Reconciliation of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Youth Through Leadership Programs

by

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Abstract

Reconciliation in Canada has been moved to the forefront with the recent publication of the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Youth can play a significant role in achieving reconciliation in Canada. In the following research, I propose that building balanced relationships during adolescence can counteract the disparity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth and lead to reconciliation. These relationships can be encouraged through creating shared experiences in leadership programs that include forums for discussions and cooperative development. Over a five-year period, youth from a remote Northern Ontario First Nation reserve have participated in two-week leadership training programs at a resident summer camp in central Ontario. I was motivated by the benefits of the ensuing relationships between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth, which led to this instrumental case study of the reconciliation potential of camps. I explored the outcomes of the interactions between the youth and staff at the camp. The methodology for this research includes a literature review and collecting data in interviews with the participants. Documents from the camp were analyzed to understand the values, vision and approach of the camp. The data was analyzed and five main areas became evident and were studied: values, goals, relationships, development and community. The safe environment carefully created at the camp led to relationship building between Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants and the non-Indigenous participants grew somewhat in their understanding and acknowledgement of Indigenous issues. As this instrumental case study was based on a small sample and the program was not set up to intentionally address reconciliation, the impact was limited. With a more direct attempt, there is potential for reconciliation in youth camp programs. By creating experiences where youth can interact and build relationships, they can build a better understanding of each other and thus create social solidarity.

Keywords

youth, reconciliation, Indigenous, leadership, instrumental case study

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I would like to recognize the people of Kiribati and the Mushkegowuk Region, where I have lived and worked for 15 years. I thank the elders, families and my co-workers who have taught me much about the land, culture, and my role here in the world.

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I thank my danis, who made sacrifices and helped so much at home
so that I could pursue my Masters degree.

I thank my koosees, who never ceases to amaze me with his questions and comments.

We are the meant to be, the sum of all that we've tried
A tattered history but one with nothing to hide
And our reality, stubbornly, will not be denied

We are the enemies of the empty passing of time
And all the energy that stays locked up inside
We are the reckoning, reminding what it means to be alive

Tell me what you seek out
We'll fumble in the dark and find it
And clumsily now
We'll get to where we get
And through our broken steps, we'll make it

Peter Katz, "We Are the Reckoning"

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1 « Introduction »

I sit in my classroom, here in a First Nation community, and I pause to reflect. It's 2022. As I walked down the halls, I saw posters about "ReconciliACTION" and bulletin boards sharing Grandfather Teachings. There is a shabatowan in our schoolyard; and we have "teepee teachings" as part of our Indigenous Education programme. Public schools across Ontario are finally including Indigenous content in courses and programs. Universities are mandating enrollment in Indigenous courses for graduation. I hear land acknowledgments at gatherings, conferences and even at NHL hockey games.

When I enrolled at Laurentian University in 2010, we were at a very different place. I enrolled in order to process my own understanding of my experiences on First Nations reserves and in First Nation communities, as a non-Indigenous person. I had a hard time sharing what I had come to learn, with my family and friends. Issues facing Indigenous communities weren't given as much consideration in the media or in the public education system.

I knew that I had a role to play in reconciliation, but I was unsure and didn't have the vocabulary or degree of self-realization. This thesis started out for academic purposes but ended up helping me decolonize my thinking, my worldview and my approach to teaching and living in a First Nations community and in our country.

My topic comes from my experiences: I am a teacher, and I have worked with youth my whole life. I am inspired by youth and their potential. My background in schools, leadership programs and summer camps always focused on personal development and the power of learning in groups. When a group of Indigenous youth was brought into a non-Indigenous summer camp setting, I saw something starting to happen. Cross-cultural relationships were being built, and the youth were asking more and more about each other and their cultures and communities. Looking

back at that event, I knew that this was something important, and could possibly be a model for further programs.

Since the event had already occurred, it wasn't set up as a specific research study. I have approached this as an instrumental case study. Robert Stake describes the instrumental case study as a way to provide insight into a particular issue through thick description of a particular site, with the key being the opportunity to learn and to explore in depth a particular phenomenon (Mills, 2010, p. 474). The data for this study was limited, but the topics were broad, and an extensive literature review was included in order to situate the study within a larger context.

1.1 « Purpose of Study/Scope/Significance of the Problem »

The recent release of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has brought to light many truths about Canada's history and present reality. It has forced the Canadian public to become aware of and acknowledge things hidden by the government, churches and organizations. Though the truth has been revealed to some degree, the question remains as to how to achieve true reconciliation, one that takes into consideration issues that are broader than those relating only to residential schools. The TRC Summary states that "reconciliation is not an Aboriginal problem; it is a Canadian one" (TRC Summary, 2015, p. vi). Ermine states that a schism has long existed in understanding the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Western society, which has created an "irritable bond of communities and trans-cultural confusion at its worst" (Ermine, 2007, p. 197). This lack of understanding is at the root of many interactions between Canadian society and Indigenous peoples, related to resource development, land claims, economy, health or education.

The focus of this research is to better understand the process of reconciliation. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission states that "reconciliation requires that a new vision, based on a

commitment to mutual respect, be developed" (TRC Executive Summary, 2015, p. vi). This study will look at how the process of reconciliation unfolds between Indigenous[1] and non-Indigenous youth in a summer camp setting in central Ontario, and it will contribute to an understanding of pragmatic approaches to decolonizing the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Western society.

Research Objectives

I hypothesize that building balanced relationships during adolescence can counteract the disparity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth and lead to reconciliation. Youth is a stage of heightened personal development and transformation, when youth are discovering their gifts and solidifying their identity, and thus provides an ideal period in which to build relationships and instill values. The adolescent years are a significant turning point as they develop cognitive skills that increase their ability to understand others. There is a lack of documentation of settings in which positive relationships across races are created (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007). In addition, "relationships among community members that bridge diverse groups are an important yet unrealized requirement for positive societal functioning" (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007, p. 380). Many studies show the potential for personal growth in group settings and outdoor experiential learning for adolescents (Ritchie, Wabano, Russell, Enosse & Young, 2014; Deane and Harre, 2013; Duerden, Widmer, Taniguchi & McCoy, 2009; Mishna, Michalski & Cummings, 2001).

[1] The term Indigenous peoples is used to refer to the Métis, Inuit and First Nations people of Canada. The terms Aboriginal and Native in reference to the First Nations people of Canada will be used interchangeably as they occur in the quoting of sources.

My research objectives are to determine a pathway to reconciliation for youth, and to create guidelines for resident camps, organisations and communities to use to build healthy relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth. This was recognized by the TRC as important, as it was included in the Calls to Action, number 66:

"*We call upon the federal government to establish multi-year funding for community-based youth organizations to deliver programs on reconciliation, and establish a national network to share information and best practices"* (TRC Action, 2015, p. 8).

1.2 « Metaphorical Framework »

Finding my research topic came from the collection of my various life experiences. It was part of a journey, similar to how life's journey is delineated in the Four Hills of Life, as depicted by Donald Chretien in Figure 1 (Peacock and Wisuri, 2011). As children, people enjoy the Good Life, and then move through the Fast Life and the Wandering Life (Johnston, 2011). During these stages, people are preparing themselves to receive a vision – something that will give purpose and meaning in their lives. Once this has been revealed to them, people play out their visions in the Truth, Planning and Doing stages. Once they have done so, they are able to become an Elder, and are able to share what has been learned along the way.

Figure 1: The Four Hills (Peacock and Wisuri, 2011)

As a non-Indigenous settler-researcher, I understand that this teaching is not mine nor my people's. As I have been working and learning in Indigenous communities over the past 15 years, I have been welcomed and included in many ceremonies and teachings, and the emphasis has been on sharing the teachings with anyone willing and open to learn and listen. As fellow settler-researchers, Johnson and Ali state that it is "equally important for us to acknowledge our lack of understanding of Indigenous worldviews and perspectives, which means we must step back and become the learners of such knowledge from those who hold it" (Johnson & Ali, 2020, p. 207).

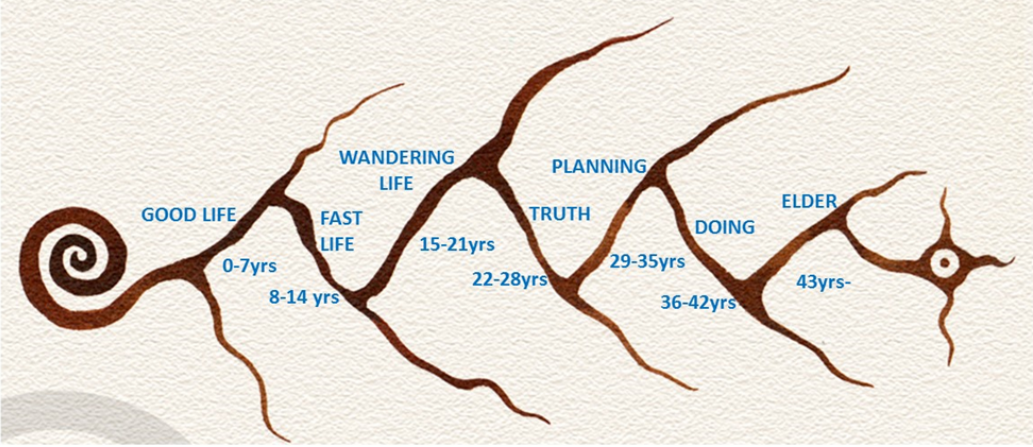

Figure 2: The Four Hills (Peacock and Wisuri, 2011); annotated

Having wandered for a long time, I have now moved forward into the Truth stage of my research, where I communicated my research agenda. Using the Four Hills as a metaphorical framework for my research also allowed me to be prepared for the digressions that can occur at different stages in the process.

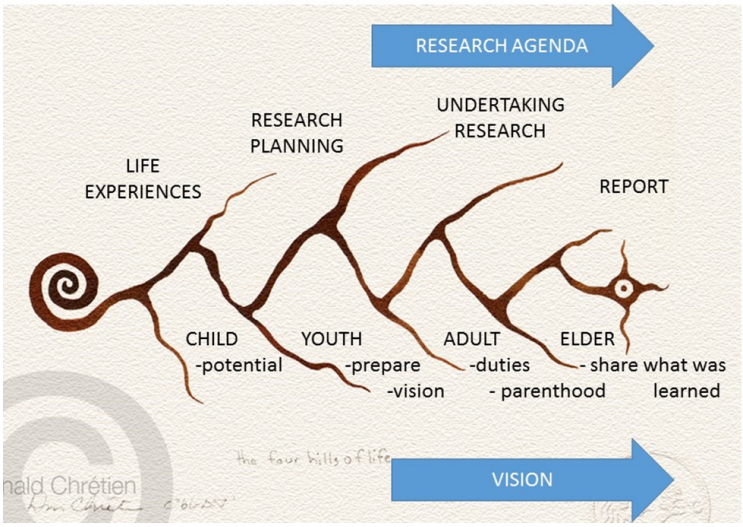

Figure 3: The Four Hills (Peacock and Wisuri, 2011): annotated

1.3 « Situating Self »

As a white Canadian woman, I moved through the educational system from elementary, secondary to post-secondary schools, and graduated as a teacher with two degrees from Ontario universities, with minimal learning about residential schools or Indigenous issues. It was not until I moved to work in a First Nation community in Northern Ontario that I came to grasp what was missing in my understanding of Canadian society and history. Having travelled and lived in other parts of the world and Canada, I had been taught by my parents to value other cultures and be open to learning new ways of doing things. However, I was missing a true understanding of my own country's history and the people who had lived here before me. My maternal ancestors arrived from England in the early 1800s, and as farmers, were granted a tract of land by King George IV in what was then Upper Canada. My paternal great-grandmother arrived with her children from Great Britain after World War 1, as a skilled labourer. The privileges my family has now, of education, land ownership, religion and freedom, are connected to the economic,

political and social conditions that were imposed on the Aboriginal people of Canada for hundreds of years. Memmi states that "privilege is at the heart of the colonial relationships – and that privilege is undoubtedly economic" (Memmi, 1965, p. 27). The description of my family's situation is not intended to minimize their hard work and dedication in achieving their current economic status. Rather, it is a recognition of the situation, in that I grew up with little realization of a group of people whose presence in our country preceded and facilitated my own.

This cultural self-study has aided me in placing myself in my research. By better understanding my own culture and history, I am able to better control bias and error (Weigl, 2009). Without awareness, "we are bound to endless, unnoticed repetition of our own cultural patterns" (Wiegl, 2009, p. 351). In addition to this, I recognize my position as a non-Indigenous, settler-researcher. Regan explains the importance for non-Indigenous researchers to continually interrogate their own colonial position within their work (Regan, 2010). Johnson and Ali challenge us to "use our privileged positions as settler-researchers to actively dedicate space, time, and labor to reconcile this history - the past harms of our ancestors in stealing land and displacing Indigenous populations" (Johnson & Ali, 2020, p. 217).

Being raised in the Baptist church, the idea of missionary work was always fascinating to me. The idea of helping and working with other people and the prospect of adventure led me to move to Kiribati, an atoll island nation in the South Pacific, to work as a teacher for two years. However, by that point in my life, I was not interested in imposing my religious beliefs on others; I was there as a teacher and community member. I participated in all aspects of cultural and daily activities, from fishing, dancing, coconut harvesting and community gatherings, which brought me to a greater understanding of the power of culture in people's lives. In my role as a teacher, I started to analyze the purpose and intent of the curriculum that I was directed to teach,

as it was based on Western values and ways of thinking; and its juxtaposition on a culture with very different values was questionable and not applicable.

I kept a diary and wrote many hand-written letters to family and friends during my two years there, which helped me to process what I was learning and experiencing. The role of the Catholic church, various protestant churches, and aid workers from various countries were main themes in my diaries and letters, and I considered how they impacted the traditional culture of the people of Kiribati.

Upon my return to Canada, I moved to a First Nation community in Northern Ontario, where I lived and worked for five years. Having gained an understanding of the impacts, positive and negative, that outsiders can have on a culture, I was careful with my approach in my new community. By participating in cultural and daily activities once again, I came to a better understanding of the people there and built strong relationships and friendships. I knew that my role as a teacher from a culture other than my students' culture, was not to impose my own values and worldview; and that I needed to be an active, observant participant in the community at large in order to better my understanding of how to teach my students. Constant self-evaluation helped ensure that my goals were culturally competent and relevant to the community in which my students lived.

I also understood that "experience doesn't occur simply by being in the vicinity of events as they occur" (Hamner, 2003, p. 423). I needed time to research, analyze and process my experiences. I enrolled in an undergraduate program at Laurentian University, and started taking courses in Indigenous Studies through distance studies. These courses challenged me to put my

experiences in the context of the broader context of Indigenous issues in Canada. I was challenged to analyze my worldview, values and personal background.

I had unknowingly become a border worker. My role was as an active agent between nations (Haig-Brown, 2006). I would field questions from my friends and family in central and southern Ontario about the community where I was living in the north. This was an ideal time to help them understand and value Indigenous people in Canada. During our class trips to Toronto and Ottawa, I would find myself as a facilitator for Indigenous students, in navigating a different culture. Having a foot in each world allowed me to understand each group better and ease communication.

During one of our school trips, another school group staying at the same summer camp treated the students from our community with great disrespect. There were racist words said and actions made towards our students, which had a profound impact on them. Following this, there was a lack of apology or restorative justice. However, this was balanced by the many positive experiences that we experienced during this trip and other trips. This motivated me to want to study the factors involved in cross-cultural experiences for youth, and my current research topic. I enrolled in the Master of Indigenous Relations program to continue this process of learning and understanding. Johnson and Ali encourage fellow settler-researchers to ask themselves, “How can we…be of valid service to Indigenous youth lives or worthy of Indigenous community participation?” (Johnson & Eli, 2020, p. 217).

I will draw on my years of experience as a teacher, educator, group development facilitator, field trip coordinator, summer camp director and canoe trip leader. I hope this research project and its findings can add to the conversation about reconciliation in Canada.

