discussed previously, this 'care' is also assumed to be fun, kind, and beneficial for moral development (see Chapters 2, 3 and 5). Zoey's statement, however, could be interpreted differently than the notion that emotional warmth for campers should be expected. It also suggests that there is a sense of obligation to care for the campers allocated to the supervisory role of camp counsellors. Zoey's comment demonstrates the priority of a camp counsellors' role as well as the tension this creates for young employees who are expected to feel an emotional connection with and for the children that are placed in their 'care'. Eric reiterated:

The most important thing about camp is showing the kids that you care about them and truly caring about them. It makes a big difference. Some of the counsellors had a hard time dealing with kids. They hadn't experience that and, you know, they just got frustrated. And then we would have to talk about it and really deep down they did care but they just had such a hard time dealing with them on a day to day basis and all of the difficulties that kids present. But caring about them helps you to get over the frustrations and difficulties. It's almost like they're your kids and no matter what, you're

gonna be there for them; you're gonna be supportive; and you want to instill that they can do a lot of things in life⁶.

Eric's comments implied that caring for campers should be authentic. This adds an extra emotional dimension to the role of the camp counsellor. Through caring, camp counsellors are attempting to help campers achieve a better and happier life through mobilizing notions of entrepreneurial selves (N. Rose, 1990b). Eric, however, also illustrated the challenges in achieving a 'true' yet obligated sense of care.

While all camp counsellors are expected to care (April, Arthur, Elissa, Elizabeth, Eric, Rachel, Sara, Terri, Troy, Vicky and Zoey), some were advised not to care "too much" (Zoey). Camp counsellors were expected to compartmentalize their feelings or have "boundaries" that kept them from "caring too much" and suffering the consequences of investing too "personally" (Zoey). Zoey's comments about caring were powerful:

That was probably when I hit a wall, there's too much emotion and I'm too invested in this ... I think if you are going to do a good job, you are going to care. That doesn't necessarily mean you need to bawl your eyes out for an hour when you are sad, but I think that is valid. Kelly is really good about "you need to have a boundary between really, really caring, and really, really personally caring to the point where you hit this wall, and you can't come and do the rest of your job." I think that's probably the only time that there's been a huge wall of me being so exhausted emotionally and physically ...

Zoey's experience illustrates an extreme situation (campers with cancer) hence heightening and complicating discourses of care. Yet it illustrates the naivety of camp managers to believe that camp counsellors can and will govern themselves to withhold empathy and emotional connections. Emotional exhaustion is an inevitable effect of the emotional demands of camp counsellor subjectivity. The instruction not to care "too much" directly contradicts the need to be genuine in order for care to be affective and seen as authentic by the camper. Camp counsellors are expected to have meaningful and intimate relationships with campers and abruptly move on when the campers leave and new ones arrive. There is little time and recognition, if any, given to the emotional effects on or processing of camp counsellors emotions.

⁶ Eric worked for a camp that specifically recruited campers from disadvantaged or marginalized families/populations.

Camp counsellors are expected to maintain a happy face in front of campers and staff no matter how difficult they found a situation to deal with:

I sometimes felt like I had to put on a face like I was enjoying it and like I was really enjoying them [campers] and doing these things with them because you have to kind of engage them the best that you can. And if you let on that ...this really sucks and I'm not having a good time at all with you [campers] right now because you're a big pain," that's not going to be very productive. So you do have to kind of fake it in that way sometimes (Lisa).

Sara felt particularly troubled when denied entitlement to grieve the death of a camper because she was not family⁷. She said, "...last year, actually, one of my campers passed away and I remember ...I was so grumpy and like, so angry. And they [friends] were like "why are you in such a bad mood?" For Sara, the rules about confidentiality made it impossible for her to talk about her camp employment experiences with friends. Zoey worked at a similar camp and had also experienced grief for a camper who had subsequently died. In particular, Zoey expressed frustration about who was and was not informed of the child's death which was said to be guided by policy. To Zoey there appeared to be a "double standard." Because the death took place outside of the camp season, only a handful of staff were told. Zoey found out through social media. Camp counsellors, thus, navigate complex discourses that subsume their emotional responses as well as their sense of importance in the organisation. The lack of recognition for the emotion work and personal connections made by camp counsellors often mean that they have insufficient support for processing the effects of their emotion work.

Challenging children's problems and behaviours: loving the unlovable

Meier and Mitchell's textbook immediately flags the complexities of caring for campers, "a camp counsellor must sincerely enjoy children, even when they are noisy, uncooperative, impulsive, or demanding" (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, p. 45). Although camp counsellors are expected to "sincerely enjoy ...children," Meier and Mitchell (1993, p. 56, textbook) point out that children can present behaviours that challenge and frustrate even the most patient carers. They address this issue by stating, "... a good camp counsellor must understand other people, be able to find good traits or qualities to appreciate in each of them, and have the ability to ungrudgingly accept others' quirks and peculiarities, whatever they may be" (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, p. 45, textbook). Meier and Mitchell's statement, however, does not appear to account for the number and diversity of campers. For example, Lisa described the kinds of campers at her site:

⁷ Sara worked for a camp specifically for children with cancer and their siblings.

...the youngest we would take was 4 and they could go up to 15/16 ... And there was a range of socio-economic backgrounds, we had a few kids from foster care. They were there through Children Aids Society (CAS)... We often had a number of kids with various special needs, whether it was a physical disability or other special needs kids that came with a support worker.

Camp discourses that promote not only the inclusion of all children but that camp will benefit all children appear to override critical reflection on the resources, qualifications and emotional maturity required of young camp counsellors. Interview participants told story after story about the challenges of all kinds of “special needs kids” (Grant, James, Lisa, Lucy, Rachel, Richard, Sara, Sophie, Terri and Vicky). Still more recounted behavioural challenges presented by campers that they found “overwhelming,” “confrontational” or “unexpected” (Devon, Elizabeth, Elissa, Eric, Grant, Henry, Lisa, Lucy, Matthew, Rachel, Sophie, Tom, Troy, Trudy, Vicky and Zoey). Camp counsellors are positioned as psy-experts and are expected to help children meet norms of childhood development. Camp counsellors are also positioned, through assemblages of childhood expertise, to be knowledgeable in addressing and caring for ‘at risk’ youth (N. Rose, 1990a).

Ross’s (2009) textbook offers insight and advice to camp counsellors for some of the more common “special” needs they might encounter and need to address. In the chapter labelled “Camper Problems,” Ross describes “bedwetting, homesickness, fears, motivating senior campers, staff kids, self-centred campers, complainers, theft, bullying, complaints from parents,” and “helicopter parents” (2009, pp. viii-ix, textbook). In the chapter labelled “Disorders,” Ross explores “attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder, attention deficit disorder, obsessive-compulsive disorder,” and “Tourette Syndrome” (2009, p. ix, textbook). This is followed by a chapter regarding “Inclusion” which considers “the camper with disabilities, hearing impairment, visual impairment” and/or “learning disabilities” (Ross, 2009, p. ix, textbook). The list of “common” challenges presented by Ross appears extensive but seems somewhat limited in light of the issues reported by interview participants. For example, Vicky reported some campers having “pretty high level special needs like autism and no vocabulary at all.” Interview participants reported a range of challenges to the care of campers including conditions like haemophilia (Grant), sickle cell (Richard), Prader-Willi Syndrome (Grant), Down Syndrome (Amie, Elissa, Grant, James, Lisa and Rachel), ADD and ADHD and Ritalin holidays (Elissa), and Anxiety disorders (Elissa). The campers are hence judged to be in need of expert care with camp counsellors positioned as social workers or psy-experts to govern or intervene in order to enhance their well-being.

Camper issues, in some cases, were relatively minor, for example, a camper's blanket falling off in the middle of the night and him calling for his counsellor to put it back on or boys taking naked pictures of each other on disposable cameras (Grant). Others were more complex. Vicky described a "girl that every time you would let go of her hand she would scream because she would need two people holding her hands at all times cause she couldn't handle being at camp. It was way too much for her." Vicky also told of multiple campers arriving at camp with lice while Elissa recounted a camper with an unexplained wart-like skin condition. Difficult behaviours were often seen by interview participants to be connected to a range of factors including mental health conditions linked to domestic violence/neglect (Bonnie, Elissa, Eric, Lisa, Tess, Troy, and Vicky) or familial alcohol abuse (Eric). The range and variety of problems that confronted camp counsellors were extensive and complex. Camp counsellors felt burdened by the responsibility and expectation that they would address and/or improve these issues for their camper(s). At the very least, camp counsellors were expected to "integrate" and normalise these campers with little information, in some cases, and to varying degrees of success (Elissa).

Devon talked about becoming an "awakening counsellor" which entailed being one of four counsellors responsible for "7 kids" that all had significant physical disabilities such as "cerebral palsy, spinal bifida and muscular dystrophy." His campers were often wheelchair-bound, some non-verbal and most needed toileting assistance. Devon said, "I guess the transfer from being a cabin counsellor to be an awakening counsellor was a big shift and I wasn't really sure how to do that." Devon, who was under 18 years of age at the time of the interview, was "kind of in charge of the medication." I asked if there was a protocol for the dispensing of these medications and Devon said "No, not really just as long as the kids get it." Ironically, Devon's camp did not allow campers with "mental health disorders" because "there has to be very specialised training for that." Devon's camp had begun to recognize that there were limitations to what camp counsellors could be responsible for. However, consideration of training had not yet been applied to the care of campers with significant physical disabilities. Discourses of camp's inclusive culture benefiting all participants and pastoral care technologies therefore, positioned camp counsellors as the providers of comprehensive care with little, if any, consideration of their resources, training, experience and emotional maturity to do so. The lack of screening criteria and/or camper selection as well as cabin allocation process would suggest that matching camper needs with camp counsellor and camp organizational resources were not always prioritized.

My own experiences of camp employment, as well as those of friends and family, share a variety of challenging camper diagnoses and related behaviours. One friend was allocated a

group of junior boys (8-10 year olds) with two diagnosed ADD or ADHD children and one with Acquired Brain Injury (ABI). This boy had been prescribed to attend camp as a therapeutic intervention to support his socialization in the face of his injury (ABI) from a car accident less than a year earlier. Needless to say the challenges were significant. I have personally experienced what is commonly known as a “Ritalin holiday” where children with ADD or ADHD are directed by their physicians to abstain from their mood stabilizing drugs for a week or two every year in order to avoid drug intolerance. Parents generally choose to send their child to camp during this time, presumably, to avoid the behavioural issues that usually arise from this practice. In addition, parents often choose not to disclose this to the camp in order not to be turned away. Andy and Elissa both told “Ritalin holiday” stories about the mayhem that this caused for campers, counsellors and directors as they discovered the cause. These stories only scratch the surface of the distress that the individual child must experience as they suddenly lose control in a strange environment and get reprimanded for “being bad” rather than recognised as being physiologically not well. In summer camps, it is camp counsellors who are expected to render abnormal into normal behaviour through camp activities. Camp counsellors often felt distressed by campers’ poor behaviours because they often viewed camper behaviour as their responsibility. This was despite either knowing the child was off their medication or not knowing that parents had chosen to send a child off-medication to camp.

Well-meaning charitable organizations further increased and complicated the expectations of camp counsellors by withholding details of their clients attending camp. Grant and Lisa both discussed the challenges presented when working with Reach for the Rainbow. Reach for the Rainbow places children and adults with special needs in camp environments with the intention of providing experiences of belonging to their clients, opportunities for diversity education for others, and respite for client’s parents (Reach for the Rainbow, 2014). Reach for the Rainbow withholds a portion of client information to avoid stereotyping. However, this presents significant challenges for accomplishing the objectives of integration and education:

I know that their policy is not to label and I think that’s great and I understand where it comes from but for working with the kids and seeing the counsellors struggle and the things they struggle with; whether it’s integrating them, asking the kids question, or knowing how to integrate them. A lot of this does come with having a label. I mean realistically a label’s not just for kids, there’s labels for everybody whether it’s the jock, the drama queen. ... if I had a camper with diabetes, yes they’re a camper with diabetes ...we need to know that. ...Realistically someone who has Downs Syndrome... not everything is going to connect with them ... And some of them we do know, it’s pretty

obvious if someone has Downs Syndrome but some of the more complex one's...but you need all the tools. ... they [Reach for the Rainbow] don't always see that, which almost makes our jobs harder. ...like with me and my director, we pick which counsellor had which [Reach] kid based on us knowing them as staff... We're not going to pick our first year staff and put them with our most disabled camper because they're going to fall flat on their faces and it's not going to work for either one of them (Grant).

Ironically Rachel said, "When Reach for the Rainbow comes in to train, they ... give labels to what they're teaching." This demonstrates a double-standard that camp counsellors and managers feel bound to accept. Grant and Rachel both spoke about the increased pressure placed on camp staff because they are discouraged to contact parents prior to their Reach for the Rainbow camper arriving:

...with any other camper we would without a doubt pick up the phone if we had questions, and say ... "can you verify this? Your child has diabetes, we needed to know ahead of time." ... We don't hesitate, we pick up the phone and call but with these parents you hesitate because the way Reach for the Rainbow is. And you don't want to offend because ... you're working with Reach for the Rainbow; they're funding it, they're bringing the equipment if it's needed, they're your major resource (Rachel).

Rachel articulated the need for all parties to recognise that a camper's experience, especially those with special needs, required camp counsellors to be well trained, resourced and informed.

In addition to many camper challenges, camp counsellors are also positioned to recognise and address the behaviour of parents and/or guardians. A number of interview participants discussed times where they found out about or were told about incidents of abuse and/or neglect. These experiences were confronting for young camp counsellors and their managers:

I had no concept that parents would do such horrible things to their children. ...when I started working, it was a real eye-opener to see kids who consistently didn't have the things that they needed; no sunscreen, no water, if they brought lunch their bread was mouldy and so it was a shock and I just couldn't wrap my head around how somebody could do that to anybody, but especially their child. ...In my first summer, I think the thing that I was exposed to the most was inappropriate discipline which often did take the form of physical abuse (Elissa).

Elissa, Lisa and Vicky, all recounted times when they or another camp staff reported a concern to Children's Aid Society. However, Lisa and Vicky also spoke about their attempts to send a child back home due to inappropriate behaviour (e.g., violence toward other campers or staff) but were unable to:

I went to call his parents... and I can't get a hold of them. So then I called his emergency contact, and the emergency contact says "they didn't tell us that we were his emergency contact and if he's in trouble we don't want anything to do with that." Like they were not coming and getting this kid, there was no way (Lisa).

While most camps prepare their camp counsellors to recognize the signs of abuse and support them should they have to address an incident of this nature (Silver Loon Camp and Peterson Camp Staff Manuals, 2009), Elissa put it eloquently when she said "I don't think it ever gets easy to deal with."

