

Religious Summer Camp Programs to Bridge Civic and Religious Development

By

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Abstract: Religious residential summer camps have played a unique role in the civic and religious development of young people within Canada for the past 150 years (Eells, 1986). Through the use of the theory of social capital this study identified three theoretical program strategies (intentional teaching, internalization of beliefs, and leveraging of senior staffs relational ties) to help bridge the civic and religious development stimulated within religious residential summer camps to external networks. These program strategies overcome the challenges inherently present within temporary residential networks. These program strategies were identified through extensive research in the areas of outdoor education, positive youth development, social theory, historical Canada, and research specific to residential summer camps.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Religious residential summer camp programs offer unique, fun, safe, outdoor experiences which are the basis for significant growth and development of young summer camp staff and campers (Henderson et al., 2007). This study examines religious residential summer camps through the lens of the theory of social capital and identifies three theoretical program strategies designed to help bridge the religious and civic development stimulated within summer camp staff to staff's home networks.

I have spent the last sixteen years as a camper or staff member at religious residential summer camps. Much of my summers have been spent either canoeing around Shoal Lake in northern Ontario or riding horses in southern Saskatchewan. I have seen many summer camp staff assume significant responsibility, growing in their capacity to lead and serve as they run everything from epic night games to silly camp singalongs. I, along with many full time summer camp staff, have realized that the temporary nature of religious summer camp networks makes it quite challenging to bridge this positive experience to individuals' home networks (Stroop, 2011; Yuen, Pedlar, & Mannell, 2005; Yust, 2006). Finding ways to address these challenges drove my research. This thesis, then, will focus on the civic and religious development stimulated at religious residential summer camps (Regnerus & Smith & Smith, 2003; Borden & Serido, 2009), and how to help bridge this development from summer camp networks to their home networks.

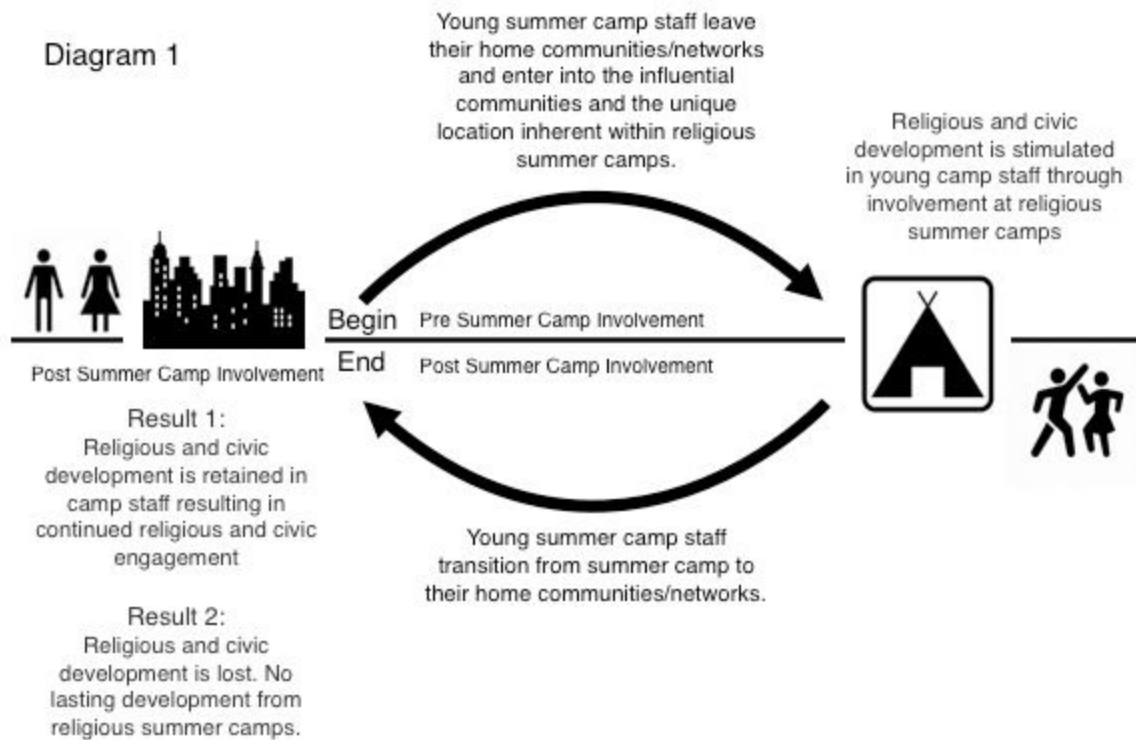


Diagram 1 (above) highlights the journey of summer camp staff, identifying two potential results. Result 2 is the current, most prevalent model. The program strategies developed in this study are designed to elicit Result 1. These program strategies are intentional teaching; internalization of beliefs; and leveraging senior summer camp staff relational ties. These program strategies will help summer camp staff (ages seventeen to twenty) continue to personify the values and behaviors that comprise the type of social capital developed at camp as they return to their ‘home’ networks. The process of the social capital ‘moving’ from the summer camp network to the ‘home’ networks of summer camp staff is called *bridging*. Some examples of social capital being bridged from a religious residential summer camp include summer camp staff leading in their

respective religious networks' children's ministry, stepping into other leadership roles within their networks, or becoming actively involved in their local social justice organizations. It should be understood that the three specific program strategies are theoretical and therefore more quantitative and qualitative research should be undertaken to confirm or deny their validity.

BIAS

I have many personal biases regarding this topic. My personal belief system (Christianity) was developed at a religious summer camp, and I am now currently working full time at a religious residential summer camp. I strongly believe in the benefits of young people working at religious residential summer camps, and would encourage any individual to be involved in a summer camp network.

Because I am aware of my biases, I have endeavored to pay close attention to my responses to research and in my analyses of the same. No study can be completely objective, but I believe I have been careful enough in my approach to have achieved the requisite academic perspective in regards to my subject matter.

QUESTIONS

The questions that guided this study are:

- 1) Do religious residential summer camp networks create social capital which is available for young staff?
- 2) If it does, is the religious and civic engagement (i.e. social capital) used for bridging or for bonding?
- 3) If bonding, then what hinders the bridging of the civic and religious development

stimulated at religious residential summer camps?

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Religious Residential Summer Camp: Residential summer camps are often found in remote wilderness settings (Smith et al., 2010) and offer outdoor activities (Henderson & Bialeschki, 2008). As opposed to day camps, they offer overnight accommodation and around-the-clock supervision and programming to young people aged five to seventeen (Henderson et al., 2007). Religious residential summer camps are sponsored or, in some cases, owned by religious institutions. Religious residential summer camps have a strong religious emphasis often manifesting itself in daily Bible studies, times of prayer, and times of worship (Mattson, 1972).

Outdoor Education: Aya Hayashi and Alan Ewert (2006) define outdoor education as “experiential education that involves purposefully taking individuals/groups into the outdoors for: recreation or education; teaching skills; problem-solving; ensuring group/individual safety; judgment making; and facilitating the philosophical, ethical, and esthetic growth of participants” (p. 223). This concept of outdoor education will be further expanded; however, this basic definition will be used throughout this paper.

Summer Camp Staff: Summer camp staff can be as young as sixteen up to and including adults in their senior years. The specific category of staff used in this paper will be defined as individuals between the ages of seventeen and twenty who are working as summer camp staff for a minimum period of two weeks, up to the entire summer. Many of these staff members attended summer camp as campers. Often the leadership duties of the staff includes being responsible for small groups of children in a

“family” setting within cabins, dorms, chalets, rooms, etc. This includes overseeing daily tasks such as bedtime routines, rest hour, and meal times; it ultimately involves caring for campers in place of a parent for the duration of their time at camp. These camp staff often develop the closest relationships with the campers. Individuals holding these positions are often recruited from connected religious networks (churches, synagogues). Summer camp leadership will often make presentations at these supportive religious networks and recruit this way. Summer camp staff generally gravitate toward camps where they already have connections, whether through family or friends. These are often volunteer positions; however, different summer camps offer different levels of compensation.

Summer Camp Leadership: Summer camp leadership refers to individuals who are full-time employees of the religious residential summer camp. These positions vary in scope, but in this paper, summer camp leadership will be defined as the executive director who is ultimately responsible to the board or private owners of the residential summer camp. Summer camp leadership is responsible for hiring, training, marketing, fundraising, recruiting, and stewarding the summer camp buildings and grounds.

Positive Youth Development: During the developmental phase of adolescence, young people experience significant development in their mental, physical, emotional, and social awareness (Lambert, 2004). Positive youth development (PYD) is intended to offer a framework to identify predictable factors that encourage the healthy development of youth (Norton & Watt, 2014) during the influential developmental phase of adolescence (Trinitapoli & Vaisey, 2009). Positive youth development consists of

intentional factors (cross-generational relationships, etc.) which promote positive outcomes in youth and emphasize strategies instead of specific programming.

Social Capital: Social capital is the main theory that will be applied in this study. As will be explained further on, social capital is a complex theory with multiple interpretations. Robert Putnam (2000) defines social capital as “ways in which our lives are made more productive by social ties” (p.19). He emphasizes the need for a generalized reciprocity, trust, and relationships that result in “mutual obligation and responsibility for action” (p.21). The definition presented by Kraig Beyerlien and John Hipp (2005) develops the theory of social capital by arguing that it is “conceptualized as networks that link individuals and the resources embedded in those linkages” (p.995).

This study argues that summer camps offer a unique setting for the development of social capital. The working definition used within this paper is: a resource that is created as trust and obligation of norms develop within a network of individuals and that can influence the greater world in a positive or negative manner (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2005; Farr, 2004). The unique brand of social capital formed at residential summer camps is further clarified beginning on page 40.

Bridging: Bridging refers to the act of social capital ‘moving’ from one network and manifesting in a different one. Jo Anne Schneider (2007) writes:

Bridging social capital refers to reciprocal, enforceable ties among people from different communities, such as relationships that cross class, racial, or gender boundaries. Bridging social capital may involve horizontal ties among different communities, for example, connections among faith communities to promote interfaith understanding or engage in civil activities such as supporting Poverty Prevention (p. 578).

An example of bridging social capital from the summer camp networks is summer camp staff volunteering together at a youth drop-in center and using their abilities developed at summer camps (leading games, conflict management) in this new network.

Bonding: Kraig Beyelein and John Hipp (2005) describe bonding as “...network structures in which connections are primarily or entirely among members of the same group” (p.996). Bonding means that the benefits of social capital developed in a network remain in that network alone. An example of bonding from the context of summer camp is volunteers helping with work projects to repair camp buildings.

Civic Engagement: Casta Guillaume, Robert Jagers, and Deborah Rivas-Drake (2015) offer a definition:

Civic engagement refers to knowledge, values, attitudes and behaviors related to involvement in local community and broader society. Examples include knowledge of political systems, a sense of efficacy and social responsibility, prosocial behavior, political participation and civic activism (p.321).

The increased civic engagement of individuals is a positive ‘manifestation’ of social capital (Lichterman, 2006). Civic engagement, whether it is a result of involvement within a religious residential summer camp network or another network, is seen as individuals becoming involved in differing organizations such as their neighborhood youth drop-in center, or becoming involved in their high school on student council. “Civic engagement” will be used interchangeably with the term “volunteering” throughout this paper (Schneider, 2007).

Volunteerism: Paul Lichterman’s (2006) definition of volunteerism will be adopted for this paper. He states: “[Volunteerism] carries out specific, short-term tasks

for a particular issue or charitable campaign (p. 532).” Therefore, volunteerism outside of the summer camp location and initial network will be a practical result of social capital being bridged and a litmus test for staff civic engagement.

Religious Development: Practical application of religious development is challenging to categorize. Hardy et al. (2011) defines religion in the context of youth development as: “intentionally provid[ing] systems of ideological beliefs that can help youth find meaning in life, make sense of adversity, and orient themselves in the moral domain” (p.126). The definition for religious development and engagement used in this paper is taken from the work of Mark Regnerus and Jeremy Uecker (2006). They define religious development as an “intensified devotion within the same religious structure” (p.218). This intensified devotion can manifest itself as continual engagement within the religious affiliation of the residential summer camp, although it must be noted that continual engagement does not denote internal religious development. This definition emphasizes high levels of commitment to practical and quantifiable actions as a result of an increase in devotion. An increase of devotion is defined as an earnest attachment to a cause. Regnerus and Uecker’s definition is sufficient for the understanding of religious development and will be used within this paper. However, if further studies were undertaken, quantifiable actions denoting religious development both in external actions and internal beliefs would need to be established.

THEORY AND METHOD

This paper is grounded both in my personal experience of the benefits of religious summer camps, as well as research done on establishing summer camps as an avenue for

positive development of youth (Henderson et al., 2007; Thurber, 2007). The methodology for this particular study is entirely theoretical. It is my hope to continue my inquiries with qualitative research, but at this juncture, I am formulating a theoretical rationale for the development of strategies I plan to put into place and use for field research.

The three theoretical program strategies I developed were informed by research in several areas: outdoor education, positive youth development, social capital theory, Canadian history, and finally the plethora of research regarding the benefits of residential summer camps. Current research on religious residential summer camps often centres on the positive impact for participants (campers) such as increased self-awareness, care for others, and increased self-confidence (Bialeschki et al., 2007; Garst et al., 2011). This study's focus on young camp staff will add to existing research on the development of civic and religious engagement within youth in leadership positions (i.e. camp staff). By identifying the inherent challenges present within *any* temporary residential networks, theoretical strategies will encourage the bridging of the social capital developed within these temporary networks.

OUTDOOR EDUCATION & POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Outdoor education and positive youth development (PYD) is well researched (Hattie, Marsh, Neill, & Richards, 1997; Furman & Sibthorp, 2014). This area of research was helpful in drawing connections and support for the ways in which religious residential summer camps develop their young summer camp staff. The holistic experiences offered at summer camp demonstrate the benefits that are highlighted within outdoor educations

as well as PYD. Options such as physical exercise (hiking, canoeing), mental challenges (cooperative problem solving), social skill development, and spiritual events (Bible study) (Thurber, 2007) all draw parallels to outdoor education programs. Outdoor residential programs face similar challenges to those inherent in religious residential summer camps. Examining outdoor education and positive youth development therefore helped in the creation of programs designed to overcome the obstacles to bridging social capital in the context of religious residential summer camps (Smith et al., 2010).