Theoretical Positioning

My research aims to contribute to the work of decolonization. Historical legacies of disconnection, dependency and dispossession have resulted in the "disconnection of Indigenous people from the sources of our goodness and power; from each other, our cultures and our lands" (Alfred, 2009, p. 9). Alfred highlights how Settler society is also offered this decolonized alternative, and to join in a "renewed relationship between the peoples and places of this land, which we occupy together" (Alfred, 2009, pg. 155). The hierarchical structures, paternalism and hegemony that have a stronghold in colonized societies and institutions are reconsidered and deconstructed in order to consider alternative conceptions of societal structures. Decolonization is similar to postcolonialism as they both acknowledge the presence of the oppressive powers of colonialism. However, decolonization positions colonization as ongoing and violent (Cote-Meek, 2014).

Smith identifies twenty-five Indigenous Research projects that are occurring around the world. This research study is part of the project of connecting: "connectedness positions individuals in sets of relationships with other people and the environment …connecting is about establishing good relations" (Smith, 2012, p. 149). By focusing on building relationships between youth, we are preparing them for their roles as decision-makers in their communities and nation in the future.

1.4 « Situating Participants»

The setting of this study is a small leadership camp in central Ontario, where participants, ages 13-16 took part in a 2-week leadership program where Indigenous and non-Indigenous

youth interacted. All participants interviewed in this study were non-Indigenous. In the original design of this research study, I had set out to interview the Indigenous youth who had participated in the camp. However, in discussion with my supervisor, I came to the realization that it was not my story to tell. By focusing on fellow non-Indigenous individuals, and using self-reflection with my own experiences, the research would be more authentic and appropriate.

The number of participants was very small, and only from one camp, one year. However, these findings, would be a possible jumping-off point for further studies, and might encourage other researchers to build more extensive research designs in the future.

1.5 « Methods »

A comprehensive literature review focused on the following topics: decolonization, culture, camps and adventure programs, youth and identity, and bridging differences. Within the camps and adventure program topic, sub-topics include personal and group development, community and cross-cultural programming.

Two methods were used to gather data in this study, document review and interviews. Documents from the camp were used to determine the values, structure and daily schedule of the camp and its programs. Interviews were undertaken with four participants. Participants were interviewed by phone, and conversations occurred following a question guide. The interviews were from 45-60 minutes in length.

1.6 « Summary »

This exploratory study focuses on creating a pathway to reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada, focusing on youth. By looking at concepts of

decolonization, culture, camps, identity and bridging differences in the literature, and considering the data that was collected from non-Indigenous participants, we hope to gain even more insight into what is required to create that pathway and how to make it accessible and open to more youth in Canada. In addition to the pathway, I hope to create guidelines for resident camps, organizations and communities to use to build healthy relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth.

2 « Literature Review »

Despite the extensive work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, we still have a long way to go towards true reconciliation in Canada. In its summary report, the TRC states that "reconciliation isn't an aboriginal problem – it is a Canadian problem" (TRC, 2015, p. vi). Canadian Indigenous people have done a tremendous amount of work, emotionally and mentally, by sharing their stories from Residential schools, in the hopes of enlightening the rest of Canadians. However, the rest of the population needs to be ready to take on their share of the task.

Canada has a double standard. In the global community, and at the United Nations, Canada prefers to showcase its tolerance and goodwill (Warry, 2009). However, at home, institutionalized racism still exists, and colonization is ongoing and present (Cote-Meek, 2014). The irony of Canadian society is that "tolerance and multicultural diversity are accepted and heralded as national ethic, as Aboriginal people are marginalized and cultures are denigrated" (Warry, 2007, p. 13). What is at stake is "the character and the honor of a nation to have created such conditions of inequity (Ermine, 2007). There is an assumption that Canadians can't possibly be racist (Warry, 2007). Canada's double standard is obvious.

"Indigenous people aren't enemies of Canadian civilization – they are and have always been essential to its very possibility" (Ermine, 2007, p. 201). There is a "stubborn insistence by Canada that they own the land" (Yellowhead, 2019). Yet, Indigenous people had jurisdiction over many lands and territories that were stolen through various means by Canada, its government, and the colonizing nations (Yellowhead, 2019). "Aboriginal people are poised to make significant contributions to this country now and in the near future" (Warry, 2007, p. 18). They

have survived oppression, suppression, abuse and inhumane living conditions. Judith Moschkovich states that “It is not the duty of the oppressed to educate the oppressor” (Haig-Brown, 1990, p. 238). Canadians need to first understand their roles in decolonization and reflect on who they are and where they came from in order to understand where we are going.

In order to situate this study in the context of current research, five areas of the literature have been studied: reconciliation, culture, camps and adventure programs, youth identity and bridging differences.

2.1 « Reconciliation »

The “Truth” work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was multi-faceted. It provided a forum for Indigenous people in Canada to share their experiences in the Residential School system and gave settler Canadians the opportunity to observe and listen to these narratives. Settlers have a big part to play in the next step, reconciliation. Roger Epp frames this fact with the question – “How do we solve the settler problem?” (Regan, 2010, p. 11). In order to better understand the settler position, we will look at who settler Canadians are, what are their mindsights, why they need to change their outlooks, and how to transform settler consciousness.

Settlers are those who have arrived during colonial rule, or since then, with the intention of making a new home on the land, and insisting on settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain (Tuck & Yang, 2012). This differs from the intentions of immigrants, who want to make a new home for themselves, without taking over power. The label of settler can be deeply discomforting and at times defensively dismissed (Davis, 2017). This is because this term makes it clear that they were not the original inhabitants of this land, and it hints at the truth of a history that has been hidden. Settlers are those who identify with the colonizer and have reaped the

benefits and privileges of colonialism and are collective beneficiaries of a system that created and perpetuates inequalities and breached the human rights of oppressed groups (Regan, 2010). Settlers enjoy privileges - made possible through the power settler nations exercise (Powys White, 2018). These privileges continue today. Settlers were, are and continue to be participants in colonial systems.

Colonialism has created an impact on the mindsights of settlers, because it is more than an economic or political concept. Colonialism is an ideology as well as a cultural practice in itself. “We have also been colonized by settler colonial mythologies of multiculturalism, peace-keeping, socially-progressive politics, and hard-earned prosperity” (Howell, 2022, p. 5). These mythologies have sedimented into the mindsights of settlers and have affected Indigenous-settler relationships. These relationships have been disrupted by situations such as settler moves to innocence, defensive reactions, relational denial, parasitic relationships and colonial psychosis.

Tuck and Yang name coping mechanisms for settlers as settler “moves to innocence” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 3). In order to alleviate settler “guilt,” these moves to innocence can take the form of settler nativism, fantasizing adoption, colonial equivocation, conscientization, “at risking” Indigenous people, and urban homesteading (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 3). These moves to innocence can be conscious or unconscious strategies of selectively remembering the past to protect one’s power and privilege in the present and, most importantly, to perpetuate it into the future (Howell, 2022).

Another move to innocence is the concept of the perfect stranger. Howell describes this process as settlers excusing themselves of their civic and professional responsibility to

self-examine their discomforts in relation to learning First Nations, Inuit and Metis histories, perspectives and contemporary issues (Howell, 2022). They want to remain respectful, hardworking and successful professional characters within the grand narratives of "Canada the Good," and deny their implicatedness in Canada's history of colonialism (Howell, 2022, p. 22). Warry states that some are "ignorant of their ignorance." (Warry, 2007, p. 16). Tupper describes this as an epistemology of ignorance, based on white normativity (Tupper, 2012). However, Regan states that "we did not know because we didn't want to know" (Regan, 2010, p. 42). Davis would connect that to white fragility - a sense of entitlement to racial comfort (Davis, 2017). This ignorance is a common approach by settlers, and is no longer acceptable.

Settlers can also have defensive reactions, which occur when coming into contact with people whose worldviews don't coincide with theirs. These would serve to protect white settler Canadians in relation to intergenerational emotions of guilt and from others' worldviews (Howell, 2022). Some examples of defensive reactions are assimilation, derogation, annihilation and accommodation.

Settler-Indigenous relationships have been affected by relational denial. Colonialism is an extended process of denying relationships. Settlers continue this process by actively distancing themselves from Indigenous peoples in order to absolve themselves of their responsibility, which Donald describes as part of a pedagogy of whiteness. Rather than seeing them on the same level as fellow human beings, some settlers see themselves as Judeo-Christian white saviours of First Nations, Inuit and Metis peoples (Howell, 2022). Denial or distancing themselves from Indigenous peoples has unbalanced this relationship.

Another factor in the disruption of Indigenous-settler relationships is described by Powys White (2018). He is concerned that Indigenous people were being blamed as parasites in his

country. Indigenous peoples were being turned into dependents or special sovereigns, clamouring for settler nations to grant them undue privileges and benefits. He states that settler colonialism - when it works to create illusory moral grounds- is a specifically parasitic system of dominations (Powys White, 2018). This illusory moral ground was necessary for settlers to accept "morally horrendous, violent, and unjust visions and ecological ambitions; and that it was morally acceptable to commit genocide, unwarranted killing, sexual violence, forced assimilation, child abuse and economic injustice" (Powys White, 2018, p. 284). By creating and believing in this illusory moral ground, settlers could hide from their moral accountability and still think of themselves as good, righteous people within their own cultures. Similarly, Regan writes that Canadians like to imagine that they always acted with peaceful and good intentions (Regan, 2010). This illusion allowed settlers to think they were politically entitled and morally/spiritually justified to become the true people of the land (Powys White, 2018).

Powys White describes settler-Indigenous relationships as being parasitic, where an organization of relationships works to enable some living things to live off of and harm others. In the first type of parasitic relationship, the parasite lives off the host and kills it. However, settler colonialism is the second type, where the parasite lives off the host, with the goal of becoming the host, reversing the two roles. The original parasite creates the illusion that the original host itself is a parasite that must be killed, controlled or assimilated. This myth of Indigenous peoples as parasites, somehow allows the injustices of the past to be seen as inevitable, and morally acceptable (Powys White, 2018). Regan also writes of this relationship, where Indigenous peoples are believed to be beneficiaries of settler altruism (Regan, 2010). This process has contributed to the imbalance in the relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples.

Howell postulates that settler colonialism has created colonial psychosis. These cognitive blockages cause Canadians to disregard Indigenous peoples as fellow human beings caused by the perpetuation of colonial logic (Howell, 2022). The internal colonialism in Canada is caused by "our belief in the superiority of European values and our ignorance of Aboriginal culture sustain the structural racism that marginalizes and impoverishes Aboriginal people" (Warry, 2007, p.15). This colonial psychosis has also contributed to the imbalance in the relationship between settlers and Indigenous peoples.

Settlers use different discursive strategies to protect their position of material privilege and to prove to themselves and others the righteousness of their existence (Howell, 2022). Having deep emotional and cultural investment in the status quo, and being beneficiaries of past and present injustices, decolonizing the mindsight of settlers is a complex process (Davis, 2017).

Settlers are starting to see their responsibilities in changing their relationships with Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples everywhere continue to propose and lead approaches to reconciliation, and have contributed to decolonizing counter-narratives (Regan, 2010; Powys White, 2018). Regan and Warry call on their fellow settlers to accept their responsibility for the colonial status quo, as they are ultimately responsible for the past and present actions of their government (Regan, 2010).

Scholars suggest various courses of action. Tuck and Yang propose "settler harm reduction," which would reduce the harm that settler colonialism has had on others (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 21). Warry advises us to publicly acknowledge our complicity and decolonize our thinking (Warry, 2007). Powys-White reminds us that respectful relationships need to be morally grounded (Powys-White, 2018). Davis suggests embracing a "pedagogy of discomfort," while being rooted in a critical, self-reflexive consciousness (Davis, 2017, p. 400). This would involve

settlers taking responsibility for their own education and unlearning dominant narratives and histories. All of these approaches require commitment by settlers to deep self-analysis and emotional engagement.

Howell outlines this creation of new relationships as ethical relationality - an ethic of historical consciousness - where we see ourselves as related to, and implicated in, the lives of those that have gone before us and those yet to come. It is an "ethical imperative to recognize the significance of the relationships we have with others, how our histories and experiences are layered and position us in relation to each other, and how our futures are similarly tied together" (Howell, 2022, p.21). Mitchell and Tupper agree with the importance of relationships, encouraging settlers to visualize themselves in relation to people and places, moving past the assignment of guilt to a consideration of present-day responsibility (Mitchell and Tupper, 2017) (Howell, 2022, p. 21). Creating ethical relationality would ensure that relationships are balanced and healthy.

Colonization has disrupted the relationship between settlers and Indigenous people right from the start. Denial of colonial actions and indifference to Indigenous issues leads to accidental racism. "Challenges faced by Aboriginal people require action and advocacy by mainstream Canadians – these challenges cannot, and will not, be met by Aboriginal people alone" (Warry, 2007, p.19). Canadians may find that Indigenous people were invisible in their daily lives; more effort needs to be put into making sure that they hear and understand the voices of Indigenous peoples (Davis, 2017).

Rebalancing and resetting the relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples requires transforming settler consciousness. Davis warns that education and information is "not sufficient to shift the relationships," and that reconciliation can be seen as a romantic attempt to

smooth over relationships while leaving the status quo untouched (Davis, 2017, p. 399). Howell insists that education is the key to reconciliation, despite it being used as the primary tool of oppression of Aboriginal people and miseducation of all Canadians (Howell, 2022). In order to truly transform settler consciousness, this "education" must include an initial entry point, emotional engagement, deep reflection, and longevity.

Transformation will not occur on its own. There needs to be some type of event, or moment, that sparks interest. Howell calls it "reconciliatory reawakening" (Howell, 2022, p.24); Davis suggests an unsettling moment of insight (Davis, 2017). These events or moments are entry points to the process.

The next part requires emotional engagement, and the removal of "comfy intellectual, psychological and emotional distance from harsh realities" (Regan, 2010, p.24). Settler comfort and privilege need to be challenged, and settlers must make themselves vulnerable to the emotive labour that such work involves (Howell, 2022). Warry affirms that "disturbing emotions are a critical pedagogical tool that can provoke decolonizing, transformational learning" (Warry, 2007, p. 19). Tuck and Yang state that the process has to be unsettling, and that it cannot come from magical practices, natural shock, or a friendly understanding (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Barker and Battell Lowman suggest pre-cognitive, emotional engagements with personal and collective settler complicity (Howell, 2022).

Once the process has been initialized by an entry point, and emotional engagement is ensured, settlers must engage in reflection. Howell suggests that it may be the first time settlers may be invited to question their complicity with settler colonial systems and intergenerational violence. Reflective writing can be used for reckoning, revisiting, unlearning and learning anew, and can connect memories and experiences in the past with current colonial realities (Howell,

2022). This revisiting of memories must take into consideration how the experiences they encapsulate "re-inscribe settler identity and frame Indigenous peoples as lives that are not grievable" (Howell, 2022, p. 17). Davis recommends that settlers then enter Indigenous spaces, and participate in ceremonies, teachings, cultural practices and on-land activities, with the goal of being in the right relationships with Indigenous peoples (Davis, 2017). This comes back to the concept of ethical relationality.

This journey of reconciliation on the part of settlers then needs to be ongoing. Davis describes it as an "ongoing process of transformation with critical moments of insight which propel a lifelong learning process," with a lifetime commitment, occurring at the level of the individual, family, community and nation (Davis, 2017, p. 411).

This section focused on the responsibilities of the settler in reconciliation. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) talks about hope with its principle of mutual recognition (RCA, 1996). "It requires both sides to acknowledge and relate to one another as partners, respecting each others' laws and institutions and co-operating for mutual benefit" (Warry, 2007, p. 53). Regan states that settler identity can be transformed from colonizer to ally. Then, we may see the emergence of a new story that can repair inherited colonial divides (Howell, 2022).

2.2 « Culture »

"My life, who I am, what I do and why I do it cannot be understood without first recognizing where I come from" (Weigl, 2009, p. 348).