Many camp counsellors bemoaned the logic, or lack thereof, in allocating campers to cabins. Andy, for example, questioned the allocation of children with various mental health diagnoses (e.g., Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder, Asperger, Acquired Brain Injury, etc.) in one cabin. His frustration demonstrated the pressures camp counsellors felt to deliver a positive and harmonious social environment under challenging circumstances. Given that most children who attend camps generally have their own room at home, or share with one sibling, moving in with seven to ten children they have never met before (and with varying backgrounds) can be challenging. Camp counsellors are expected to manage difficult camper behaviours and "deal with it" (Henry). Lisa concluded that camp managers should:

...have a bigger focus on dealing with challenging behaviour, because I think that's where a lot of counsellors who are very under prepared and it's sort of just a lack of experience. They haven't had that experience of dealing with kids who are potentially coming to camp with some pretty heavy issues and some pretty challenging behaviour and they just don't know how to react sometimes. They [camp counsellors] can become very quickly overwhelmed ... Then things tend to escalate ... So I think it's only fair to provide them [camp counsellors] with as much support and with as many strategies as possible ...because it's very hard. It's very hard for experts who have done it for 20 years let-alone a 16 year old who's never worked before.

The implications for camp managers, therefore, are significant in their need to develop and implement reflexive and ethical practices that address their duty of care for both campers and camp employees.

Care and Command: pastoral power in the governing of camp selves

Many camp organizations provide instructions to inexperienced camp counsellors about how to manage camper behaviour (Ross, 2009, textbook). Camp counsellors are taught how to govern and take up the government of camper conduct. Behaviour management within camps is expected to be done through the compassionate embodiment of pastoral care rather than in

commanding ways (Dooley 1978, see also Chapter 3). It is the former that features in camp texts (e.g., manuals and Mission Statements) with words like “nurturing” (Camp Bimini, 2012; Camp Kannawin, 2012; YMCA Camp Wanakita, 2012, Purpose Statements), “inclusive” (Camp Bimini, 2012; Camp Couchiching, 2012, Purpose Statements) and “valued” (Camp Couchiching, 2012; Glen Mhor Camp, 2012, Purpose Statements). The Peterson Camp Staff Manual (2009) lists commanding techniques that are not acceptable and then offers suggestions for ways to gain compliance from campers that are more in keeping with the pastoral and Christian ethos of their camps. For example, “be patient and calm in your behaviour, actions and responses” or “State suggestions in a positive rather than a negative manner” (Peterson Camp Staff Manual, 2009). This was also reflected in comments made by interview participants such as:

A good counsellor is able to get all their campers to work as a team and to be positive, you know, it's not possible to be positive all the time but to just be balanced, I suppose, and understand they're not going to be in the best of moods every day and neither are those kids and let's just try and learn how to cooperate with one another (Henry).

Interview participants (David, Elissa, Eric, Lisa, Terri, Tess and Zoey) mobilized pastoral care discourses in the patient ways they expected camp counsellors to discipline children no matter the emotional cost it may have (e.g., always understanding even when in a bad mood). Camper behaviour management, therefore, required camp counsellors to embody and express emotions that are kind, empathetic (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, textbook) and persuasive, to the extent that campers not only comply but that they want to comply (with enthusiasm).

Camp experiences are purported to be fun and consequently counsellors' behaviour management styles and techniques are expected to also be fun. In an attempt to tame and curtail the exuberant energy of a cabin of junior boys (10-12 years), and in the spirit of recreation and fun, a friend created 'fart tennis.' Fart tennis was a bedtime activity where the boys called out “serve” or “return” as appropriate to complete a scoring game of tennis with farts as the metaphorical balls being lobbed. This activity was designed to ‘occupy’ the boys in a positive way to keep them from their own chaotic ingenuity during unstructured time. My friend exercised a technique of power through the invention of a ‘fun’ activity and the mobilisation of compassionate pastoral care discourses to govern their behaviour. Not all attempts at ‘fun’ behaviour management delivered the “patience, kindness and concern” pastoral care described by Dooley (1978, p. 183) or desired by many camp textbooks (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, textbook; Ross, 2009, textbook). In one instance, what appeared to camp staff as a ‘fun’ way to manage camper behaviours, was experienced as humiliating and hurtful:

...campers who misbehaved, were not only pointed out by the counsellors but then the director would gather them up. She'd tie them together with a skipping rope and staff licked marshmallows and threw them at the kids, which on the surface might have seemed like a sort of silly discipline...but emotionally they were being abused. It was humiliating for them (Elissa).

Elissa was an onlooker to this example of 'fun' discipline but was shocked, "It was disgusting and on what level is that appropriate? You know even being 10 I had a sense of indignation of what was happening to those campers." A disciplinary practice, like the one described by Elissa, governs both those upon whom it is exercised and those who wish not to be subjected to the same punishment. While this form of behaviour management was likely to be seen as 'fun' and harmless (Elissa), it highlights that young people may simply not have the experience or insight to recognize the effects of these techniques and thus highlights the hefty responsibility that camp counsellors are charged with (Steph and Lucy). Camp managers, therefore, are tasked with the responsibility of ensuring that camp counsellors are capable of the pastoral power invested in them for behaviour management but in ways that avoid causing harm.

A young person's ability to 'know' what is, and what is not, appropriate management of children cannot be assumed. Lisa's story exemplifies what can happen when a camp counsellor is overwhelmed and under skilled,

...a kid came to camp with purple bruises on their chest and the parent pulled up the kids shirt and said "my kid came home with this last night and said that so-and-so was pinching him and that's how this happened" ... so we asked him what happened... he tells us, "well yeah and I did it to that kid, and that kid" ...turned out there was like 3 other kids that parents didn't even know about it. ...So we phoned the other parents and let them know what had happened, and then we phoned CAS [Children's Aid Society]. ...Then he was let go ...It was really unfortunate because he wasn't nasty or really mean or wanting to hurt those kids. I honestly feel like he didn't know better So that's [pinching] what he resorted to, without having the real skills or resources that he needed to handle it in a more appropriate way. And that was our fault for putting him in that situation... He was not ready to be in that level of responsibility with no one around. ... So it was really on us. And also a negative experience for him ...he was in tears when we ... said "you're done, you're going home." ...It was a nightmare.

This example, illustrates why the responsibility and maturity of camp counsellors is, and should be, a serious concern for those managing young people. The heavy regulation of camp counsellors' sleep patterns, free time, alcohol consumption, personal relationships or any variables that can have a negative impact on camp counsellor judgment appear justified in light of stories like these (see Chapter 5). Yet the time and energy invested in writing policies and

conducting training regarding these aspects appears ill used in light of the lack of guidance and/or supervision of camp counsellors' conduct.

While a servant leadership philosophy provides a style of pastoral care that is largely positive, it can leave camp staff feeling emotionally exhausted. Discourses of the relentless self-sacrifice of servant leadership (see Chapter 5) and demanding work conditions of camp counsellors (see Chapter 6) do not account for the fallibility, youthfulness and inexperience of camp counsellors, or for the inadequate time for rest and reflection at camp. There is little acknowledgement amongst camp employees or from managers of the challenges that pastoral care presents. Ironically, Lisa attempted to normalize concerning events by saying that "I felt like the staff was reasonably well prepared. I mean they're not experts; they've only done a reasonable amount of training and they are only young – most staff are teenagers or early twenties" but insisted that "It was a nice atmosphere and it all came together." Comments like these were frequently stated throughout interviews. While this may have been employed as an emotional processing technique, normalizing language and practices also work to silence, suppress and limit the expression of experiences that don't align with discourses about the beneficial fun of camp experiences. Consequently, the emotional demands of challenging camper problems and behaviours are infrequently or inconsistently taken up by managers.

Camp counsellors, in their roles as caring pastors (see Chapter 5), are required to "determine how best to offer help" (Meier & Mitchell, 1993, p. 46, textbook) and as such camp counsellors are positioned to analyze and shape campers interiority "In their effort to secure a productive and healthy citizenry" (McCuaig, 2012, pp. 870-871). Pastoral power, assisted by the confessionals of campers, assumes that camp counsellors "know" the "consciences" of campers (Foucault, 1982a, p. 783). Camp counsellors are, thus, positioned to not only know what is best for campers but also how best to shape the subjectivity of campers towards normalized camp discourses of moral character development. Camp counsellors govern themselves and demonstrate to campers how to govern their own selves in accordance with camp norms. For example, Sophie's camp director would "give you one of those talks" not to feel sad when discovering a camper's cancer diagnosis like "They're not here to be patients... you're not being fair to yourself or the camp." The director's talk acted as a technique of discipline inasmuch as it influenced Sophie to govern her own feelings in alliance with specific emotional discourses of her camp. Camp counsellors are often not fully aware of the ways in which they are positioned and hence how they may "shape children's lives through caring for them" (Barber, 2002, p. 386). Camp counsellors may not understand the "extent to which moral obligations are associated

with roles” (Mendus, 2009, p. 26) and yet, they are agents of pastoral power that disciplines bodies through shaping campers’ own subjectification.

Camp communitas: living camp counsellor social life

Camp participants are encouraged, by the geographical and social isolation of camp experiences, to step outside their “structural roles and obligations” (Sharpe, 2005a, p. 256) and invest in the camp community (see Prologue). The liminality of camp space and time, including the limitations of contact with ‘home,’ contribute to the possibility of experiencing communitas (see Chapters 2 and 3). David reinforced that the isolation from the news of the world (personal and global) intensified the camp experience because there was little broader information to hinge one’s perspectives of reality on, “Like Canada could be invaded and we would have no idea...unless somebody called.” Personal communication devices, which have become mainstays of youth experiences, are often banned in the hopes of creating more cohesion among camp counsellors (Henry and Arthur). Camp participants build relationships with one another in the interest of experiencing community and in the absence of other, more familiar, relations. Camp is seen as an opportunity to make social connections. It is about “that sort of opportunity to connect with other people who are like you and forget that you have a disability for a while, or not be the odd one out, or that kind of thing” (Terri). The following sections explore the intensification of social relationships within the camp ‘bubble,’ the pressures this creates for camp counsellors and how they manage these in various ways. This section concludes by exploring the expected highs and lows of a summer camp season for on-site staff and the power of nostalgic discourses to promote happy memories and storying of camp experiences while forgetting and/or ignoring others. By mobilising camp discourses of friendship and utopian community, experiences that do not fit are further distanced from and silenced in camp experiences.

“Everything is more intense” (Beth): the social pressure of camp relationships

The strong emotional connections with others, such as “that really strong connect of friends at camp” (April), was unanimously assumed to be positive and aligns with marketing discourses of lifelong friendships (Camp Bimini, 2012, website, see also Chapter 5). Experiences of camp communitas were also reported to be emotionally intense (Andy, April, Beth, David, Devon, Eric, James, Lisa, Sara, Terri, Vicky and Zoey). Olaveson (2001) argues:

...the very act of congregating is an exceptionally powerful stimulant. Once the individuals are gathered together, a sort of electricity is generated from their closeness and quickly launches them to an extraordinary height of exaltations. Every emotion

expressed resonates without interference in consciousness that are wide open to external impressions, each one echoing the others (Olaveson, 2001, p. 99).

Andy, April, Vicky and Zoey, described similar experiences which suggested that relationships at camp were accelerated, porous and intensified by simply being at camp (Andy, April, Vicky and Zoey). Terri said, "I don't think people know...how intense it is because you are living there, and you are living in it." Although this is anticipated by some, as James commented, "I've heard that it gets really, really intense" others underestimate the social context of camp. Yet the intensity appeared to be a reasonable trade off, and normalised, for the benefits of living in a utopian-like community (Tess and Trudy).

Some interview participants described the social camp environment as being intense in negative ways (Andy, April, Beth, James, Terri, Vicky and Zoey). These statements referred to a kind of pressure that they felt about being expected to be close to or connected with everyone (at all times) in the camp community. For example, Andy said:

"It's almost at camp you have to know everything that's going on ...Even among the staff there's like a little clique here and a clique there and you're like "Ah what's going on?" and "Who's doing what on their days off?""

Tom confirms "there are no real secrets at camp. Usually if a few people know something then everyone knows." Numerous interview participants agreed that "camp community has such rampant gossip" (Beth) and, for the most part, this was seen as unavoidable within camp communities (Andy, Beth, David, Devon, Elissa, Grant, Terri, Tess, Tom, Troy, and Trudy). In Devon's camp, staff would regularly update camp gossip through all-camp skits that thinly disguised the identity of the person/s involved. Tess said, "people start talking behind other people's backs and ... bickering." It would appear that gossip serves as a technology of intensified surveillance within the camp panopticon. While gossip was sometimes cathartic for camp counsellors (see Chapter 6), this practice ensured that others 'know' and could evaluate and govern their own and others behaviour.

Other pressures reported about camp counsellor social life included being constantly observed by campers (Andy, Ed) and other staff (Tom). The continuous peer evaluation of camp counsellors also meant that an individual's work ethic and work load were a point of contention and complaint such as "he's not working as hard as I am or she's not pulling her weight" (Tom). The nostalgia Trudy's peers held for the previous year's staff made it hard for her to relax because she felt she was always being seen as less fun. As a consequence, Trudy became "hypersensitive to what fun looks like." The pressure created by intensified surveillance meant that behaviours that "would be a non-issue" outside of camp would "get on peoples' nerves" as

the summer wore on (Elissa). Complaints like “you didn’t keep your campers quiet... I saw you take an extra piece of garlic bread at lunch” or “I heard that you went to the movies and didn’t invite me” (Elissa) demonstrated that even the smallest acts could cause irritation and were up for contestation regardless of being on or off camp counsellor time. Both David and Beth talked about how, at camp, it was easy to make too much of something small:

I think that a huge part is the fact that the camp community is usually in a residential setting, such a closed community, that things that wouldn’t be issues in other professions get magnified because it’s such a tiny environment ...I think in most professions you go home, have dinner, go to a movie, talk to your friends and come back the next day and have a fresh perspective but at camp, you stew about it and you get worried about it and it builds (Beth).

With little time or options to be away from one another, summer camps become a social pressure cooker for the staff that remain on site all summer.

Camp counsellors are expected to develop close, warm and strong emotional ties with other camp staff for the duration of the summer. Discourses of social belonging pervaded all layers of camp hierarchy and staffing structures (Andy, Elissa, Eric, Grant, James, Rachel, Tess, Troy and Trudy). In this way, camp counsellors were under pressure to create *communitas* among staff. With little ability to draw on support from relationships outside the camp community and few opportunities to switch off from camp norms, social relationships within ‘the bubble’ proved to be strenuous. Some interview participants talked about a need for escape or a desire for personal space even at the cost of friendships. For example, Terri said;

I’m very happy to do a meal or hang out with these people but this is my time off. I don’t have to be “on” right now. So I don’t want to have to pretend to like someone who I wouldn’t necessarily hang out with in normal social situations.

