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

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Introduction

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

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

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

Camps, Indigenous Cultures, and Appropriation

Canadian archaeologist George Nicholas defines cultural appropriation as:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Camps as Educational Institutions

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

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

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

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

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

Decolonizing Camps

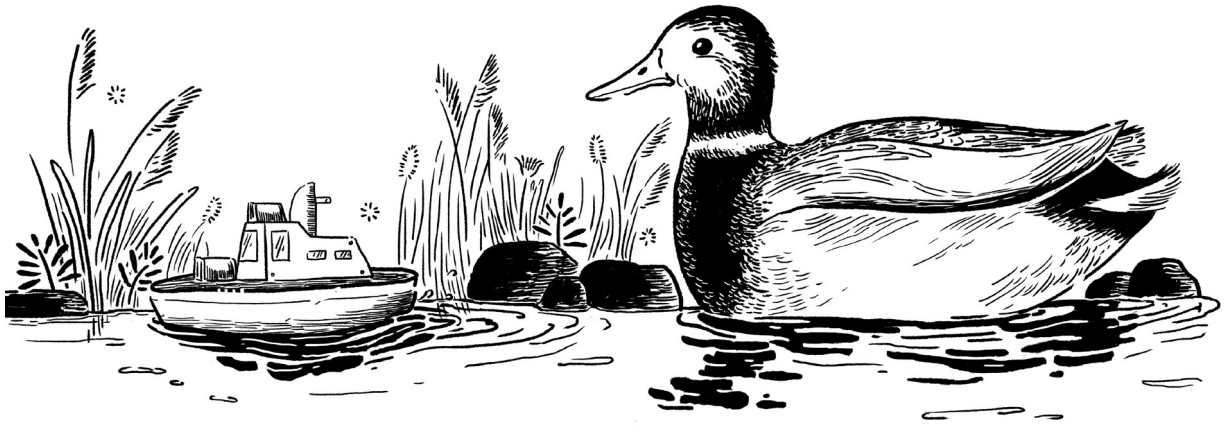
Indigenous academics like Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel remind us that colonialism is an ongoing process that harms Indigenous people (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005). Camps have perpetuated colonialism by framing visions of Indigeneity themselves, and by appropriating traditions. Here, as Tuck et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

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

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

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

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



A Survey of Camp Directors

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

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

Incorporating Indigenous Perspectives and Programming

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

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

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

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

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

Perceived Benefits of Indigenous Programming

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

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

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

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

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

Challenges of Indigenous Programming

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

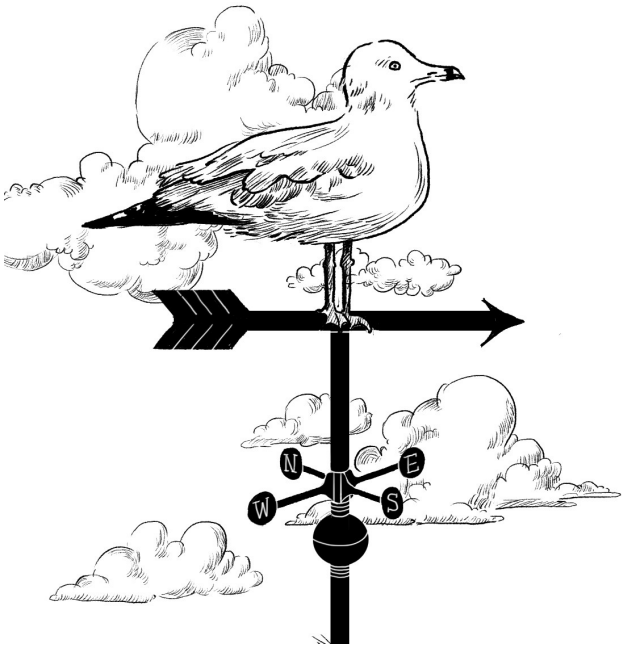
This survey work told us that some camp directors are weighing the benefits and risks of maintaining or implementing Indigenous-inspired programming that is attentive to accuracy and tribal authenticity. They also told us that they have practical concerns around growth, financial stability, and success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

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

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

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

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



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

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