"Reconciliation is an intercultural exchange" (Regan, 2010, p.12). Thus, it is important to look at the role of culture in the interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in

Canada. The discussion of culture is absent from the discourse (Warry, 2007). “A schism exists in understanding between Indigenous peoples and Western society” (Ermine, 2007., p. 197). Looking at and understanding the role of culture may lead to better cross-cultural relations and addressing the “schism.”

Rathje defines culture as something unifying which produces common characteristics shared by a significant number of the members of that culture (Rathje, 2007). Thomas describes culture as a universal and quite typical orientation system for a society, organization or group (Rathje, 2007). Warry describes culture as a system of ideas, values and metaphors that are consciously and unconsciously used or enacted by people in their everyday lives (Warry, 2007). What unifies these definitions is the concept of values that are common to a group. From culture comes a group’s worldview – “the set of distinctions that is appropriate to a particular culture” (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003, p. 423).

Though many peoples are aware of their cultures, many individuals of European origin are not. “Some individuals of European origin have no impetus to include elements of culture or ethnicity in their evolving self-definitions” (Weigl, 2009, p. 349). Some identify themselves as non-traditional and a-historical, thinking of themselves as mainstream Americans. However, “European culture itself is an amalgam of many earlier cultures and traditions” (Weigl, 2009, p. 351) . There are values that underly these histories and peoples. One way for Canadian-Europeans to understand their history is through undergoing a cultural self-study. Through this, individuals internalize concepts of culture in a way that they comprehend the power of culture through recognition, both cognitively and emotionally, of how they are the vehicles for the expression of cultures. A cultural self-study involves looking at values, places, scripts, persons, groups and meanings (Weigl, 2009).

Weigl's study involves using a cultural self-study for university students in a Semester at Sea program, and as a result, they become warmer, more synchronous and more attentive in intercultural situations (Weigl, 2009). In the study by Mahara et. Al, Canadian nurses who would be working with Indigenous patients and communities were to undergo a cultural self-study, in order to provide culturally safe care (Mahara, Duncan, Whyte & Brown, 2011). In Bennett's study, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal social workers in Australia engage in critical cultural self-study in preparing for working in Aboriginal communities (Bennett, Zubrzycki & Bacon, 2011). Bennett's cultural self-study includes looking at family, biography, identities, roles, personal values, and motivation to work with Indigenous peoples. One participant stated, "If you're not reconciled within yourself and where you've come from, and your knowledge, then what good are you in your role?" (Bennett, Zubrzycki & Bacon, 2011, p. 25).

Critical reflection on these different aspects is key. In Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman's study, they state that experience does not occur simply by being in the vicinity of events when they occur – it's a function of how one construes the events (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003). Weigl states that "our [Western] academic tradition encourages us to mask, not reveal ourselves" (Weigl, 2009, p. 348). Thus, many people may not be comfortable with this process at first. However, "without awareness, we are bound to endless unnoticed repetition of our own cultural patterns" (Weigl, 2009, p. 351). By committing to a full cultural self-study, we can "evoke and strengthen capacities for self-observations. Those who feel culture operating in themselves, are more likely to feel how culture operates powerfully in others" (Weigl, 2009, p.348).

The outcomes of cultural self-study include increased curiosity, ascribing definitions from self to others, recognizing the pervasiveness of culture in others, increasing capacity to

identify bias, and strengthening the capacity to arrest the automatic enactment of their own culture. They may come to realize that culture is a historical product, the cumulative accomplishments and quirks that prior generations pass on through socialization to their successors. The selves made at the moment, emerging in the future, now have a past, too (Weigl, 2009).

Once a personal awareness of culture is established, intercultural interactions can become more than experiences of disorientation and foreignness. Individuals can build their "intercultural competence", which is the ability to bring about the missing "normality" in intercultural interactions, and create cohesion in the situation (Rathje, 2007, p. 256). Hammer et al. (2003) describe intercultural competence as the ability to think and act in intercultural ways. In extension to this, intercultural sensitivity is the ability to discriminate and experience relevant cultural differences (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003). Rathje states how successful intercultural competence will manifest itself in the participants as a kind of palpable personal development (Rathje, 2007).

Rathje quotes the work of Gardner (1962), who describes the role of universal communicators, who are individuals equipped with an unusual capacity for intercultural communication along with an entire repertoire of personality traits that contribute to this success. Figure 4 depicts Bennett's development model of intercultural sensitivity, DMIS, includes a 6-part scale (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003).

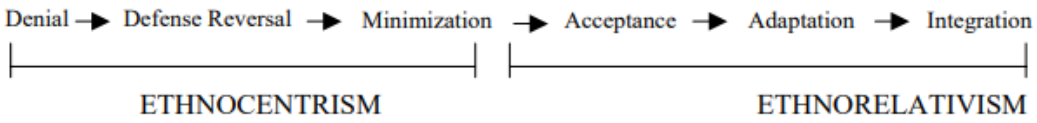

Figure 4: Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003).

The first three stages, denial, defense (reversal), and minimization, refer to ethnocentric thinking. The last three stages, acceptance, adaptation and integration, show ethnorelavitism. Movement through this scale is uni-directional; in that, each stage is passed once the relevant issues have been resolved (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003). "As one's experience of cultural differences becomes more complex and sophisticated, one's potential competence in intercultural relations increases (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003, p. 423).

Celia Haig-Brown describes having a "cultural window," the frame of which, when used for interaction with another culture, can expand (Haig-Brown, 1990, p. 238).

The role of culture in reconciliation is at the forefront. Building intercultural sensitivity and competence is key through strategies such as undergoing a cultural self-study.

2.3 « Camps and Adventure Programs »

Outdoor programs for youth exist in different formats but share similar goals and outcomes. These programs can exist as overnight camps, day camps, outdoor adventure education, youth adventure programs and adventure leadership.

"It is widely believed that camp programs offer children and adolescents valuable opportunities to grow and develop as they experience a wide range of

psychological, social, emotional and physical benefits, such as increased self-esteem, a return to nature, greater ability to assume responsibility and improved relationships with peers and adults"

(Mishna, Michalski & Cummings, 2001, p. 156)

In the early 1900s, experts noted that the industrialized world "had created social ills, such as the decline of initiative, self-discipline [and] compassion"; and that the 21st century had seen a decline in civic engagements, community connection and active participation in the outdoors. Summer camps for children were created, where the great outdoors is used as a setting to promote "the betterment of individuals and human society" (Deane & Harré, 2013, p. 297).

Overnight camps provide an intensive group experience in a controlled environment. "A vital element of the camp experience is the microcosm of the world that is created" (Deane & Harré, 2013, p. 159). Similarly, in a language day-camp, the environment is described as "intensive cultural islands" (Mishna, Michalski & Cummings, 2001). Every aspect of camp contributes to the experience, making the whole camp the curriculum (Wall, 2008).

Outdoor adventure programs differ from typical residential camps and day camps in that they have more of a focus on personal development and risk-taking. As well, they have specific goals, use elements of uncertainty and risk, and time is set aside for debriefing in order for participants to process what they learned. This process is called the experiential learning cycle: participation, reflection, generalization and new application of the learning (See Figure 5 below). The cycle "gives personal meaning to abstract concepts, which grounds lessons in reality, making clear the connections between current actions and future consequences" (Deane & Harré, 2013, p. 321).

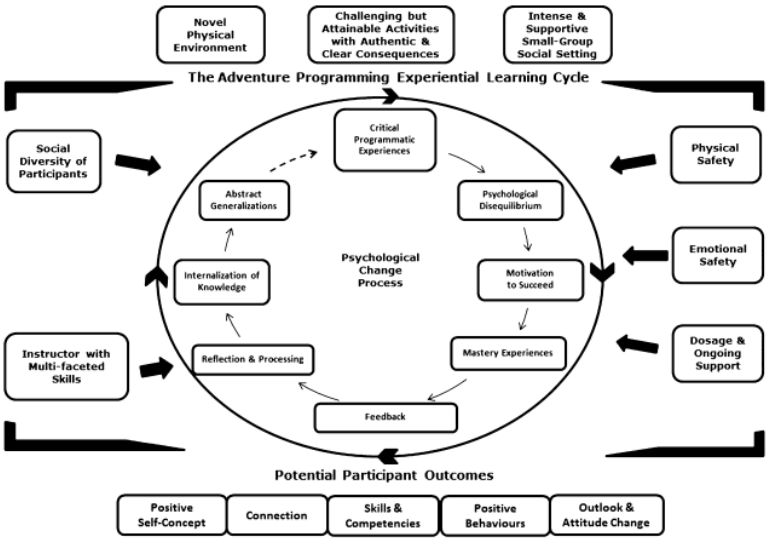

Figure 5: Proposed Youth Adventure Programming Model (Deane and Harré, 2013)

Participants in outdoor adventure education usually don't know each other, creating a novel environment, which is effective, as it creates internal tension or disequilibrium. Participants tend to be more engaged, and the novel environment encourages them to notice things they may not normally perceive (Deane & Harré, 2013).

Using a wilderness setting is another component of outdoor adventure education. First of all, the wilderness provides unavoidable consequences which can motivate action. As well, the inherent risk and unpredictability of wilderness settings can add to the feeling of disequilibrium (Deane & Harré, 2013).

Another factor in outdoor adventure programs is the high dosage, as it takes place 24 hours a day, over several days or weeks. A study showed that programs longer than 20 days were the most effective (Deane & Harré, 2013). The goal of the Outward Bound Process Model is to achieve positive change and personal growth by progressing through a series of challenges in a supportive small group environment where successive problems are addressed, solved and then re-organized into learnings that may transfer to life beyond the outdoor experience (Walsh &

Golins 1976; Ritchie, Wabano, Russell, Enosse & Young, 2014). Sufficient time is needed to progress through all of these stages.

It's important to note that there are power relations at play in a summer camp setting. Mandi Baker writes how counselor subjectivity is shaped not just through subjectification but also through power relations of camp government (Baker, 2020, p.57). "Camp discourses and practices not only shape the counselors' experiences of camp but also shape how camp counselors come to see and govern themselves as employees," and through the power relations of camp government (Baker, 2020, p.57).

Deane & Harré summarize the possible positive social outcomes for youth from outdoor adventure programs, such as improvements in self-concept and attitude, skill development (communication, leadership and teamwork), and enhancements in relational and behavioral functioning. Positive effects have been found across diverse adult and youth populations; conversely, Deane and Harré warn that there is also potential for little long-term impact or harm (Deane & Harré, 2013).

Outdoor adventure education produces rich learning experiences (Jostad, Sibthorp, Butner & Rochelle, 2019). Hattie et al. stated that they produce positive growth because they offer immediate experiences with naturally occurring consequences, involve specific tasks and goals, and provide ample verbal and environmental feedback (Duerden, Widmer, Taniguchi & McCoy, 2009). Walsh and Golins' model shows that these components can work together with the result that participants rethink their lives and future directions (Deane & Harré, 2013).

They also suggest these positive results occur because the programs are holistic - engaging the physical, intellectual, emotional and social facilities (Deane & Harré, 2013).

Three aspects of the camp and outdoor adventure experience will be explored in more detail: group development, personal development, and the creation of community.

2.3 a « Group Development »

The effectiveness of group work in personal and group development is widely recognized. Group work can be defined as a service for individuals who, through normal, satisfying group activities, are encouraged to grow and develop socially and emotionally and to participate responsibly in society (Mishna, Michalski & Cummings, 2001). This may refer to the changes that can occur in groups, rather than by individuals in isolation.

In camp settings, campers are part of a group, in their cabins, during activities or at meals. “The utilization of the group is considered a primary element in adventure programs” (Mishna, Michalski & Cummings, 2001, p.158). There is a power of collective action and experience-based groups (Rosenwald, Smith, Bagnoli, Riccelli, Ryan, Salcedo & Seeland, 2013).

For groups to be successful, Jim Cain hypothesizes that they need three things: a clearly identified, articulated and worthy task, the opportunity for growth and building new skills, and the opportunity to create and maintain relationships with other members of the group (Cain, 2010). Cain also itemizes the group development process, which starts with forming, where members have a need for safety and acceptance, followed by storming, where there is some conflict and competition may occur. The third stage is norming, which involves cohesion, trust-sharing and skill acquisition, followed by the fourth stage, performing, which brings unity, a sense of group identity, and high productivity. The final stage is transforming, where members apply the skills that they learnt to other situations (Cain, 2010).

There are two types of conflict that affect a group's success. Goal conflict occurs when there is a difference or incompatibility between the goals or outcomes that students on a course are seeking. "Goals are the foundation for groups and the reason they exist" (Jostad, Sibthorp, Butner & Rochelle, 2019, p. 25). Compatible goals can lead to commitment, cohesiveness and conflict resolution. Stronger social connections can occur between people with common goals. Setting aside time to develop and share goals is an important thing to consider in these programs. Furthermore, sharing goals can allow participants to help one another achieve them (Jostad, Sibthorp, Phja & Gookin, 2015).

Process conflict refers to how work, or task accomplishment, is completed within the group. In this case, moderate amounts of process conflict could actually "benefit members of groups by increasing performance and strengthening relationships" (Jostad, Sibthorp, Butner & Rochelle, 2019, p.30). Confronting and dealing with conflict when it happens can be beneficial to a group, and can help participants to move faster towards their stable state.

When a group is forming, the relationships between members create a social hierarchy or status. "Status is derived from salient personal characteristics that others in the group believe are important: the interpersonal attraction of an individual to the group" (Jostad, Sibthorp, Butner & Rochelle, 2019, p.22). At first, group members may first look to "surface-level" attributes such as gender, age and physical attributes. As the group develops, "deeper-level" attributes become more influential, such as attitudes, beliefs, and values. The goal is for members to be satisfied with group membership and feel a sense of commitment to the group or belongingness (Jostad, Sibthorp, Phja & Gookin, 2015).

In outdoor adventure education, the experience of being in the wilderness with a small group of people can create an intensely social experience. An ideal group size is between 7 and

15, which discourages the development of factions, and encourages strong bonds between participants. The structure of the program requires interdependence, open communication, and collective reflection, and positive norms lead to positive behaviours (Deane & Harré, 2013).

By experiencing and processing things as a group, the individual is more likely to have individual growth. Neill and Dias found that the greater the level of support offered by their group's least supportive member, the larger the increase in the group's mean resilience score. This positive correlation thus supports the goal of outdoor adventure programs, in that the process can "reorganize a participants' outlook or attitude toward themselves, their future, and the world they live in" (Deane & Harré, 2013, 300).

2.3 b « Personal Development »

The group setting has a powerful impact on the child. There is a great potential for growth and development through group settings, and " the group as the medium through which change is achieved" (Mishna, Michalski & Cummings, 2001, p. 158). Personal growth and awareness can be defined as a process through which trainees become a certain type of person, attain a meaningful understanding of their inner self, and gain a perception of the impact that their behaviour has on others and how they are perceived by them (Luke, Kiweewa, 2010). When members actively engage in activities, they are more likely to authentically reflect on the activity's meaning, their relationships with the group, and the experience's relationship to their personal lives (Rosenwald, Smith, Bagnoli, Riccelli, Ryan, Salcedo & Seeland, 2013). This reflection element is imperative to personal growth. Similarly, camps have been shown to be effective social work interventions (Mishna, Michalski & Cummings, 2001).

Other positive outcomes can include prosocial behaviours, character development, self-esteem, self-confidence, self-awareness, responsibility and commitment, social competence and communication (Deane & Harré, 2013), (Jostad, Sibthorp, Butner & Rochelle, 2019).

The challenges presented in an outdoor adventure program should provoke internal tension in the participant, bringing them from the "comfort zone" into the "groan zone." Feeling that they might not succeed may generate a feeling of disequilibrium so that when they finally succeed, there is an increase in their psychological empowerment. Then, this success is followed up by feedback from others, and then reflecting on the whole process, allowing the participant to internalize the meaning of the experience, and transfer the lessons learned to other situations in their lives (Deane & Harré, 2013).

It is also important to note that participants' emotional safety needs to be taken into consideration as well, in order to avoid any emotional or psychological consequences. Situations from participants' backgrounds such as personal trauma, abuse, neglect, or mental health issues can influence how readily participants respond to adventure programs (Deane & Harré, 2013).