Camp counsellors must learn to manage the pressures of life and work in the camp ‘bubble.’ Rachel discovered ways to carve out time alone that allowed her, if only mentally, to separate from the demands of camp:

I learnt to use my time off, my first few summers it was all about going and hanging out with everybody but I started to realize especially as the age gap got bigger I didn’t care if I hung out with all the staff. I would go read my book and sleep, or whatever. I learnt to say “no” on night-off to people who wanted a ride into town. “Yes, I have a vehicle. I may not decide to go in [to town] and I’m not going to let you drive it [car] because it’s my vehicle.” ...I may go in to town but I’m only doing it with my close friends. As mean as that sounds, I need that time for my sanity.

When I questioned what Rachel meant about being mean, she replied:

I don't know. ...it's because I have the car and I should be nice and give you the same opportunity as me. And there are plenty of nights off where I drove people in to town but there were some nights where I didn't want to ...So guilty.

Rachel's comments demonstrated how she governed her own behaviour and feelings in accordance with discourses of being friends with everybody (see Chapter 5). She placed the needs of others before her own and, by consequence, felt guilty refusing their requests or tending to her own self-care (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Despite discourses of *communitas* and belonging in camp, this is not always possible. Trudy suggested that camp's social life often relies on "a real in-group" and, while some outsiders "have succeeded", not everybody feels like they belong to the same degree, at different times. Rachel told of a summer where one camp counsellor, and past camp friend, "spread rumours" and "got a couple of staff who were new to really hate me without knowing me." It made for one of Rachel's worst camp experiences because she felt there was little she could do to rectify the situation. Experiences of social isolation or ostracism are exaggerated in an environment like camp, where discourses and performance of community require that everyone belongs and is special (Elizabeth, Grant, Rachel, Troy and Zoey). The stripping away of familiar roles and statuses necessary for anti-structural reality in which *communitas* can emerge makes participants vulnerable. Camp participants must find support in people they have only just met and who are also embedded in the same social milieu as they are. This makes camp communities dangerous, in the Foucauldian sense, because camp counsellors mobilise discourses of friendship uncritically and lack perspective on healthy relationship formation. That is, camp social life is not bad, in fact the acceptance of camp culture is highly revered, but a unidirectional discourse of 'one big happy family' can alienate camp participants when they are not or do not feel, included.

The emotions of camp life course and warmth of nostalgia

A number of interview participants discussed the life course of a camp summer (Andy, Beth, Elissa, James, Lisa, Sara, Terri and Tom). Beth summed it up by choosing the first session of the summer to be a camper (if she could go back and make that choice):

I always said if I could be a camper at any camp anywhere anytime I would want to be in the very first session of camp when every body's excited, everybody's up, everybody's keen. ... I feel very sorry for the end of July and early August campers because you go through that dip ...when everything's the same. The end of the summer is pretty good because now the team is about to dissolve, you'll never be together again ... so you do everything you can to finish strong and give everybody a great time but you're also

starting to look forward to whether you're going to be going to school ... or you're going to get a full-time job so the campers tend to become a lower priority at the end of camp than they do at the beginning of camp.

The summer was described, by most interview participants that commented on camp life courses, in a similar way (Andy, Elissa, Tom and Terri). In fact, Beth paired these phases of camp summers with displays of emotions that were common and expected from camp counsellors. She called them the "the eight faces of camp" after an actor friend who "...used his face to show that emotion of how happy I am to be here, and then the lull, and thank goodness we're almost done" (Beth). Tom agreed that "people start to get tired in the middle session" and Elissa said that her camp "traditionally called this 'melt down week' ... because we're going to lose two or three staff to a cold, extreme tiredness or the flu." Andy suggested that "counsellor quality... diminishes a bit" in the last session of the summer but then said that everyone gets a "boost" from "the games" (an Olympic style all-camp competition) which rounds out the last week of camper experiences. The beginning of the summer may mean that staff are inexperienced but they are enthusiastic, the middle of the summer is the lowest time for morale and highest for fatigue and the final effort is usually strong even if staff are a little absent because they are making future plans (Beth), bored with the repetition of programming (Terri) or totally worn out (Andy and Terri).

In particular Andy and Terri commented on the fatigue and exhaustion of staff as they neared the end of the summer. Andy said that "especially toward the end of the summer, people left or were tired, resource staff was down and they were like "you know, we're stretching ourselves thin: It's hard." The camp Andy worked for was in the habit of hiring thirty percent more staff than required with the knowledge that they would either fire or lose that many staff over the course of the summer. Even then they did not always have a sufficient workforce come the final camper session. Terri felt sorry for the campers that came toward the end of the summer:

... like stretching every last ounce of anything you have, so you become short, and that's not who you want to be, but it's all you have. ... You feel so bad for it, but you also need to realize that it's natural, and you shouldn't be expected to be happy go lucky, like that's not fair either I don't think.

Terri recognised the emotion work of being a "happy" camp counsellor twenty-four hours, six days a week for eight to nine weeks is just too much to ask. The intensity of summer camp's social community, despite best attempts to manage the pressures of camp counsellor roles, cannot last. Matthew put it eloquently, "You can't do that kind of community emotionally and spiritually for a long time. You can't!" (Matthew). In fact, Olaveson argues, "a very intense social

life always does a sort of violence to the individual's body and mind and disrupts their normal functioning. This is why it can last for only a limited time" (2001, p. 100). The costs of camp community intensity are reflected in the shortness of the camp season (and even shorter camper stays) even if participants are disappointed when it ends (Arthur, Beth, Terri and Trudy).

Andy, Beth and Bonnie all spoke about the let down or "post-camp blues" (Bonnie) they experienced after they returned home from a summer at camp. Beth said "There's a great mourning period for me ... it's kind of sad" and Trudy referred to readjusting to life outside of camp as "grief." It appeared some interview participants suffered a kind of reverse culture shock when they returned home and had to adjust to family relationships and home culture (Bonnie, Elissa, James and Trudy). Bonnie said that her parents know not to talk to her for a couple days while she adjusts. The abrupt terminations of camp friendships, intense feelings of belonging and experiences of *communitas* can be jarring for staff when they are suddenly cut-loose. In addition, there is the emotional exhaustion that they are usually experiencing at the conclusion of a summer (April, Elissa, Eric, Lisa, Rachel, Steph, Terri, Trudy and Zoey). Rachel even described this experience as "the four phases of exhaustion" that concluded with a kind of manic "overdrive." When I asked James if he stayed in touch with any other camp counsellors he replied that he didn't. While he acknowledged that they were "close" at camp, after leaving, "Everybody goes back to their normal life" (James). While others said they stayed in contact with some camp friends (Lisa and Tom), Beth and Tom both thought that maintaining non-camp relationships while in camp and vice versa was next to impossible. Elissa acknowledged that maintaining camp relationships when the camp 'bubble' had concluded was hard; however she said those she did want to stay connected with she could always find on Facebook. This knowledge helped Elissa get through her post-camp experience. It appeared, however, that there was very little communication or support offered to camp counsellors in the post-camp period. The absence of guidance through the post-camp experience seems disproportionate to the pre-camp staff preparation and raises questions as to the responsibility of camp organisers for the emotional effects of the work performed by camp counsellors.

In contrast, there were some relationships that Elissa, for example, was not interested in maintaining past summer. The frustrations of managing relationships within the camp 'bubble' had worn her out and she was surprised others were so enamoured at the summer's conclusion:

I can remember our end of summer celebration we sort of had a closing time where we had vespers and some of the people in the circle were crying and were like "this was the best summer of my life", "I feel like we just lived in this little bubble of protection and

love and it was fantastic,” and I was like “are you nuts? Did you work at the same camp that I did?” Like, this was a very difficult summer. We had challenging situations. There were times when we were not speaking to one another. What’s wrong with you people?

Camp nostalgia often obscured camp counsellor memories of the social and emotional challenges:

I know there were days where I was like “everything is wrong” – I know I had them. Now I’m looking back through rose coloured glasses. I am only remembering the things I miss as opposed to all the things that drove me nuts at the time (Sophie).

Nostalgic storytelling of camp experiences contributes to the rosiness of camp memories and mobilises camp discourses of fun, reward and happiness. Nostalgia works to maintain the status quo of the camp ‘bubble;’ if you can’t remember anything wrong with your camp experiences than you won’t change anything. Camp practices, like nostalgic storying of camp experiences (including popular media representations) is a discursive practice that is bound up with relations of power. Hence, nostalgia shapes how camp counsellors experience the emotional demands of their role. Nostalgia, however, does not remedy all problems. Both Mary and Bonnie felt burnt out to such an extent that they said, “I don’t know about camp before I hated it” and “I never ever want to be a camp director again...I don’t want that life. No way” respectively. Meeting the emotional demands of camp employment took such a toll on these interview participants that not even powerful discourses and practices of remembering camp in utopian ways could override their dislike and exhaustion. The tensions of nostalgia and emotional costs open up discussion about the emotion work at the heart of camp experiences.

Summary

Camp counsellors are expected to embody happiness and caring in order to deliver positive experiences and moral character development to campers. They are expected to be, and have, fun while governing their own and others’ conduct (campers, parents, peers). Camp counsellors’ emotions are assumed to come ‘naturally’ through the embodiment of camp discourses and hence will appear ‘genuine’ at all times. Inclusive and meaningful social connections are assumed to be facilitated by camp counsellors for all participants within camp contexts. Yet the emotion work of camp counsellors remains invisible and the demands are normalized by psy-discourses of personal development and growth. As Beth describes, “I think the bubble is very real in terms of learning how to cope and learning how to manage your time and learning how to deal with gossip and issues and all those things that go wrong.” This chapter considered how camp discourses and practices normalize the invisibility of camp counsellor emotion work and the effect of this work on their wellbeing. From the hyper-

happiness expressed by and expected of camp counsellors to the hyper-silliness of fatigue, the liminality of camp intensified social relationships and emotionally charged the working environment. Regardless of the demands of 'loving the unlovable,' the "magic of camp" is such that camp counsellors placed significant value on how they believed camp experiences positively shaped their selves:

And I think also having grown up there and knowing how much it means to me and how much I got out of camp, you know, like that's a huge part of my identity. Which is weird, and I don't know how it happened, you know, it's the magic of camp (Tess).

Being a camp counsellor, however, comes with costs such as emotional exhaustion, ignoring emotional cues of one's wellbeing, governing one's feelings in alliance with camp norms, no or little time for emotional processing and post-camp malaise and adjustment. Consequently, camp managers must reflexively engage with taken-for-granted discourses and practices of emotion that shape camp counsellor experiences and wellbeing in order to ethically support developmental, delivery and post-experience phases of their employment.

EPILOGUE

Introduction

This epilogue is used as a literary device, embedded in the “main story” and “after the climax” in order to add clarity to the positions and “fates” of the characters involved in the narrative told to this point (Literary Devices, 2014). The epilogue comes before the conclusion because it is an integral part of the narrative rather than an afterword (Literary Devices, 2014). I take this opportunity to step out of the pack of contributing actors to speak one-on-one to the audience about one character in particular; myself. While I have shared small glimpses of my own camp experiences throughout this text, I have kept my stories at some distance in order to maintain the clarity of the thesis argument. It is here, in the epilogue, I have permission to “step forward” and speak “directly” (Literary Devices, 2014) about my camp experiences which have shaped my understandings of camp and, inevitably, this dissertation. I also wish to engage reflexively with the multiple roles I have had to assume as part of this research while acknowledging the influence these may have had on the dissertation process. I wish to thank you, the reader, for being patient through the telling of this narrative and acknowledge the “ethos” generated by your participation.

Epilogues are supposed to “tie up loose ends” which, if this was a comedy, would show “the main characters enjoying a happy and contented life” or, if this was a tragedy, would tell of the “tragic hero’s final suffering caused by his poor moral choices” (Literary Devices, 2014). Both of these scenarios cause problems from a post-structural perspective. A ‘happily ever after’ storyline would simply contribute to regimes of camp happiness and the ‘moral of the story’ conclusion suggests a singular truth when, in fact, this research project intended to open up the possibilities for thinking and understanding how camp experiences are produced and experienced. By engaging with a diverse range of forms and genres of story-telling, my research narrative does not assume to be a comedy nor a tragedy but an account of camp experiences and selves captured within particular times and spaces. This epilogue will, therefore, share some of my personal camp stories. These stories reflect the discourses of “sunshine and lollipops” mentioned by one of my respondents, David, which welcomed and made me feel special and, at different times, challenged and alienated me. I do not view the latter as necessarily negative, simply one part of the experience of childhood and growth. However, I would like to suggest that there is something to learn from them which should be shared with others. My hope is that my personal stories will contribute to the scholarship of this text and will benefit the industry to which I have dedicated so much of my time, effort and passion

throughout my life. Simply put, I believe that camp researchers and industry leaders have a responsibility to engage critically with the assumed discourses that shape camp experiences in order to provide ethical and reflexive employment practices that support camp counsellors.

At the heart: engaging the emotions of my camp story

Really? They aren't going to hire me back? This is totally unheard of in the camp world. Everybody gets hired back. I know I would be a good camp counsellor but no one's even given me a chance. I'm good with kids. Kids love me. I've been a swim teacher for a year and my bosses love me at the pool. I'm reliable and positive and the kids love me and learn a lot. Why don't they want me? Did I kiss the wrong person? Did they find out about me and Brad Pitt (pseudonym, of course) making out in the craft cabin? I know my relative caught us but surely he didn't tell. He's so pious though... maybe he did. And she said that the directors' advice was to not hire me again. And my relative was one of the directors.

Maybe they just didn't like me hanging out with Ben so much. He was kind of creepy with his dark spirits and Satan stuff. Did they think I was into that spiritual welfare stuff too?

I can't believe she came all the way to my house and sat in my room... my little sanctuary... and told me I wasn't wanted. I thought she was my friend. She's going to be one of the new directors. And so is that guy's girlfriend. That lazy git who did nothing all summer and I had to work for him. I cleaned toilets all summer while he did nothing. Broken ankle but not so broken that he couldn't fix his bike all summer. And his girlfriend who was so up herself the whole summer and thought she could do things and if I did the same she'd get upset. I suppose she was William's little sister though. How could that be? William was just so nice. How can they even be from the same family? He was one of the nicest counsellors I've ever had. Him and Leanne.

And here's this woman who worked in the kitchen –that's right just the kitchen –not that much better than maintenance –and we used to do milk runs late at night together, and she's telling me I don't have a job. I thought we were friends. Why didn't she fight for me? She must have thought I was not good enough either (personal narrative).