THEORY OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

The theory of social capital is the main theoretical lens used in this paper. The work of Robert Wuthnow, Robert Putnam, and James Coleman was influential, and Mark Granovetter's work regarding weak and strong ties (Granovetter, 1973) was invaluable in further establishing the above strategies. Social capital is a theory which helps label the developmental benefits of summer camps. The theory of social capital emphasizes the 'resource' that is embedded in networks of individuals. One example of the resource which social capital creates is "behavioral manifestations" (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015) such as "mutual support, cooperation, trust, institutional effectiveness" (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). The 'behavioral manifestations' of the high levels of social capital found within summer camps which is the focus of this study is increased mindfulness of others and voluntaristic acts. Positive actions such as summer camp staff giving their camper the last dessert or volunteering to help clean up the waterfront (Schneider, 2007), are examples of 'behavioral manifestations'. The increased civic and religious engagement fits into different definitions of the resources embedded within social capital.

The theory of social capital also helped in identifying theoretical program strategies to overcome the temporary nature of religious residential summer camps. It does this by offering language and a theoretical structure that helps clearly identify the challenges present in religious summer camps. The terms of bridging and bonding help to assess whether social capital (along with its benefits) is being shared with other networks or if the benefits are held within the original network. The bridging of the social capital embedded within summer camps is often hindered by the temporal nature of religious residential summer camps (Yuen, Pedlar, Mannell, 2005; Smith et al, 2010); therefore, despite social capital being developed within the summer camp network, the benefits (civic and religious development within young camp staff) of this embedded social capital are rarely manifested outside of the summer camp network and location. This is affected by multiple factors such as strong relational ties and place attachment (Lewis, Macgregor, & Putnam (2013). While bonding of social capital can be viewed positively, the original purpose of summer camp, that of equipping young people to be actively religious and civic people in their home networks (Yuen, Pedlar, and Mannell, 2005; Putnam 2000; Christie and Gauvraue, 2010) encourages bridging in its purpose.

RELIGIOUS RESIDENTIAL SUMMER CAMPS & DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Historically, religious residential summer camps were created to counteract the ‘corrupt’ urban centers (Hubert, 2002) and all of the perceived negative influences that they had on the adolescent (Kett, 1977; Root, 2007). It is important to understand that historically the intention of summer camp and religious leaders was that summer camps

would function as a place where youth would be trained to be religious and civically engaged, and then sent back to their home networks (Dirks, 2002; Paris, 2001). The importance of religious and civic engagement were values held by early camp founders and it was hoped that such values would also be developed in the campers attending summer camps. These values grew out of the era of the social gospel movement which was itself tied to the historical belief of the strong connection between civic and religious engagement (Allen, 2006 Christie & Gauvreau, 2010). The understanding of the historical, religious, and social climate which summer camps were created allows for a critique of the current state of religious residential summer camps.

Current research confirms the unique nature of religious residential summer camps and the ways their programs can inspire religious and civic engagement (Benson & Roehlkepartain, 2008; Yust, 2006; Garst et al., 2011); however, the bridging of these benefits back to the home communities of summer camp staff is a struggle influenced by multiple factors, many not faced by the original creators of religious residential summer camps. For example, one significant influence was that the first camps were more homogeneous. Their staff and campers held a conservative Christian worldview, and campers and staff were returning to households with similar beliefs. This situation naturally encouraged bridging. However, this assumption cannot be made in the modern context. The religious landscape of Canada today is much more diverse, creating a more complex reality for campers and staff attending and working at religious residential summer camps. The values present in the summer camp network are not necessarily held by an individual's family and community, creating challenge for staff to maintain these

values in their home networks.

The civic and religious development that occurs at summer camps can be attributed to multiple factors and stimulants; however, this paper will emphasize three unique and inherent factors within religious residential summer camps: unique environment (Wall, 2010; Thurber et al., 2007; Penner et al., 2012), influential community experience (Ginwright & James, 2003; Baileschki et al., 2007; Garst et al., 2011; Borden & Serido, 2009) and a sense of belonging (Borden & Serido 2009; Garst et al., 2011).

“Unique environment” is in reference to the unique wilderness location and hands-on experiences (wall climbing, cutting grass), and how the physical location of summer camps helps inspire a sense of awareness of the grandeur of the world (Garst et al., 2011). “Influential community experiences” and “sense of belonging” both highlight the impact of how being a part of the summer camp network influences young summer camp staff. Whether this is through the adoption of similar worldviews or the encouragement of being part of a group, the influence of the community experience and strong sense of belonging are factors that encourage civic and religious development. (Borden & Serido, 2009; Shabi & El Ansari, 1999). This can be seen when multiple staff begin to attend religious gatherings simply because their ‘camp friends’ attend, or how many summer camp staff choose careers in the field of education.

It is important to note that despite the above factors, not all individuals may experience civic or religious development. However, I argue that these inherent factors help establish and support the religious and civic development that does occur for a myriad of campers and staff within religious summer camps.

Summer camp staff demonstrate remarkable levels of responsibility as they are caring for children as young as age 6. Staff as young as 17 have responsibilities analogous to those of a parent or legal guardian. For example, summer camp staff must be willing to get up in the middle of the night and help the camper who is afraid to go outside to use the washroom. It is in these moments of placing campers' comforts and needs before personal desires where significant civic and religious development occurs within summer camp staff.

As stated above, the three theoretical program strategies that this paper develops, (intentional teaching, internalization of beliefs, and leveraging senior summer camp staff relational ties) are intended to help bridge and retain the civic and religious development at religious residential summer camps. Social capital, outdoor education, and positive youth development, are used to guide and shape the development of the strategies. In the following section, I will expand on the historical context of the first summer camps in Canada. While not offering an extensive history of residential summer camps, an assessment of the Canadian societal landscape from which summer camps arose is foundational for this study. I will look at four salient factors: historical connection of civic and religious engagement, social gospel movement, urbanization, and changing perspectives on adolescence.

II. HISTORICAL REVIEW

SHADOW ESTABLISHMENT: CHURCH & STATE

The pertinent story for this study begins in the late nineteenth century. Although Roman Catholicism has arguably played an enormous role in the shaping of conversations around religion and public life in Canada, for the sake of brevity this study is mostly concerned with Protestant Christianity. Canadian residential summer camps originated during the nineteenth century. Mark A. Noll calls the period the “the Protestant Century,” when “Canadian believers mobilized to preach the gospel in new settlements... (and) linked the progress of Christianity with the advance of civilization” (p. 246). Public structures and the government were formed within a Christian worldview, thereby shaping the greater Canadian culture (Grant, 1988). Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (2010) add to this picture of Christian-centric society by observing that “religion, rather than social and economic structures... constituted the central dynamic of community formation” (p.10). The personal and collective behavior which grew out of the strong presence of Christianity within early Canada led to expected behaviors and personal values which were imposed upon every Canadian citizen. Not surprisingly, the Christian values and beliefs that formed Canada were also the values which formed religious residential summer camps that were created in this time period.

Simple behaviors such as attending a worship service (Moir, 2002) were a benchmark of whether a family would be deemed respectable, but respectability extended beyond church attendance. Christie and Gauvreau (2010) describe the criteria

for being a ‘good Methodist’ during the nineteenth century: “You had to be free of debt, give to charity, help one another in business, and marry within the faith” (p. 45). These pious individuals were also represented in the collective in the form of religious institutions. Brian Fraser (1988) writes of Presbyterian leaders at the time that “the holism of personal and social salvation led to a corresponding wholeness in the church’s organized effort at evangelism and social service” (p. 86). The respectability of the individual then extended to the Church as institution, which in turn acted as the moral authority for the greater community. On a larger societal scale, this functional but constitutionally unrecognized authority, known as the ‘shadow establishment’, allowed the Christian churches to march in unsanctioned but powerful solidarity with the governments of the times (Seljak, 2012).

As a ‘shadow establishment’, the Church held influence in both the religious and the civic spheres of Canadian society. Within Canadian society, there was no distinction between what was right for the Christian person and what was right for the Canadian citizen—because they were one and the same. Christie and Gauvreau (2000) support this, stating that: “the modernist clergyman effectively reinterpreted the idea of the civic sphere in such a way as to create a nation of Christian citizenship that rendered the state subordinate to the churches” (p. 62). This influence, while unofficial, gave the mainline Protestant Christian churches (and the Catholic church within Quebec) a strong voice in public areas of Canadian society (Martin, 2000) such as education and legislatures. The influence of the ‘shadow establishment’ in the Canadian context emphasized the dual identity of Canadian citizens as civil and religious. It was assumed that to be a ‘good’

Canadian citizen was synonymous with being a ‘good’ Christian, and was assumed and exemplified within Canadian society.

The discussion of mainline churches as ‘shadow establishments’ highlights the close relationship between civic and religious institutions and cultures in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Knowing that the model Canadian society held for a respectable Canadian citizen was one that included being both religiously and civically engaged, helps identify motivations of early summer camp founders. As stated above, the present study is based on the historical fact that the Canadian churches have always seen themselves as shaping citizens not only for the good of the church, but also for the use of the nation. The influence of religious leaders in shaping civically minded individuals is seen not only in the existence of the ‘shadow establishment’, but also within the social gospel movement which was at its strongest during the turn of the nineteenth century.

SOCIAL GOSPEL MOVEMENT

Residential summer camps were developed, in part, out of the ethos of the redemptive nature of institutions and the importance of God in the civic aspect of individuals’ lives. Within the social gospel movement there was a strong belief that an important part of the redemptive work of the Church was facilitated through establishments and institutions. Religious residential summer camps were institutions that intentionally taught young people the importance of personal holiness and church affiliation for religious engagement, while also teaching and equipping them to engage civically in the world around them (Wall, 2009). While their founders may not have

directly identified the connection, the time in history, as well as the historical purpose of religious summer camps aligns with the values and intention of the social gospel movement--their emphasis and ethos being clearly reflected in the camps.

At its height, the social gospel movement strengthened the role and the importance of the Christian church within urban centers and the surrounding communities and solidified the importance of social (civic) engagement within these same churches. The movement was ushered into Canada from France, Great Britain, and the United States during the nineteenth century by urban middle-class clergymen such as Salem Bland, J.S. Woodsworth, and William Irvine (Choquette, 2004). Richard Allen emphasizes that the social gospel movement affirmed the established conviction that for Canadian society to be socially and civically sound, the church must play an integral role (Fraser, 1988).

Social gossellers (such as Bland, Woodsworth, and Irvine) put forward the idea that “Christians had a responsibility in an industrialized, urbanized, and rapidly changing world to apply Christian values and ethics to societal problems and work toward bettering the world for the coming kingdom of God” (Zurlo, 2014, p.178). Those within the social gospel movement believed that God was at work in social change and in the redemptive nature of all establishments found within Canada (Allen, 2006). As industrial institutions were redeemed, individuals would also be brought back into proper relationship with God. This escalated to churches becoming a central force in the establishment and operation of new “reform agencies, social policy research, and legislative lobbies, which contributed in large measure to establishing the policy

orientation of the modern liberal welfare state” (Christie & Gauvreau, 2010, p.143).

Allen (1973) writes, “the first signpost along the way is the social gospel conviction that Christianity required a passionate commitment to social involvement” (p.16).

The teaching of the social gospel emphasized the redemptive nature of public institutions, and the importance of individuals identifying the meaning of their lives. Above all, they sought to understand how the ‘Kingdom of God’ was present in the larger Canadian society, and how a personal relationship with God influenced the greater societal context. This emphasis on both civic and religious involvement of individuals further extended the influence of the shadow establishment. The social problem seen by social gospel leaders was the effects of the increased population within urban centers, increased industry, and higher rates of immigration and how this challenged and confronted the worldview of the ‘shadow establishment’. The social gospel movement, was in part, a response to the moral and social decay which many clergy and church leaders believed originated from the urbanization of the Canadian culture (Allen, 2008; Fraser, 1988; Grant, 1976). Within urban centers, the dire effects of poverty, lack of education, and lack of health care became increasingly apparent. The social gossellers saw the necessity of institutions addressing these issues in order to help individuals come back to Christianity. Summer camps were seen as one of these redemptive institutions.

Residential summer camps were created at the turn of the nineteenth century, in the midst of the social gospel movement’s widest popularity. Church leaders and private organizations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association who first formed religious

residential summer camps were strongly influenced by the social gospel movement. Christie and Gauvraue (2010) write that within, “Male-centered Christian youth organizations [YMCA, etc.] where the new ideals of practical Christianity and the connection to civic improvement was taught” (p.142). They intentionally designed and created residential summer camps to help redeem young people; that is to say, inspire increased levels of religious and civil engagement in youth.

Just as the strong influence of the ‘shadow establishment’ helped form the popular conception of an ideal Canadian citizen---Christian and engaged in church and civic community---so the influence of the social gospel helped form a popular conception of how that ideal citizen *should* be engaged civically. The social gospel movement bridged the values held by the ‘shadow establishment’ by entrenching the idea that the collective has a responsibility toward the ‘lost’ or less fortunate. The social gospel movement called the respectable to be accountable to the “least of these”--in the case of residential summer camps, the “least of these” were youth who may have been on the road to losing their faith and, hence, a key component of good citizenship.

Knowing the historical roots of the strong emphasis on the connection between civic and religious engagement within early Canada is foundational for understanding the importance of bridging social capital from the religious residential summer camp network to the larger civic networks. Scholars of the history of residential camps point to two other salient factors present in society at the time: urbanization and the shift in perspective of adolescence (Fraser, 1988; Fasick, 1994).

URBANIZATION

The shift in Canada from a predominantly agrarian to a predominantly urban culture was a decisive period of social change that caused great concern among some religious leaders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Fasick, 1994). They were concerned for several reasons. First of all, many church leaders believed that cities degraded the morality of their residents (Hubert, 2002). The perceived degradation of the urban center was perpetuated in part because of the large number of non-western European immigrants with whom Canadian youth were seen to be in increased contact--a worry for western Eurocentric Christian leaders. These immigrants were seen to have worldviews and beliefs which differed from the predominantly western European Christian (now seen as “Canadian”) values espoused by the church, and church leaders were concerned that exposure to these differences would be detrimental to young Canadians. In addition, many church leaders believed that young people could not help but go astray in the transition from isolated rural communities to urban centers, and that “the daily grind...[and]...the city... [would inflict]... the psychological pain of an increasingly stressful pace of life” (Wall, 2009, p.6).