Instructors play a very important role in outdoor adventure programs. In addition to having a flexible leadership style, a keen sense of judgment, and strong problem-solving skills, the way a leader builds relationships with the participants is crucial to success. The relationships they build with their participants can add to feeling safe, belonging to the group, valued, and that they "matter," thus increasing participation, engagement and motivation. Instructors need to show support, empathy, comfort and relatedness (Jostad, Sibthorp, Phja & Gookin, 2015).

The instructor also acts as the "social engineer"- they "set the tone for the group culture, role modeling positive behavior, and developing trust between students and instructors. When

instructors show appreciation and support, participants are more likely to do the same towards others. As well, trust, solidarity and commitment are built through positive interpersonal relationships. The role of the instructor is paramount and proper training is required to prepare them for this multi-faceted role (Jostad, Sibthorp, Phja & Gookin, 2015).

2.3 c « Community »

In the Outward Bound model, the role of relationships between members of the group is key (Deane & Harré, 2013). "The understanding and use of human relationships involved were as important as the understanding and use of various types of programs" (Rosenwald, Smith, Bagnoli, Riccelli, Ryan, Salcedo & Seeland, 2013, p. 324). The community created in a group environment could not only provide an alternative peer group, such as in Larson, Sullivan and Watkins' study of bridging differences, but it could also bring a sense of healing, such as at a children's cancer camp for families (Laing & Moules, 2014). This "sensus communis" - the common sense genuinely and authentically shared by a community, was specifically created in a camp setting (Laing & Moules, 2014, p. 191). In the language camp studied, interpersonal bonds were key in engaging campers and building self-confidence (Feuer, 2009). As well, these relationships could lead to personal development: "ongoing interactions were the vehicle for understanding, which provided the impetus for changes in their behaviour" (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007, p. 388).

In outdoor education programs, participants interact with people outside of their usual groups, and it provides a unique context to develop peer relationships. Positive connections can be created by relationships grounded in trust, reciprocity and sustained interaction. Without these connections, participants can experience feelings of isolation and abandonment, with

"long-lasting negative impacts" (Jostad, Sibthorp, Phja & Gookin, 2015, p. 2). Programs need to provide an environment and structure that ensures the social group is an inclusive and positive experience for adolescents (Jostad, Sibthorp, Phja & Gookin, 2015).

2.3 d « Cross-Cultural Programming Considerations in OAE »

Outdoor adventure education was first developed in western cultures, and thus, its programming goals and structures may not be relevant to other cultures (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017). Even participants' personal value systems may differ from those in an adventure program. Different outcomes than originally intended might occur, when applied with participants from differing cultural backgrounds (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017).

Further considerations would be the "conquering nature" at the heart of many adventure programs; individual growth or personal achievement might be discordant in collectivist cultures, and outdoor activities could be seen as leisure or recreational activities, as opposed to educational experiences (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017; Deane & Harré, 2013).

For facilitators to develop their cultural competence, they need to be aware of their own culture, the participants' culture, and how the program is setup. Hofstede explains five dimensions of cultural differences: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and collectivism, masculinity and femininity, and short-term versus long-term orientation. Power distance measures the interpersonal power of influences among people who are involved in a hierarchical relationship as perceived by the less powerful ones. Cultures with low power distance focus more on the individual, and cultures with high power distance tend to be hierarchical. In cultures with high power distance, participants would not be used to speaking

freely in front of the authority figure (e.g., instructor), as they are seen as experts with knowledge on their topic (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017). In cultures with low power distance, teachers are seen as relative equals and may be called by their first name, rather than by their title.

The second dimension is uncertainty avoidance, relating to how much uncertainty of the future people in a particular culture can tolerate. In cultures with high uncertainty avoidance, teachers are experts and students would not voice an opposing opinion; participants would take on only routine or known risks. In cultures with low uncertainty avoidance, participants would be more likely to take on novel or unknown risks, and are more comfortable with ambiguity and chaos. Tasks would be less structured, more open-ended, and would award for originality (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017).

The third dimension is individualism/collectivism. The latter sees the group as a unity, with the needs and values of the group being more important than the individuals', with individualism being the opposite (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017). In collectivist cultures, people may absorb others' opinions before they share their own in order to fit into the group, please authority figures and/or maintain harmony within the group.

Another dimension is long-term versus short-term orientation. Cultures with higher LTO scores stay on a task longer, and see perseverance as a "highly valued personality trait" (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017, p. 313). As well, leisure time may be less important, humility is seen as a general human virtue and individuals perform better in solving well-defined problems, like math and science. Cultures with low LTO scores may expect quick results, see leisure as an important activity, and may be proficient in situations involving creative problem-solving (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017).

These five dimensions (power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and collectivism, masculinity and femininity, and short-term versus long-term orientation) bring to light many aspects that need to be considered when preparing programming for camps with cross-cultural settings. “There is a lack of a clear theoretical framework for addressing cross-cultural issues in adventure programming” (Chang, Tucker, Norton, Gass & Javorski, 2017, p. 307). More research is needed in this area, in program design, instructor training, and overall goals of the programs.

2.4 « Youth and Identity Development »

Adolescence is a critical time for the development of intergroup relationships and personal development. It is a significant turning point for youth (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007). Young people commonly struggle with self-confidence, self-concept, identity, and social development (Jostad, Sibthorp, Butner & Rochelle, 2019). Teenagers develop cognitive skills that increase their ability to understand others, and it is a period “when strong peer-group alliances form and in group/out group behaviour intensifies, thereby leading to further marginalization of youth from less powerful groups” (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007, p. 381).

In Erikson’s Psychosocial Stage Inventory, adolescents work through 3 developmental stages, with each stage influencing the next (Duerden, Widmer, Taniguchi & McCoy, 2009). During late childhood to early adolescence, they work through the industry phase, characterized by the child wanting to function productively. Identity development is the main goal in adolescence. Intimacy is the focus of late adolescence to early adulthood, with the development of close and enduring relationships with peers and significant others. “The formation of a stable

identity, which should occur during adolescence, represents the key developmental task in the model" (Duerden, Widmer, Taniguchi & McCoy, 2009, p. 342).

The formation of identity is highly influenced by peers and can be a central focus throughout adolescence. Humans have a fundamental motivation to belong: the drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships. Baumeister and Leary state that for these relationships to be positive, there needs to be frequent and affectively pleasant interactions with others. "Positive social relationships have the ability to strengthen, solidify, and complement an adolescent's development and self-understanding" (Jostad, Sibthorp, Phja & Gookin, 2019).

Other factors influencing identity development are overcoming challenges, developing competence, self-expression, feedback from society, new experiences, skill acquisition and self-reflection (Duerden, Widmer, Taniguchi & McCoy, 2009).

Recreation programs are positioned to foster and promote the development of identity for youth, as they provide structured and supervised activities that allow for skill building. Recreation also allows for commitment, independence, interrelatedness and feedback, positive affect and enjoyment (Duerden, Widmer, Taniguchi & McCoy, 2009).

2.5 « Bridging Difference »

The role of relationships is integral in bridging differences between groups. Allport's contact conditions state that for groups to develop positive relationships, a setting must create these four conditions: cooperation between groups, equal status, common goals, and support from authority figures in the institution where it occurs" (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007, p. 389). These contact conditions are hard to recreate in schools, where there are entrenched hierarchies and unequal status due to the focus on differences in abilities and competitiveness.

Organized youth programs have the potential to create these conditions, as they are removed from those hierarchies present in schools. It is “important to identify and examine alternative settings to facilitate young people’s experiences of bridging difference, ” and these settings are rare and cry out for documentation (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007, p. 38).

Bridging difference is an active development process in which youth change their attitudes, acquire intercultural and intergroup competencies, form relationships and alter their behaviour. Larson, Sullivan and Watkins’ study looks at the Youth in Action program. It brings together youth from various ethnic backgrounds to build the leadership and power of young people to work for community and institutional change. Their process was three-fold: interaction and building of relationships, gaining a better understanding of socio-political awareness and then coming together to work for social justice. Having taken part in the first two sections, participants’ actions were informed by better awareness (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007).

The bi-lateral in-group, out-group model involves two entities; the first is a group with whose members one identifies, and a second is a group with whose members one doesn’t identify (Beaton, Monger, Leblanc, Bourque, Levi, Joseph, Richard, Bourqye & Chouinard, 2012). What needs to be studied is how to build relationships between these two groups, as this can be applied to various situations in society. “Relationships among community members that bridge diverse groups are an important yet unrealized requirement for positive social functioning” (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007, p. 380).

It is interesting to note, that in one study, Aboriginal children don’t report the “in-group” bias. Also, as “Aboriginal students reported more Euro-Canadian students in their network of close friends, they were more likely to endorse a different group’s perspective and oppose a

dual-identity view of the intergroup relationships" (Beaton, Monger, Leblanc, Bourque, Levi, Joseph, Richard, Bourqye & Chouinard, 2012, p. 373). For non-Aboriginal participants, the study found that the more relational features of the contact, (interdependence and interaction), were most conducive to an appreciation of Aboriginal students in their groups. The study concluded that "close friendship group diversity offers significant benefits to intergroup relationships" (Beaton, Monger, Leblanc, Bourque, Levi, Joseph, Richard, Bourqye & Chouinard, 2012, p. 373).

Relationships play a major role in bridging differences, and they need to be considered carefully when creating youth programs and experiences.

2.6 « Summary »

All of the areas studied in this literature review involve carefully considering relationships. In reconciliation, settlers need to repair their relationships with Indigenous peoples, through an initial awakening, using emotive labour, reflecting and committing to a long-term process of learning and action. Secondly, to understand someone else's culture, one must first understand their own culture. Cultural self-study will reveal the relationships one has with their past, present and future communities. Understanding one's relationships with culture builds intercultural sensitivity and competence. Thirdly, youth programs have a strong focus on relationships in their programs. This builds the base for personal and group development and results in the creation of community in their programs. Next, relationships play a big role in youth development during early adolescence, when their identity is created. Ultimately, all of these aspects result in positive conditions for bridging differences.

3 « Methodology »

This study was undertaken with critical theory as the theoretical framework. Critical theory purports “the desire to comprehend and, in some cases, transform the underlying orders or social life - those social and systemic relations that constitute society” (Creswell, 2007). The results of this study intend to empower people to overcome the negative relationship that existed between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada and to create a new, powerful way of living together.

This study design uses a phenomenological approach to qualitative research. Phenomenology describes the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). Its purpose is to reduce individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of a universal essence and develop practices or policies to develop a deeper understanding of the features of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). Furthermore, as an instrumental case study, researcher and participants play a role in reconstructing experience (Mills, 2010) where researcher, participants, and readers play a role in reconstructing experience use the case as a comparative point across other cases in which the phenomenon might be present.

In the case of this study, the purpose of this study is to create a pathway to reconciliation for youth, and to create guidelines for resident camps, organizations and communities to use to build healthy relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth.

3.1 « Research Design and Timeline »

The proposal for this research project was prepared and presented to the thesis committee, in a public presentation. Once it was approved, a proposal was sent to the ethics board at Laurentian University. Some adjustments were made to the project, and it was approved. At the outset, the research study was going to include Indigenous participants. However, it was more appropriate for this settler-researcher to focus on the experiences of fellow non-Indigenous participants, and the Indigenous participants weren't recruitable at the time. A comprehensive literature review was undertaken. Recruitment, data collection and thematic analysis followed. The findings were analyzed alongside the information gathered in the literature review.

3.2 « Population and Setting»

The camp, Hidden Bay Leadership Camp, is located in the Parry Sound area. It is a relatively small camp, with less than 50 campers at one time. There were between 15-20 staff members on site. The campers ranged in age from age 8-16; however, during the Leaders in Training program, which is the focus in this research, was for ages 13-16. Most campers came from the Greater Toronto Area; and from the Parry Sound area. There were 2 campers from the northern First Nation attending in each session.

3.3 « Data Collection, Interviews »

The first step in the data collection was contacting the organization, explaining the purpose and description of the study, and asking for permission to conduct the study. Once they agreed, they were sent the recruitment letter (Appendix A); and they were asked to email it to all staff and campers who attended the camp during the time period in question.

Other data was collected from the camp website and staff manuals, as well as from prior observation and the researcher's recollection of personal experience at the camp.

The recruitment letter included the name of the university, the researcher and supervisor, as well as the title and description of the study. When participants responded, they were sent a letter of information (Appendix B), which described the study and interview process in more detail. It introduced the researcher, the university and the supervisor. The letter detailed the time commitment required, the details regarding confidentiality, as well as the requirements to participate in the study. It also explained what benefits the participants might receive from participating, such as being part of a larger topic. Participants were informed that they could receive a hard copy or email copy of the study at the end. Voluntary participation was also explained - that participants could withdraw at any time, with any data collected being destroyed. The letter concluded with contact information for the ethics office at the university, the supervisor, and the researcher.

When interested participants responded, they were also asked to sign an informed consent form (Appendix C). A time was set up for a phone interview, and the interviews were conducted following the appropriate interview guide - for former campers, Appendix D, and for former staff, Appendix E. All participants were also given a list of resources, with contact information (Appendix F).

3.4 « Role of the Researcher »

Many studies pointed to the effectiveness of the cultural self-study, for those preparing for cross-cultural experiences (Bennett, Zubrzycki & Bacon, 2011). I undertook a cultural self-study as part of this research. The first section refers to identity, and the second section refers to cultural programming.

I have experienced various cross-cultural experiences. My short-term experiences were in South Africa (4 weeks), Peru (2 weeks), France (2 weeks), Belize, Honduras, and Mexico. I had two longer-term experiences: Kiribati (2 years) and a remote Northern Ontario First Nation community (4.5 years). For some of these experiences, I prepared by researching some information about the country and its peoples and used this information to try to understand what I was experiencing. I kept diaries from my experience in Kiribati, which helped me process what I was thinking and learning. "Experience doesn't occur simply by being in the vicinity of events as they occur" (Hammer, 2003, p. 423).

In order to better understand my cultural programming, I used the research presented in "Ethnicity and Family Therapy" (McGoldrick, Giordano & Garcia-Preto, 2005). Chapter 36 "*Families of European Origin"* and Chapter 37, "*American Families with English Ancestors from the Colonial Era*" were applicable to my family history. Many statements regarding family values, practices, norms and behaviors applied to myself and my family members. This challenged me to consider which aspects of my worldview were influenced by my cultural background. I finally acknowledged that "even after generations of acculturation and intermarriage, ethnicity still influences in small and large ways, how European Americans behave in their daily lives" (McGoldrick, Giordano & Garcia-Preto, 2005, p.437).

3.5 « Ethical Considerations »

In the ethics proposal approved by the Laurentian University Research Ethics Board, there was minimal risk noted for participants. All participants were adults at the time of the interviews, and the events had occurred many years in the past (over 5 years). The benefits to

participants were that they could add their voice to the discussion of reconciliation in Canada.

It was also noted that I had been employed by the camp in the past. However, significant time had elapsed since that period (over 5 years), and I no longer worked there. Thus, I would have minimal direct influence on the participants, whether they were campers or staff at the time.

3.6 « Thematic Analysis »

Once the interviews were completed, they were transcribed and printed out. Margin notes were made in order to develop possible codes. Horizonalization was used to highlight important words and phrases (Creswell, 2007), and the themes, or codes became evident. The words or phrases for each theme were extracted from all of the interviews and gathered together in one document per theme. Then, textural description was used to write an overall description of what was experienced.

3.7 « Limitations »

The research was limited by the following. The study focuses on the experiences of a single camp and its programs. The event had occurred many years in the past (over 5 years) and it is possible that some of the participants may not have remembered specific details due to the length of time elapsed. As an exploratory study, the focus was on the presence of possible positive outcomes and revealing ideas for future study.

The research assumes that there were positive outcomes from the experience, and believes that there were longer-term outcomes.

4 « Data/Results »

This section will include a brief summary of the camp, Hidden Bay Leadership Camp, and its Leaders in Training program. This will be followed by the findings from the interviews with participants. The information presented in the summary was sourced from the camp's website and documents such as the staff manual, as well as from the researcher's time spent at the camp as a staff member.