I originally penned this personal piece while I was writing-up my methodology chapter. This narrative was a much needed and well-timed “Aha” moment in the focussing of my study. What I recognised was that my camp experiences were rife with tensions around belonging and not belonging. This personal narrative was designed to reflect the feelings of my sixteen year old self and how I didn't always have the maturity to understand, or power to do, anything about my feelings of exclusion. In particular, the concept and experience of ‘belonging’ was and is, deeply emotion-laden. I was, for example, deeply embedded in the relational fabric of camps in my geographical area but wasn't always accepted. And that hurt. I recall, as a youth, being frustrated with the sometimes intentional, although mostly unintentional, silencing of my

experiences and at the same time I often accepted this as the reality of camp life. The writing of this narrative revealed to me that my study was not only about the stories that were and were not told about camp experiences, but the way in which they affected the storytellers. At the heart of my study was and is the need to better understand the emotional demands and experiences of young people as they negotiate their roles as camp counsellors in the camp context.

I have since come to realize that experiences of exclusion are a significant part of camp experiences that are not represented in academic and popular publications. When I turned a critical eye, as a researcher, on my youthful concerns of belonging I came to understand how an organizational culture can have strong and lasting impacts on what you “see” and what you do not, and what is up for discussion and that which is not. It is through the adoption and adaptation of Foucauldian notions of power-knowledge that I learnt that both seeing and blind spots can exist simultaneously but that this does not, in itself, lead to incongruence or disarray. Post-structural notions of multiplicity and how the self is shaped, shapes and stands in relation to others within particular environments, reinforced for me what I had intuitively felt about the complexities of lived experience (Foucault, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c). For example, I could be at once having fun and feeling carefree while also being aware of the needs of, and caring for, campers. Foucauldian ideas about the production of selves gave me ways of understanding the messiness I had observed, experienced and felt about camp employment without detracting from the value of the experience. Contradictions, in post-structuralism, are not only acknowledged but are seen as an opportunity to look closer at how truth is produced (Foucault, 1982c). My experiences of ‘not belonging,’ which were in contrast to the beneficial and belonging discourses of camp experiences, made it possible for me to see how important it is to engage reflexively with these moments and how these experiences were shaped. By problematising the assumptions that “camp is good for everyone”, my research critically engages with and opens up a space for the multiplicity of embodied camp employment experiences.

Becoming a storyteller: positioning myself in my study

I was initially resistant to fully engage with post-structural literature because of its seeming complexity and lack of certainty. However, I began to surrender my positivist education and embrace post-structural approaches because these ideas could help me make sense of and articulate the nuances and messiness of lived camp experiences. One area of ‘messiness’ has been locating myself within my research project. I am both ‘insider’ with my intimate knowledge and experiences of camp and ‘outsider’ as a researcher who “would attend

to what we hear, see, and sense" (Charmaz 2006, p.3). I have discovered that even the dichotomy of 'in' and 'out' is inadequate to describe the multiple roles, relations and layers of thought I have engaged with throughout this project. I have felt inside, outside and ambiguously in-between on many occasions. As such, I agree with Charmaz that we are "obligated to be reflexive about what we bring to the scene, what we see, and how we see it" (2006, p.15). The researcher plays an active role in the project as interpreter. Even in my own research process I have struggled with just how much of my narratives I should present. I am petrified by my own messiness and other's perceptions of possible narcissism. I am frightened of making myself vulnerable in an academic context. As a researcher, I have struggled with 'how' and even 'if' to write these moments, and consequently myself, into the research project. I am confident these stories belong here now. I agree with Hamilton (1990) and Finlay (2002) that it is necessary to acknowledge my stories and how these contribute to the "co-constitution" of this dissertation. I have included personal narratives in my dissertation for this reason and, perhaps more importantly, to bring alive camp moments for the reader. I want the reader to 'feel' what it's like to be a camp counsellor in the camp world –or 'the bubble' as we call it.

Dupuis (1999, p.49) expresses similar concerns about the possible labels colleagues may assign to her, for example "emotional exhibitionist", should her emotions as a "human" be presented in her work. However, she argues there are inherent risks in omitting or suppressing the "human" self and emotions in the research process; that is, "by ignoring our emotional responses and by failing to participate in continuous self-reflection, our own emotional responses and meanings could cloud our understanding of our participants' experiences" (Dupuis, 1999, p.49). Thus, according to Dupuis, the purpose and strength of including "descriptions of the emotional nature of research, our research and our depictions of the experiences of others" allows our research to "become much more real and accessible to our readers" (1999, p.52). These arguments gave me the confidence to value my own stories and incorporate my camp experiences into this dissertation. As I wrote and reflected on my words, I realised one of my strongest motivations for this doctoral project was my camp experiences -my feelings- of belonging and not belonging. These experiences could make my research come alive for the reader and, for whatever brief moment, the reader could not just *see* but *feel* camp.

Being an 'insider' has meant that my own experiences or "stocks of knowledge" (Dupuis, 1999, p.46) have attuned me to moments of incongruence, contradiction and disparity between that which is published about camp experiences and that which is embodied. It has given me the advantage of being able to converse, using 'insider' language and concepts, with relative ease and flow with interview participants. It has opened doors and given me access to 'camp people'

some of whom I haven't met or been connected to previously. Being an insider has allowed me to roam over my own thoughts and understandings of events from within the context and culture of camp organizations. I have had a keener eye to notice and probe at 'unusual' stories in order to gain a deeper understanding of the processes shaping camp employees. This brought with it warmth and a genuine desire for finding ways of doing camp differently so that young employees are well supported.

The challenge of being an 'insider' has often been in extracting myself from inside 'the bubble,' to view camp cultures afresh and anew. Recognizing, and then unpacking, blind spots or normalised understandings of camp experiences have at times been slow or painful. This is the challenge of integrating and balancing the tensions of both emic and etic perspectives (Morris, Leung, Ames, & Lickel, 1999). For example, the first time one of my PhD supervisors suggested I read literature about cults was unsettling. I wanted to go on the defence. Putting myself under the microscope or analytic gaze has made me uncomfortable and squeamish at times. Problematising camp practices has, however, strengthened my ability to scrutinize and reflect on my experiences, emotions and research in new ways. I have learnt to recognise my memories of summer camp employment as experiences that can be understood and interpreted in many ways and from many perspectives. In the personal narrative from the earlier section, for example, how would that same story be retold by the woman who came to tell me I had no job? And what would that re-telling tell us about the nature of embodying camp discourses? When I examine my experiences through post-structural notions of multiplicity, fragmentation and contradiction, I am comfortable with the stories that are unresolved. Some stories don't have happy endings and some just don't have endings.

A reflexive heart: I never really arrived...not really

I always wanted to be a camp counsellor but, I guess, it never happened. Not really. Not in the way that it counts or would count for most camp folk. I only counselled for a week or two here and there over a span of five or six summers. I actually ended up, for the most part, in roles related to my qualifications with water; lifeguard and waterfront director. Maybe that means I was too qualified? I loved being a camp counsellor but I also tired too easily. Maybe I did too much? Maybe I gave too much? Maybe they just asked for too much? Well, how ever it happened, I never did a full summer end to end as a camp counsellor. So, based on the measurements of most camp staff that would suggest I wasn't a counsellor. Not really.

I don't know if this 'not being a camp counsellor' discredits me as an 'insider' to camps or as a 'researcher' about camps. But it is this 'not' that actually has fuelled my curiosity about camp counsellor experiences. It's because I didn't 'arrive' that I kept following this path of analysis about camp discourses. What is 'arriving' anyway? I mean I had all the

qualities and attributes desirable for 'being' a camp counsellor. And I even performed, rather well I think, as a camp counsellor. I still know how to run an impromptu game or song and how to connect and draw out the most awkward or troubled camper. Heck, these qualities are what allowed me to be successful in the outdoor education field in Queensland and my current role as the Head of College in university residential living. So was it politics then or my lack of age? Did I ask too many questions...uncomfortable questions?

Even though I held a number of higher positions in camps, I never failed to recognise that the golden and most revered position was that of camp counsellor. These guys got to play with kids all day and do all sorts of fun activities with meals provided. They also put in the longest hours, had a sincere smile pasted on their faces, had to be the most understanding, nurturing and fun with campers. This kind of total giving over of self and finding it all a fantastic pleasure was the superior domain of 'THE' camp counsellor. This kind of marathon effort and happiness was kind of awe inspiring. As the waterfront director, I could 'hide' from people if I wanted to ...you know, in the cabin I shared with four other girls. But even despite my sarcasm, I could see from the waterfront 'sidelines' that the experiences of camp counsellors were unusually stressed, pressured, regulated, and surveyed (personal narrative).

If I had gotten a camp counsellor job maybe none of this would have happened? Maybe I would never have asked questions and sought answers? However, I've always asked tons of questions and I'm pretty sure that's what got me into a bit of trouble. Critical questions are hard to bear and even more so from 16 year old teenagers who, of course, have the answers for everything. Maybe I would never have noticed the 'cracks' in the glossy veneer of camp discourses. I may have, like many others, accepted the discourses of positive and beneficial camper experiences and governed myself and others in conforming ways. Not having a typified camp employment experience was a catalyst in propelling my curiosity to understand the ruptures to 'truth' of camp norms. This project has taught me about the 'messiness' of camp experiences and of self. I enjoy the richness that post-structural approaches offer in the quest to understand 'how' experiences are constituted through language without trying to reduce the richness of narrative to simplified definitions. Most of all, I have learnt and now argue, that there is a need and responsibility for camp industry and academic leaders to engage reflexively with diverse emotional experiences of employees when making policy and management decisions.

By making space for stories that do not fit the norm or assumptions about an experience, like camp, I engage what Foucault calls "practices of freedom" (1987, p. 114) –for myself and for others. My camp stories and memories are full of fun, benefits, self-shaping moments, growth and inclusiveness. These should be celebrated –I certainly do. My life is richer for the friendships made and the personal traits that were tested and developed through my

camp experiences. However, my stories also highlight moments of loneliness, confusion and alienation. Moments where I felt I did not belong to the community or did not fit the norms broadcasted about the fun and benefits of camp experiences. I constituted myself as a subject and my subjectivity did not always fit within normalised discourses. In these moments I was excluded or excluded myself from certain camp practices (e.g., skipping meals to avoid the social and audio intensity of the dining hall). Rather than seeing this as bad or negative, by problematising my own moments of 'becoming' and 'being' camp counsellor I have been able to gain thoughtful and considerate insights about how camp experiences can shape and are shaped by normalised camp discourses.

Caring selves, self-care, and care of the self

Many years ago, at my PhD confirmation presentation, an attendee asked what effects camp employment experiences had on young people as future employee selves. It was a fascinating question and, although beyond the scope of this study, it has lingered with me. Have camp experiences, and the various discourses presented here, made me a certain 'type' of employee? Have I come to govern myself in alliance to the pastoral care imperatives of my camp experiences even when I no longer worked in or for camps? Have my camp experiences, especially those in Christian-based contexts, made me more self-sacrificing? Driven? Exhausted? I have certainly experienced emotional exhaustion and burn-out through the kinds of work I seem to be drawn to. So perhaps there is a link. It would make sense that our early employment experiences make significant impressions on what we come to expect and accept for later employment. Much like early romantic encounters, the impact of these experiences are not always understood or acknowledged openly –to ourselves or others.

It was years after confirmation that a reading about Foucault's "ethics of the self" provided a response (1987). What I personally drew from that reading resonates throughout my dissertation and other writing endeavours. By problematising discourses and engaging with diverse lived experiences I can now open up possibilities for understanding a thing, like camp, in new ways. Additionally, as a person who is interested in the value and longevity of delivering camp experiences, I can contribute to practices of freedom by being reflexive of my own experiences and work. Foucault proposed that liberation from the discourses that govern us is a "moral problem" (1987, p. 115) and suggested that it is the care for self, critical awareness and aesthetic self-stylization that make it possible to exercise freedom (1997). To me, this is what it means to be ethical. Foucault drew on ancient Greek notions of *ethos* to suggest that it is a "subject's mode of being" to be "good, beautiful, honourable, worthy" but that it required a "labour of self on self" (1987, p. 117). Foucault (1987, p. 118) argued that "care for self is ethical

in itself but ... implies also a relation with others to the extent that care for self renders one competent to occupy a place in the city, in the community or in inter-individual relationships.” It is the former aspect I was missing. Camp taught me about caring for others but missed, by the very daily schedule, lessons about care for the self (in the ancient Greek way Foucault suggested). It is this, even now, I struggle with. Yet I recognise the critical nature Foucault attributed to the care of the self; “I think that the assumption of all this morality was that the one who cared for himself correctly found himself, by that very fact, in a measure to behave correctly in relationship to others and for others” (1987, p. 118). Foucault is definitive in that the care of the self comes before the care of others (1987). Caring for others is only possible when you care for yourself.

Summary: Now what?

‘Camp’ is an industry I would like to go back to although, perhaps, I never left. As mentioned in the early pages of this dissertation, I am a camp ‘lifer.’ As this dissertation comes to its conclusion I count close to thirty years of camp-like experiences and work. Since my camp days, I have had many experiences in ‘lifestyle’ jobs where the lines between work and play are ambiguous and where the delivery of recreational and/or leisure experiences to children and youth was the focus. I have been an Outdoor Educator in South-East Queensland which has a pedagogical emphasis and is in an entirely different ‘camping’ environment. I have delivered recreational experiences for young people living with cancer through an Australian-wide charity and have learnt the emotional toll that working with such populations has on staff that are expected to do the work altruistically. I have managed a university residential college for several years where I am responsible for the emotional wellbeing of young live-in staff but where institutional support and a professional culture provided many benefits as well as different challenges to camp. These roles have shown me that there are possibilities to ‘do’ camp differently so that employees are better supported throughout the intense emotion work required. I have, through these experiences, initiated practices that I felt were missing from the camp contexts in which I initially worked. I do know is that there are many opportunities for camp leaders to engage reflexively and ethically with camp discourses and management practices. Ultimately, I would like to contribute to how this might look and feel.

In the camp world we usually closed (after asking ‘what?’ and ‘so what?’) our final debriefing by asking ‘now what?’ My response is simple; I don’t know...yet. What I do know is that I would like to continue whatever work I do reflexively, ethically and aesthetically. I would like to “actively construct the self instead of searching for it under layers of domination” (Markula, 2004, p. 307). By being critically self aware and constantly questioning what is seen

as “natural” or “inevitable in one’s identity,” I will create and encourage others to “create an identity” of my/their own (Markula, 2004, p. 308). Additionally, “aesthetic stylization of the self denotes a self that is open to change and the constant re-creation of changing conditions in society” (Markula, 2004, p. 307). So the good news is that by practicing care of the self, I am (better) equipped to navigate my world and to do so artistically as Foucault suggests,

What strikes me is the fact that in our society, art has become something which is related only to objects and not to individuals, or to life. That art is something which is specialized or which is done by experts who are artists. But couldn’t everyone’s life become a work of art? Why should the lamp or the house be an art object, but not our life? (Foucault, 1984, p. 350).