Underlying all of the factors listed above was the religious leaders’ fear that the increasing urbanization would cause people to drift away from their religious and familial roots. This disconnect, they feared, would eventually lead to the rejection of values that not only led to eternal salvation, but that also sustained the culture—civic and religious engagement. In other words, increased urbanization would lead to a decrease in the social capital that had, up till this point, kept Canadian society progressing (Wall, 2009). This addresses, at least in part, the general question of why

residential summer camps were created as institutions. Summer camps were developed, in part, to take young people out of the corrupt city in order to re-emphasize values associated with Christian identity and Canadian citizenship. Church leaders saw the importance of investing in young people as their perspective of human development changed. At the same time, the modern concept of adolescence was being born (Wall, 2005).

A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON ADOLESCENCE

The shift in the perspective on adolescence in the early twentieth century was grounded in the change of expectations for adolescents within an urban Canada as opposed to that of an agrarian Canada. It is important to note that this was a change of expectations rather than an evolutionary shift. It was a change in social perception and expectation that, in the eyes of some experts, left young people more susceptible to making poor choices that would erode their characters and moral fibre.

The term ‘adolescent’ was introduced and popularized by G. Stanley Hall (Savage, 2008) in his seminal 1904 book *Adolescence*. Joseph F. Kett (1977), describes the importance of this development:

The key contribution of the 1900-1930 period was not the *discovery* of adolescence... Rather it was the invention of (the) adolescent... To speak of the “invention of the adolescent” rather than of the discovery of adolescence underscores a related point: *adolescence was essentially a conception of behavior imposed on youth, rather than an empirical assessment of the way in which young people actually behaved* (p. 243, emphasis added).

Laying the “invention” of adolescence on the shoulders of urbanization had to do with the aforementioned expectations. When Canada was a predominantly agrarian society,

adolescents were expected to do the physically demanding work of an adult farm labourer. A typical youth of the early Canadian agrarian society became part of the workforce once he or she was old enough and physically able to do the labour (Hine, 2000). For girls this could mean furthering their education with an eye towards becoming a teacher, or it could also mean going “into service” as a servant in a larger and more prosperous household. She could also marry, where she would exercise the skills she had been honing as a young child under her mother’s tutelage.

For boys, “school was an (nonessential) opportunity for personal betterment most often sought when one was (not physically mature)” (Root, 2007, p. 28). Formal schooling would most often have been reserved for the children of the elite. Hiring on as an apprentice or as a farmhand or becoming a partner in one’s father’s farm were more common. Young men were expected to establish themselves economically before taking a wife, but the establishment of that economic reputation started when he developed the physique of a mature man. Urbanization changed the opportunities and expectations for and of young Canadians. With increased urbanization the roles open to young men and women became more diverse and less restricted to the farm.

Of course, other demographic factors also entered into the conversation. Smaller urban family sizes decreased the cost of living, removing the need for the adolescent to supplement a middle class family’s household income (Fasick, 1994; Root, 2007). No longer expected by social mores to contribute to the family in that way, the adolescent (at least in the minds of some leaders) had more free time to be influenced by the depraved urban environment (Kett, 1977; Root, 2007). Some leaders also thought that

the increased affluence of the urban family (Moir, 2002) and the increasing presence of differing worldviews would potentially cause adolescents to question gender roles, class, race, and their civic identity (Van Slyck, 2006; Kett, 1977).

These socioeconomic factors prompted the more educated of religious leaders to begin to see the time of adolescence not as a time for young people to assume adult roles, but as a time for furthering their moral education to make them fit for assuming adult roles. They began identifying the stage of ‘adolescence’ as an important time for the development of “social as well as physiological changes, with increased emotional awareness and with deep-seated spiritual or idealistic development” (Brew, 1968, p.18). This shift in perception in regards to youth gives yet another layer as to the whys of the development of religious residential summer camps.

RELIGIOUS RESIDENTIAL SUMMER CAMPS

There has been little published research on Canadian religious residential summer camps. Even the exact dates of the earliest camps are disputed. From a historical perspective, summer camps were first introduced in the United States in the 1860’s (Van Slyck, 2006) to inspire not only civic, but religious, engagement (Eells, 1986). Canadian summer camps followed about 30 years later. It is generally accepted that Camp Stephens in Ontario, and Big Cove Camp in Nova Scotia (both YMCA camps) were established around 1890 and are two of the oldest if not the oldest camps in the country. The challenge in identifying the oldest camp is caused by their interspersed operations in their early years (Back, 1999). Summer camps would be opened, operate for a number of years, close for a brief period, and then once again reopen. This makes it difficult to

identify the specific age of many early summer camps. However, it is clear that as summer camps grew in popularity, provincial and then national organizations were created. Below is a quote identifying some of the early camp founders and the development of the first camping associations.

In 1900 A.L. Cochrane established the first private camp in Ontario. The leaders and directors of these camps, wanting to keep abreast of new trends, began to regularly attend the American Camping Association conventions, due to the absence of a Canadian or Ontario camping association. The first members were A.L. Cochrane, H.E. Chapman, Mary Edgar, Mary Hamilton, Fern Halliday, and Taylor and Ethel Statten. One of the main topics of discussion centered on the need for a camping association in Ontario. In 1933, this group of private camp leaders and directors formally founded the Ontario Camping Association. Taylor Statten was made the first chairman of the Association (Ontario Camping Association Fonds, 2012).

Historically, many summer camps were religious, founded by charitable organizations and private individuals. The YMCA camps initially served a limited clientele composed mainly of upper middle class Protestant boys (Todd, 1971; Kett, 1977). Their purpose was to ameliorate the detriments of urbanization on adolescents. These young people who, just a generation ago, would have been seen as adult citizens, were now perceived as pre-adults. As discussed above, it is important to note that a large part of this amelioration was to preserve the development of religious and civic engagement that leaders agreed was fundamental to Canadian society (Dirks, 2002; Paris, 2001).

CONCLUSION

It is vital to understand the historical landscape from which summer camps arose in order to understand how best to bridge the social capital embedded within the modern summer camp network to external networks. Even though our social context continued to shift and change, scholarship shows that the connection between religious and civic

engagement still remains (Greeley, 1997; Becker & Dhyngra, 2001) and that residential summer camps continue to equip and develop young people as will be shown in chapter five (page 45). As stated above, the original purpose of summer camp was to equip young people to be actively religious, civically minded people in their home network (Yuen, Pedlar, and Mannell, 2005; Putnam 2000; Christie and Gauvraue, 2010). This purpose grew out of the historical connection between religious and civic engagement which was a foundation for the creation of Canada, and is seen clearly within the ‘shadow establishment’. Similar sentiments were found within the social gospel movement, which emphasized the connection between the personal conversion of a Christian, and an outward focus toward the “reformation and redemption of the entire society” (Christie & Gauvreau, 2010, p.143).

The strong value of religious and civic engagement as seen within the social gospel movement and within the history of Canada was challenged during the turn of the nineteenth century by urbanization and the changing perspective of adolescence (Van Die, 2001; Wall, 2005). The growing urban centers within Canada, offered differing values and beliefs, confronting the previously unchallenged assumption of the centrality of Christianity within Canadian society (Beyer, 1997). With the breakdown of the family structure and increased immigration, the separation of the historical values of civic engagement and Christian belief developed within the urban centers (Mol, 1985). This caused significant concern for Christian leaders and it was seen to present potential dangerous influence upon young people and their religious beliefs (Bradbury, 1990; Paris, 2001). Religious residential summer camps were created out of response to this

changing social and religious landscape of Canada, to develop religious and civic engagement in young people during a time within Canada when the connection of these two characteristics was being challenged. Religious summer camps have been a strong presence within Canadian society for the past 150 years. Sharon Wall writes (2009):

“There can be no doubt that “camp,” in the broadest most general sense, was a right-of-passage for a substantial fraction of Canadian children through the first half of the twentieth century” (p. xi).

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The experiences of leading a silly song in front of a crowd of people, the ‘joy’ of helping clean up a camper’s wet bed, the challenge of learning how to work in a team, and the powerful experience of worship around a campfire are just a few examples of how religious summer camps inspire religious and civic development in young people. As previously indicated, religious residential summer camps contain high levels of social capital and are uniquely able to stimulate religious and civic development. I will expand on this further in chapter four. In chapter one the topic of this study was introduced, and social capital was presented as the theory by which specific theoretical program strategies were identified to help bridge the civic and religious development stimulated through participation within religious residential summer camps. In order to understand the role of religious residential summer camps in the development of civic and religious engagement of young people, the historical cultural landscape out of which summer camps were developed was reviewed in chapter two. This chapter offers a review of the literature, showing a greater perspective of the diverse academic fields that this paper draws upon, clarifying the problems facing religious residential summer camps, and formally introducing the three theoretical program strategies.

THE PROBLEM

Summer camps in Canada were initially developed when the social gospel movement was at its most popular and the increased urbanization and changing experience and reality of adolescence was a growing concern for church leaders (Todd, 1971; Kett, 1977). By sending adolescents into a wilderness experience, early church

leaders hoped to overcome the corruption within the urban centers (Christie, 1990; Wellman & Propst, 2004; Wall, 2005; Van Slyck, 2006). The challenge facing many religious residential summer camps was and is still to effectively equip and launch young people back into their home networks more civically and religiously developed.

The intention of this study is not to identify the activities and program elements which help stimulate civic and religious development in staff (these are reviewed briefly in chapter five). The focus of this study is to enable summer camp leadership to bridge the civic and religious development of their summer staff from the camp network back to their home network. Bridging social capital developed within the summer camp network could result in staff participating in practical actions such as volunteering in their local youth drop-in center or helping run the children's classes at their local religious network (Rose-Krasnor, 2008; Scale et al., 2011).

However, the American Camping Association (ACA) in a 2005 study highlighted that the developmental growth of young people documented among summer camp staff often decreased upon summer camp staff's departure from the summer camp network (American Camping Association, 2005). Researchers Chris Thurber, Marge Scanlin, Leslie Schueler, Karla Henderson (2007) highlight this further in a camper survey: "In the case of Making Friends, Adventure & Exploration, Values & Decisions, Environmental Awareness, and Spirituality, there were statistically significant regressions to pre-camp levels at follow-up" (p. 247). There is a limited amount of research on how to bridge the civic and religious development stimulated within the religious summer camp network; however, this study identifies from the current

literature that the development of new norms, sense of belonging, and wilderness location (Smith et al, 2010; Williams, 2012) are natural barriers to the bridging of social capital from summer camp networks (more in depth review on page 51).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The definition of social capital is complex and is defined and critiqued extensively. The complex nature of social capital can be seen clearly in the differences between Coleman and Bourdieu concepts' of social capital. Both are influenced by economics and sociology, and both identify the formation of human capital as a result of social capital (Lin, 2005; Coleman, 1988). However, Bourdieu's approach emphasizes the economical advantages of social capital for the individual and the importance of class systems but downplays the importance of community (Fine, 2007). Coleman's combination of sociology and economics emphasize the benefits of communal interaction and identifies a moral benefit of social capital. He further identifies three 'forms' of social capital: obligation and expectation, information channels, and social norms (Tlili & Obsiye, 2014). James Farr (2004), comparing Coleman and Bourdieu, says, "Coleman...emphasized that social capital was an endowment of social structure, not individuals... Bourdieu accented 'institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition,' as well as finding class 'distinction' more important a 'resource' than trust" (p. 9). Bourdieu's concept highlights one side of the social capital theory, specifically the potentially exclusive nature of social capital (Postone et al., 1993). Through his emphasis on the importance of the individual versus the collective, Bourdieu emphasizes the personal advantages of social capital. His concepts build upon

his foundation of the importance of social class, and his view of social capital as a means to better one's personal situation within the greater society (Joas & Knobl, 2011). Coleman, while also in part identifying with Bourdieu's assertions about the individualistic benefit of social capital, also emphasized communal benefits. Coleman's assessment of the communal benefit of social capital was furthered by Robert Putnam, an American sociologist who emphasized the communal importance of social capital within society.

Robert Putnam is a contemporary of Coleman who emphasizes "institutional performance or societal efficiency as the ultimate outcome of social capital" (Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008, p. 543) in direct contrast to Bourdieu's contention that the essential outcome of social capital is individually based. Putnam was influenced by the work of Dewey, Coleman, de Tocqueville, and Hanifan, who held similar views regarding the potential for positive results of strong connections between individuals (Dewey, 1956; Coleman, 1988; Hanifan, 1916). Putnam builds upon these sentiments, highlighting the 'moral' importance, as well as the influence of social capital upon the community at large (Coradini, 2010). Putnam emphasizes that social capital can be leveraged for the betterment of society (volunteerism, distribution of wealth), and therefore the way one uses and disperses the benefits (resources) associated with social capital, make social capital a 'moral' issue. Putnam believes that the three key factors that must be present in order for social capital to be developed are: networks, norms of reciprocity, and trust (Lichterman, 2006; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 1993). Gregory Fulkerson and Gretchen Thompson (2008) explain the importance of Putnam's understanding of social

capital: “Most importantly, he argues that coordinated actions improve the efficiency of society” (p. 543). Putnam views what are often seen as ‘soft’ components of society (trust, sharing, working together) as pragmatic necessities, essential for any network to improve its efficiency (Glanville & Bienenstock, 2009; Farr, 2004).

Examples of networks comprised of individuals who trust one another and who have developed a norm of reciprocal relationships can be seen at the micro level in individual relationships, and can also be understood and identified on more macro levels (countries, cities, etc.) (Frank & Yasumoto, 1998). Practical examples of social capital manifested on a micro level within religious residential summer camps is seen when individuals help clean up after each other after a meal or lend a sleeping bag to a camper or a close friend. These examples show a clear network of individuals, mutual trust, and a norm of reciprocity. Examples on the macro level can manifest themselves as: parents allowing their children to come to camp, or holding the door for others. The potential macro effect of high levels of social capital was investigated by Putnam in 1993 in his influential study on Italian civic life. Putnam (2002) states that: “...social capital can thus be simultaneously a ‘private good’ and a ‘public good’. Some of the benefits from an investment in social capital goes to bystanders, while some of the benefits rebounds to the immediate interest of the person making the investment” (p.20). Simply put, social capital can be categorized as the ‘resource’ embedded within a network of individuals who interact with and trust one another.

While the embedded resources (sharing of finances, kind acts, volunteerism, etc.) found in many communities are a valuable commodity, Putnam and his contemporaries

posited that individuals should not participate in said network for purely private and personal motivations (Ferragina, 2010). If individuals work at religious residential summer camps for purely selfish motivations, then the purpose of helping others and serving would be lost. Social capital can still be developed, however there will be very little benefit for others outside of the initial network of individuals. Foundational to this study is the belief that when social capital is developed within a network, the ‘resources’ developed within said network ought to be shared. Litchterman (2006) and Jo Anne Schneider (2007) help establish the connection between social capital, volunteerism, and civic engagement. This highlights the important moral aspect of social capital. Schneider (2007), writes, “Putnam (1993) is right when he asserts that social capital is an important ingredient in creating organizations that eventually serve as venues for civic engagement (p. 594).” The increased civic engagement of individuals is labeled as a positive manifestation of social capital, which is epitomized through volunteerism (Lichterman, 2006), and is the focus of this study.