4.1 « The camp and its philosophy »

The camp is a small overnight camp located on Shebeshekong Lake in the West Parry Sound area. It was established in 1999 and is owned and run by a non-profit organization. The overnight and day camp programs run during July and August, as well as short periods of time, such as the March Break. For the summer programs, it accepts a maximum of 48 overnight campers, and the camper-to-staff ratio is 4:1. "With our high staff to camper ratio, and small overall numbers, we aim to create an environment of trust" (www.hiddenbay.ca).

The camp's philosophy is that "leadership is something every child can learn and do" (www.hiddenbay.ca). The campers are encouraged to think for themselves, make good choices, set goals, make plans, problem solve, take responsibility, build confidence and self-esteem, and believe in their potential. This leads to helping campers "become facilitators of change in their own lives" (www.hiddenbay.ca).

4.1 a « Values: CRRC »

The main camp values are summarised as CRRC: courtesy, respect, responsibility, confidence, and caring. These were introduced on the first day, at Pond Time, which was a

gathering time after dinner for about an hour. All campers and staff would meet at the council ring, a circle of tree stumps located at the centre of camp. The circular shape allowed for all campers and staff to be included and give a feeling of equality. One counsellor or staff member would lead the session. There would be a discussion, with a focus on asking questions, which would give the direction of the discussion over to the campers. Questions would be asked such as – what does respect look like? What is the goal of showing respect? What effect does showing respect have on others? What does respect look like at camp? Following the discussion, the group would divide into their cabin groups, and campers would be given the time to develop personal goals for the week, based on the values of CRRC. Campers had goal books, where they could write their goals and reflections. Counsellors would help campers with this process at first, and possibly have further discussions with their cabin groups.

A specific theme would be chosen for each day. The themes would be based on a value or character trait. Some examples are compassion, empathy, integrity, trust, communication, initiative, enthusiasm, optimism, and perspective. The first and last day would focus on CRRC as a whole. This theme would be introduced at the “morning flagpole,” where the whole camp would gather after breakfast. The counsellor assigned to that day would introduce the theme with a quote, story or poem, and then a camper would be chosen who had demonstrated that theme already at camp. The camper would then raise the flag, while the camp sang O Canada. It was an honour and privilege to be chosen to raise or lower the flag.

4.1 b « Daily Leadership Development »

Campers would have a brief time to return to their cabins, clean up, and prepare themselves for the day. Then everyone would meet back at the council ring for the morning

goal-setting session. The counsellor in charge would build on their introduction of the theme at flagpole. They would continue with questions, stories, or a demonstration to show the theme. Again, the use of questions was prominent, so the campers' input would lead the direction of the discussion. The role of the counsellor was one of facilitator, to guide the discussion and make sure that all voices were heard. At the end of the session, campers would once again break off into their cabin groups and have time to set their own goals for the day, based on the introduced theme.

During the day, campers would participate in three or four activities of their choice. They would sign up for these activities the day before. The two morning sessions, each approximately an hour long, called ACEs, would be followed for three days in succession and gave the campers more time to build specific hard skills. "RECs" - recreational sessions - were in the afternoon, and were about 45 minutes long – and were chosen every day. Their focus was more on having fun than on building specific hard skills. The activities they could choose from were canoeing, kayaking, swimming, eco (environment skills and knowledge), archery, drama, arts and crafts, and sometimes music or dance, depending on what skills the counsellors brought each year.

Though it was important to build hard skills at these activities, there was another aspect to the activities. The counsellors would carefully plan to include the theme of the day into their programming and would set up the session to illustrate the theme in action, or set up a situation for discussion during the debriefing at the end of the activity. For example, with trust, the counsellor leading canoeing would teach tandem skills, and then have the campers practice on their own. The debriefing may then include questions such as: Who had the most control in the boat? Which role was more important, the bow or stern person? What did success look like for each pair? Did trust come into play? If so, how?

The purpose of the debriefing sessions was to bring in an element of personal reflection, for campers to learn to see the themes of the day in their own and others' actions. In the dining hall, there was a box for "Future Aces," which were small notes that campers and staff could write on, indicating the name of the camper/staff, what theme/value they had shown, and then describing how they showed it that day. After dinner, campers and staff would gather at the council ring for Pond Time. The counsellor in charge would then gather the Future Aces from the box, and read them out to the gathered group. Campers and staff would then be recognized for their actions by standing up and receiving their "Future Ace," which they could keep to take home at the end of camp. After this, the counsellor would lead a discussion about the day and remind the campers about the day's theme. They would ask the campers for examples of how they had seen the theme in action, either at activities or around camp. Campers would share what they had learned at activities as well. There would be a chance for more reflection, as the group would break into cabin groups for a short time.

At the end of the day, the group would gather once again at the flagpole, and the counsellor would have one final thought, quote, or idea to share with the group, about the theme of the day. Then a camper would be chosen to lower the flag, who had shown or demonstrated the theme that day.

At the end of the week, each camper would receive a leadership letter, which was written by their counsellor. These letters would highlight all the positive growth and development of the camper, especially in relation to values and leadership skills. Campers were encouraged to wait until they got home, or were on the bus home, before they read the letters. This added anticipation for the campers.

4.1 c « Building Relationships »

The camp website describes that they "focus on building positive relationships between campers and these connections allow campers to discuss, develop, goals and recognize achievements in a safe space" (www.hiddenbay.ca).

There were various other times during the day when campers were able to have fun and build relationships with their cabin mates. Each cabin was challenged to keep its cabin clean, and the cabins would be inspected by a senior staff member. A "winner" for each of the boys' and girls' sides would be announced each day. Campers tended to work together to keep their cabin and surroundings tidy. During rest hour, which was an hour after lunch, when campers were to stay in or around their cabin. This unstructured free time gave campers a chance to get to know each other, interact in informal ways and build friendships. At the end of the day, before going to bed, campers and their counsellor would join together in their cabin for "Vespers", which was a time to debrief their days, share stories and learn more about each other.

During the LIT program, group cohesiveness in cabin groups was encouraged by a certain incentive, introduced at the beginning of the two weeks. The LIT director would set the challenge. For example, one year, the LIT director showed the group a catapult set, which had to be assembled in order to work. Once a cabin group had demonstrated a certain level of group cohesiveness, they were given time with the catapult set, and could work on assembling it. They would gain more and more time throughout the 2 weeks as their group showed teamwork and cohesiveness. The goal was to be the first group to put together the catapult.

There were also times throughout camp to build relationships with other campers. During mealtimes, campers could choose who they would sit with. There would always be one

or two counsellors at each table, who could monitor the interactions and help redirect campers if they weren't showing CRRC. Mealtimes tended to be filled with conversation, laughter and stories of the day.

Free swimming, about an hour before dinner, was an unstructured time when campers could choose to either hang out with friends on the beach or volleyball area or go swimming. All campers had to have a "buddy" to swim with, as a safety measure, in addition to the careful watch of the lifeguards.

Camp-wide game was always scheduled after Pond Time in the evening. The counsellor in charge of the game would announce either at dinner or at Pond Time, what the game was, what to wear, and where to meet. It would be a large-group activity that involved a lot of movement and interaction. Some examples are "Phobia," capture the flag, and counsellor hunt.

After the camp-wide game, all staff and campers would gather at one of the firepits, and counsellors would lead the group in songs and stories. The campfires were carefully planned with a beginning, middle and end, and aimed t\o get everybody involved in singing and actions. The group would stand or sit in a circle around the campfire.

4.1 d « Theme Days »

Theme day occurred every Thursday at camp. For this day, the counsellors would create a storyline for the day, based on a theme such as a popular movie, tv show, or character. For example, pirates, Jumanji, Shark Week, etc. The plotline would involve some sort of "problem" that had to be solved or a conflict. Counsellors would dress up and take on the roles of specific characters throughout the day. The theme would be introduced either right when the campers

woke up, or at breakfast, and the campers would soon be caught up in the storyline. Throughout the day, the regular activities would become part of the storyline, rather than being based on hard skills or debriefing soft skills. By the end of the day, the campers would have worked together to solve the problem or conflict.

During some of the LIT sessions, all campers would have the chance to participate in an overnight trip, either to an island nearby or a different place on camp property. The goal was for campers to learn camping skills and build relationships through a shared experience. The campers would take part in the planning, preparing and cooking of meals. Each cabin group would have the responsibility of putting up their tent. There would also be a time built-in for personal reflection, and campers would find a spot to do so.

4.1 e « Personal Development »

The intentionality of the camp was also evident in the interactions between counsellors and campers during times of challenge. If a camper wasn't participating well in a group or was demonstrating negative behaviours, the counsellor would take time to sit down with the camper and, using a technique called the 8-step program, would help the camper reflect on their own behaviour. The eight steps are: identify the problem, discuss what the camper's motivations were, ask if the motivations/actions acceptable, look at what alternative behaviour options the camper had, determine what were the best choices, make a plan, follow through on the plan and reflect on the actions afterwards. The goal of the eight steps was to remind the camper that they were in control of their own behaviours, and could make good decisions on their own, using this method. As well, the goal was for the campers to need less and less intervention by a counsellor, and to manage their own behaviour.

4.1 f « Leaders in Training Program »

The LIT (leaders in training) program was usually scheduled for two weeks in late July/early August. This program was open to campers ages 13-15, and was specifically focused on building leadership skills in campers. Some campers who signed up for the LIT program had attended the camp before, and some had not. “This session is designed to practice the attitudes and skills that are required to become a leader” (camp website).

The LIT session was structured in a way for campers to be given opportunities to learn, build, and put leadership skills into action. This was done through training such as group development sessions and informational sessions, as well as practical applications such as planning and leading activity sessions, masters (responsibilities around camp), and the Theme Day. The group development sessions would take the group through four of the five stages of group development: forming, norming, storming, performing, and transforming (Cain, 2006). By observing and reflecting on the interactions and conflicts that occur in the development of a group, and their individual role and contribution to the group, campers would be building the skills needed and applying them to practical activities such as leading activities and Theme Day. During the informational sessions, campers would be introduced to the intentionality of camp, how to build in learning situations during activities, how to debrief, and other skills needed to run an activity by themselves or with a group. Campers would also help counsellors with their “masters,” who were designated LITs with assigned certain responsibilities around camp, such as Pond Time, camp-wide game, campfire, etc. This gave LITss a chance to work with their counsellor to understand what it took to plan and lead these events, but also to take on a supportive or leading role, depending on their comfort level.

In addition to leading activities as “masters”, the LIT campers as a group would plan, execute and debrief their own theme day. After the first theme day, led by the counsellors, the LITs would do a debrief (discussion) about what they saw in the theme day, and what steps were taken to prepare and run the day. The LIT director and counsellors would then guide the LITs through the planning process, from the brainstorming of ideas, the delegation of tasks, and other preparations. LIT campers would be encouraged to take over the role of facilitator as soon as they were ready.

During the theme day itself, counsellors would be assigned roles by the LITs, and would help out with certain tasks, but they would be careful not to take over control, unless there were safety concerns. After the day was complete, the LIT director would lead the campers in a debrief of the day – what went well, what didn’t go well, what they would improve next time, and whether or not they achieved their goals.

Having the campers take the reins, so to say, was integral to their learning and developing their skills, as the first-hand experience would bring more insights into the challenges of being a leader.

4.2 « Participant Interviews »

Four individuals participated in the interviews for this research study. All interviews were conducted by phone. Two of the participants had been campers at the camp; one had been staff, and one had been both a camper and a staff member. One camper had been there for one year; and the other had spent six years as a camper. One participant who had been staff, had worked there for four summers. The other participant had spent seven years as a camper, one year as a

counsellor-in-training, and six years as a staff member. The age of participants at the time of the interview was 22, 20, 24, and 26 years respectfully. None of the participants self-identified as Indigenous; and none had had significant interaction with Indigenous peoples or awareness of Indigenous issues before attending the camp. In order to preserve anonymity, participants were assigned a letter (W, X, Y, Z) to replace their name. Table 1 summarises participant characteristics.

	Participant W	**Participant X**	**Participant Y**	**Participant Z**
Role	Camper (LIT)	Camper (LIT)	Staff (counselor, waterfront director, program director)	Staff (counselor, program director, assistant director)
Years at Camp (ie # times attended a program at the camp)	6 years	1 year (2013)	2013, 2014, 2015, 2016	2001-2015 (6 years as camper, then LIT, CIT, and staff)
Age at camp	10-15	15	19-22	9-23
Age	22	20	24	26
Indigenous	No	No	No	No
Prior interaction with Indigenous peoples	No	No	No	No

Table 1: Participants

4.3 « Findings - Themes »

During thematic analysis, margin notes led to the presence of 5 themes: relationships, development, community, values and goals. By counting the number of statements/phrases relating to each theme, it became evident that these were the most important themes (see Table

2). There were 60 statements related to relationships, 39 statements about development; 23 statements about values, 18 statements about community and 13 statements relating to goals. The specific numbers aren't as relevant as the content of the statements, which will be described in the next section. The allocation of statements/phrases in table 2 demonstrates how common the themes were across all 4 participant interviews.

	W	X	Y	Z	TOTAL
Values	2	5	5	11	23
Goals	n/a	1	12	0	13
Development	4	2	15	18	39
Relationships	8	10	18	24	60
Community	7	3	2	6	18

Table 2: Themes in interviews

The themes that emerged in the interviews all pertain to how the camp was designed, and the environment in which interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. In addition to the themes that emerged, participant statements that related to cross-cultural understanding, Indigenous issues and Indigenous/non-Indigenous learning were gathered. These will be summarized in Section 4.4.

4.3 a « Values »

One of the things that the participants spoke of was the values that were important to the camp. All four participants mentioned the four main values: courtesy, respect, responsibility and confidence. These values were used as the basis of the themes of the day.

Participant Z stated that the "themes of the day – CRRC, courtesy, respect, responsibility and confidence were mainstays" in the program. Participant W mentioned that "if you buy into all those things [CRRC] and you kind of respect everybody, I think that's kind of important". Participant X described that "We had to follow the motto for the day". Participant Y described how these four values were chosen for the camp: "[The camp founders] came up with this list of four values, that they felt were the four most important, and that they wanted kids to understand and practice and develop those skills….it was our motto; it was [like] important to the camp, it was part of the camp, those values, and the kids kinda knew that".

These values were taught and practised throughout the day. Participant Y explained how "each day, we tried to take one of those themes and really kind of focus on it. So the kids got to understand what it meant, they got to see in their activities and tie it back into what they were doing, and talk about why it was so important".

During morning flagpole, Participant Z told how a staff member would "[introduce] the theme of the day, read out again that short story, or a poem, or something that would make the idea concrete; also, [they would] select one camper that has already exemplified that theme of the day, have them raise the flag for us". At the end of the day, "lowering the flag, we would kind of, sum up what the theme of the day meant…also, select a camper that we saw that exemplified that theme, during that day, and they would lower the flag for us".

Pond Time, a group gathering time, was another time in the day when the values were important. Participant Y stated that "the first [Pond Time] was kinda introducing the theme, and making sure that they kinda understood what it meant, and how to use it, and why it was important. And then the second Pond time of the day was more reflection, for the kids to be able

to talk about where they would see it, or where they would use it. They explained it further by stating, "Second Pond Time, more for them to share more about their experiences, where they saw it during the day, reflecting in their own lives, where they would see it at home, or at school." Participant W mentioned that "And it's kind of important to reflect on stuff cause you can kind of think about…learn from it….". Participant Y explained how it was important to "have those conversations about the theme of the day, talk about it with them, and reflect on it and where they saw it at their activities." Participant Z described how it was "one of my favorite activities. I really enjoyed spurring discussion and leading discussion – also to hear the campers kind of grow…to being confident, gaining more thought and starting to share more and more throughout the week. And the same for staff members, as they grew as staff members".

The themes were also important throughout the day, during the regular camp activities such as archery, canoeing, and arts and crafts. Participant Z explained how the activity for that day would be built around the theme of the day, and there would be a debrief at the end: "the debrief was something that only happened at the camp – looking at the smaller interactions between campers and counsellors." During the debrief, the counsellors would "spur discussion in campers so that they were able to explore the concepts that we were talking about as a camp as a whole, but also that specific activity" (Participant Z).