What I am sure of is that life will be rich, challenging and adventuresome. Just what a camp girl needs.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Conclusions

Introduction

By drawing on a post-structural approach, my research opens up possibilities for understanding discursive productions of camp counsellor subjectivities and how these shape the emotion work and experiences of young employees. My study problematises assumptions regarding camp employment in order to offer a deeper and more dynamic understanding of both the benefits and challenges of 'being' a camp counsellor within traditional camp contexts. Camp counsellors must navigate a complex nexus of power relations which include campers, parents, peers and managers as well as practices, policies, genealogical influences and governing systems that are often as invisible as the emotion work they are performing. This research, therefore, has brought Foucauldian notions of power together with the study of emotion in order to consider how power affects the emotional wellbeing of camp counsellors. In doing so, my findings raised a range of issues that will require camp managers and industry leaders to engage new ways of thinking about camper and camp counsellor experiences in order to reflexively and ethically support the emotional wellbeing of the young people they employ.

This chapter reflects on the three research questions proposed at the beginning of this dissertation. While the key concepts have been explored in-depth throughout this dissertation, the conclusion weaves together the findings in a way that illustrates the complexity and interrelatedness of each question. This is followed by a review of the implications my study has for literature, theory and industry practices. The chapter concludes by considering the credibility and limitations of this study and the possibilities for future research.

How do discourses and power-relations shape camp counsellor employment?

When young people see positive and glossy popular media representations of camp, they anticipate that their own experiences will be fun, happy, romantic, comedic and transformative. Camp participants take up and mobilise dominant messages by governing themselves and others in ways that reflect these expectations for camp experiences. In doing so, they shape what is, and is not possible, for both campers and themselves as camp counsellors. If, for example, a camp counsellor views camp employment as an opportunity for personal growth, he or she is more likely to seek leadership opportunities, mobilise discourses of improvement through hardship, and narrate their summer employment experience around personal transformation. Governing the self and others in line with camp norms contributes to the 'truth' of camp and limits possibilities for alternative camp counsellor experiences. Thus, camp power relations, such as discourses of camp genealogy and camp selves, technologies of camp

leadership, and everyday camp practices, work to shape what is and is not possible for camp counsellor employment and experiences.

Camp counsellor employment is shaped by genealogical, popular media, academic and marketing discourses about the benefits of camp. Traditional genealogical discourses of the wholesomeness of rural landscapes, spiritual development and the shaping of ideal citizenry (e.g., the Boy Scout and Muscular Christianity movements) suggested that summer camps offered the ideal setting for the moral orientation of children. Popular media publications and academic research into the benefits of camper experiences contribute to an understanding that camps will transform campers, improve their self-confidence, teach technical skills and develop moral character in the children that attend. Marketing discourses that sell camp experiences to parents and children, promise to keep children safe while also delivering entrepreneurial skill development by pushing children to climb higher on the ropes course, paddle further on the canoe trip or jump a higher fence on horseback. Camp counsellors, as the front line deliverers of camper experiences, are positioned and assumed to develop camper moral character through fun camp activities despite being young, often inexperienced. In addition, the influence of welfare discourses on camp business models, assume that camp employees perform their role altruistically and for the rewards of having helped someone. Camp counsellor employment is, thus, shaped by idealised discourses of wholesomeness, citizenry, self-improvement, the development of moral character and altruism. Camp discourses, therefore, make certain camp subjectivities possible and silence others.

Camp counsellor subjectivity is shaped by discourses of transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic, and sociable camp selves. That is, camp counsellors mobilise discourses that suggest positive 'change' or transformation will occur within individuals as a result of their camp experiences. Spiritual selves discourses assume that camp participants will develop a range of awe, religious or divine connection through, in part, a connection to the natural environment. Rugged and heroic discourses are taken up and narrated through stories of resilience, mastery and strength achieved through hardship, challenge and the completion of a personal quest. The sociable self discourses suggest that all camp participants experience intimate friendship and social belonging within a camp context. These idealistic discourses of camp selves dominate the narratives published for and told by camp participants and contribute to normalised camp subjectivity. Camp participants (campers and staff) mobilise these discourses as they govern themselves and others within camps. Camp counsellors are expected to not only embody discourses of camp selves but to deliver experiences that shape camper subjectivity in similar ways. Camp activities, such as wilderness expeditions, provide a vehicle

through which camp counsellors govern campers to embody discourses of camp selves (transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic and sociable) and thus transform them into “better people” (Rasenberger, 2008, p. 24). Camp counsellor employment is subject to various and, at times, competing discourses of ideal camp subjectivity.

While camp counsellor employment is seen as an extension to camper experiences, technologies of camp leadership work to shape the roles, responsibilities and relationships of camp counsellors. Training programs, like Leadership Development Camps (LDCs), attempt to teach Counsellors-In-Training (CIT) the expectations of what makes a ‘good’ camp counsellor. Prospective camp counsellors develop the moral character of campers through therapeutic, pastoral and parental relationships. CITs are taught to draw on psy-discourses, in their role as therapist, to survey, recognise and rectify the deficiencies of campers in accordance with discourses of normalised childhood development and the outcomes promised to parents. Prospective camp counsellors are also instructed to mobilise discourses of pastoral care by embodying compassion as well as teaching campers skills (e.g., team work, leadership and conflict resolution) that are assumed to promote their future success and protect them from future tragedies. Ultimately, these young people are made responsible for the ‘total’ care of campers (i.e., safety, moral character development, psychological well-being and spiritual growth and yet, in some cases, they are barely older than the campers they will supervise. Camp counsellors are positioned through technologies of camp leadership to take up and embody these powerful discourses. In doing so, they shape the transformation of campers through relations of care work.

CIT placements, recruitment processes and seasonal training further shape camp counsellor employment. These processes are influential technologies of power that subject camp counsellors to embody discourses of camp selves and roles. For example, it is not enough to perform ‘camp counsellor’, one must ‘be camp counsellor’ hence processes of ‘becoming’ are crucial in shaping “the very grain of the individual” (Foucault, 1980, p. 39) of camp counsellor subjectivity. Camp counsellors are expected to put the needs of others before themselves in alliance with discourses of pastoral care and servant leadership. Interview participants mobilised these discourses to such an extent that, in some cases, they jeopardised nutrition and sleep to do so. Camp counsellors, positioned in a nexus of power-relations, subject themselves to camp norms in powerful ways. While camp counsellors are governing campers to subsume their selves to the collective needs of the group, camp counsellors are also subsuming their own needs and desires to those of individual campers, cabin groups, camp managers, peers, and the collective camp community. Camp counsellors willingly give up symbols and pleasures of their

personal lives, such as styles of dress, contacts with friends and family and even personal electronic devices in order to 'become' a camp counsellor for the summer. Camp practices as small as wearing a 'friendship' bracelet or regulations as comprehensive as some staff manuals act in influential and disciplining ways to inscribe a camp counsellor identity. These discourses and everyday practices act as powerful technologies of discipline. Camp counsellors who are unable or unwilling to abandon personal attributes that do not conform to camp discourses either fail to gain employment or find their summer employment cut short (voluntarily or not). Camp discourses are powerful in shaping camp counsellor employment inasmuch as they are mobilised through subjectification.

Through everyday technologies of power, such as the surveillance of the camp panopticon, camp counsellors subject their own behaviour, thoughts and beliefs to align with discourses of camp selves, camp counsellor roles and emotions. In particular, the liminality of the camp 'bubble' contributes to the mobilisation of camp norms. Being cut off from relationships and news from non-camp sources means that camp discourses dominate within the camp context. The lack of alternative discourses, aided by in-house recruitment philosophies, work to maintain the status quo of camp norms. Discourses of servant leadership and youth make it possible to ask a lot of camp counsellors and to expect them not to challenge these expectations. One camp director in this study relied on the youthfulness of his workforce in order to place demands on them that most adults would normally refuse to perform (e.g., take care of ten kids of the same age around the clock with few or no breaks). In this example, the inexperience of youth works to make certain actions possible and to mute any defiance. Therefore, power relations work to promote 'the way we've always done it' and drown out possibilities for reflection, innovation and change. Despite the strong camp culture, by no means are camp counsellors unable to exercise power. This dissertation considered a number of ways that camp counsellors navigated, resisted and reshaped camp norms in creative ways (i.e. lard bombs, off-site parties, extra-long showers). However discourses that go unexamined continue shaping camp counsellor experiences in much the same ways regardless of how positive or negative the effects. Camp discourses and power relations are critical to shaping camp employment and in silencing experiences that may rupture the 'truth' of camp. Disruptions to the 'truth' of camp experiences, however, provide opportunities to address how power relations shape camp counsellor employment, and consequently provide strategies for better support.

What are the emotional demands of camp counsellor subjectivity?

The emotional demands placed on camp counsellor are wide-ranging, significant and often contradictory. As outlined in Ross's textbook (2009), camp counsellors are expected to be

many things to many people within the camp environment. They are expected to develop the moral character and entrepreneurial skills of campers through the emotion work of therapeutic, pastoral and parent-like relationships. They are assumed to generate close and supportive friendships with other staff and conduct themselves according to the regulations detailed (extensively) in staff manuals. As the front line deliverers of camper experiences, camp counsellors are given the responsibility for the emotion work of camper wellbeing and development within the camp 'bubble'. In particular, it was the requirement that youthful camp counsellors embody a happy, fun and caring subjectivity with little privacy or time off that created the greatest strain on youthful employees. While camp counsellor experiences can be immensely positive opportunities for young people to mature and learn about the needs of others, the emotional demands can create pressures that youthful staff struggle to manage.

Camp counsellors are expected to embody happiness and fun in all aspects of their employment. Camp counsellors are expected to be seen 'having fun,' in the same ways as suggested by Guerrir and Adib of tour representatives (2003), in order to deliver a fun experience. Therefore camp counsellors must always appear happy, engaged and joyful while delivering camp experiences to others. They are expected, much like Hochschild's airline hostesses (1983), to paste on a smile, no matter the circumstance, in order to carry out their work and deliver positive camper experiences. Camp counsellors mobilise discourses of fun, in alliance with camp norms, as a way to gain compliance from campers. Campers are likely to do tasks and activities if they are fun. Fun works as a technology of power in that it renders camper bodies docile. Camp counsellors must also meet parental concerns for the development of entrepreneurial skills in their children by ensuring camp 'fun' provides productive outcomes. That is, campers may be having fun on a canoe trip but this experience should also develop their moral character through hardship and the mobilisation of 'rugged selves' discourses. Powerful discourses of happiness, fun and care are combined to produce idealistic expectations for camp counsellor subjectivity but put heavy emotional demands on camp counsellors.

Camp counsellors are assumed, through the mobilisation of pastoral care discourses, to genuinely care for campers. Interview participants felt obligated to connect emotionally with their campers. They discussed their struggle to work out what level of care was needed as well as finding appropriate boundaries of caring 'enough' but 'not too much'. Managerial practices (i.e., cabin allocation, placement of campers with special needs, hiring underqualified staff, lacking support resources, etc.) meant that camp counsellors were presented with, and expected to manage, a diverse range of camper needs including children with genetic disorders, disabilities and/or mental health diagnoses. While some camp counsellors struggled with basic

behaviour management techniques, which often times highlighted their own youthfulness and inexperience, other situations posed emotional challenges that had been overlooked by other staff and managers. Interview participants described, for example, the emotional challenges of reporting child abuse and/or neglect, receiving the news of the death of a camper, restraining campers who were violent, chasing after campers who attempted to run away from camp, or the personal discomfort of toileting incontinent campers. The responsibilities of camper care are immense but, like the emotion work required, appear to be invisible. This work is assumed to be performed happily with little time or space allowed for staff to debrief and/or process their experiences. Camp counsellors are expected to care for all campers, regardless of how they are treated, what experience or training they have received or whether they have the emotional resources. The emotional demands of care are fundamental to the camp experience commodity, but hold the most potential for negligence or harm and are usually trusted to the most youthful members of staff. This is at the heart of the emotional demands of 'being' a camp counsellor.

The assumptions made about the youthfulness of camp staff and the priority of camper safety and development provide justification to managers for implementing extensive, and at times invasive, systems of regulation. Yet the regulation of youthful staff creates emotional demands on camp counsellors. Youth are often assumed to lack insight due to their limited life experience, maturity and/or years. Hence, within the liminality of camps, camp counsellor behaviour and performance is regulated explicitly through manuals, contracts, policies and implicitly through employment cultures. Even the leadership development practices and training processes assume that young people seeking employment as camp counsellors are young and therefore, in need of moulding into the discursive camp ideals. These views contribute to camp manuals stating that camp counsellors must behave as representatives of their camp and follow the rules of their contracts (e.g., not consuming alcohol) regardless of place or time within the employment period. Importantly, these practices extend a disciplining gaze far beyond the physical camp site and employment hours. Consequently times for rest or non-work become problematic. The 'fishbowl' or panopticon, in this logic, never ends. Camp counsellors are, thus, under constant pressure to embody camp ideals and perform the emotion work of camp counsellor subjectivity.

The 24 hour nature of camp counsellor work is demanding by itself, but the total embodiment of camp counsellor subjectivities raises questions about the emotional sustainability of this kind of work. As discussed, camp counsellors are expected to always be 'on' meaning that they are happy, fun, compassionate and friendly at all times within the camp context. The work conditions of camp counsellors, such as long hours, low pay and lack of

privacy, as well as the regulation of personal time, appearance and activities, all add to the embodied and emotional demands of the role. In addition, these conditions and expectations work to normalise the lack of work-life boundaries and emotional demands as well as to subjugate individualism. While rest periods may be scheduled for camp counsellors, their subjectification in alliance with camp discourses means that there is no break from 'being' camp counsellor on, or even off, site. This leaves little time to decompress, debrief or relax from and recharge for, the role of 'being' a camp counsellor. Within the bustle of daily camp life, camp counsellors' emotion work is largely invisible in summer camps and as such is taken-for-granted. Consequently the effects of camp counsellors' emotion work is rarely, if ever, acknowledged and/or supported in substantive ways that acknowledge the intensity of work and relationships that are fundamental to the camp experiences promised. Ultimately, camp counsellors are left to navigate the effects of emotion work (often blindly) on their own.

How is the emotion work of camp counsellor employment experienced?