The theory of social capital helps gives terminology, as well as theoretical foundation, by which to identify theoretical program strategies which will help encourage the bridging of the civic and religious development occurring within religious residential summer camps. The challenge facing summer camp leadership, as identified on page twenty-nine and thirty, is helping bridge the social capital from the summer camp network to external ones.

As stated earlier, for the purposes of this thesis, the definition of social capital will be founded in Putnam’s concepts as articulated by Beyerlien and Hipp (2005): “Social

capital is conceptualized as networks that link individuals and the resources embedded in those linkages” (p.995). The moral and communal (i.e. working for the common good of others) aspect of social capital is also drawn upon within this paper. Litcherman (2006) emphasizes this aspect noting: “Members of a civic community participate actively in public affairs, not solely to pursue private ends but to advance the trust and one another even when they disagree” (p.550). The second half of Litcherman’s definition separates this study’s definition from the more individual centered work of Bourdieu (Joas & Knobl, 2011). Religious residential summer camps are communal endeavors where the good of the individual is best served in service to the greater whole in civic and religious engagement.

As previously shown, the importance of the connection between the civic and religious development of young people was a driving force for the early founders of religious residential summer camps. The strong connection between religious and civic engagement has changed and adapted over the history of Canada, particularly as the influence of the ‘shadow establishment’ faded and the distinction between church and state grew. However, despite how modern Canadian society differently approaches the connection between religious and civic engagement, there still remains a strong correlation between an individual’s likelihood of being civically engaged and their religious engagement (Greeley 1997; Park & Smith, 2000). Jocelyn R. Dreoge and Joseph R. Ferrari (2012) observe: “A positive relationship between civic/political engagement and the extent of one’s faith-based beliefs and behaviors has been the basis for a growing field of research” (p.146). This field of research does establish a unique

connection between religiously involved youth and their levels of civic engagement.

It is important to note that not only religious networks such as religious residential summer camps develop youth civic engagement. In the 2013 *Annual Impact Report*, the non-religious Me to We organization reports that in the year 2013 they inspired seventy-nine thousand, three hundred and forty six hours of volunteering (Me to We, 2014). Nevertheless, the support of the connection between civic and religious development is strong. Religious involvement can positively influence young people's attitudes and behaviors (Smith, 2003). Hill and Den Dulk (2013) write: “We know that adolescents volunteer more frequently in both religious *and* secular settings when they belong to a religious group, say that religion is important to them, hold spirituality as a high value, or attend religious services regularly” (p.181). As individuals are involved within religious activities and teaching they can adopt values of serving each other and caring for the world around them (Greely 1997; Christie & Gauvraue, 2010)). Religious engagement as seen within religious residential summer camps continues to be a strong predictor of civic engagement, and is particularly important in the stage of adolescence.

Jonathan F. Zaff, Oksana Malanchuk and Jacquelynne S. Eccles (2008) theorize that “age-appropriate civic context should be in place throughout childhood in order to encourage the summative development of civic knowledge, skills, engagement, and eventual identity” (p.38). Through civic engagement and development at an early age, areas such as personal morals, identity, and desire to “improve the state of society” are formed within young people (Zaff et al. 2008, p.38). Religious engagement during adolescence similarly influences future religious engagement. Some scholars argue that

spiritual development is a necessity for young people as it is an important part of the retention of childhood beliefs upon adulthood (Smith, 2003). Religious residential summer camps work with young people and contribute significantly to their religious and civic development thanks to multiple influences and factors within the summer camp network (this will be expounded upon in chapter 4). This is important, in part because the unique programs which develop the religious and civic engagement within young people also address declining numbers of youth who were civically and religiously active.

Reginald Bibby (2011), who has conducted extensive sociological research in the religious lives of Canadians, argues that the national average for church attendance within Protestant congregations has declined from 53% in 1957 to 21% in the year 2000 (p.37). In 1985, 61% of adults surveyed responded with, “Yes, I definitely do” to the question of “Belief in God or a Higher Power” and in 2005 that percentage dropped to 49%. (p. 49). In 2006, the Barna group found that 6 out of 10 churchgoing teens in the United States become spiritually disengaged after high school (Barna, 2006). As stated earlier, religious involvement is a strong predictor of civic engagement (Schneider, 2007; Beyelein & Hipp, 2005), and as religious engagement declines, this connection can be lost. A secondary contention of this thesis is that religious summer camps are networks that can remedy the loss of this connection. This is done through a number of different intentional and unintentional strategies. This thesis argues for the use of intentional strategies.

Residential summer camps help develop the civic engagement of young camp staff,

in part by presenting similar ideologies and strategies as outdoor education programs. Outdoor education programs are strong sources of positive youth development (PYD) (Passarelli, Hall, & Anderson, 2010; Thurber et al., 2007). The development of civic engagement is heightened within religious residential summer camps by adding a religious emphasis to the strong presence of PYD (Desmond et al., 2010). James Penner the lead author of the Hemorrhaging Faith study (2012) in a Canadian study of 2,049 young people between the ages of 18 and 34 identify that, “Half of Engagers [individuals who remained active within Christian Church] who went to Christian summer camp indicated that their faith came alive there. For Engagers as a whole, 1 in 4 had a Christian summer camp experience where their faith came alive” (p. 99). The study goes on to report that a consistent experience for individuals who remained engaged in the church was participation at a summer camp. Researchers Henderson and Bialeschki (2008) support this, stating that “camp experiences have been and will continue to be promising practices in nurturing spiritual development. The physical, mental, social, and spiritual growth of campers has been at the core of many camps for almost 150 years” (p.107). Kraig Beyerlein (2005), Karla Henderson (2008), Chris Thurber (2007) and M. Deborah Bialeschki (2008) have defended and established residential summer camps as strong sources of civic and religious development. As previously mentioned, the focus of this study is not to defend or prove the positive developmental nature of religious residential summer camps, it is to help understand how to leverage this development, to effect the most positive change in the communities of the summer camp staff. The above information is relevant because it establishes the

strong development that occurs at religious residential summer camps.

HYPOTHESES & CONCLUSION

Using the theory of social capital to understand the process of bridging (Greeley, 1997; Einolf, 2011) my research identified three theoretical program strategies which I contend will encourage the bridging of social capital from the religious residential summer camp network to external networks. The three program strategies are: Intentional teaching (Wuthnow, 2002; Einolf, 2011), emphasis on personal internalization of beliefs (Einolf, 2011; Lewis, Macgregor, & Putnam, 2013; Frank & Yasumoto, 1998) and leveraging of senior summer staff relational ties (Schneider, 2007; Glanville and Bienestock, 2009; Beyerlein and Hipp, 2006).

In the rest of this study, I will argue that these strategies be used to encourage summer camp staff to continue to bridge and retain their increased religious and civic awareness upon their return to their home networks (Frank and Yasumoto, 1998; Glandville & Bienenstock, 2009; Lewis, MacGregor, and Putnam, 2013). Bridging would look like individuals serving abroad and using their skills developed within the camp network (playing games, leading activities, etc.) or taking leadership roles in their local networks (leading worship, helping run after school programs, etc.). The next chapter explores the general topic of social capital before expounding upon its specific applications to religious residential summer camp, as enumerated above.

IV. SOCIAL CAPITAL

This thesis focuses on the civic and religious development stimulated at religious residential summer camps (Regnerus & Smith & Smith, 2003; Borden & Serido, 2009) and how to help the bridging of this development from summer camp networks to their home networks. As stated in the introduction, for the purpose of this study social capital theorizes that: *as trust and obligation of norms develop within a network of individuals, a resource is created which can influence the greater world in a positive or negative nature* (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2005; Farr, 2004). As seen in chapter two, the historical purpose of religious residential summer camps was to build and reinforce this social capital, to combat the negative effects of new urban centres on young people, and to launch youth back into these urban centres ready and able to engage civically and religiously with their social networks (Van Slyck, 2006; Kett, 1977). Chapter three briefly introduced that challenge of bridging social capital from the religious summer camp network to the home networks of summer camp staff. It also introduced the three theoretical program strategies to help the social capital developed within the religious summer camp be bridged to staff's home communities. In this chapter I will develop a more comprehensive explanation of how this paper will use the theory of social capital. I will make a brief critique of social capital; offer expanded definitions of bridging and bonding; and further clarify the influence of religious beliefs upon individual civic engagement. I will conclude by exploring the temporal nature of summer camps, and highlight how this influences the bridging of the embedded social capital present within religious residential summer camp networks to external networks. I will begin with an

in-depth look at bridging and bonding, two key concepts used within this paper to understand how to help encourage the retention of civic and religious development.

BRIDGING AND BONDING

When the benefits of social capital are either held within the initial network or moved to an external network it is understood as *bonding* or *bridging*. The concept is taken from a 1973 article by Mark Granovetter in which he discusses the impact of ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ ties between individuals and the influence that these ties have on individuals’ actions toward one another. Robert Wuthnow (2002) adds, “bridging is more likely to consist of less intimate, even “weak” ties (Granovetter, 1973), and focuses on relationships that span different groups, linking heterogeneous groups together and providing a means of strengthening the larger society” (p.670). Bridging means that individuals move beyond the boundaries of their home network, and move toward different networks that may be outside of the original social network, sharing the resources from their original network (financial resources, personal connections, etc.). An example of this is when summer camp staff from a religious summer camp network help their local church run a children’s special event during the school year and ask their summer camp friends to help run games. Wuthnow (2002) also observes that “scholars have argued that bridging is especially important because it promotes a sense of civic responsibility, overcomes divisiveness and insularity, and encourages not only tolerance but cooperation that may be useful for addressing large-scale social problems” (p.700). The benefits of bridging social capital is the dispersion of the social capital found within one network (religious residential summer camps) to another (home network)

(Lichterman, 2006; Wuthnow, 2002) resulting in the sharing of positive attributes connected to social capital (increased civic and religious engagement). Another example of bridging social capital from within a religious residential summer camp is when summer camps allow networks such as youth groups or local schools to use their equipment (canoes, sports equipment, etc.) without expecting remuneration. The summer camp network shares its resources (equipment) with external networks, thereby bridging the benefits to an external network. The counter term to bridging is bonding, which occurs when social capital is held within a singular network.

Kraig Beyelein and John Hipp (2005) describe bonding as “network structures in which connections are primarily or entirely among members of the same group” (p. 996). Bonding occurs when the social capital created in a particular network stays in that network, strengthening it. Benefits of bonding social capital are also well researched. An example of bonded social capital within religious residential summer camps can be seen very clearly through inside jokes, insider language, people who grew up at summer camp and then volunteer, or the sharing of personal goods between summer camp staff. Researchers Daniel Aldrich and Michelle Meyer (2015) identify the benefit of bonding social capital in response to disasters and how in moments of crisis, family networks with high levels of bonded social capital will use their bonded social capital instead of relying on government bodies or relief efforts. By doing so they allow more resources to be available for others and receive help faster than others relying on external networks (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015).

Bonding social capital also occurs within people groups who are minorities within

the larger population. Portes (1998) offers a positive insight:

Actors can gain direct access to economic resources (subsidized loans, investment tips, protected markets); they can increase their cultural capital through contacts with experts or individuals of refinement (i.e. embodied cultural capital); or, alternatively, they can affiliate with institutions that confer valued credentials (i.e. institutionalized cultural capital) (p.4).

It is important for groups that would otherwise struggle to access social capital (new immigrants, etc.) to have networks that are easily accessible and welcoming. Such groups practicing bonding social capital may provide important supports for their members but “do not contribute to society as a whole” (Schneider, 2007, p.580). The influence of bonding and bridging social capital are key concepts which have been used to both praise and critique Putnam and his contemporaries, highlighting the negative potential of social capital (Portes, 1998).

CRITIQUE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

There are many benefits of social capital. However, while Putnam emphasizes that social capital is created through “investment in interpersonal relationships” (Glanville & Bienenstock, 2009, p. 1515), his critics emphasize that because the benefits (resources) of social capital are held within relationships, that social capital is in its very nature exclusive to anyone outside of these relationships. Resources are defined as goods of value (Lin, 2001) and the physical manifestation of social capital (sharing of resources, kind acts, volunteerism, etc.) is a valued good. Nan Lin (2001) uses this resource terminology and also aligns his theory with that of Bourdieu’s definition of social capital, claiming that social capital should be seen as an individualistic resource, not a collective good (p. 26). Lin emphasizes that social capital helps create ‘resources’

for individuals which can be used to better their situations and opportunities within the greater society, and social capital should not be seen as creating communal resources (Lin, 2001).

Aljerdando Portes (1998), another strong critic of Putnam's theory of social capital, also draws upon Bourdieu's concepts, highlighting that:

Social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures... For example, while strongly knit groups provide various benefits to members, their general exclusivity restricts entry to others and denies benefits to non members (p.6-8).

Portes emphasizes the potentially dangerous aspects of social capital and how it can become an exclusive resource utilized in inappropriate ways, such as corporate shunning or bullying. Portes positing that social capital can hold negative ramifications for individuals and the greater community (example: the mafia and other criminal organizations) (Portes, 1998). Coleman (1988) confirmed the potential danger of social capital, writing, "a given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful for others" (p. 98). Both Lin and Portes' identification of the potentially exclusive and dangerous nature of social capital are fair. This study does not ignore the fact that some religious residential summer camps can promote worldviews which exclude or judge others who hold differing worldviews. However, the potential for religious residential summer camps to stimulate positive interactions with people outside of their networks is just as high. This potential for positive development is dependent upon the leadership of the specific religious summer camp.

Social capital developed within a religious residential summer camp network is

formed within a group of individuals holding similar values, beliefs, and opinions. It is important to acknowledge that the homogeneous nature of camp communities can be viewed as a potential danger and weakness of the summer camp network, particularly during the crucial developmental stage of adolescence (Smith, Faris, Denton, & Regnerus, 2003). The time of adolescence is a key leverage point for many religious organizations to solidify and affirm the religious beliefs held by many young people (Smith, Faris, Denton, & Regnerus, 2003; Penner et al., 2013). Young summer camp staff's experiences within a religious residential summer camp network could be used to solidify potentially harmful values toward individuals who exist outside of the homogenous network. This is beyond the breadth of this study to address. However, this potentially dangerous aspect of the summer camp network highlights the importance of bridging social capital to networks outside of the summer camp so that staff see and experience different values and worldviews. When individuals are also involved with external networks, they bring new insights and perspectives to their summer camp networks. This helps erode ungrounded judgements and misconceptions of other networks.