Two participants described the "Future aces" awards which were small pieces of paper given out during Pond Time. "I remember there were little slips, where you would write down, nominate another camper, I would give them out to people I knew, it was a great way to kind of, motivate you to participate a bit more and be involved in the activities"" (Participant X). Participant Z described them as " shout-outs or things that campers have seen that really stood out to the day".

During LIT, the two week leaders-in-training program, they were able to gain a deeper understanding of the themes of the day. During LIT, "[the staff] got to choose some older themes, open mindedness," (Participant Y). "LIT – the reflections, and the debrief conversations that we had after, were usually a bit better, than our regular activity, because we really got to create that activity around the theme of the day" (Participant Y).

The themes and values became important to staff and campers. Participant Y states that "for staff who had been there as campers, who had worked there for many years, it was important to them too, and they knew how to share that with the kids and get them excited." (Participant Y). "By the end of summer, everyone kinda understood why it was so important" (Participant Y). Participant Z stated that they "miss the daily dose of reflection that was encouraged at camp. The structure at camp was more conducive to actually taking the time to reflect". Participant Y described how the themes and values were important to campers: "the kids that I got to see at camp every year, the more they were there, the more they talked about it, the more excited [they were]."

4.3 b « Goals »

The values and themes were the basis for another part of the program. At Pond Time, campers were encouraged to set goals for themselves for the day, based on the theme of the day. They were encouraged to "think of things that they could do throughout the day, and also things that they may want to work on for the whole week" (Participant Z). Participant C remembers that they "kept a notebook of the goals and all that" (Participant X). Campers would learn the process of "having a goal, having a set idea in mind, working back from that" (Participant Z). If they were comfortable doing so, the campers could "share those goals with the group" (Participant Z).

During the second Pond Time of the day, after dinner, the focus would be on "sharing thoughts on what they did, how they did on their goals, what they found, what worked and what didn't work, and what they could do to get better" (Participant Z).

The emphasis on the values and themes of the day and goal-setting was not arbitrary. "For [the camp], it was all about the intentionality, being really aware of why we did certain things, and why we asked campers to do certain things" (Participant Z). Participant Z goes on to describe what they would tell future [camp] staff: "I would make them aware of the fact that they were getting into a camp that, not just worked on hard skills, but worked on the soft skills, in developing young people" (Participant Z). Participant W explained that during the camp program, "I think most people and I learned a lot of things really and I thought that was pretty important" .

The intentions of the leadership program were moved forward by an emphasis on reflections and debriefs. Participant Z commented that "there was a lot of thoughtfulness that was encouraged at camp," and "we did a lot of reflections on what it means to be a good person." Debriefing each activity "was making it very apparent, making the intentionality very apparent to the campers" (Participant Z).

Staff training was approached in the same way. Participant Z noted that "we were very intentional in what we were doing, being very up front, breaking down, debriefing everything that we did, so that they could see the skeleton of how we were developing the programming for their training." Participant Y noted that it was important for staff to see "how we integrate those leadership qualities and traits into all our programming, and we do those debriefs at all the activities."

There was intentionality in all aspects of the 2-week leaders-in-training program as well. Participant Z stated that "the LIT program was more holistic, it was more intentional, we knew they [the campers] were older and could do a little bit more, and have more in-depth conversations." In the LIT and CIT programs, participants would "be more aware of why you're at camp, of what you're doing and why you're at camp" (Participant N). In the LIT program, "campers who had spent time at Hidden Bay before, it came a little easier to them, because they had already seen it in action, and now they were having that "aha" moment as to, like, that's why we do everything, or that's how it's developed, because you have a thought in mind" (Participant N).

4.3 c « Development »

When asked if the camp gives campers the opportunity to develop confidence in themselves, and to have a space to feel understood and appreciated, Participant N agrees: "Yes, they do, foster an environment that offers all of that to campers". Participant W shared how they found personal growth at camp: "I guess kind of coming out of my shell because I'm a pretty quiet person and I think it helped me a lot kind of…really develop my social skills with people" (Participant W).

Participant Y explained how the camp created an environment that would lead to personal growth: "At camp, you get to be someone different, because people don't always know who you are, you don't come with all that, that background stuff". "It gave them a break from whatever else was going on in their life, they could be someone different; they got a chance to be their "camp self" we called it" (Participant Y). Participant Z explained how they approached personal development in his campers: "my goal for all campers that came to our camp was that

their experience was positive, one little bit of information that would develop them as a person; would help them grow that year as a leader and in their goals for the next little bit."

This personal growth would happen in many ways. One example is how they approached conflict. "If they were arguing, it was nice to sit down afterward, and have a conversation about it, and they kinda got to share what was frustrating about it." (Participant Y)

Another aspect was discovering one's personal leadership role; "So they kinda talked about the roles that different people had, being a listener, or people cooperating, was just as important a role, as someone who kept on sharing their ideas" (Participant Y).

In the LIT program, there were many areas for personal growth and development. The campers would be given various opportunities, such as "leading their own activities, do[ing] sessions, building in that intentionality, to debriefs with their activity groups, help[ing] with pond times and Masters, more responsibilities, more opportunities to be a leader" (Participant Z). Participant Y explained that LITs would "run a couple of activities, and plan some of those different things, kinda plan some, and try them out, starting to see what it was like to become a counsellor, as opposed to always being the camper."

One of the big events in LIT was the theme day. Participant Z explains how "theme days were more about being creative and having fun with the activities, and still bringing in the intentionality, but in a more creative way." In a LIT session, the first theme day was run by the staff. "The second theme day would be planned and run by the LITs themselves. [They could] put their programming into effect, in almost a real-life scenario, really when they started to shine, developing a product" (Participant Z). Participant Y itemizes the steps that they would need to take to plan the theme day: "choose a theme, come up with a list of all the things that needed to

get done, or groups of people that are needed to complete those tasks, [make] a schedule for the day or who's going to be where, create the activities, helping to help them find what their strength is and join what group." She explains further that the staff "tried to make it as much their day as possible" (Participant Y).

After the event, it was important to debrief the day: "a lot of it was just problem solving; they might have forgotten to do something or they might not have realized that an activity would take twice as long. They got to talk about the things that they didn't expect happening., how they reacted to it, what people did to make the day you know, look smooth, for the kids who were there." (Participant Y).

Another area for personal growth and development was the overnight trip. The campers learned to "pack up the things that they needed, prepare the food and stuff, take it out by canoe, out to an island; where all the tents got setup, and that was kind of special and exciting, because they got to leave camp, which no other group got to do before them" (Participant Y).

4.3 d « Relationships »

Camper to Camper

The first type of relationship was between campers. Participant X mentioned that there was a "smaller total number of campers so you're able to see the same people and form those relationships". Participant Y explained that the campers would "get to know the other kids in their cabins, it's nice for them to just have the opportunity to share those kinds of things and see what similarities they have with the other kids there in their cabin" . The staff were intentional about helping campers build relationships with each other. Participant Z explained that "the

challenges were really built on bringing those groups together, bringing individual cabins together and developing those friendships and relationships once they left camp. Participant X, as a camper, described that they " don't remember any negative interactions with any other campers, I don't remember there being any conflict at all."

The daily routine of camp allowed for many interpersonal interactions. Participant Z described the benefit of "the number of people you see, the number of interactions, or unique interactions that you have in a day at camp, to have that width or diversity of interactions."

The LIT campers developed strong relationships as well. "Being the only group [at camp], I think the kids became closer, maybe, to each other; the LITs all got to become friends" (Participant Y).

Overall, there was a positive, supportive climate at the camp. Participant X stated that "people were really supportive, you know, I was terrible at archery so you know even when I would woefully miss the target, people were really nice about it and try and help you out and give some tips." They reflected that once leaving camp, "you miss the people; just being around the people" (Participant X). It was "100% just the people and the setting and everything about it makes it a really great experience" (Participant X).

This emphasis on building good relationships led to the creation of friendships between campers. Participant X states that "I appreciated being able to make friends out of that core group that I already had". They also described that they were "pretty much friends with everybody, it was a really good balance". Participant W said "it was kind of good to talk to people and make friends and just kind of be respectful of each other". They described why they went to camp: "[I was] looking forward to making friends, the social interaction and stuff, I think

looking for kinda developing myself" (Participant W). After camp, they mentioned that "I missed some of the friendships" (Participant W). Participant Y described what it was like when campers returned to camp year after year: "You know that camp was something they looked forward to, they loved being there, and that it was so much fun, with their friends, that was always positive."

Staff to Camper

The staff intentionally set out to build good relationships with their campers. Participant Z stated that "I always aimed to develop fairly strong relationships". "I still tried to have that rich connection, to have one on one interactions with them, one on one connections with them" (Participant Z).

As an overnight camp, there were more times throughout the day when staff could build those relationships. Participant Y explained about "Vespers – where you get to go in with just the campers in your cabin, and you kinda reflect on their day and talk about how their day was, it was a nice time to connect with your kids, and for the kids to get to know each other". In addition to that, the staff could "see the things they like and didn't like about their day, and kinda look out for them the next day" (Participant Y). In "day camp…you don't get that same kind of, relationship with them" in comparison to the overnight camp (Participant Y).

Both participants who were staff explained how those relationships with campers were important to them. When asked what makes working at camp worthwhile, Participant Y said it was "the relationships, those kids who come back every summer and are so excited to tell you what they've been doing, and they're so excited to be there. Participant Z answered that "the

campers that were coming from various backgrounds, so I think I was really excited in developing those relationships."

When asked about who they kept in touch with, Participant Y explained how she kept in touch with other staff and the older LITs, even meeting up with them outside of camp. "It was LIT kids that I stayed in contact with, because they were older".

Staff to Staff

Staff relationships were also close. Participant Z said that "you really get to know the people around you". When they left camp, Participant Y explained that they would "always miss the people; the kids - you go from spending 24 hours a day with a small group of people". They also kept in touch with " (the current camp director), I stayed in touch with them, other staff that I'd worked with in previous years, and a couple of the older campers".

Participants Y and Z described the friendships that developed between staff members. Participant Y describes that "you become really good friends with the people that you're there with" and that "people were welcoming and wanted to share what a great place the camp was". They summed this up by saying "We were all such good friends". When describing what it would be like to work at the camp to future employees, they said "you're going to make alot of good friends, you're going to work closely with these people for a couple of weeks." When asked what makes it worth it, to work at camp, Participant Y answered, "the friends you make with the people you're working with".

Participant Z also described the many friendships between staff. "It was nice having that friendship to go back to each summer". When asked what he took most from camp, they replied

“the friendships that I still have, and the people that I still interact with today”. After leaving camp, they described that he would “miss the daily interactions and friendships that you develop at camp, you don’t get to see the same people every day” (Participant Z). They said that they “[keep in contact] more with staff. .. [they have a] stronger connection to them, campers that went through the system, LIT and CIT with me”. They keep in contact through Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat.

4.3 e « Community »

All four participants talked about how a community was created at the camp. Participant Z stated that their “ultimate goal was to have a strong, cohesive group, and [I used] my position to draw that group together, leading activities and discussions, that would help campers get to know each other better, and to trust each other a little bit more”. They described this further by saying “I always tried to find campers that were not part of the larger group, or campers that were having a hard time joining the larger group, and getting them involved in whatever was happening”.

Participant W remarked about the size of the camp. Compared to another camp they went to where “there [were]...over a hundred people there, it felt a lot less like a community”. At this camp, in a camp-wide game, “you got to interact with everybody” (Participant W). At mealtimes, “it’s a smaller group so everybody …gets to know each other better; at the other camp, they separated everybody into groups. At [this camp]-there was kind of less grouping …and you ended up kind of meeting everybody (Participant W). At [this camp], Participant W summed up that “overall, it was a really good experience…[we] help[ed] each other out when we need to.”

Leaders-in-Training

In the Leaders-in-Training program, “the group of kids became a lot closer” (Participant Y). They had different opportunities to create that community, such as fire watch. Participant Y described fire watch this way “Firewatch – just leave the campfire going, and each cabin would take a time block, and was responsible for keeping the fire going all night, …[we] would make little snacks or treats for them to enjoy around the fire, they all got to spend a little more time with the people in their cabin”. Participant Z described fire watch as “the ability to stay up a little bit later for an hour and watch the fire with your cabin. We really wanted to build in group cohesiveness within each cabin unit”.

Staff

The staff was another group within the community of camp. As a program director in charge of staff, Participant Z “essentially thought of my staff as my campers”. They prioritized “having group cohesion, and having the ability for the group to trust each other in building the program” (Participant Z). Participant Y described how the small staff size was important: “Camp staff: it was small, 15-20 people; so we really had to work together and we spent a lot of time with each other (Participant Y).

4.4 « Findings - Indigenous/Non-Indigenous Learning »

All of the participants of this study self-identified as non-Indigenous. When asked if they knew if any campers were Indigenous, they shared that some campers self-identified as Indigenous. Participant Y described that the camp “got alot of kids coming from close-by [Indigenous] communities, and a lot of them, the kids, would tell us themselves”. Participant Z

said that “Yes, we did have campers that were Indigenous. They kind of self-identified, or students that were brought down south from [an Indigenous community]”. However, they noted that “Indigenous campers that came from the surrounding community – [were] less vocal in identifying themselves as Indigenous” (Participant Z). Participant W said that the campers from the Northern Ontario First Nation “brought it up, cause I think they ended up showing us kind of where they lived. They kind of talked about I guess how difficult it was to get stuff there. How long it was like to get supplies, so you had to order stuff in advance or something”.

The non-Indigenous staff and campers learned from the Indigenous campers. Participant Y described how “I got to talking with those kids who, you know, come from the [a Central Ontario First Nation] area, or those kids who came down from [a Northern Ontario first nation], I got to learn a little bit about their lives. They noted that “they had different lives [from hers]-what their families would do to spend time together, or what their family connections were like”. Participant Z expressed that “some [Indigenous campers} were definitely just there for the experience, and there for everything they could take back with them, and not just sharing”. They explained how one Indigenous camper “really wanted other campers to know about their experience, and wanted, not just other campers, everyone she interacted with, to know.” “She really wanted to share her life experiences, share the camp experience, and also bring a bit of who she was in her culture, to everyone that was around her. Another Indigenous camper. “in her own way, in her friendships and connections, also wanted to share her own life experience” (Participant Z).

The non-Indigenous staff learned how to make the Indigenous campers feel comfortable in their relationships at camp. Participant Z described how “a lot of trust that had to be developed before they shared more and more about their life and their experiences, even, interactions within

the group". They went on to say that "it took a lot of interactions before I feel that they finally trusted me to start having in-depth conversations, or having real conversations with me" (Participant Z). They recognized that they were "similar with their peer group, and with other staff, having that trust and that connection before they were comfortable opening up and sharing a little more" (Participant Z).

Participant Y noticed that one group of campers were " a little more reserved" and "kinda hesitant to put themselves out there". They described how "they kinda liked to stay with each other, like, for comfort - you're always more comfortable with the people you know, but by the end, usually, they would come out of their shell, being themselves."

Both participants Y and Z kept in contact with Indigenous campers from one community, even many years later. Participant Z still "keeps in touch, with Camper B". Participant Y met up with different campers when they were in other cities. "Camper C from [a Northern Ontario First Nation], she came down to Kingston for a little bit, so I met up with her (Participant Y). "Camper D and E, when they were on a school trip in the Toronto area, we went and met them at the mall" (Participant Y). When asked how they kept a good connection, Participant Y replied "I think we got along pretty well; I would go stay in their cabin sometimes too, and I'd like to think that they were comfortable, with me. We kinda got along better cause I'd been there a couple of years with them."

Broader Issues

The non-Indigenous staff were asked about their awareness of broader Indigenous issues after their interactions at camp.