This dissertation reveals how dominant discourses of fun, belonging and personal growth do not always reflect, and to some extent fail, to represent the diversity of camp counsellors embodied experiences. Experiences of loneliness, pain, and/or frustration, for example, disrupt the 'truth' generated for camp experiences and are rarely acknowledged in industry publications, academic research or camp folklore. Additionally, the elation of receiving and holding a coveted camp counsellor position can obscure and silence the telling of stories that do not follow revered camp discourses. Servant leadership discourses are mobilised as camp counsellors subsume their personal needs in order to relate and attend to campers through relationships of therapists, pastors and parents. The gaps between the emotional demands of camp counsellor subjectivity and how these are experienced offer an intersection at which to engage critically with how camp employment experiences are shaped. Interview participants indicated that their experiences were indeed transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic and social. They spoke about the rewards that 'being' a camp counsellor provided. However, they also indicated that the emotional demands of their roles left them feeling overwhelmed, exhausted, pressured and even disenchanting.

Pastoral care imperatives of camps are often understood (or misunderstood) to mean that all children, regardless of ability, independence and/or wellness, should be included at all camps. Although this is outwardly a generous notion, it overlooks the demands on staff resources and expertise and creates a situation where potentially more harm is caused, than good. For example, if a camp includes campers with wheelchairs then they should have wheelchair accessible facilities and activities and, perhaps most importantly, camp counsellors

should have the ability to facilitate a positive experience for them and other campers. Situations where needs are not well matched with abilities could lead to distress for campers, counsellors and managerial staff. Interview participant's stories of counselling campers from abusive families, or those with ADD/ADHD taking a break from their medication, or with genetic disorders, demonstrate a lack of the critical engagement necessary from management staff. It also highlights the strength of discourses that view camp as beneficial to all that attend. The responsibilities of care for the diversity of campers and their sometimes highly complex needs are overwhelming. In particular, this research showed that female staff were assumed to perform the bulk of the emotion work related to camper care despite the 'genderlessness' of discourses of camp. Camp counsellors are often overwhelmed and overburdened as they take up and govern themselves in alliance with discourses of camper care which promise 'a world of good' to all that attend camp.

The experience of delivering promised camper experiences can be emotionally taxing for camp counsellors. The on-demand nature of camp counsellor roles (i.e., long hours, lack of rest time and privacy) paired with the expectation that they will 'be' happy and compassionate when managing campers is not only physically but emotionally exhausting. The 'always happy' expectations are unrealistic and yet camp counsellors mobilise pastoral care and servant leadership discourses which require them to subsume or ignore their personal needs. For example, if food runs out at a meal, counsellors would be expected to give up their meal to ensure campers were fed. Camp counsellors often sacrificed sleep to comfort homesick children, take campers to the toilet or care for someone when they were sick. These examples illustrate how camp counsellors govern themselves in powerful ways that they can ignore physiological cues for nutrition or rest. This raises questions of what risks exist to the wellbeing of camp counsellors and, consequently, that of campers in their care if camp employees don't have the time, resources or mindfulness to care for themselves. It is difficult, for example, to make clear judgements about how to proceed with an expedition in inclement weather if you have not had adequate rest or food. Moreover, what risks exist for camp counsellors' emotional wellbeing if they ignore emotional cues (especially as these are silenced through camp discourses)? The emotional exhaustion of camp counsellors is very real and holds significant implications for the wellbeing of all camp participants. However, it is often the case that the seriousness of these concerns is ignored in the face of more powerful discourses that highlight fun, altruism and employee youthfulness.

The emotional exhaustion of staff appeared most vividly in the stories of post-camp 'blues', experiences of grief and instances of rebellion against camp regulation. There is a sense

that camp counsellors can hit a point of saturation where they have had enough of 'the bubble' and its expectations and where camp counsellor employment is felt to no longer 'give' as much as it 'takes'. For some this resulted in their total disenchantment with camp experiences. Beth and Bonnie, for example, invested their lifetime into camps, but came away hurt by the way they perceived they were undervalued. Bonnie talked about the sacrifices that year-round camp employment required both in time and distance from friends and family. Zoey's story of being informed of the death of a camper, illustrated how little she was valued and the lack of support provided by her camp organisation. Steve's lard bomb exploits demonstrated that wild acts of rebellion revalidated his sense of self-possession in the face of heavy regulation. Elissa's description of post-camp depression or 'blues' offers one more example of how camp practices, like creating an emotionally intense hyper-reality, leaves camp counsellors emotionally drained when it is abruptly ended. The irony, of course, is that the camp folklore is so intoxicating that camp counsellors, no matter how overdone they are with camp, found it jarring to leave camp culture and readjust to their lives outside. The emotional processes of governing oneself and subsuming personal desires to conform to camp norms are significant. These processes become even more difficult when counsellors have to abruptly shed camp subjectivities to return home to 'normal life'. This transition is largely unaccounted for in camp discourses and yet brings with it significant stress as young employees make the required adjustments.

While camp nostalgia buoys many as they re-adjust to their lives outside this emotionally affectionate environment, interview participants articulated the social pressures of belonging in 'the bubble'. They felt the need to connect personally and meaningfully with staff and campers despite having relatively short periods of time together. Belonging, in camps, is crucial because the liminality of camp isolates employees from home or 'outside' relationships for extended periods of time. Without friendships within the camp 'bubble,' it is easy to become overburdened by the emotion work of the camp counsellor role. Discourses of belonging are so strong (and alluring) that many camp participants take up alternative identities from their everyday life outside 'the bubble' (e.g., a shy or introverted youth becoming outgoing) in order to be accepted. Additionally, emotional states are intensified by the very liminality of camp culture. Camps can be a social pressure cooker. While *communitas* provides a certain "magic" (Turner, 1969, p. 139, and Tess) (and is given as the reason staff return summer after summer for next to no money), the social and emotional intensity of camp puts pressures on counsellors. There is little time or space for camp counsellors to get relief or recreate. Moreover, camp manuals showed that a number of activities camp counsellors enjoyed or which allowed them to 'let their hair down', were outside of camp rules. There are no easy solutions for or escape from

the emotional demands of camp counsellor subjectivity and this often leave staff feeling trapped.

My research raises questions about how the emotional demands of camp counsellors are shaped and experienced. Discourses of unconditional care, happiness, fun, responsibility and development are assumed to be taken up with little complaint about long hours, low pay and lack of privacy. Discourses of camp counsellors' opportunities for personal growth and moral character development obscure and mute stories that disrupt the notion that camps are fun employment experiences. The lack of acknowledgement of these less than utopian experiences can be hurtful and do disservice to the young people who work and play within camp contexts. Therefore the embodied experiences of camp counsellors' emotion work become all the more important for camp managers to understand. Managers need to engage reflexively with harmful discourses and practices that can lead to "nightmare" experiences (Lisa) in order to support camp counsellors in the delivery of positive camper experiences. Further research will hopefully contribute to the development of reflexive, responsible and emotionally sustainable employment practices within camps.

Research Implications

My study identifies and addresses gaps in the knowledge of camp counsellor experiences. By using a post-structural approach, this study contributes to and extends theoretical understandings of how camp counsellor selves are discursively produced, shaped within a nexus of power-relations and are experienced. In addition, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of summer camp employment experiences and outlines implications for how employees and employment practices are managed within camps (as well as in outdoor experience and leisure service delivery more broadly). The implications of my study for literature, theory and industry application are discussed in the following sections.

Contribution to Literature

Traditionally camp research has been focussed on measuring outcomes and benefits of camper experiences (Hattie et al., 1997; Henderson et al., 2005; Henderson et al., 2006). These, and many other camp studies (Brannan et al., 2000; Chenery, 1993; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1999), assume that camp experiences will develop campers' moral character in positive ways. However, the measurements used by studies of this nature make it difficult, if not impossible, to gain insight into the subjective experiences of camp participants and leave little room to explore experiences that diverge from the prescriptive scales applied. This, as Alison and

Pomeroy(2000) argue, leaves a gap in the literature that needs to be addressed. My study goes some way to address this gap by exploring the embodied experiences of and meanings derived by camp counsellors. Moreover, my research contributes new ways of thinking about camp counsellor subjectivity, their emotion work and the power relations at work within camp contexts. Given the reliance on young camp counsellors to deliver the promised camper experience, more research is needed to better understand their experiences. While my contribution addresses this gap, it is and should only be seen as the beginning of a research program focussing on the complex range of camp employment experiences.

This study offers insights to the challenges and dilemmas of youth employment. Young people are positioned as “betwixt and between” (Turner, 1994, p. 8) the responsibilities and independence of adulthood and the innocence and carefreeness of childhood. For example, camp counsellors are responsible for the care of children while having their own bedtime regulated and enforced by employers. Similarly, camp directors and managers must navigate complex discourses about the abilities and responsibilities of young people when employing youth. In a camp setting, the appropriate care of children by youth (often unsupervised) is a significant responsibility which leads to heavy but necessary regulation. This can lead to over-regulation that is inappropriate (i.e., policies that regulate personal relationships). This study contributes to broader literature on youth as a stage of transition and the employment practices of young people (Wyn, 2004, 2014; Wyn & White, 1996), particularly employment that is short-term and temporary (Mills, 2004; Mortimer, 2009; Vosko, Zukewich, & Cranford, 2003; Woodman, 2013). The study of camp counsellors’ embodied experiences provides a way of better understanding the experiences and effects of management practices unique to young employees.

Emotion work is largely invisible yet is an essential aspect of service delivery work particularly that which is person-experience centred. That is to say that leisure, as a production of the experience economy, is concerned with and is successful based on how the experience makes people feel (i.e., positive, transformed, improved). By association, the emotion work of employees is central to successful experience delivery. In focusing on camp counsellors this study has contributed to the body of leisure knowledge and our understanding of the expectations, demands and effects of ‘emotion work on these young, often inexperienced, staff working in the unique environment of the camp ‘bubble’. This contributes to, and can inform knowledge of, leisure service delivery literature more broadly. Leisure experiences are often delivered in liminally constructed times and spaces in which employees must embody fun. This contributes to and exacerbates the emotional demands of their roles while limiting

opportunities for processing and emotional replenishment. My study recognises, much like the work of Guerrier and Adib on tour representatives (2003), the need to support young people through the intensity of 'lifestyle' jobs. By making the emotion work of camp counsellors more visible, those responsible for the management of emotion workers are implicated in the sustainable and ethical support of these individuals, their work and their wellbeing.

Theoretical contribution

By drawing on post-structuralism, my research contributes to new perspectives on camp counsellor experiences and application of the theory. This theoretical approach frames camp counsellors as multiple, messy and in progress and as such makes space for and gives value to the contribution of diverse camp counsellor experiences. Furthermore, a Foucauldian approach allows the problematisation of common camps discourses (i.e., the beneficial nature and moral character development outcomes of camp experiences) and the potential to engage stories that are seldom told but which offer deep, rich and necessary insights to camp experiences and their management. By considering genealogical links, I began to see how discourses about summer camp shaped camp experience in particular ways such as discursive productions of camp selves as transformative, spiritual, rugged, heroic and sociable. These dominant technologies of self, therefore, contribute to a theoretical framework which considers how discourses, subjectification and everyday practices of power shape camp counsellor experiences within the camp 'bubble.' My application of post-structural concepts to this study contributes to making visible the power relations at work in shaping camp employment, and their effects of the everyday emotions of camp counsellors.

Application to Industry

By making emotion work visible, managers have an ethical responsibility to address the effects of this work by managing the demands placed on young camp counsellors. My research, therefore, holds implications for camp managers and organisational leaders as they develop employment policies and management practices to better support the intangible but critical role of emotion work in camp experience delivery. Managers need to approach the support of camp counsellors' emotion work in sensitive, contextualised and reflexive ways. A formulaic, quick-fix approach or a broad policy to deal with issues of emotional fatigue, privacy, working hours and burnout, for example, will not do. In fact, universally applied and/or prescriptive regulation has been shown to cause further problems while alleviating very few. A reflexive approach to the demands and effects of emotion work suggests the need for thoughtfulness, knowledge and time to respond effectively to individual, group, cultural and systemic issues and for the

implementation of appropriate change. Policy design and management practices can and should reflexively consider how power relations affect employment practices and experiences.

My research, through the engagement of reflexive approaches, brings attention to a number of practical and ground level practices that deserve consideration in the provision of optimal camp employment experiences. This research raised a number of concerns and challenges with privacy, time-off/rest, pay, and recognition of camp counsellors. Small but everyday management practices could make a significant difference to how camp counsellors experience the demands of their role. James, for example, said that staff morale improved immensely when management enforced regular break times at his camp. However, Lucy weighed up the challenges and costs of providing breaks at her camp such as the exhaustion of limited middle management staff in supervising the entire camp body while the remaining camp staff takes a break. This example would suggest that, simply, more staff were needed or some kind of rotation system to allow some to carry the burden of child care while others had rest. A roster approach may also prove useful for other aspects of child minding in a camp day. A summer roster where staff work for four or six weeks of a eight or nine week contract may increase short term costs (i.e., staff training) but offer better value, health and wellbeing of employees across the summer season.

Additionally, when camp staff have time off they should be able to gain physical distance from campers and camp activities in order to avoid interruptions and to mark a mental switch to non-work/leisure mode. Bonnie suggested that her cabin tucked in the far corner of her camp provided the kind of space and privacy required to experience more separation from work mode and consequently more rest. This may require placing staff accommodation in private corners of the camp-site, providing staff accommodation away from campers for time-off, or as simple as providing staff privacy within cabins with separate rooms, doors, or even curtains. Finally, the issue of remunerating camp counsellors for the level of responsibility bestowed on them is contentious and challenging but a necessary issue to address. In contrast to Canada, Queensland outdoor facilitators are paid based on professional award wages, have their hours regulated to reflect a standard full-time week, and are regarded as fulfilling a professional role. The challenge in Canada, as camp pay is currently structured, will be increasing wages while still keeping camps financially viable. The demands of camp counsellors' work should be supported and acknowledged in line with the hours, privacy, mentorship and remuneration expected of professional equivalents (or at least move more in that direction).

My research also revealed that the demands of caring for campers were made exponentially harder when campers presented challenging behaviours and/or special needs. The demands and diversity of campers with disabilities, genetic disorders, and physical and mental health issues often overwhelmed interview participants. In particular, camp counsellors who worked at cancer camps struggled with their own emotional attachments and responses (i.e., grief) to news about their current and past campers (e.g., relapse, death). It may arguably be more ethical to refuse the attendance of campers who present with special needs if the camp does not have appropriate resources (i.e., qualified staff, appropriate equipment, or enough staff) than accept them risking the possibility of harm or neglect of the camper and overburdening unprepared staff. Camp staff, positioned to meet the demands of challenging camper behaviours and/or special needs should receive professional training, hold professional qualifications or relevant professionals should be recruited. Camp counsellors like Devon, for example, should not have been charged with the responsibility of dispensing medications as a young and medically unqualified counsellor. This should be delivered by a registered nurse or, at minimum, a senior manager who has taken advanced first aid training rather than a legal minor. When managers position camp counsellors in roles outside of their ability range, such as medical, behavioural or psychological needs, they put both campers and staff at risk.