RELIGIOUS SOCIAL CAPITAL

Greeley (1997) states: "The 'story' of religiously linked relationships has a powerful impact not only on the story of religious generosity but on the story of secular generosity as well" (p. 593). Many religions are centred around caring for and improving the world (Sullivan, 2013). Social capital developed and formed in religious networks, with the presence of religious teaching or theology, functions and manifests itself differently than

social capital developed in non-religious organizations (Berkhof, 1996; Greeley, 1997; Becker & Dhyngra, 2001). Some scholars argue that the difference is because of the religious component and underlying methodologies, philosophies, morals, and values being shaped by religious beliefs. Norbert M. Samuelson (2005) writes: “The source of these beliefs is a reality external to what human reason on its own can grasp” (p. 269). Religions often emphasize connection to one or more deities, while highlighting the importance of caring for the world around them which has been created by said deity or deities (Sullivan, 2013). For example, the character of Jesus and his time on earth is central to all Christian doctrine. The gospel writers show that Jesus emphasized caring for and serving of others, as seen by his words in Matthew 5:5-7: “God blesses those who hunger and thirst for justice, for they will be satisfied. God blesses those who are merciful, for they will be shown mercy”. Christians therefore are taught that volunteering and serving are important aspects of a their religious values. Traditional Christian teaching believes that human beings are created in the likeness of God (Genesis 1:27) and, as such, must serve and care for one another (Berkhof, 1996). Islam also emphasize interpersonal care. Julien Ries describes Muslim communities as, “a temporal community concerning itself with each believer’s relationship with God and also with the relationships between believers on a moral, social, and political level” (p.279). This emphasis on caring for others encourages high levels of volunteerism because of the bridging of the social capital embedded within religious networks. Buddhism and religious traditions connected to Buddhism also hold very strong connections to morally justified behaviors that are intimately connected with serving and

caring for the communities around them (Harris, 2005). There are many examples from differing religions; however, this is beyond the scope of this study. Religious networks according to the above examples, maintain the importance of caring for others, which in turn encourages the bridging to the surrounding communities and networks resulting in increased civic engagement (volunteerism). This high value of caring for others, comes from the differing religious teaching and values which are held.

Putnam, along with other scholars, has identified religious organizations as strong sources of social capital within North American society (Becker & Dhyngra, 2001, p.317). Andrew Greeley (1997) states, “only the deliberately blind will continue to ignore religion as a source of social capital” (p. 593). Research identifies religious involvement as a strong source of volunteerism (Greeley, 1997). This is significant because volunteerism is an example of bridged social capital (Beyerlein and Hipp, 2005). As individuals volunteer within differing networks, it creates the potential for positive partnerships and dispersion of resources, which positively affects the surrounding communities of the individual's original network. The positive nature of bridging social capital is highlighted further by Schneider (2007), who writes: “Working together with others from different groups enhances social trust, which leads to more smoothly functioning democracy on all levels” (p. 580). As individuals move from their original religious network to other networks and offer their finances, skills, and time to the individuals in those networks, opportunity for higher levels of cooperation are formed. Jennifer Glanville and Elisa Bienestock (2009) assert that:

...the networks introduced at the beginning of each generation are characterized by dispersed ties. The results suggest networks can generate a high level of

cooperation even in communities that are not characterized by dense, tight-knit networks. In addition, social networks allow cooperation based on indirect reciprocity to be sustained even in large populations (p.1526).

Volunteering is an excellent practical action to measure the bridging of social capital and is intimately connected with the particular brand of social capital developed within religious networks. Religious residential summer camps like many religious networks struggle to encourage the individuals within the network to bridge to other networks, this can occur for a number of different reasons. This study identifies some inherent challenges within the religious summer camp network for bridging social capital.

COMPLEX NATURE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL EMBEDDED WITHIN RESIDENTIAL RELIGIOUS SUMMER CAMPS

Research has identified the positive benefits of summer camps on young adults and youth upon their return back to their home networks (Garst et al., 2009; Henderson & Bialeschki, 2008). However, very few studies exist who have identified concrete actions (increased volunteering, etc.) which can be attributed to the summer camp experience. It has been my experience that summer camp staff who participate in summer camp networks often work at camp for one to sixteen weeks, but do not demonstrate increased civic or religious behaviour in their home networks for the rest of the year. The benefits of the social capital developed is bonded to the camp network. This is because certain factors unique to summer camps encourage the bonding of social capital to the camp network rather than the bridging of social capital to home networks (Coradini, 2010; Lim & Putnam, 2010; Coleman, 1988; Beyerlein & Hipp, 2005; Yuen, Pedlar, & Mannell, 2005). These factors are the establishment of new norms, a deep sense of

belonging, and a wilderness location.(Putnam 2000; Christian, 2003). The duration of this chapter will identify inherent factors found within the summer camp networks which discourage the bridging of social capital from religious residential summer camps and instead encourage bonding.

As established in chapter one, the original intent of religious residential summer camps was to inspire young people to become civically and religiously engaged (Todd, 1971; Kett, 1977). Smith et al (2010) write:

The context [of summer camp], so different from the day-to-day classroom, often requires novel roles to be enacted and hidden skills to be displayed. Thus, the social “deck” can be radically shuffled and reshuffled as those who may lead in the classroom find their skills are less useful in the camp setting. Social alliances and hierarchies change in response to the demands of the environment and the activities taking place within it (p.138).

The norms developed within residential summer camps are unique to the network and the environment in which they were initially developed (Carpiano & Hystad, 2011).

Norms such as cleaning up after a meal, taking significant responsibility, or staying awake with a homesick camper, are unique to the summer camp network. Bud Williams (2012) writes: “The camp/temporary community setting can help free the person from the routine reinforced habits so that new habits can be established and hopefully become embedded in routines at home” (p.6). The new social norms and obligations, whether they are beliefs, morals, or behavior (Coleman, 1988; Smith, 2003) are left behind at the end of summer upon staffs’ return to their ‘home’ network. This act of leaving behind these norms causes conflict and tension within young camp staff as these norms are not held by their ‘home’ networks, creating a challenge for the summer camp staff to implement any new behaviors. This conclusion is also supported by Felice Yuen, Alison

Pedlar, and Roger Mannell (2005), who state:

Community norms (i.e., respect, sharing, consideration for others, and inclusion) were reinforced and maintained through the children's relationships. Thus in this context, social capital was based on the children's relationships as both a process and a product... Values associated with cooperation and mutual understanding of common goal (social capital as a process), which in turn lead to the formation and maintenance of relationships (social capital as outcome) (p.516).

These community norms of respect, sharing, consideration for others, and inclusion are all supported by Putnam's concept of social capital. As summer camp staff return to their home networks, the result is often that they forget or put away of the 'new' norms developed within the summer camp, and will wait until the next summer to 'take them out again'.

Staff at summer camp develop a strong bond with one another and a deep sense of belonging, both to the community and to the camp as an environment. This strong sense of belonging held by summer camp staff, while integral for the development of social capital, can encourage the network to bond the social capital developed (Stroop, 2011). This is because the individuals within the network simply like one another and do not want to bridge outside of the network of individuals. If individuals become satisfied and become overly comfortable with the relationships present within the religious summer camp network, they are less likely to disperse to other networks. Frank and Yasumoto (1998) boldly claim: "Individuals are most strongly influenced by members of their primary groups —people with whom they engage in frequent interactions" (p.643). The importance of connection within religious summer camps are formed around a common religious belief, shared values, relationship, which in turn is highly influential for the

holistic development of adolescents (Garst et al., 2011; Borden & Serido, 2009). Individuals spend significant time with each other, working, living, eating, praying, and crying together, which forms strong intimate relationships. These intimate relationships form dense networks, with strong relational ties between individuals. Dense networks are groups of individuals who are highly connected and have strong relationships with each other, everyone knows and often trusts each other therefore making it a dense network. Religious residential summer camps are dense networks. Through the experience of working and living together summer camp staff often become a very close community. The day to day struggle of working with kids, the long hours, and facing challenges together joins summer camp teams together. The struggle is that out of these dense ties, a type of social capital is formed which is more likely to be bonded (Putnam, 2000). Furthering this challenge is that social capital embedded within the summer camp environment is not only bonded to individuals, but also to the particular physical location of the summer camp itself.

Social capital developed at summer camps is bonded to the wilderness location where many residential summer camps are found, making the benefits of the social capital predominantly present within that specific location (Williams, 2012; Carpiano & Hystad, 2011; Smith et al., 2010; Kyle et al., 2014). In a study conducted in 2010 with an outdoor education class in New Zealand, Erin F. Smith, Gary Steel, and Bob Gidlow identify the temporary nature of camp experiences and the struggle to transition the experiences and skills developed within such a dense and specific network. Many summer camp staff are deeply attached to the physical locations. Whether it is their

favorite spot by the lake where they had a meaningful conversation, the field they led their first wide game, or by the campfire where they had a profound experience, the physical location and geography of residential summer camp locations hold significance for summer camp staff. However, the challenge of having such profound experiences in a specific place is that summer camp staff cannot take the lake, woods, or campfire back with them as they return to their home networks. These experiences help foster development of personal awareness and connection to others as well as a connection to a 'divine being' (Lawford et al., 2012; Trinitoli and Vaisey, 2009), yet, given their location, they are all temporal in nature. Summer camp staff struggle to translate the experiences and development occurring within these physical wilderness spaces to their mostly urban contexts and networks.

CONCLUSION

This study uses a definition of social capital formed by the work of Granovetter (1985), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993). They argue that when trust and obligation of norms (agreed upon action, mutual respect) exist within a network of individuals, the potential positive resource can be leveraged for societal cohesion, resulting in a more successful society (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2005; Farr, 2004). Within this chapter the theory of social capital was critiqued, and the influence of religious beliefs on social capital was identified (Lewis, Macgregor, & Putnam, 2013). Along with a general review of social capital two specific terms, bridging and bonding, were reviewed (Wuthnow, 2002; Aldrich & Meyer, 2015) and expounded on. The theory of social capital is the framework this study used to identify inherent factors that hinder the bridging of the

civic and religious development stimulated within religious residential summer camps. These complex factors were the development of new norms, sense of belonging, and wilderness location (Smith et al, 2010; Williams, 2012). These complex factors were present within the initial founding of summer camps, the religious and social climate of the modern camp has shifted. No longer can summer camp leaders assume that campers and staff are returning to a religious families which hold values of civic engagement. Identification of these complex factors helps to clarify the challenges facing summer camps and emphasizes the need for the implementation of the three theoretical program strategies (intentional teaching, internalization of beliefs, leveraging of senior staff relational ties). The next chapter will review the factors within religious residential summer camps that help stimulate the civic and religious development of young summer camp staff.

V. DEVELOPMENT WITHIN RELIGIOUS RESIDENTIAL SUMMER CAMPS

This chapter will review the processes and factors that encourage the development of civic and religious engagement. While the factors listed will not be exhaustive, they will help to prove the immense opportunity present within religious residential summer camps for the development of young people and further emphasize the importance of bridging social capital from summer camp networks to staff's home networks.

As identified on pages forty-eight to fifty, this development is often lost in transition as summer camp staff return to their home communities. Using the theory of social capital, three theoretical program strategies were identified (intentional teaching, internalization of beliefs, and leveraging of senior staff relational ties) to help bridge religious and civic development arising from programmes at summer camps.

We have seen that residential summer camps were originally designed to develop staff and campers religiously and civically. (Todd, 1971; Kett, 1977). Modern religious residential summer camps continue to respect those historical objectives. This religious and civic development occurs in part through outdoor education (Marsh, 2008; Hayashi & Ewert, 2006) and positive youth development (PYD) (Norton & Watt, 2014; Crocetti, Erentaite & Zukauskienė, 2013). The responsibility given to summer camp staff further increases religious and civic development in a way that outdoor education programs do not. Responsibilities such as dealing with homesick campers or being asked to lead a small group discussions, separates residential summer camps from many outdoor education programs (Ferrari & McNeely, 2007). There are many different ways summer camps develop their young staff, in this chapter I will identify three key areas: unique

environment, developmental religious community, and sense of belonging (Yust, 2006; Shabi & El Ansari, 1999; Inspiration, 2006). The civic development stimulated because of these factors is heightened within religious summer camps because of the connection between religious development and civic development (Garst et al., 2011; Christen & Dolan, 2011). Karla Henderson, Leslie Scheuler Whitaker, Deborah Bialeschki, Margery Scanlin, & Christopher Thurber (2007) state: “Summer camp programs offer fun, safe, outdoor experiences that can be the catalyst for growth and development” (p. 989). Similar components of religious residential summer camps are also present within the experience of outdoor education. Through the critique of outdoor education and positive youth development, a clarity will be given to the vast developmental potential within religious residential summer camps.

OUTDOOR EDUCATION AND POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Outdoor education is an important program tool for the modern educators, because it offers a more holistic development of young people. Goodman, and Jelmsberg (2008) write, “as society continues to advance technologically and scientifically, traditional outdoor approaches to learning become even more meaningful and relevant...Outdoor education teachers can create lessons that inspire student achievement in their own locales-urban or rural” (p.3). The influential philosopher and inspirational educator Paulo Reglus Neves Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, states that the basic objective of education is the development of the whole person—body, mind, spirit (Gadotti & Torres, 2009). John Dewey voiced this sentiment (1915) earlier when he wrote, “education is not something to be forced upon children and youth from within,

but is the growth of capacities with which human beings are endowed at birth” (p. 2). Dewey’s emphasis on the “growth of capacities” highlights the development of the ‘whole’ student (Furman & Sibthorp, 2014) and runs counter to the narrow ‘get the right answer’ development of students in academic settings. The development of children’s social (working with others) and emotional well being (ability to receive criticism), goes beyond individuals academic learning (math and proper grammar).