Participant Z expressed that "[yes, I was more aware of, um, the happenings in [a Northern Ontario First Nation], kinda, it was almost immediately after the [campers] were at camp, or when they visited us. Like a year or two later, when the [humanitarian] crisis that was taking place. My interactions with the young people from [the First Nation] who came to camp, really encouraged me to go into Indigenous studies at the University of Toronto. So, I decided to take that as one of my minors, to broaden my horizons, to make me more aware of what their experiences are like, and what their history is like in the context of Canada's treaty (Participant Z). Participant Z was asked if they had had many interactions with Indigenous people before camp. They replied, "No, not at all. Well, not before my experiences at camp. I think having interactions with you [the researcher] and knowing your history and your experiences encouraged me [to undertake those studies] as well" (N-19).

Participant Y explained how her interactions with the Indigenous campers had an impact on her: "just hearing their stories, that some of them weren't getting the help that they maybe needed; I see a lot more of these communities, and the issues they're having, you know, and the help that maybe they aren't receiving, and they should be". After camp, when there was a crisis that affected the community that the campers had come from, Participant Y said "it was sad, and it was especially sad knowing some of the kids that lived there". She continued by saying, "it was crazy to read all those things, and hear about it, have people talk about it, cause I actually knew people who lived there, it felt a bit closer to home" (Participant Y). "Whereas, if I hadn't of had those interactions, or met those kids, I think that I probably would have reacted really differently, I mean, just being a little bit more disconnected from it. It's not something personal, so I probably would not have felt the same way" (Participant Y).

"[It was] also very interesting because, some of us at camp were talking and these issues aren't new and it's not in the media anymore, the issue probably hasn't been completely resolved, but it's no longer in the media" (Participant Y). She suggested that "I think there are a lot of other communities where things like this are happening, and they're not getting enough attention or help, that they might need".

Participant Y also explained that she moved to Northern Ontario to teach, a few years after leaving camp: "I knew, moving up north, there were going to be more First Nations communities around us, but I don't think I fully realized that like, 40% of my students would be [Indigenous]. I think, learning about [the campers'] lives, kinda helped me, when we came up here, some of my kids are in similar situations".

5 « Discussion »

This exploratory study included a summary of the literature pertaining to reconciliation, culture, camps and adventure programs, identity and bridging difference; as well as the collection and analysis of data in the form of documents and interviews with participants. The setting of the study was a small leadership camp for youth that brought together Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. The focus was on the non-Indigenous participants and their experiences at the camp.

All four participants described how before camp, they had had little to no interaction with Indigenous peoples or youth. Through their experiences at the camp, they were able to build good relationships with the Indigenous youth, which then made them open to learning about them and their communities. One participant mentioned that when she heard about certain situations in one Indigenous community, it “felt closer to home” because they knew people who lived there. They mentioned words such as “disconnection” and “personal” (Participant Y). Another participant changed their course of study in university, which shows the substantive impact their connections with the Indigenous campers had on the direction of their life (Participant Z).

This study used a small sample, so one limitation is that the results may not be generalizable beyond this. There were very few participants, and only one camp was studied. However, as an exploratory study, the purpose was to find out if this is a valuable area for further study. In the literature review, the section about youth camps and adventure programs was extensive enough to get a good overview of how these programs work, and how personal transformation can occur in those settings. For this study, nothing was set up intentionally at the

camp initially, to prepare campers or staff for the cross-cultural experience that was going to happen. The fact that there were positive outcomes was an extra benefit, but occurred because of how the camp was designed, through its values, themes and discussions. If, instead, campers and staff were properly prepared for a cross-cultural experience, there is great potential for even more growth and positive outcomes.

For a cross-cultural program to be successful, organizers would also need to consider Hofstede's five dimensions of cultural differences (power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and collectivism, masculinity and femininity, and short-term vs long-term orientation) (Chang, T., Tucker, A., Norton, C., Gass, M. & Javorski, S., 2017). Staff and participants would also need to undergo cultural self-studies, so that they would be aware of their own cultures, before entering a cross-cultural setting. "Those who feel culture operating in themselves are more likely to feel how culture operates in others" (Weigl, 2009, p. 348). These practices would enhance the outcomes of the experiences, as they increase individuals' intercultural competence, and intercultural sensitivity.

In the data, a lot of time and space was dedicated to determining the setup and flow of the camp's program. This was partly to show a different approach to a typical summer camp program; and how the experiential learning cycle works with regular camp activities. In adventure education, activities tend to have more risk attached to them, such as high ropes courses and initiatives. In this camp, typical summer camp activities such as canoeing, archery, and even arts and crafts would be set up to teach values and themes of the day, through goal-setting and reflection. Campers would set personal goals around all aspects of their days - such as dynamics with cabinmates, cleaning up their cabin, behaviours at meals, and even

camp-wide games and campfire activities. Then they would reflect on their experiences and could share with their cabinmates and adjust their goals or add to them the next day.

The camp also intentionally created a safe setting for its campers and staff. The focus on values through daily themes, discussions and goal-setting ensured that campers and staff grew in self-awareness. The values were taught, practiced and reinforced all throughout the day. This is in line with Allport's statement that "personal values are a major tool to fight prejudice" (Larson, 2007, p. 384). The reflection built into each activity allowed participants to internalize the lessons learned.

The positive relationships that were created at the camp are an example of "bridging difference - as Larson et al describes it, "an active development process where youth change attitudes" (Larson, 2007, p. 381). With staff modelling friendships, and focusing on group cohesion, they took on an active role in bridging in-group and out-group participants. All campers were valued, and included. This again relates to Larson's study, where "ongoing interactions were the vehicles for understanding, which provided the impetus for changes in their behaviour" (Larson, 2009, p. 388).

When looking at the bigger picture of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada, this study of the camp shows that "perhaps the more achievable goal is to build community" (Mahara, Duncan, Whyte & Brown, 2011): a community where interactions in safe settings lead to strong relationships and personal friendships.

Many attempts have been made at reconciliation in the past and even more so in the present. Having considered the literature on settler roles in reconciliation, youth camps can provide an appropriate setting for reconciliation to occur. There has been a push for schools to

address the gap in education for settlers and the rest of Canadians, by addressing Indigenous issues, and teaching about residential schools and treaties. However, the school systems themselves are built on Western concepts and values, and have yet to be decolonized. There are hierarchies built into the whole system, which does not provide the best environment conducive to building balanced relationships. Camps and youth programs provide alternate peer groups and are more likely to create a "sensus communus," since there is a focus on relationships (Laing & Moules, 2014, p. 192).

Secondly, camps with leadership programs or youth adventure programs, already use the experiential learning cycle, which focuses on personal development and growth (see Figure 5). Their goal is that through reflection on their experiences, participants would transfer their learning to life beyond camp, and even "reorganize their outlook toward themselves, their future and their world" (Deane & Harre, 2013). The psychological change that happens within the experiential learning cycle, is the same type of change that is required in the reconciliation process for settlers. Focusing on reconciliation and transforming settler consciousness, the common findings included an entry point, emotional engagement, deep reflection, and longevity ((Davis, 2017). "Critical programmatic experiences" in experiential learning (see Figure 5) can be compared to the entry points, or "unsettling moments of insight" in reconciliation (Howell, 2022). The emotional engagement required in reconciliation can be compared to the psychological disequilibrium in the experiential learning process. Both these processes include reflection. The cyclical nature of the experiential learning process allows learning to continue; which can be compared to Davis' description of transforming settler consciousness as an "ongoing process of transformation with critical moments of insight which propel a lifelong

learning process" (Davis, 2017. P. 411). All of these similarities make it evident that camps with experiential learning programs are ideal locations for the reconciliation process to occur.

This study set out to create two things: guidelines for resident camps, organizations and communities to use to build healthy relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth; as well as a pathway to reconciliation for youth. Figure 6 presents a visual model of proposed guidelines, which highlights the most important aspects of how the camp in this study created the positive relationships.

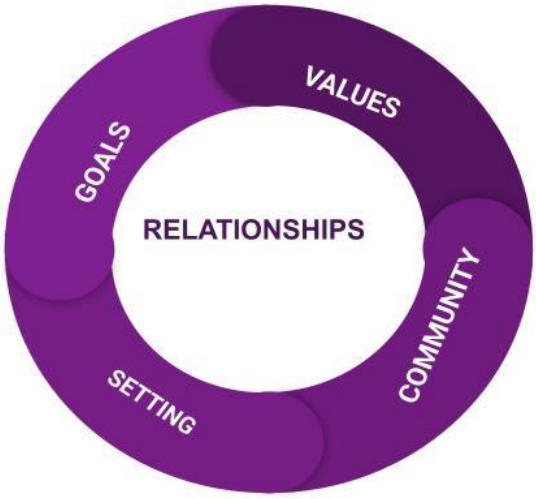

Figure 6: Guidelines for resident camps, organizations and communities to use to build healthy relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth

Camps and organisations would need to consider four aspects in their programs: setting, values, goals and community. It's notable that, upon consideration, these four aspects correspond to the four areas of the medicine wheel. Robertson describes the medicine wheel as showing the four essential dimensions for life balance (Robertson, 2021). Figure 6 shows how the four aspects of the guidelines correspond to the four parts of the medicine wheel.

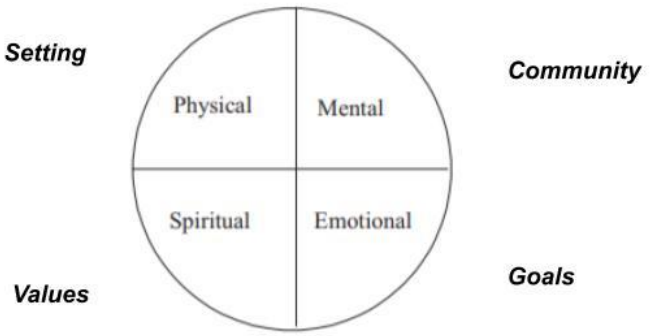

Figure 7: Proposed guidelines for resident camps, in relation to the medicine wheel.

Physical aspects of the camp's setting to be considered are the physical location and the dosage (length of time). The physical location should provide a place with few distractions. A wilderness setting would also add elements of risk and unpredictability which would further the learning. The length of the program should be long enough for participants to undergo the full process. If the program occurs over full 24-hour periods, participants would be fully immersed in the social and physical environments. As well, longer programs are more likely to achieve outcomes than shorter programs (Hattie, J.M., Marsh, H.W., Neill, J.T., & Richards, G. E., 1997). The size of the group should be carefully chosen, as groups between 7-15 are ideal (Walsh & Golins, 1976). Walsh and Golins write of the effectiveness of a "ten-group," used by small groups of Indigenous hunters on the land (Walsh & Golins, 1976). In Hidden Bay Leadership Camp's Leaders-in-Training program, the group is somewhat larger, but remains below 30. Their program is longer, a 2-week program, compared to their regular camper programs of 4-5 days. This was set up this way purposefully, in order to have a comprehensive program and give participants time for personal growth.

Values of the program need to be in place that would create a safe environment for all. These values would need to be chosen carefully, shared with staff during training, and clearly

discussed so that staff understand their importance. Staff would then model these values to participants. The program itself needs to be set up around these values; and participants need to be given time to learn, practice, and reflect on these values. At Hidden Bay Leadership Camp, the values are clearly articulated in their literature, and are discussed, practiced, and reflected on everyday of their program.

Goals of the program need to be clearly articulated from the start, so that staff and participants understand and acknowledge the purpose of the program and why they are there. This is to alleviate any goal conflict or dissonance between participants and staff. Goal setting should be built in as part of the program as well; campers and staff both can be encouraged to set their own goals and put them into play every day of the program. Daily reflection allows for adjustment of these goals and continued application of the goals in their day. Goals can also be tied into the practice and application of the program values. At Hidden Bay Leadership Camp, the goals of the camp are clearly articulated in their literature, and goal-setting is part of many aspects of daily life, including Goal-Setting sessions, activities, and discussion times or debriefing.

The fourth aspect of these guidelines is the sense of community, or "sensus communis" (Laing & Moules, 2014, p. 192). The careful setup of the first three aspects (setting, values and goals) will create a safe environment in which participants can build strong and healthy relationships. At Hidden Bay Leadership Camp, the sense of community was carefully created through building relationships between all members of the camp, including staff and campers.

The second thing that this study set out to do was to create a pathway to reconciliation for youth. As a settler-researcher, I focused on the role of the non-Indigenous youth. In Figure 8, this

proposed pathway starts with a catalyst, leading to reflection, personal reckoning, and finally, change in behaviour. This pathway combines the findings from various researchers, what was observed in participants, and my personal reconciliation experience. The "catalyst" section is similar to Howell's "reconciliatory reawakening" and Davis' "unsettling moment of insight" (Howell, 2022, p. 24), (Davis, 2017). The inclusion of reflection is mirrored in Howell's concept of reflective writing.

Figure 8: Pathway to Reconciliation for non-Indigenous youth

For the participants in this study who were staff and campers, the relationships they created with the Indigenous campers were the catalysts in their process. Their moments of reflection and reckoning came later on, after camp. For Participant Y, she mentioned that when she learned of news about the community where her Indigenous friends lived, she reflected that she was more impacted by their predicament because she felt connected to them. What followed was her time of personal reckoning - of realizing that she hadn't known enough about issues facing Indigenous people living in her country. Her change in behaviour was evident when she moved to a community with a higher percentage of Indigenous people, and was more aware and understanding of the issues facing her students and colleagues.

For Participant Z, upon reflection following his interactions with the Indigenous youth at camp, he took significant steps towards bettering his understanding of issues facing Indigenous

peoples in Canada, by changing his course of study at university to include a minor focus in Indigenous studies.

For me, the catalyst for my personal journey to reconciliation was during the time that I lived and taught on a First Nation in Northern Ontario. Students and staff had travelled to another First Nation to join in a ceremony around a sacred fire. The sacred fire had been lit to support our community's youth in a large endeavour. This was the first time in my life that I had taken part in an Indigenous ceremony in Canada. During the grand entry, special guests were drummed in by a drum group, in a grand entry. I remember being awed by the power and feeling of the drums and singing. Until then, I had been a bit overwhelmed by living in the community; but it was the moment at the ceremony when I realized how little I knew and understood about the community I was living in and Indigenous issues across Canada. My period of reflection occurred over many years, and included the university courses I took, the community events I attended, personal therapy sessions, and a cultural self-study. The stage of personal reckoning was long and painful. It was difficult to face the truth of my role as a settler, having reaped the benefits of colonialism. I had to accept that I had been shaped by my culture and its values and worldviews, and I questioned some of my actions in the past in terms of religion, teaching and my role in the communities I lived in. Once I had accepted and realized these things, I had to determine my next course of action, and it led to changes in my own behaviour and outlook in intercultural exchanges.

Using this pathway to reconciliation (catalyst, reflection, personal reckoning, changes in behaviour) ensures that the process is also comprehensive. Many researchers warn about the dangers of reconciliation without action. This process, if each stage is completed properly, is bound to bring about changes in behaviour, due to the involvement of emotions, the emphasis on

reflection, and the “catalyst”, which was the moment that was shocking or emotional enough to start them on their journey.

This pathway to reconciliation for non-Indigenous people and the guidelines for camps and youth organizations are proposed in order to add to the ongoing conversation about reconciliation in Canada. This study is limited in that it only considered one camp, had a small sample (n=4) of participants and was exploratory in nature. However, there is a lack of documentation of settings in which positive relationships across races are created, and this small study will make a small contribution to this area of research (Larson, Sullivan & Watkins, 2007). Further studies of other camps and youth organizations that are creating positive cross-cultural interactions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth in Canada are needed, in order to create a comprehension and effective model for organizations.

6 « Conclusions »

As an instrumental case study, this research study provided a thick description of the phenomenon of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth in leadership programs. Stake suggests that an instrumental case study can be used as a comparative point across other cases with similar phenomenon (Mills, 2010, p. 474). Possibilities for future research could be the comparison of these findings to other camps, other settings, Indigenous-focused camps, and camps in other cultural settings in the world. As well, a further research study could be constructed that uses these findings, and studying the element before, during and after the experience, in qualitative research.