Beth recognised this issue as inherent to camp cultures, “If I could start camping all over again I would love to run a camp that had twenty-one year old counsellors and 18 year old program staff. I think you know so much more about dealing with children the older you are but we don’t do it that way and we probably never will because there’s a hierarchy to growing up through your organization.” In fact, one interview participant was already running his camp on this idea of a flipped model. David insists that employees can only work as camp counsellors once they are at least eighteen (legal age in Canada) and have completed two summers of leadership development and/or program staff. This model of camp problematises camp staffing structures and recognises that camper care is the most vital and demanding aspect. Therefore it should be met with the most mature and experienced employees on staff. This alternative way of thinking about camp employment also draws attention to the role managers, decision makers and policies play in shaping the demands and responsibilities placed on camp counsellors. Ed, for example, saw this power as an advantage for gaining more output from employees. He said, “what I love about working at camp with young camp counsellors is that they don’t have the life experience that will have them say no.” However, it needs to be recognised that managers have an ethical responsibility to and duty of care for the youthful staff they employ.

This analysis revealed how discourses shape camp experiences in positive (i.e., opportunities for personal growth and development, and experiences of *communitas*) as well as challenging, demanding and uncomfortable ways (e.g., challenging camper behaviours, experiences of exclusion and lack of acknowledgement or time for emotional responses to counselling). The study of how positive and challenging camp counsellor experiences are shaped by power-knowledge is critical. In fact, acknowledging contradictions within camp discourses is essential to a sense of ethics (Barrett, 2005) and “a sense of moral responsibility” (Davies, 2000, p. 71). As camp managers and industry leaders become more aware of the demands placed on young camp staff, they inevitably must take responsibility for which discourses and practices burden and/or support camp counsellors. Ultimately, reflexive engagement with diverse and embodied experiences of ‘becoming’ and ‘being’ camp counsellor is essential to the improvement and development of camp management practices and camp experience delivery.

Credibility of this study

Assessing the credibility of post-modern research texts through the application of notions like validity and reliability is problematic. Texts of this nature do not aspire to produce ‘the truth’ but rather interpret and produce meaning from the multiple contributions and sources of experience, narrative and voice. This study, for example, drew on in-depth interviews, web-published purpose statements, camp leader text books, academic and popular media publications, personal narratives and staff manuals to deepen knowledge and understanding of camp counsellor experiences and how they come to be shaped. Therefore traditional notions of credibility are insufficient in deciding whether a dialogic and polyvocal text in which authoritativeness is diffused, is ‘good’. Richardson’s conceptualisation of crystallisation (Richardson, 2000b) offers more appropriate ways of considering the worth and value of this research text. As discussed in Chapter 4, Richardson argued that the metaphor of crystallisation demonstrates how knowledge can “grow, change, and alter” but is not “amorphous” (2000b, p. 13). In sum, the credibility of this study, while purporting to offer only a “thoroughly partial understanding” (Richardson, 2000b, pp. 13-14), rests on its ability to be “rich, substantial and relevant” (Charmaz 2006, p.18).

Research Limitations

A lack of time and resources limits all research studies. However my study was particularly limited by distance, that is, my living in Australia and collecting my research data in Canada. Other limitations included the data collection design, and transcription of the interviews. My time in Canada was limited so I spent most of it, travelling between, and

organising interviews. I was not able to process interview materials as deeply as I would have liked through the collection process. I am grateful to the advice I was given about keeping interview reflection notes and recording my impressions of the interviews as I completed them. These notes provided me an opportunity to debrief as well as a point of reflection throughout later stages of coding, analysis and writing. I would have liked to have the time to transcribe, process my thoughts and write a bit more during the research material collection period but the limitations and intensity of that period meant it wasn't possible.

There were a few minor issues in the survey design that meant that descriptive details were less refined than they could have been (i.e., offering overlapping age ranges in the demographic details). Ideally, I would have travelled to interview participants that presented more diverse demographic details. For example, two survey respondents indicated that they were First Nations/ Native Canadians but because they lived in different provinces (Northern Manitoba and Yukon) I was unable to interview them. In fact, all my interview participants came from Ontario and mainly the South-Western region. Additionally, convenience sampling meant that, by drawing on the recommendations of my camp contacts, I received an overwhelming number of interview participants that identified as Christian. Of that group, many indicated they were employed in United Church camps as I once was. This has undoubtedly shaped this research. While I do not believe it created an overwhelming bias due to the similarity of insights from those who did and did not identify working at a faith-based camp, it is likely that the emphasis of servant leadership discourses, for example, is more pronounced. I do, however, wish to acknowledge a bias toward a white middle class (and even heterosexual) perspective. While I did not recognise the genealogical construction of camp as a white privileged experience when I was selecting interview participants, it appears the majority of my interview participants identified as such. By consequence, I lost the opportunity to explore camp counsellor experiences of minority groups. As it was, the extent and depth of material gathered from the thirty-eight interviews excluded the potential to investigate other interesting concepts (e.g., the dilemmas managers are faced with when employing young and seasonal camp counsellors). Finally, the quantity and quality of interview materials meant that I employed a number of transcription techniques in order to convert audio recorded interviews to text. This included writing some interviews by short-hand. These transcripts were harder to analyse and work with as were the digital recordings and as such the voices of these interview participants do not appear as frequently as they may have been if typed out in full.

Future Research

While my research contributes new understandings to the emotion work of camp counsellors, it also offers a beginning point for a range of future research studies. By drawing on a post-structural approach, my study opens up fresh possibilities for thinking and re-thinking research on outdoor experience delivery and leisure employment experiences in a wide range of sectors. Possibilities for future research include investigations into the camp experiences of campers and camp counsellors from minority groups (e.g., diverse ethnicity, low SES, LGBT), how camp experiences are constructed and understood across national cultures and practices (i.e., Canada, Australia, America, UK), or whether faith-based camps discourses differ significantly to those that are not. How managers deal with camp employment dilemmas and engage with the discursive constructions of camp counsellor roles and management practices would also extend this study. This research would benefit from connection with and should contribute to broader discussions about youth employment practices. Additionally, a study of the manager's perspectives on employment practices, employees and their own emotion work would be a useful and interesting addition to this research program.

By making emotion work visible and, consequently, an acknowledged aspect to the work of outdoor experience delivery (as well as all service delivery or person-centred work) research can offer guidance on how best to shape the expectations of workers and how best employers can support staff in this complex environment. Future research should consider how outdoor leaders are trained (i.e., tertiary qualifications, staff training, etc.) to deliver emotion work and the discrepancies of this with the demands that are placed on them within their roles. Continued research on the demands and effects of emotion work raises the profile of this intangible but crucial work of service delivery employees and as such demands reflexive and ethical responses from employers.

Appendices

Appendix A: Invitation to Participate (Email)

About the project:

Camp employment experiences present young people with opportunities to gain work and life skills in a unique leisure environment. However, these experiences also present camp counsellors with a number of challenges as they strive to meet the recreational, educational and physical care of campers. In particular this research is concerned with the emotional demands of camp counsellors in fulfilling their employment roles and the effects of this on their wellbeing. This research aims to contribute to Canadian and Australian outdoor recreation and leisure communities, in particular contributing to how camp counsellors' wellbeing is managed.

How you can be involved:

You have been contacted because of your knowledge and experience in the camping industry. You are asked to contact people who you feel would represent diverse experiences of camp counselling or managing camp counsellors (i.e. program staff, director, etc.). You can invite these people to fill out the survey (see link below or paper copies available on request). You may invite as many people as you like and can include yourself if you wish.

What happens next?

The information gathered from survey will be reviewed and interview candidates that represent a range of experiences will be selected. These people will be contacted, if they have nominated this to occur, about organising an interview. Interviews will take places in and around South-western Ontario in October and November of 2009.

If you have any problems or questions please feel free to contact myself, Mandi Baker, or any of the individuals nominated in the information sheet attached.

Thank you for your time and participation.

Warm Regards, Mandi

Mandi Baker
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survey link:

http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=T3XzyFMVjhsxU2GIFR17qw_3d_3d

Appendix B: Information Sheet

The Nature of Summer Camp Counsellor Employment Experiences.

Chief Investigator:

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Student Researcher:

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The Research Project

This doctoral research project is investigating the nature of camp counsellor employment experiences in Canadian summer (recreational) camps. Camp employment experiences present young people with opportunities to gain work and life skills in a unique leisure environment. However, these experiences also present camp counsellors with a number of challenges as they strive to meet the recreational, educational and physical care of campers. In particular this research is concerned with the emotional demands of camp counsellors in fulfilling their employment roles and the effects of this on their wellbeing. This research aims to contribute to Canadian and Australian outdoor recreation and leisure communities through producing a PhD thesis, journal articles, conference papers, etc.

What we are doing

We invite people who have been involved in camp counsellor employment (as camp counsellors and/or managers of camp counsellors) to fill out a brief questionnaire about their experiences. From this we will pool candidates' information to select a diverse range of interview participants. These candidates will be invited to participate in an individual interview for up to 2 hours. We will be asking a range of open ended questions about your experiences of camp counsellor employment (e.g. challenging and enjoyable aspects of camp counselling). You are not required to answer questions that you do not feel comfortable with. If you agree we will audio-tape the interviews so we can transcribe them later for our analysis. The audio-tapes will be destroyed after they have been transcribed. You may have a copy of the transcript if you wish to change anything you have said. To maintain confidentiality we will change all participants' real names so that you cannot be identified in any documents or publications.

The interview may raise personal issues, should you become distressed or wish to stop during the interview we can terminate the process at any time. We have also provided the phone numbers of support services on the back of this form which you can call in the event that you feel distressed during or after the interview. If you are willing to participate in the study we ask you to complete the consent form that is attached. Thank you for your assistance with this research project.

The conduct of this research involves the collection, access and / or use of your identified personal information. The information collected is confidential and will not be disclosed to third parties without your consent, except to meet government, legal or other regulatory authority requirements. A de-identified copy of this data may be used for other research purposes. However, your anonymity will at all times be safeguarded. For further information consult the University's Privacy Plan at www.gu.edu.au/ua/aa/vc/pp or telephone +61 (07) 3735 5585.

This Griffith University research is conducted in accordance with *The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*. If you have any questions or complaints concerning the manner in which this research project is conducted please direct these to the researcher, or to the Manager, Research Ethics on +61 (07) 3735 5585 or research-ethics@griffith.edu.au.

Appendix C: Consent Form

The Nature of Camp Counsellor Employment Experiences

Research Team	Chief Investigator	Student Researcher
	Dr Simone Fullagar Centre for Work, Leisure and Community Research Griffith University +61 (07) 3875 5676 s.fullagar@griffith.edu.au	Mrs Mandi Baker Doctoral Candidate in Dept of THSL Griffith University Ph: +61 (07) 3875 7489 Local mobile number TBA m.baker@griffith.edu.au

By signing below, I confirm that I have read and understood the information package and in particular have noted that:

- I understand that my involvement in this research will include completing a questionnaire and (if selected) participating in an individual interview (up to 2 hours);
- I understand that the identities of all participants will be kept confidential and will not be identifiable in any research publications;
- I understand that I may have a copy of the transcript and change my comments if I want to;
- I have had any questions answered to my satisfaction and if I have any additional questions I can contact the research team;
- I understand the risks involved;
- I understand that there will be no direct benefit to me from my participation in this research;
- I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary;
- I understand that this research is being conducted as part of Mandi Baker's doctoral study;
- I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time, without comment or penalty;
- I understand that I can contact the Manager, Research Ethics, at Griffith University Human Research Ethics Committee on +61 (07) 3735 5585 (or research-ethics@griffith.edu.au) if I have any concerns about the ethical conduct of this project;
- I have read the information sheet and the consent form, a copy of which I have retained; and
- I agree to participate in this project.

Name			
Signature		Date	

Chief investigator			
Signature		Date	

Appendix D: Questionnaire

The Nature of Summer Camp Counsellor Employment Experiences

Please fill out as much information as possible as this will assist in selecting candidates for the interview stage of this research project. Any additional comments are appreciated and may be added to the back of the second page. Your information will be kept strictly confidential and will not be identifiable in any future publications. You will only be contacted should you agree to an interview (see question 10). Thank you for your time and participation!

Name _____ Gender M____ F____

Address _____
 _____ Postcode _____

Phone: (_____) _____

Email: _____

Would you prefer to be contacted by phone or email? Phone ____ Email ____

Demographic information:

1) What is the highest level of education completed? _____
 Was this related to camp counselling in some way? Y____ N____
 If so, please specify _____

2) Religious background
 Christian Jewish Muslim Buddhism None Other _____

3) What is your current occupation? _____

4) What is your ethnic background (e.g. French Canadian, Native Canadian, Asian Canadian, etc.)? _____

Camp experience information:

1) How many summers did you attend camp as a camper? _____

2) How many summers were you employed or volunteered at as a camp counsellor?

3) How long have you been or were you employed in a camp counsellor management role?

4) What role(s), other than camp counsellor, have you been employed in? Please specify

5) When did you last work for a camp? Date _____

6) List and describe what camps you attended as a camper?

Camp name	Approx Number of campers	Approx number of staff	Average length of camp session	Average cost per camp session	Type of camp – traditional (T) or contemporary (C)

7) List and describe the camps you have been employed or volunteered at?

Camp name	Approx Number of campers	Approx number of staff	Average length of camp session	Average cost per camp session	Type of camp - traditional (T) or contemporary (C)

8) What did you enjoy about being a camp counsellor?

9) What was challenging about being a camp counsellor?

10) If you are selected would you be willing to participate in an individual interview?

Y ____ N ____

Mrs Mandi Baker (Doctoral Candidate)

Dept of Tourism, Leisure, Hotel and Sport Management, Griffith University

Ph: (07) 3875 7489

Email: m.baker@griffith.edu.au

PLEASE POST TO; P.O.Box 685, Nathan, QLD 4111 AUSTRALIA

Thank you for completing this questionnaire!

Appendix E: Interview Guide (Camp counsellor)

The Nature of Summer Camp Counsellor Employment Experiences

1. How did you become a camp counsellor? Motivations/ expectations/ influences?
2. What did you like most about camp counselling? What are the highlights?
3. What was challenging about the camp counsellor role? What was the worst part or the part you disliked the most?
4. Did you ever get frustrated with any camp rules? Did you ever break any of the rules? Why or why not?
5. Did you receive staff training? What did you find helpful about the training? Was training sufficient in preparing you for the camp counsellor role? Did anything happen at camp that you felt was not covered by the training?
6. What do you think is/are the most important aspects to the camp counsellor employment experience?
7. How would you change or improve camp counsellor experience and/or camp employment practices?
8. Is there anything else you would like to add?

For those who have been involved in camp management/ leadership, we will discuss some of the above questions from a management perspective if you nominate to do so.