Using the work of Freire and Dewey to draw support for their methods (Jelmsberg et al., 2008), outdoor educators argue that giving young people time outdoors is an effective way to develop them holistically (Ed. McRae, 1990; Garst et al., 2001). Outdoor educational programs such as Outward Bound, National Outdoor Leadership School, and Wilderness Education Association focus largely on outcomes related to personal growth, with participants often reporting significant emotional, spiritual, and transcendent experiences as a result of spending time in nature (Hattie, Marsh, Neill, & Richards, 1997; Furman & Sibthorp, 2014; Marsh, 2008; Hayashi & Ewert, 2006). Outdoor education programs and religious residential summer camps challenge students and campers beyond the boundaries of a particular school subject. The approach used by outdoor educators underscores an encounter with the natural world (Louv, 2008) in order to help develop not only an intellectual understanding of nature, but also interpersonal skills (team building) and personal development (Louv, 2008). Participants in outdoor education programs enjoy hands-on experiences such as rock wall climbing, wilderness hiking, and canoeing, which help develop courage, teamwork, curiosity, and trust. There are many benefits of engaging in these activities such as increased emotional

capacity, leadership development, ecological awareness, and the ability to inspire civic engagement (Hayashi & Ewert, 2006, Norton and Watt, 2014). Outdoor education's potential for the develop civic engagement is confirmed further with the framework of positive youth development (PYD) (Passarelli, Hall, & Anderson, 2010; Thurber et al., 2007).

The positive youth development (PYD) perspective has emerged over the past twenty years (Crocetti, Erentaite & Zukauskiene, 2013) and focuses on promoting the physical, intellectual, psychological, and social well-being of youth (Norton & Watt, 2014; Crocetti, Erentaite & Zukauskiene, 2013). Norton and Watt (2014) clarify that “PYD expanded the traditional prevention framework to include longitudinal research that identified multiple and interrelated predictors of youth problem behavior, as well as protective factors that contribute to healthy youth behavior and development” (p.336). PYD is meant to be a framework assessing and predicting the development of young people and helping to establish guidelines for key developmental outcomes. Current studies affirm that PYD occurs in outdoor and adventure programs such as residential summer camps (Passarelli, Hall, & Anderson, 2010; Thurber et al., 2007; Whittington & Mack, 2010). Christine Norton and Toni Watt (2014) state:

Research recommends following best practices that support the development of social skills, awareness, and coping and allow for participant reflection on successes and growth. All of these aspects of wilderness-based programs create opportunities as an authentic context in which relationships can develop between youth and non-familial adults, such as mentors, as well as promote PYD (p.340).

The connection of wilderness-based programs and PYD further strengthens the positive benefits of outdoor education (Amnå, 2012; Ginwright & James, 2003; Henderson et al.,

2007; Furman & Sibthorp, 2014; Schusler & Krasney, 2010). The positive youth development that occurs in outdoor education is multiplied in the context of residential summer camps.

RESIDENTIAL SUMMER CAMPS

Studies confirm that summer camp involvement benefits campers and staff in many ways similar and yet exceed that of an outdoor education experience (American Camp Association, 2005, Ferrari & McNeely, 2007; Thurber et al., 2007; Henderson & Bialeschki, 2008). Tove Dahl, Lisa Sethre-Hofstad, and Gavriel Salomon (2013) investigated the educational design of programs and experiences at summer camps and found that “the activities were experienced as varied and playful, and participant stories indicated that ample opportunities were offered to engage, engross and totally immerse young people in experiences that enabled them to safely simulate new ways of being in very personally involving and educational ways” (p.109). The typical activities and programs offered at summer camps, such as horseback riding, canoeing, and leading cooperative games, offer opportunities to increase personal skills, experience self-efficacy, promote self-discovery, and provide individuals with a sense of accomplishment (Thurber, 2007; Henderson et al., 2006). Outdoor educators as well as many summer camp leaders hold philosophies, that through the use of the outdoors (Henderson & Bialeschki, 2008) and the debriefing of activities outdoor education will develop participants holistically instead of simply teaching a hard skill. One significant difference between religious residential summer camps and outdoor education programs is the religious emphasis.

RELIGIOUS RESIDENTIAL SUMMER CAMPS

Marci C. Ferris (2012) writes that campers and staff attending a particular Jewish camp are intended to be the “future Jewish community leaders committed to philanthropy and building American Jewish life” (p.68). Religious summer camps incorporate the principles of PYD offering an unique and important avenue for religious and civic development in the individual adolescent. The importance of summer camps cannot be understated. The Canadian Camping Association represents over 800 camps across Canada (www.ccamping.org). Christian Camping International - Canada has over 200 affiliated camps and claims to have 125,000 campers attending their affiliated camps (www.cci-canada.ca). These numbers do not include religious residential summer camps who choose not to undergo the accreditation process offered by larger governing organizations. Henderson and Bialeschki (2008) write, “camp experience based on positive youth development goals offers youth a path to spiritual development” (p.108). An emphasis on PYD in a setting such as a religious residential summer camp that values religious worldviews (and offers a safe place for youth to question and embrace their religion) enables personal growth. As young camp leaders learn more about their personal religious beliefs, they become more comfortable and confident in their identity as a whole. This allows them to become more self-assured and motivated to pursue their hopes and to exercise their skills and gifts. This is very clear in the life of one of my staff from this past summer: As his beliefs became clearer, he felt more self-confident and aware and was willing to step into leadership positions in university club as a result. One unique factor found within residential summer camps additional to the religious

influence, which further separates summer camp staff development from a general outdoor educational experience is the factor of the responsibility held by summer camp staff.

SUMMER CAMP STAFF

Although both campers and staff benefit from the outdoor education experience of residential summer camps, the benefits are greater in summer camp staff. Young camp staff (seventeen to twenty years old) often hold many forms of responsibility such as being answerable for the bedtime routine of six to eight campers, leading a trail ride, or supervising archery. This responsibility causes more development in youth than does participation in a program. Borden and Serido (2009) write that it is “this interactive process [which] challenges the thinking and perceptions of young people, often leading them to more active participation” (p. 425). This interactive process occurs hourly in the lives of summer camp staff, who are largely responsible for running program and managing the cabins or room groups where campers live while at camp. The experience of these summer camp staff is significantly different from that of campers or participants in outdoor education programs because of this increased responsibility. Religious residential summer camps offer their staff "novel, challenging, and engaging experiences" (Garst et al., 2011, p. 74). These experiences increase civic engagement particularly when combined with religious teaching (Thurber et al., 2007). There are many factors within religious residential summer camps that help promote civic engagement, one as previously mentioned is the religious emphasis teaching and beliefs.

CONNECTION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

As demonstrated in chapter two, the connection between civic and religious engagement was historically well-established in Canadian culture, thanks to the ‘shadow establishment’ as well as the social gospel movement (Allen, 2008; Fraser, 1988). In many modern scholarly articles and research conducted on adolescent development, religion has been identified as an important aspect of PYD (Tirri & Quinn, 2010; Triniapoli & Vaisey, 2009). Pamela King (2003) explains, “[Adolescence is] marked by yearnings and behaviors that bond them to or locate them within something beyond themselves and simultaneously affirm their sense of uniqueness and independence. At its best, religion offers both” (p.198). Summer camps still develop young people civically and religiously. This often occurs through relationships and connection within a religious network. Mark Regnerus, Christian Smith, and Brad Smith (2003) write that: “Religion is a... social phenomenon and is typically practiced in relation to, as well as often in the company of, other persons” (p.27). The religious value of serving others as reviewed on page 46-47 as well as the inherent purpose of summer camp staff to serve and care for the campers and other summer camp staff help develop mindfulness of others within summer camp staff. Whether it is the network norm of volunteering to help regardless of how tired one is, or the encouraged behavior of putting the campers enjoyment ahead of your own, religious summer camps encourage religious and civic behavior. This is in part because adolescents become strongly attached to members of the religious summer camp community who themselves demonstrate such values and behavior, they will likely adopt similar beliefs and purposes (Borden & Serido, 2009; Ozark, 1989). The transference of civic mindedness and other values is also a strong

source of volunteerism within youth. Summer camps offer similar relational ties (developmental community, sense of belonging) to that of any religious network, which can result in the transference of values held by the larger network (Penner et al., 2012).

Christian Smith (2003) states the importance of this:

American religious congregations can provide relatively dense networks of relational ties within which youth are embedded, involving people who pay attention to the lives of youth, and who can provide oversight of and information about youth to their parents and other people well positioned to discourage negative and encourage positive life practice (p.259).

The encouraged 'life practices' found at summer camp often manifest themselves in volunteerism, serving, and increased religious engagement (Garst et al., 2011; Borden & Serido, 2009; Desmond et al., 2010; Regnerus et al., 2003). The importance of this religious engagement is further clarified by Sam Hardy et al. (2011):

Religions intentionally provide systems of ideological beliefs that can help youth find meaning in life, make sense of adversity, and orient themselves in the moral domain. Second, religion functions as a social context for identity formation. Seeing others living religious ideologies, and experimenting with these ideologies themselves, helps youth experience and critically reflect on the value of such ideologies, thus aiding their integration into the youth's emerging identities (p.126).

Religious summer camp networks are religious networks, where young people are forming their identities. The values both good and bad of the summer camp network become part of the ideals of the young summer camp staff. Therefore, if summer camp network emphasise serving and volunteerism, this will develop within their young staff. The connection between religious involvement and civic engagement has shifted since the original creation of summer camps. Nonetheless, this connection is supported by many modern scholars (Flanagan, Kim, Collura, & Kopish, 2014; Hill and Den Dulk,

2013). Religious residential summer camps continue to be unique programs to stimulate religious and civic engagement in youth. This study will now examine more closely a few factors that make religious residential camps ideal spaces to nurture religious and civic development. Various scholars highlight three factors: unique environment, developmental religious community, and sense of belonging as strong sources of development among young camp staff (Yust, 2006; Shabi & El Ansari, 1999; Inspiration, 2006).

WILDERNESS LOCATION - UNIQUE ENVIRONMENT OF RELIGIOUS SUMMER CAMPS

The spiritual and religious impact of the wilderness is immense. Religious summer camps therefore offer a distinct experience for young camp staff. The unique location of summer camps offer a greater understanding of the physical grandeur of the natural world, encouraging awareness of the world around them. According to Henderson and Bialeschki (2008): “With the important role that nature plays in individuals’ understanding of spirituality, the camp experience may provide many youth with a context for spiritual development unavailable to them in other settings” (p.109). As such, the location of summer camps offers staff a way to step away from the busyness and pressures of their home communities and to enter into a physical location removed from many of the distractions that are present within urban centers. This removal to a unique location combined with the experiential nature of summer camp lends itself to the civic development of summer camp staff by giving them practical experiences outside of their normal environment. Garst et al. (2011) write that: “The

experiential nature of camp activities, combined with the elements of choice, personal interest, skill development, and risk taking, allows structured camp activities to promote positive youth development” (p. 76). By engaging in voluntary type activities (leading games, helping campers clean dishes, etc.) young camp staff are given the opportunity to take initiative and develop a better understanding of civic engagement (Thurber et al., 2007). The general civic development stimulated by hands on activities coupled with strong religious development inspired by the wilderness location of summer camps makes the physical location of religious residential summer camps significant.

The communal aspect of residential camps is also important. Henderson and Bialeschki (2008) write: “The camp context is unique because of the combination of the outdoor natural world and group living. (p.109). This experience of “group living” is another contributing factor in the development of civic and religious engagement.

DEVELOPMENTAL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

The core values of religious summer camps are oriented toward the development of young people as whole persons who embrace and exemplify a particular religious worldview (Paris, 2001; Henderson et al., 2007; Borden & Serido, 2009). As James Youniss et al. (2001), observes: “... Membership in the reputational groups known as crowds is viewed as a vehicle for adolescents’ identity development. The kinds of daily activities and the peers with whom one participates provide grounds for defining oneself through experience with other persons and social institutions” (p. 457). Religious summer camps provide campers and staff with particular peer groupings that reinforce the worldviews of the religious communities sponsoring the camps. Shabi and Ansari,

offer helpful insights (1999):

Camps contribute to creating a total Jewish community that participants might not experience at home. Camps do not only offer plurality but also solidarity—being with people who sang the same songs, chanted the same prayers and shared the same heritage has a potential to have a major impact on Jewish identity (p.56).

The intensity and intimacy of summer camp staff relationships with peers is forged out of common experiences and corporate goals. The relationships formed out of working and overcoming challenges together at religious summer camps are unique and so enjoyable that young people will commit to working for little money and sacrifice their summer of freedom to be involved (Yust, 2006). The community is shaped by summer camp leadership who can help emphasize the importance of service, religious belief, and care for the other. If these values are held by summer camp leadership, they will permeate the entire camp. Camp communities often become the core social group of summer camp staff, and translate to deep meaningful relationships year round.

Smith (2003) highlights the potential for positive influence on others:

These relationships are very likely to exist among people who share similar cultural moral orders, facilitating higher levels of agreement and cooperation in collective oversight and social control. We should expect all of this to create conditions of increased support for and supervision of youth, encouraging positive and discouraging negative behaviors among youth (p.260).

The negative reality of homogeneous networks is present within many summer camps, and is important to note. There may not be a *large* discrepancy between the differing worldviews within the religious summer camp network, which can lead to exclusion or judgement of differing values, the potential for differing values is possible. It is important to note that, although summer camps represent a largely homogeneous

community, individuals within the community may hold differing theological views or values (i.e. parents and staff choosing the camp for other than religious reasons) (Borden & Serido, 2009).

SENSE OF BELONGING

Many summer camp staff say that the reason why they return year after year to religious residential summer camps is simply ‘the people’. A sense of belonging and connectedness is formed in many summer camp staff teams because they live and work in such close proximity to one another while serving at camp (Garst et al., 2011; Borden & Serido, 2009). In a study done of Christian summer camps in Indiana, Karen Marie Yust (2006) identifies that beyond many of the program elements and fun activities, it was “a sense of social community, as the part of camp they appreciate most” (p. 182). As previously stated, the importance of personal relationship within the summer camp staff community is foundational for adopting worldviews held by others within the network. Paradoxically, when summer camp staff feel a sense of belonging they are more comfortable to express their own personal worldviews.

According to Shabi and El Ansari (1999) camp participants said that “...camp enabled them to ‘feel more open to express their views’ and that they ‘feel part of a community’, have a ‘sense of belonging’ and ‘pride in their religion’” (p. 61). Through the development of trust and a sense of belonging, summer camp staff are more apt to adopt values of the surrounding community and network, thereby stimulating social capital within the network (Wuthnow, 2007). Becker and Dhingra (2001) identified the role of trust in the formation of civic mindedness: “network ties may foster volunteering

through increasing trust and knowledge about specific voluntary organizations or through a sense of responsibility to the organizations for which one's friends volunteer" (p.316). Religious beliefs transfer between peers more easily when strong attachments are developed; "thus, when adolescents are attached to their peers, they gain more from religious interactions with their friends" (Desmond, Morgan, & Kikuchi, 2010). This transfer of religious beliefs is also identified by Regnerus, Smith, and Smith (2003). They say, "irreligious adolescents who happen to join a network of devout friends or attend a school with high levels of general religiousness may, according to our finding, be at higher "risk" of becoming more devout themselves" (p.35). The link between community, trust, and religious development is clear to see.