The relationship between Indigenous people and settler Canadians is unbalanced. On the bottom of one side of the scale, Indigenous people have been disadvantaged and oppressed, whereas on the top of the other side, settler Canadians have benefitted in countless ways. It has been called “trans-cultural confusion” or a “lack of understanding” or a “schism in understanding” (Ermine, 2007, p.197). Settlers need to be the ones who are active in re-balancing these scales, becoming allies, and advocates.

Instead of relational denial, we need to look towards ethical relationality. The illusory moral ground must be replaced with moral accountability (Powys-White, 2018). A pedagogy of whiteness needs to give way to a pedagogy of discomfort (Davis, 2017, p. 400). Settler guilt needs to lead to present-day responsibility (Mitchell, 2017). Defensive strategies such as assimilation, annihilation, derogation and accommodation need to lead to reconciling oneself and where you’ve come from (Bennett, 2011). Instead of resorting to white fragility, we need to be ready to arrest the automatic enactment of our own culture (Weigl, 2009). Ignorance and the idea of the “perfect stranger” needs to lead to understanding and hearing the truth (Davis, 2017).

Accidental racism needs to be replaced by settler harm reduction (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Active distancing needs to be replaced by emotional engagement (Davis, 2017). Colonial psychosis needs to be combatted by re-inscribing settler identity (Howell, 2022, p. 17). Instead of focusing on "hard-earned prosperity," one needs to question their complicity with settler colonial systems (Howell, 2022, p.5).

"Reconciliation requires that a new vision, based on a commitment to mutual respect, be developed" (TRC Executive Summary, 2015, p. vi). This new vision needs to create stronger social connections, and these connections are created by establishing good relationships (Smith, 2012, p. 149).

Camps and outdoor experiential programs, through careful planning, intentionality and preparations, can create environments to build these good relations. The use of the experiential learning cycle, in novel yet controlled environments, can lead to personal change. The groups are "the medium through which this change is achieved" (Mishna, Michalski & Cummings, 2001, p. 158). The process can reorganise a participant's outlook or attitude toward themselves, their future or the world they live in (Deane and Harre, 2013).

Humans have a fundamental need to belong (Jostad, Sibthorp, Phja & Gookin, 2019). And in Canada, we belong together.

7 « Closing »

It is reported that on May 28, 2021, the bodies of 215 children were found at a burial site on the grounds of Kamloops Residential School in British Columbia (Austen, I. & Dilefsky, D., 2021). Since then, more and more former residential school grounds have been searched. This discovery shocked the nation, bringing worldwide attention to Canada's treatment of Indigenous peoples. On July 1st, 2021, Canadians mourned the loss of these children and many Canadian flags were flown at half-mast for months. At our school in Moosonee, it was almost a full year that our flag was at half-mast. This event has been impactful for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, as more burial sites are discovered on the grounds of former residential schools. For the first time, non-Indigenous Canadians were shocked by this tragic news on a large scale, and more non-Indigenous Canadians are starting to pay attention to Indigenous issues and the reality of Canada's past - this was their "reconciliatory reawakening" (Howell, 2022, p. 24).

Shortly after that, a former LIT camper and staff member from the camp sent me a message, even though we had not communicated since 2013. Having moved to Saskatchewan a few years ago, she had started working in a high school. She thanked me for bringing the Indigenous youth to the camp, which led her to learn about Indigenous culture. In her role at the high school, she was able to connect with youth and discuss "how serious what has been going on and how they can be the change in this world for the future to come" [quote]. She went on to say, "I wouldn't feel I could connect or have as much compassion and empathy as I do as an adult if I didn't start from my younger teen years." [quote].

The discovery of the bodies of children is evidence that the effects of colonialism in Canada are relevant, current and impactful. Cynthia Esquimaux-Wesley states that "There is no

other story than the one you are being told in the present" (Wesley-Esquimaux, 2007, p. 63). Non-Indigenous Canadians need to be ready to face a moral and ethical dilemma (Regan, 2010). We need to consider our role in colonialism and its long-term impacts, and how we can be part of the solution. We need to be active participants in the process of reconciliation. It is no longer acceptable to keep a comfortable intellectual, psychological and emotional distance from the harsh realities that colonization has created (Davis, 2017).

Benton-Banai's book describes the prophecies of the eight fires as given to the Ojibway people, describing what would happen to them, as they encounter and interact with the "light-skinned people" (Europeans) (Benton-Banai, 2010). The eighth and endmost stage is described as thus:

"It is at this time the Light-Skinned Race will be given a choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the Seventh Fire will light the Eighth and Final Fire – an eternal fire of peace, love, brotherhood and sisterhood." (Banai, 2010, p. 93)

Leanne Simpson describes that in order for the Eighth Fire to be lit, "settler society must also choose to change their ways, to decolonize their relationships with the land and Indigenous Nation" (Simpson, Ed., 2008, p. 4). Figure 9 shows the sequence of seven fires, and depicts the two possible outcomes at the Eighth Fire. The result will depend on us non-Indigenous Canadians, and the choices we make. Elie Wiesel states that "the opposite of love is not hate – it's indifference" (Warry, 2007, p. 186). For too long, we, as non-Indigenous Canadians, have allowed indifference to shield us from our responsibility for reconciliation in Canada. Our time is now.

Figure 9: The prophecy of the Seven Fires
https://www.ya-native.com/nativeamerica/theteachingsofthesevenfiresprophecy.html

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: Recruitment Letter

LaurentianUniversity
UniversitéLaurentienne

SCHOOL OF INDIGENOUS RELATIONS
Nishnaabe Kinoomaaadwin Naadmaadwin

Recruitment Form: Participants

Carinna Pellett, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario

Reconciliation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Youth through Leadership Programs

I am researching the experiences of youth in the leadership programs at Hidden Bay Leadership Camp. I am particularly interested in the cross-cultural outcomes of campers and staff who participated in the LIT (Leaders in Training) program during the summers between 2010-2014.

I am a Graduate student within the Masters of Indigenous Relations program. My thesis supervisor is Dr. Darrel Manitowabi. The purpose of this research is to determine the outcomes from cross-cultural experiences of Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth. This study hopes to construct a pathway to reconciliation for youth, and to create guidelines for other camps, organisations and communities to use for youth programs.

For the purpose of this study, I am seeking youth or staff who participated in the LIT programs at Hidden Bay Leadership Camp from 2010-2014.

This study will examine your experiences before, during and after attending or working in the LIT program. You will be asked to participate in a 60-minute interview in person, by phone or by Skype. The interview session will be audio recorded and later transcribed.

Privacy and Confidentiality

Personal information gathered as part of this study and information that could uniquely identify you will remain private and confidential when used within any publication or presentation of the study's results. All information regarding your identity and the things you chose to share will be kept confidential and the data will be secured by password protection and will only be accessible to myself. This project has been approved by **York Professional Care & Education.**

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to participate. You may choose to answer or not answer any of the questions and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from this study at any time, without consequence, and any data collected from you will be destroyed.

Anonymity and confidentiality are assured.

If you would like to participate, please email Carinna Pellett at cx_pellett@laurentian.ca to arrange a time.

Please note: You must be at least 18 years of age or older in order to participate.

A summary of the findings will be available by April 2019.

APPENDIX B: Letter of Information for Participants

RESEARCH PROJECT:

Reconciliation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Youth through Leadership Programs

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Introduction

My name is Carinna Pellett and I am doing research on youth leadership programs at Hidden Bay Leadership Camp. I am a Graduate student within the Masters of Indigenous Relations program. My thesis supervisor is Dr. Darrel Manitowabi. My other committee members are Dr. Jorge Virchez, Cheryle Partridge and Dr. Stephen Ritchie.

Purpose of the Study

This study invites youth, staff and management to share their ideas, insights and reflections on the cross-cultural experiences of youth in the LIT program at Hidden Bay Leadership Camp between 2010-2014. The purpose of this research is to determine a pathway to reconciliation for youth. I plan to give at least one conference presentation on the findings and publish at least one paper about the research.

What do we ask of you?

This study will incorporate a one-on-one semi-structured interview which will take approximately 60 minutes. The interview questionnaire will incorporate some basic demographic questions. Your responses will be completely anonymous and your confidentiality will be protected.

Study Requirements

In order to participate in this study, you must have attended or worked with the LIT program at Hidden Bay Leadership Camp. If you are under 18 years or older, parental consent is needed in order participate and you will need fluency in English for the interview. The interview will be recorded and later transcribed. The transcripts will be kept for an indefinite amount of time. There are no other requirements for you to participate in the study. Your total time commitment will be approximately 45 minutes for the interview.

What's in it for you?

This is an opportunity for you to help start the conversation on reconciliation for youth. This is part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action: #66

We call upon the federal government to establish multiyear funding for community-based youth organizations to deliver programs on reconciliation, and establish a national network to share information and best practices.

The study results will be shared with Indigenous communities, your peers, and others who might want to utilize the findings in their own research. This is your chance to talk- share what you liked and didn't like about camp. If you would like, you can receive an email or hard copy of the research upon completion of the study.

Confidentiality

Personal information gathered as part of this study and information that could uniquely identify you will remain private and confidential and will only be used within any publication or presentation of the study's results with your consent. All information regarding your identity and the things you choose to share will be kept confidential and the data will be secured by password protection and will only be accessible to myself.

Risks & Benefits

Very minimal risk. If you are uncomfortable answering a question, you do not need to answer it.

Voluntary Participation

Your willingness to participate in this study is completely voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from this study at any time, without consequence, and any data collected from you will be destroyed.

Questions

If you have any questions concerning the ethical conduct of this research, please contact:

Research Ethics Office

Laurentian University,

Sudbury Ontario

Telephone: 705-675-1151 * 3213 /* 2436

Toll Free: 1-800-461-4030

Email: ethics@laurentian.ca

You may also contact my supervisor:

Dr. Darrel Manitowabi

dmanitowabi@laurentian.ca

705-675-1151 ext 5063

Additionally, if you have questions about the study itself, please contact myself, Carinna Pellett at cx_pellett@laurentian.ca. Please save or print a photocopy of this information for future reference.

Resources

Please see the attached list of resources for participants.

Sincerely,

Carinna Pellett

B. Mus., B. Ed., OCT, ARCT,

Cx_pellett@laurentian.ca

705-675-1151 Ext. 5066

APPENDIX C : Letter of Consent

INFORMED CONSENT

For the Research Project:

Reconciliation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Youth

through Youth Leadership Programs

Consent to Participate

☐ I have read the Letter of Information explaining the nature of the study and I agree to participate in it. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

☐ I understand that I will remain anonymous in this study

☐ I agree to be audio-recorded and give consent to the release of their transcripts.

☐ I am aware that the transcripts will be kept for an indefinite amount of time.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date_____

Signature of Parent/Guardian: _____ Date: _____

(if participant is 18 years of age or less)

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date_____

I wish to receive a summary of the results of this study when they are available, at the following email address: _____

APPENDIX D: Interview Guide

Interview Guide – Former Campers

Participant Number _____

Date _____

Hi there, my name is Carinna Pellett. I am interested in the process of reconciliation as it applies to Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth in Canada. I am looking specifically at the experiences of non-Indigenous youth who attended the Leaders-in-Training program at Hidden Bay Leadership Camp between 2010-2014.

Whatever information you would like to share with me about your time and what you learned at Hidden Bay, I will greatly appreciate. Do you have any questions, so far?

Also, I will be taking notes during our time together and recording our conversation. Thank you for your participation and I hope that you are comfortable sharing your story with me.

I'm going to ask questions from before camp, during camp, and afterwards. Before we start, do you have any questions?

Before Camp

1. When did you attend Hidden Bay Leadership Camp?
2. What programs did you attend?
3. How old are you now? How old were you when you attended HBLC?
4. Before coming to camp, did you have any interaction with Indigenous people in Canada?
5. What were you looking forward to doing and learning at camp?
6. Did you choose to come to camp, or did someone choose for you? Can you explain?

During Camp

1. What activities did you participate in at camp?

2. Did you participate actively in pond times and goal setting sessions?

3. What do you remember about the camp motto, CRRC? (Courtesy, respect, responsibility and courage)?

4. What were your interactions like with other camps, in the cabin, and at activities?

5. Which programs were the most memorable for you? (swim times, campwide games, theme days, etc).

6. Did you meet any campers that were Indigenous? How did you know?

7. What were your interactions like with the Indigenous campers?

8. What negative experiences did you have? What positive experiences did you have?

After Camp

9. Did you miss anything when you returned home after camp was over?

10. Did you return to camp in subsequent years? If so, in what roles?

11. Did you keep in contact with any other campers or staff?

12. Did you come across any Indigenous issues or topics in your school, community or media? What was your reaction?

13. If you were given the opportunity, would you return to the LIT program at HBLC? Why or why not?

14. What would tell a person who is considering going to HBLC for the first time?

Conclusions and Debriefing

This concludes the interview. Do you have any questions for me? [I will then answer questions]

I would also like to remind you of the resource list that was provided to you earlier. This list includes both external and internal references and contacts if you feel you would like to talk to someone else. If at any time in the coming week you feel like you would like to talk more about the interview, or you would like to omit something that you said, please feel free to get in touch with me. My contact information is on the Letter of Information that you received earlier.

Thank you so much for coming out to share your story and for your participation in the interview.

APPENDIX E: Interview Guide, Former Staff

Laurentian University / Université Laurentienne

SCHOOL OF INDIGENOUS RELATIONS
Nishnaabe Kinoomaaadwin Naadmaadwin

Interview Guide – Former Staff

Participant Number _____

Date _____

Hi there, my name is Carinna Pellett. I am interested in the process of reconciliation as it applies to Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth in Canada. I am looking specifically at the experiences of non-Indigenous staff who worked in the Leaders-in-Training program at Hidden Bay Leadership Camp between 2010-2014.

Whatever information you would like to share with me about your time and what you learned at Hidden Bay, I will greatly appreciate. Do you have any questions, so far?

Also, I will be taking notes during our time together and recording our conversation. Thank you for your participation and I hope that you are comfortable sharing your story with me.

I'm going to ask questions from before camp, during camp, and afterwards. Before we start, do you have any questions?

Before Camp

1. When did you attend and work at Hidden Bay Leadership Camp
2. What programs did you attend?
3. How old are you now? How old were you when you attended HBLC?
4. Before coming to camp, did you have any interaction with Indigenous people in Canada?
5. What were you looking forward to doing and learning at camp?

During Camp

6. What activities did you participate in at camp?
7. Did you participate actively in pond times and goal setting sessions?
8. What do you remember about the camp motto, CRRC? (Courtesy, respect, responsibility and courage)?
9. What were your interactions like with other campers, in the cabin, and at activities?
10. Which programs were the most memorable for you? (swim times, campwide games, theme days, etc).

11. What were your interactions like with the Indigenous campers?

12. What negative experiences did you have? What positive experiences did you have?

After Camp

13. Did you miss anything when you returned home after camp was over?
14. Did you return to camp in subsequent years? If so, in what roles?
15. Did you keep in contact with any other campers or staff?
16. Did you come across any Indigenous issues or topics in your school, community or media? What was your reaction?
17. If you were given the opportunity, would you return to the LIT program at HBLC? Why or why not?
18. What would tell a person who is considering going to HBLC for the first time?

Conclusions and Debriefing

This concludes the interview. Do you have any questions for me? [I will then answer questions]

I would also like to remind you of the resource list that was provided to you earlier. This list includes both external and internal references and contacts if you feel you would like to talk to someone else. If at any time in the coming week you feel like you would like to talk more about the interview, or you would like to omit something that you said, please feel free to get in touch with me. My contact information is on the Letter of Information that you received earlier.

Thank you so much for coming out to share your story and for your participation in the interview.

APPENDIX F: List of Resources for Participants

List of Resources for Participants

Ontario Mental Health Helpline

www.mentalhealthhelpline.ca

1-866-531-2600

CMHA Mental Health Helpline

1-866-531-2600

http://ontario.cmha.ca/

Good 2 Talk Crisis Line

1-866-925-5454

Toronto Distress Centres

416-408-4357

www.torontodistresscentre.com

APPENDIX G: Other Relevant Literature

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