Appendix F: Interview Guide (Camp counsellor manager)

The Nature of Summer Camp Counsellor Employment Experiences

1. How did you become involved with camp management?
(prompt: motivations, expectations, influences)
2. What do or did you like most about managing camp counsellor? What are the highlights?
(prompts: relationships, recreation/fun, nature/adventure)
3. What do or did you find challenging about managing camp counsellors? What was the worst part or the part you disliked the most?
(prompts: privacy, pay, regulated leisure, rules, structure/ routine, peers, burnout/ camp life cycle)
4. Did you ever get frustrated with camp counsellors? How did you deal with it?
(prompt: maturity, level of responsibility, administration, attitudes/ beliefs)
5. Were/ Are you involved with training staff? What do you think is the most about the training (for yourself and the counsellors)? Do you think training sufficient for preparing camp counsellors for the camp counsellor role?
(prompt: challenging camper behaviours, special needs or abilities of campers, emergency situations, emotional relationships or disclosure)
6. What do you think is/are the most important aspects to the camp counsellor employment experience? (prompts: developmental growth, fun/ leisure, friendships, work skills, self-esteem improvement, hardship/ endurance)
7. How would you change or improve camp counsellor experience and/or camp employment practices? (prompt: relationships –camper, parent, managemt, peers, Expectations, Rest, training, maturity)
8. Is there anything else you would like to add?

Thank you for your time and participation in this project.

Appendix G: Table 1 - Survey Participant Summary

Variable	Category	Count	%
Gender	Female	46	79.31
	Male	12	20.68
Education	Primary	2	3.45
	High school	9	15.52
	Apprenticeship	1	1.72
	College	7	12.07
	Undergraduate	22	37.93
	Postgraduate	17	29.31
Religion	Christian	50	86.2
	None	7	12.07
	Other	1	1.72
Ethnicity	First nations/ Native Canadian	2	3.45
	Anglo-Saxon ancestry	48	82.76
	French ancestry	1	1.72
	Other (e.g. German and East Indian)	3	5.17
	No response	4	6.9
Occupation	Professional	7	12.07
	Camp Mgmt/ Pro	10	17.24
	Clergy/ Minister	2	3.45
	Health/ wellbeing Professional	6	10.34
	Outdoor/ Rec Role	5	8.62
	Student	10	17.24
	Teacher/ Education	17	29.31
	Other	1	1.72
Camper Summers	None	1	1.72
	Novice (1 to 2 summers)	8	13.79
	Intermediate (3 to 6 summers)	23	39.66
	Expert (7+ summers)	16	27.59
	No response	10	17.24
Camp staff employee summers*	Novice (1 to 2 summers)	6	10.34
	Intermediate (3 to 7 summers)	34	58.62
	Lifer (8+ summers)	11	18.97
	No Response	7	12.07
	N=	58	100.00

***This included paid and unpaid employment (ranging from 1 week to year periods)**

Appendix H: Table 2 - Interview Participant Summary

Variable	Category	Count	%
Age	-18	3	7.89
	19-24	15	39.47
	25-29	8	21.05
	30-34	4	10.53
	35-39	3	7.89
	40-44	0	0.00
	45-49	2	5.26
	50-54	1	2.63
	55-59	2	5.26
	60+	0	0.00
Gender	F	24	63.16
	M	14	36.84
Religion	Christian	30	78.95
	none	6	15.79
	No Response	2	5.26
Education	Primary	2	5.26
	High School	11	28.95
	Apprenticeship	0	0.00
	College	5	13.16
	Undergraduate	11	28.95
	Postgraduate	9	23.68
Level of Employment	Camp Counsellor	13	34.21
	Middle Management / Program Staff	11	28.95
	Leadership Development Staff	2	5.26
	Management / Director	12	31.58
	N=	38	100.00

Appendix I: Table 3 - Interview Participant camp experience

Summers	As Camper		As Camp counsellor		As Other Camp Staff (e.g. lifeguard, admin, Head, Program, etc.)	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
None	4	10.53	4	10.53	6	15.79
One	2	5.26	5	13.16	6	15.79
Two	1	2.63	4	10.53	7	18.42
Three	2	5.26	6	15.79	4	10.53
Four	4	10.53	4	10.53	2	5.26
Five	5	13.16	5	13.16	1	2.63
Six	3	7.89	1	2.63	0	-
Seven	1	2.63	1	2.63	0	-
Eight	3	7.89	1	2.63	0	-
Nine	2	5.26	2	5.26	0	-
Ten	2	5.26	1	2.63	2	5.26
Eleven	4	10.53	0	-	0	-
Twelve	3	7.89	2	5.26	9	23.68
No Response	2	5.26	2	5.26	1	2.63
					N=38	100

Appendix J: Table 4 - Interview Participant temporal distance from camp employment

Temporal distance from camp employment experience(s)

	Count	%
Currently employed (at the time of interview)	7	18.42
Previous summer (July / August 2009)	18	47.37
2 to 4 summers prior	6	15.79
5+ summers prior	3	7.89
No Response	1	2.63
	N=38	100

Appendix K: Table 5 - Interview Participant Characteristics

Name	role classification	gender	age group	highest level education achieved	religion	occupation	ethnic background	camper summers	summers as cc	summers as other camp employee	end of last camp employment
Andy	cc	f	25-29	undergrad	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	8	5	2	Aug-09
April	mgmt	f	19-24	undergrad	none	camp asst director	anglo Cdn	12+	2	10	current
Arthur	mgmt	m	55-59	postgrad	Christian	camp director	anglo Cdn	0	2	12+	current
Beth	mgmt	f	50-54	postgrad	Christian	camp consultant	anglo Cdn	6	2	12+	Aug-02
Bonnie	mgmt	f	25-29	college	Christian	wilderness guide	europa Cdn	11	3	12+	Sep-07
Cam	mid/ prog	m	25-29	undergrad	none	outdoor ed staff	anglo Cdn	3	3	2	Aug-09
Cathy	mid/ prog	f	19-24	highschool	Christian	outdoor ed staff	anglo Cdn	4	4	1	Aug-09
David	mid/ prog	m	25-29	highschool		outdoor ed staff	anglo Cdn				Aug-09
Devon	cc	m	-18	primary	none	student	anglo Cdn	7	3	0	Aug-09
Ed	mgmt	m	30-34	undergrad	Christian	camp director	anglo Cdn	11	6	12+	current
Elissa	mgmt	f	25-29	undergrad	Christian	camp director	anglo Cdn	2	8	4	current
Elizabeth	mgmt	f	35-39	college	Christian	lab technologist	anglo Cdn	5	3	12+	current
Eric	cc	m	25-29	college	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	1	1	0	Mar-09
Grant	cc	m	-18	highschool	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	12+	1	0	Aug-09
Henry	mgmt	m	54-59	postgrad	none	camp director	anglo Cdn	10	2	12+	current
Julie	mgmt	f	30-34	postgrad	Christian	social worker	anglo Cdn	9	10	5	Sep-08
James	cc	m	-18	primary	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	5	3	0	Jul-09
Lisa	prog	f	25-29	undergrad	Christian	teacher	anglo Cdn	4	4	2	Aug-04
Lucy	prog	f	19-24	postgrad	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	5	1	2	Aug-09
Matthew	leadership	m	35-39	postgrad	Christian	clergy	anglo Cdn	5	5	12+	Jul-09
Mary	mgmt	f	30-34	undergrad	Christian	sm business owner	anglo Cdn	5	0	10	Dec-08

Naomi	cc	f	19-24	highschool	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	0	0	2	Aug-09
Olivia	cc	f	19-24	highschool	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	1	3	0	Aug-07
Rachel	mid/ prog	f	19-24	college	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	4	4	4	
Richard	mgmt	m	45-49	undergrad	Christian	camp owner/ director	anglo Cdn	11	12+	12+	current
Rebecca	mgmt	f	45-49	college	Christian	educational assistant	anglo Cdn	3	12+	12+	Jul-09
Sara	cc	f	19-24	undergrad	Christian	student	ukrainian Cdn	10	5	2	Nov-09
Sophie	cc	f	19-24	highschool	none	student	native Cdn	6	1	2	Aug-09
Steph	leadership	f	30-34	postgrad	Christian	teacher	anglo Cdn	0	0	3	Aug-09
Steve	cc	m	19-24	highschool	Christian	student	Asian Cdn	4	4	0	Aug-09
Tegan	cc	f	19-24	highschool	Christian	student	anglo Cdn		0?	1	Aug-08
Terry	mid/ prog	f	25-29	postgrad	Christian	social worker	anglo Cdn	0	9	2	Aug-08
Tess	mid/ prog	f	19-24	undergrad	Christian	Residence Life coord	anglo Cdn	12+	9	2	Aug-08
Tom	mid/ prog	m	19-24	highschool		student	anglo Cdn	8	5	2	Aug-09
Troy	cc	m	19-24	highschool	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	11	2	2	Aug-09
Trudy	prog	f	19-24	highschool	none	student	anglo Cdn	9	4	1	Aug-09
Vicky	cc/mid	f	35-39	postgrad	Christian	social worker	anglo Cdn	8	7	3	Aug-97
Zoey	cc	f	19-24	undergrad	Christian	student	anglo Cdn	6	5	3	Aug-09

Appendix L: Table 6 - Purpose statement discursive analysis

Word searched	Number of camps that employ word (/37)	Camps	Example
community	13	Camp Ararat, Camp Couchiching, Kannawin, Kilcoo, Five Oaks UCC, Glen Mohr, Pearce Williams, Pioneer, Silver Lake UCC, Taylor Statten, YMCA Pinecrest, Camp Shalom	“We are committed to strengthening the foundations of community: nurturing the potential of children, teens and adults; promoting healthy living; fostering social responsibility; and delivering lasting personal and social change” YMCA Wanikita
Safe	13	Ararat, Bimini, Couchiching, Kannawin, Camp Kintail, Camp Tawingo, Glen Mohr, Pearce Williams Christian Centre, Stevenson’s Children’s Camp, Taylor Statten, Circle Square Ranch, Muskoka Woods Resort, Camp Shalom	It is our goal to give every child and youth a camping experience where they feel loved and valued for who they are. We strive to be welcoming and inclusive of each individual and provide a safe and nurturing place where campers may experience nature, grow spiritually and create lifelong friendships. Camp Bimini
Nature, environment, outdoor, & natural	10	Bimini, Couchiching, YMCA Cedar Glen, Jackson’s Point, Kannawin, Camp Kintail, Glen Mohr, Hurontario, Pearce Williams, Taylor Statten, Camp Shalom, Wenonah, Silver Lake UCC, YMCA Pinecrest	Opportunities for personal growth and development , Interaction with nature, and Small group experiences for individual attention YMCA Cedar Glen “We believe that Camp Bimini is a place where God’s creation comes together with respect for each other and the environment. ... where campers may experience nature, grow spiritually and create lifelong friendships.” (Camp Bimini 2012)
Education 3, learn* 7	10	Arrowhon, Camp Ararat, Jackson’s Point, Couchiching, Camp Tawingo, Five Oaks, Pearce Williams, Doe Lake GGC, Cave Springs UCC, YMCA Pinecrest	The overall purpose of any Salvation Army camp is to serve the total personality and health needs of the camper; spiritual, educational, social, and recreational through a creative, healthful experience, in co-operative group living in outdoor settings. Jackson’s Point
Fun	8	Ararat, Couchiching, Kannawin, Canadian Adventure Camp, Glen Mohr, Stevenson’s Children’s Camp, Circle Square Ranch, Muskoka Woods Resort	“... FUN IS OUR TRADEMARK!” Muskoka Woods Resort
Growth 6, development 6, change 1	8	Camp Kintail, Camp Tawingo, Couchiching, Glen Mohr, YMCA Pinecrest, YMCA Cedar	Opportunities for personal growth and development , Interaction with nature, and Small group experiences for individual attention

		Glen, Taylor Statten, YMCA Wanikita	YMCA Cedar Glen
Self (self-esteem, confidence)	7	Arrowhon, Camp Wenonah, Doe Lake GGC, Hurontario, Kinnesseri, Pearce Williams, Muskoka Woods	Skills and self-confidence that last a lifetime are at the heart of the Camp Arrowhon Experience. From our approach to activities, to the training of our staff, to our commitment to every camper, everything we do is guided by this goal. Camp Arrowhon
Leadership	7	Kiloo, Silver Lake UCC, YMCA Pinecrest, Muskoka Woods Resort, Camp Shalom, UCC LDC, YMCA Wanikita	"Camp guests choose from water sports and athletics, media and arts, leadership and team building programs" Muskoka Woods Resort
Value* (i.e. valued, values)	7	Camp Bimini, Glen Mohr, Silver Lake UCC, YMCA John Island, Trillium, Pioneer, Jackson's Point	YMCA John Island Camp is children and children at heart caring, sharing and daring to provide a positive and lasting effect on values and attitudes with a magical island as a common point YMCA John Island
friendship	5	Bimini, Canadian Adventure Camp, Hurontario, Pearce Williams Christian Centre, Muskoka Woods	Our goal is to help young people grow into responsible, well-rounded citizens by expanding their skills and knowledge within the fun and friendship of a warm camp atmosphere. -Canadian Adventure Camp
Success 4, winner 1, star 2 (achieve* got no results)	5	Couchiching, Camp Kiloo, Pearce Williams Christian Centre, Kinnesserie, YMCA Pinecrest	"...Our success is found within our Campers. ... Our success is found within our Staff Team. ...Our success is found within our Facility." Couchiching "The key to the success of a summer camp is the staff" Kiloo "At camp every camper can be a star" Kinnesserie "We feel that camp is a unique place where every child can be a winner" Pearce Williams
Relationship	5	Trillium, Silver Lake UCC, Circle Square Ranch, Cave Springs UCC	To do this, we make Christ central to all aspects of our programs, leadership and camp community. Much of our focus revolves around building honest, positive relationships with Jesus. Silver Lake UCC
character	3	Kiloo, Taylor Statten, Muskoka Woods Resort	"Through experiences in in-camp programming, canoe tripping and social interactions, TSC develops an individual's life skills, character development and community connections" Taylor Statten
Citizen	1	Canadian Adventure Camp	Our goal is to help young people grow into responsible, well-rounded citizens by expanding their skills and knowledge within the fun and friendship of a warm camp atmosphere.

Appendix M: Table 7 - Staff Manual Characteristics

Name	Capacity (approx. camp participants)	Years of operation	Land size (approx. acres)	Affiliations
Peterson Camp	180+	Since 1917	180	Salvation Army
Silver Loon Camp	80	Since 1930s	180	United Church
The Maples Camp	65	Since 1940s	120	United Church
Knight Camp	160	Since 1960s	180	United Church
Camp Fleur	80	Since 1998	120	Camp for cancer patients and their families

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