CONCLUSION

It is beyond the breadth of this paper to identify all the factors within religious residential summer camps which evoke the development of civic and religious development. However, this chapter contributes to the already established connection between the civic and religious development stimulated within summer camp networks. Summer camps continue to be strong sources of civic and religious development in youth; however, despite the clear evidence for the positive development within adolescence, the challenge of how to help bridge the positive benefits of summer camp participation remains. The impressive developmental nature of religious residential summer camps makes the need to understand how to bridge this development important. As was shown in this chapter, the connection of the theories and results of outdoor education (Hayashi & Ewert, 2006) and Positive Youth Development (PYD) (Thurber et

al., 2007; Garst et al., 2011) help underscore how residential summer camps are unique programs to help stimulate civic development in their young staff. The roles which camp staff play are unique to residential summer camps. They help inspire civic engagement (Shabi, 1999; Borden & Serido, 2009). This development of civic engagement, the purpose of which is historically inherent to religious residential summer camps (Wall, 2009), is stimulated by: developmental religious community, a sense of belonging, and the unique environment of camp (Yust, 2006; Shabi & El Ansari, 1999; Inspiration, 2006). Modern scholarship connects the development of religious engagement with civic engagement (Smith, 2003), further emphasizing the unique role which religious residential summer camps hold in the development of civically and religiously engaged youth (Venable & Joy, 1998; Regnerus & Smith & Smith, 2003).

Having laid the foundations for the important role religious residential summer camps play in religious and civic development and the ways in which the theory of social capital can highlight and explain these developments, the following chapter will identify the theoretical programs (intentional teaching, internalization of beliefs, and leveraging staff relational ties) to help bridge the social capital developed within religious summer camps.

VI. FINDINGS

Religious residential summer camps were created to help bolster and cement religious and civic development in young people. They were intended to combat the changing Canadian landscape (urbanization and perspective of adolescence) (Dirks, 2002; Paris, 2001), and help maintain the ‘ideal’ Canadian citizen (civically and religiously engaged) as understood by Christian leaders, some of whom were involved in the social gospel movement (Allen, 2006). The modern residential summer camp demonstrates similar developmental benefits for campers and staff (Benson & Roehlkepartain, 2008; Yust, 2006; Garst et al., 2011). Through examining the concepts of outdoor education (Marsh, 2008; Hayashi & Ewert, 2006) and Positive Youth Development (PYD) (Norton & Watt, 2014; Crocetti, Erentaite & Zukauskienė, 2013), I have identified the factors in religious residential summer camps that encourage development of civic and religious engagement (Smith, 2003). While many different factors encourage civic and religious development, the previous chapter specifically identified three inherent factors: the unique environment of camp, developmental religious community, and the sense of belonging staff experience (Yust, 2006; Shabi & El Ansari, 1999; Inspiration, 2006).

The challenge for summer camp staff is to bridge the positive development stimulated within the summer camp network back to their home networks (Thurber et al., 2007). In this chapter I will explore three program strategies: intentional teaching, internalization of beliefs, and leveraging of senior staff ties. I argue that these strategies will mitigate the challenges presented by the temporary nature of the influential religious

community and the unique environment of religious residential summer camps. The three theoretical program strategies will help facilitate the bridging of the social capital embedded within religious summer camp networks to external networks.

Bridging religious social capital is not inevitable, despite the high levels of social capital and strong theological emphasis on serving others found in many religious networks (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2006; Schneider, 2007). Residential religious summer camp networks are embedded with social capital, actions such as selflessness, increased service, and care for others (Putnam, 2000; Hanifan, 1916). However, staff struggle to bridge these actions from the summer camp network to their home networks. Religious residential summer camps are inherently more likely to bond the social capital created then bridge it.

Practical and tangible identifiers of whether social capital is being bridged from residential summer camps is the civic engagement and continued implementation of behaviors upon individuals' return to their home networks. Individuals will take the skills developed at summer camp and implement them within a different network. Examples of this are leading children's ministry in their local religious community or volunteering with after school programs in their local school.

The following program strategies (intentional teaching, internalization of beliefs, and leveraging of senior staff relational ties) will encourage the bridging of social capital and are, I argue, essential to properly leveraging the residential summer camps as networks which develop religiously and civically engaged young people (Zaff et al., 2008; Thurber et al., 2007, Hill & Dulk, 2013).

The three program strategies are obviously not the only possible strategies. However, I contend that they can play an important role in encouraging individuals to become active beyond the boundaries of the summer camp network. It is important to underscore that these three program strategies are based purely on theoretical research. More quantitative and qualitative research should be undertaken in order to confirm or deny the efficacy of these program strategies.

INTENTIONAL TEACHING

The first program strategy is intentional teaching and training implemented by full time summer camp staff. Such a strategy has been identified by many scholars as a catalyst for individuals to learn how to engage in volunteer activities (Lewis, Macgregor & Putnam, 2013; Beyerlein & Hipp, 2006). Throughout the summer, full-time summer camp staff already offer staff training or simply instruct staff. It is theorized that the religious ideas and values transmitted through language can highly motivate individuals' behaviors and beliefs (Einolf, 2011). Specifically within a religious context, people learn ideas and the value of helping others through the language of sermons, texts, and conversations. These ideas and values are then internalized and incorporated into their personal identity (Lewis, Macgregor & Putnam, 2013). In turn, they act on these ideas and values by helping others and use religious language to construct accounts of their behaviors (Einolf, 2011). Beyerlein and Hipp (2006) concur when they observe: "Congregations formally encourage civic action in communities when clergy and other religious leaders of congregations stress the importance of reaching out to those who are in need during sermons, homilies, teachings, or prayers" (p.99). Therefore it can be

argued that the messages given and actions taken by summer camp leaders will be a significant motivator for religious individuals in the same way that messages given by clergy motivate their congregations.

A very common example of a value or message which influences individuals is when camp leadership invite summer camp staff to consider why they want to work at a summer camp. Summer camp leadership often communicates that summer camp staff should put others before themselves and meet their camp's needs before their own. I reminded my summer camp staff of this, and it resulted in two staff members deciding not to date during the summer because they did not want to be distracted. The value of serving superseded summer camp staff desires and, helps staff begin to put personal success or pleasure aside for the benefit of campers and their fellow staff. The teaching and training administered at residential summer camps must therefore help individuals to personify the values and beliefs of the camp network not only within the summer camp environment, but beyond, and encourage summer camp staff to be curious about others (Hill and Den Dulk, 2013).

Summer camps are homogenous networks, which provide levels of comfort and safety. The mistrust of networks outside of the summer camp network—perhaps groups that are more heterogeneous-- can strongly influence an individual from a summer camp network to not engaging civically with the surrounding community. Wuthnow (2002) states: “Compared with bonding, bridging is perhaps more difficult to generate and sustain because it requires that people look beyond their immediate social circles and depends on institutions capable of nurturing cooperation among heterogeneous group”

(p. 670). Frank and Yasumoto (1998) reinforce the powerful pull of the homogeneous group bond: “He [the religiously involved individual] is likely constrained by the norm of solidarity applied to and through the friendships in which he is enmeshed—his trust is enforced by the other actors in the system in general and by his subgroup members in particular” (p.660). Therefore, if the individuals involved within a summer camp network do not desire to engage with or are fearful of their ‘home’ network or surrounding community, volunteerism will not occur.

Teaching must clearly communicate ways to understand the temporary nature of summer camp networks, what continual engagement looks like, and how to engage in different cultures/contexts. It must also encourage growth outside of said camp networks. Camp leadership should emphasize the development of their summer camp staff not only as ‘camp’ leaders, but as leaders in all areas of their lives. Camp leaders can help their camp staff understand how to engage civically by sharing examples of how to lead back in their home networks, such as staff continuing to care for other people the same way they care for their campers. Caring for people in the same way they care for campers will look different for staff because they will not be living with many of their friends, but they can show the compassion and respect to these friends that they showed their campers. Individuals are influenced by those with whom they spend the most time (Frank & Yasumoto, 1998), and the leaders of religious networks have significant influence on motivating individuals to engage civically or otherwise.

INTERNALIZATION OF BELIEFS

When young camp staff internalize personal beliefs, they are more likely act upon

these beliefs. It was only after I had a personal experience of leading young people, seeing that I was good at it, and personally engaging in my faith, that I decided to commit to full-time work with youth. This introduces the concept of internalizing religious beliefs and civic values (Park and Smith, 2000; Wuthnow, 1991) as the second strategy which will encourage bridging the social capital embedded within residential summer camp network. Individuals whose religious beliefs have been internalized will develop a deeper personal conviction about volunteerism. Summer camp programs encourage youth to explore their own interests, implement new ideas, and discover their unique talents and perspectives in a safe and open setting (Shabi & El Ansari, 1999; Yust, 2006). In his 2011 survey, Christopher J. Einolf found that “respondents who engaged in volunteering, religious giving, secular giving, and prosocial paid employment were more likely to report that their religious beliefs were very important to their sense of identity” (p.446). Whether it is giving young people opportunities to lead worship or to serve in a maintenance role, Borden and Serido (2009) highlight that “as they develop a strong personal identity, young people acquire the self-confidence to interact with others, to listen to differing opinions, and to express their own” (p. 425). This development and positive youth engagement is a promising strategy for strengthening community organization initiatives outside of the summer camp setting (Christen & Dolan, 2011).

Historically, scholars have attributed individuals’ civic engagement to the positive influence of *attending* typical religious networks. The internalization of personal beliefs goes beyond the simple attendance of a religious network. While attendance is important

internalization of personal beliefs goes beyond simply attending religious networks such as residential summer camps. Wuthnow (1991) found that regular church attendees who reported that they often felt the influence of divine love were more likely to participate in volunteer work. Churchgoers who could recount the story of the Good Samaritan, and churchgoers who stated that their religious beliefs made them more kind and caring, were also more likely to be involved in charitable activities (p.123). People who had concrete experiences of change because they internalized their religious beliefs volunteered more.

Likewise, I had grown up in a religious family, but all the teaching and messages finally made sense during my second summer at camp. The internalization of my beliefs was influenced by many factors, but I believe it was encouraged by personal reflection and accountability with my supervisor. As discussed previously, the developmental age of summer camp staff is important. Professors Jenny Trinitapoli and Stephen Vaisey (2009) state: “Adolescence is regarded as the period of life in which identities are both produced and stabilized” (p.122). Many summer camp staff have been raised in their respective religious background, and it is during the time of adolescence that they are establishing their own beliefs as opposed to simply their families’. Religious residential summer camps can be a place to help with this process.

Individuals who are involved with any religious organization, who experienced a personal interaction with the Divine, and who can articulate religious beliefs are more likely to engage civically (Lim & Putnam, 2010; Lawford et al., 2012). This holds true within religious residential summer camp networks. Summer camp leadership can

encourage the internalization of beliefs through making space within the summer camp program schedule for personal time (praying, journaling, reflection), as well as investing in summer camp staff on a more individual level (spiritual guidance, mentorship). Encouraging personal encounters with the Divine as well as emphasizing social engagement will encourage the internalization of beliefs (Einolf, 2011; Wolf et al., 2012) and values which promote volunteerism (Hill & Den Dulk, 2013; Aldrich & Meyer, 2014). The emphasis on internalization “affords adolescents opportunities to explore their identities as members of the public and to enrich their connections to fellow members of the public with a stake in improving their communities” (Flanagan, Kim, Collura, & Kopish, 2014). Through the internalization of beliefs which emphasize social engagement and volunteerism, this will encourage the bridging of social capital beyond the summer camp network (Droege & Ferrari, 2012).

LEVERAGING SENIOR STAFF RELATIONAL TIES

Once again, social ties (Granovetter, 1973) are important in the formation of social capital and can influence whether it is bonded or bridged to surrounding communities. Beyerlein and Hipp (2005) state: “Ties comprising bonding social capital tend to be stronger in nature, while ties comprising bridging social capital tend to be weaker in nature” (p. 997). As mentioned above, young camp staff’s internalization of personal beliefs and the intentional emphasis of teaching are important strategies to inspire volunteerism. Leveraging trusting, meaningful relationships in religious networks is an excellent strategy to motivate staff’s civic engagement. To help bridge the embedded social capital formed within residential summer camps, senior camp leadership must act

as a liaison of the civic and religious development from the summer camp network to young camp staffs' home networks. While religious teaching and the internalization of the religious values present within religious summer camps are important, it is also important to leverage the influence of individual actors upon each other. Becker and Dhingra (2001) support this: "Social network, rather than beliefs, dominate the mechanism leading to volunteering" (p.329). Therefore, while the internalization of belief is important, the nurturing of communal ties is integral to the process of encouraging bridging.

Leveraging the highly influential nature of cross-generational relationships (Bialeschki et al., 2007; Penner et al., 2012) is foundational for this program strategy. Meaningful relationships between younger staff and civically inclined older staff will either create an interest or encourage an already-existing civic interest in younger staff (Christen & Dolan, 2011; Borden, 2009). Young summer camp staff look at the behaviors and values of older staff and begin to form their identities. The development of civic mindedness and religiosity in the young staff is based on the impressing of values from the older generation upon the younger (Ozark, 1989).

If staff are not civically minded upon entering the summer camp network, they will form meaningful relationships with individuals who are civically engaged. It is almost inevitable that this civic desire will 'rub off' on the less civically engaged individual (Borden & Serido, 2009). Lichtenman (2006) confirms this, saying: "Social capital works to the good of the larger community because within relationships that constitute social capital, people come to widen their 'awareness of the many ways in which our

fates are linked,' and they develop a broader conception of politics and democracy than merely the advocacy of narrow interests" (p.536). As meaningful relationships are formed within the residential summer camp network, civic relationships can be formed. As these relationships will help increase the social awareness of individuals influencing them to become more involved within surrounding networks (Lichterman, 2006).

These relationships, however, must not simply be used to inspire civic and religious development; they must also be intentionally used to help bridge the newly developed civic and religious development to networks outside of the summer camp. In a 2014 study, researchers Youngmin Oh, In Won Lee, and Carrie Blanchard Bush observe the benefits of sharing social capital from organization and/or governments to judicial or corporate entities. They highlight the potential for 'internal-structural social capital':

Informal and formal networks within communities connect residents... Local actors interact with other partners in religious or civic groups, voluntary or professional associations, and policy and service contract networks... Partnering with private or nonprofit organizations became a new paradigm for better public service delivery and policy outcomes (p.233).

Through the 'strong' ties of senior staff creating informal or formal connections, young staffs' chances of bridging to these networks are increased, and they can enter into new networks with more ease (McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Becker & Dhingra, 2001). Using Granovetter's (1973) concept of 'weak' and 'strong' ties, senior camp staff must help create 'ties' to religious and civic organizations back in the 'home' networks of young camp staff (Granovetter, 1973). An example would be a senior camp staff helping connect a young summer camp staff who loves biking to a drop-in center with an after-school bike program. This will allow the investment of social capital from

residential summer camp networks into external networks because the senior staff help the younger staff continue to engage civically using skills they developed at camp. The older staff should physically go with the younger staff to help make the connection. Once the connection is established, the young person will feel comfortable and safe to stay without the older staff. Researchers Flanagan et al. (2014) affirm the positive aspects of youths continual civic engagement: "...because it affords adolescents opportunities to explore their identities as members of the public and to enrich their connections to fellow members of the public with a stake in improving their communities" (p.295). The intentional action of senior staff connecting young camp staff is the important program strategy which will encourage bridging. Once again, Oh et al. (2014) confirm this, stating:

Local actors interact with other partners external to their community and seek broader strategic options and resources. Repetitive interactions increase the external trust with actors who are outside of a community's jurisdiction and shape common norms and values across communities (p.232).

As previously stated, the importance and potential impact of the intentional leveraging of senior staff relational ties cannot be overstated.

CONCLUSION

The intention of this study is to identify program strategies which will encourage the bridging of the social capital created in religious residential summer camps. It has always been important for residential religious summer camps to develop intentional strategies to bridge social capital (Eells, 1986). Summer camp directors would be doing a disservice to themselves and the greater community by not taking the necessary steps

to help this process. Coleman (1988) clearly articulates the importance of bridging social capital:

When a norm exists and is effective, it constitutes a powerful, though sometime fragile, form of social capital... A prescriptive norm within a collectivity that constitutes an especially important form of social capital is the norm that one should forgo self-interest and act in the interest of the collectivity (p.104).

Residential summer camps are networks which are uniquely designed to help develop young people religiously as well as civically (Benson & Roehlkepartain, 2008; Youniss et al., 2002). The theoretical program strategies that I have identified are leadership focussing on intentional teaching, helping staff internalize their personal beliefs, and leadership leveraging relational ties with their summer staff to connect them to home networks. These strategies will encourage the bridging of social capital embedded in religious summer camps. In a 2013 study, Jonathan Hill and Kevin Den Dulk identify that:

These networks matter because (1) they often persist beyond adolescence, and (2) they have the potential to reinforce a positive orientation toward civic voluntarism. Finally, schools and religious organizations in adolescence can be expected to influence young adult volunteering by filtering young people into other institutions, such as colleges, churches, and political organizations, which open up additional opportunities to volunteer (p.182).

Like the school structure that Hill and Den Dulk studied, summer camps have the opportunity to help “filter” young people into continued civic and religious engagement.

VII. CONCLUSION

As we sit and look at the sun slowly sinking in the west in all its gorgeousness, our thoughts naturally turn toward the better things in life, and there is a wholesome introspection which leaps to decision, forever changing our lives. God does seem real to us, we feel his presence, and in the coming years the realness of the creator will become even more apparent as we think a back upon the Sundays spent in this outdoor Cathedral (Van Slyck, 2006, p. 57).

Wall (2009) makes a strong statement when she asserts: “The summer camp should best be read not as a simple rejection of modern life, but rather, as one of complex negotiations of modernity taking place in the mid-twentieth century Canada. If camp was an escape it was never more than a temporal one” (p.15). This hold similar sentiments to the initial question that provoked this paper is, which was: Do summer camps still function as environments that inspire and move youth to make religious commitments and become actively involved in their community upon their return from their summer experience? The purpose of this study was to use the theory of social capital to identify program strategies (intentional teaching, internalization of beliefs, leveraging senior staff relational ties), which would encourage the bridging of religious and civic development which is stimulated through participation in summer camp staff. The focus of a large body of research regarding religious residential summer camps identifies the positive impacts for participants (campers) (Bialeschki et al., 2007; Garst et al., 2011); few studies exist on the development of summer camp staff, and even fewer focus on the effects of summer camp year round. This study contributes to filling those gaps by focusing on how to encourage young camp staff (ages seventeen to twenty) to bridge their development in the summer camp network to external ‘home’

networks.

REVIEW OF PROBLEM

The historical emphasis of many religious residential summer camps is the civic and religious development of young people (Wall, 2010). However, Smith et al. (2010) state that:

The community formed in the residential camp can be regarded as an impermanent one. There may be long-lasting alterations in the regular school setting—perhaps even profound ones—but the community-at-school is unlikely to be the same as the community-at-camp. Hence, unless and until research establishes otherwise, we might consider the residential camp to be a temporary community (p.138).

Religious residential summer camps have the capacity to be significant sources of civically and religiously involved youth. This is important because of long-term implications of volunteerism in adulthood, Hill and Den Dulk (2013) write that:

“Participation in a religious community persists from adolescence to adulthood as a predictor of volunteering and other forms of engagement” (p.181). The challenge is to bridge social capital from the summer camp network to home networks as opposed to bonding it to the temporary network and location of religious residential summer camps (Park & Smith, 2000; Schneider, 2006).

Aldrich and Meyer (2014) state:

Given that social capital, like other forms of capital, can be generated or degraded, our focus as individuals and as a nation should turn toward enhancing our social cohesion and deepening trust in our communities. With the potential for bonding social capital to reinforce patterns of discrimination, though, decision makers should invest in programs that build bridges across groups in communities and up to those in authority (p.264).

The negative aspects of bonding social capital are well documented (Aldrich & Meyer,

2014), but, counterintuitively, bonding social capital can also be foundational for bridging social capital. Sociologists McAdam and Paulsen (1993) write: “Strong or dense interpersonal networks encourage the extension of an invitation to participate and they ease the uncertainty of mobilization” (p.624). Dense networks often cause individuals to bond their social capital. Summer camp networks, which are highly dense (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2006), must help their young camp staff to help bridge the social capital instead of simply bonding it. Zaff et al. (2008) state clearly:

Adolescents can and do have the capacity to affect their communities positively. They act to make their homes, communities, schools, and society a better place by volunteering in community or political organizations, being environmentally active, and engaging in informal prosocial activities (p.39).

The struggle of full-time camp leadership to help bridge this development is a problem under researched and yet very pertinent to all summer camps (Thurber et al., 2007; Yust, 2006). Young camp staff experience supportive and caring communities (Yust, 2006; Shabi & El Ansari, 1999; Inspiration, 2006) and a sense of empowerment (Lawford et al., 2012; Borden & Serido, 2009), which they may not receive back in their home networks. The strength of summer camps is their unique environment and influential religious community. These two elements are ironically hindrances for bridging of the development stimulated at summer camp (Smith et al., 2010; Yuen, Pedlar, & Mannell, 2005).

THEORY AND METHOD

In order to address the above challenges found within summer camps, the theory of social capital was employed to help create a theoretical framework in which to form a

solution. Social capital, as defined by Robert Putnam, states that the three key influences for the development of social capital is that a of network of individuals, trust/relationships, and norms of obligation (Lichterman, 2006; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 1993). Putnam's emphasis on the potential positive aspects of social capital, was a strong influence on the definition of social capital used within this paper. The definition of social capital that was the foundation of the theoretical framework for this paper is: Religious social capital is the embedded resource between individuals who are connected within a religious network which can be used to contribute in meaningful ways (volunteerism) to the greater society (Lichterman, 2006; Beyerlien & Hipp, 2005; Putnam, 2000). Though the concept of social capital is critiqued and differs between scholars (Lin, 2001; Portes, 1998; Coleman, 1988), I identified potential programs strategies which will encourage the bridging of social capital. Bridged social capital will manifest itself as volunteerism as well as ongoing behaviors that align with the religious teaching from summer camp (Schneider, 2007). The act of volunteering and religious involvement was the litmus test of individuals active bridging of the religious and civic development stimulated at camp.

Civic and religious development of young people within religious residential summer camps is grounded in the historical purpose and religious influence of residential camping (Van Die, 2001). In eighteenth-century Canada, a good citizen would be involved both religiously and civically (Moir, 2002). Around the turn of the nineteenth century, during the urbanization and industrialization of Canada, the religious landscape of Canada also changed. In response to the changed religious landscape (Silcox, 1921;

Wall, 2005), the development of the urban center (Fasick, 1994; Kett, 1977), the shift in perspective of the adolescent (Savage, 2008; Root, 2007), and the influence of the social gospel movement (Christie & Gauvreau, 2010; Allen, 2008) summer camps were formed. Van Slyck supports this, and writes (2006): “Despite their differences, camps were overtly anti-modernist, self-consciously celebrating the past in a search for authenticity that ultimately prepared individuals to function more effectively in the bureaucratic structures of the modern world” (p. xxv). Religious residential summer camps’ original intent was to develop young people religiously and civically to once again be good “Christian citizens” (Todd, 1971; Kett, 1977).

Summer camps offer a specific environment and excellent programming for the religious and civic development of young people (Yust, 2006; Shabi & Ansari, 1999). This was established by drawing the connection between outdoor education (Garst et al., 2001; Furman & Sibthorp, 2014), positive youth development (PYD) (Norton & Watt, 2014; Crocetti, Erentaite & Zukauskiene, 2013), and the influence of religiosity on civic development (Henderson et al., 2007; Borden & Serido, 2009). The religious and civic development occurring within summer camps can be attributed to multiple factors and stimulants; however, this paper identified the inherent factors of the unique camp environment, the presence of a developmental religious community, and the strong sense of belonging experienced by staff (Yust, 2006; Shabi & El Ansari, 1999; Inspiration, 2006). Summer camps offer an unique opportunity to send religiously and civically engaged youth back to their “home” communities (Frank and Yasumoto, 1998; Borden & Serido, 2009, p. 430; Ozark, 1989, p.449).

Through systematic research, first identifying the historical purpose of residential summer camps (Dirks, 2002), critiquing and evaluating the theory of social capital (Putnam, 2000; Lin, 2001; Portes, 1998), and finally establishing the high potential for development of religious and civic engagement through the use of outdoor education, PYD, and religious influence (Marsh, 2008; Hayashi & Ewert, 2006; Ferrari & McNeely, 2007; Regnerus et al., 2003;), program strategies which encourage the bridging of the social capital embedded within summer camp communities were identified. A significant amount of research has identified the benefits of religious residential summer camps (Yust, 2006; Shabi & El Ansari, 1999; Inspiration, 2006). This paper agreeing and supporting the benefits of summer camp, focused on the historical intent of summer camps, and critiqued the modern summer camps ability to launch civically and religious minded summer camp staff. In using the theory of social capital program strategies were identified to help overcome this challenge (Glandville & Bienenstock, 2009; Lewis, MacGregor, and Putnam, 2013; Thurber et al., 2007; Garst et al., 2011).

FINDINGS

Three theoretical program elements have been identified which will encourage the bridging of social capital from summer camp networks to external networks: intentional teaching (Einolf, 2011; Lewis, Macgregor & Putnam, 2013), the emphasis on the internalization of personal beliefs (Park and Smith, 2000; Wuthnow, 1991), and finally leveraging senior staff relational ties (Glanville & Bienenstock, 2009; Christen & Dolan, 2011). Through specific teaching regarding the importance of civic engagement, the

temporal nature of summer camp, and the religious value of service in all contexts, camp staff will be more inclined to bridge embedded social capital to external networks outside of the camp network (Wuthnow, 2002). Religious beliefs have significant influence upon individuals' civic awareness and engagement (Beyerlein and Hipp, 2005). Religious values and morals are present within religious residential summer camps, and encouraging the internalization of these religious values will help in the longevity and bridging of these beliefs upon staff's return home. Teaching can be done through intentional times of reflection, small group conversations, and mentoring relationships. The final program strategy discovered is senior camp staff developing and leveraging their weak relational ties to different networks outside of the summer camp network in order to connect younger staff to these networks, to encourage their continued civic and religious engagement (Yuen, Pedlar, and Mannell, 2005; Putnam 2000; Christie and Gauvreau, 2010). Using Granovetter's 1973 theory of 'weak' and 'strong' ties, the transference of social capital between differing networks is more probable if an individual who is connected to multiple networks can help other individuals who are not (Oh et al., 2014).

The positive nature of bridging social capital is distinguished by the act of individuals engaging civically, Schneider (2007) writes: "Working together with others from different groups enhances social trust, which leads to more smoothly functioning democracy on all levels" (p. 580). As individuals move from their summer camp networks to other networks, and volunteer and engage with the individuals there, opportunities for higher levels of cooperation can be formed. Glanville and Bienestock

(2009) state:

“...the networks introduced at the beginning of each generation are characterized by dispersed ties, the results suggest networks can generate a high level of cooperation even in communities that are not characterized by dense, tight-knit networks. In addition, social networks allow cooperation based on indirect reciprocity to be sustained even in large populations” (p.1526).

Summer camps are dense networks, where the individuals involved commit civic actions throughout the summer months. Through the implementation of the above strategies, summer camps could networks which launch highly civic and religious individuals.

STUDY WEAKNESSES

There are several challenges faced in this study. One is the limited amount of previous research on the long-term and direct behavioral implications of participation of young staff in summer camp. The religious traditions of different summer camps will also influence whether bridging or bonding social capital is valued in each camp.

Religious scholars Bart Neyrinck, Maarten Vansteenkiste Willy Lens, Bart Duriez, Dirk

Hutsebaut (2006) write:

Religious practices can be motivated by very different reasons. For instance, religious activities can be driven by personally endorsed religious values (e.g., compassion, brotherly love, etc.), they can be instigated by threatening guilt feelings or they can be performed to meet external norms and demands (p.323).

Depending on the values of the summer camp, the bridging of social capital will be either promoted or discouraged (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2006). Other factors such as age, gender, and length of time spent at camp will also affect the amount of development which occurs (Inspirations, 2006). Family background, previous religious beliefs, and previous civic engagement are also likely to influence the bridging of social capital.

There is significant need for further study in this area (Rose-Krasnor, 2008).

PLACE OF STUDY IN EXISTING RESEARCH & CONCLUSION

Camp experiences have been and will continue to be promising ways to nurture spiritual development and civic engagement (Henderson & Bialeschki, 2008). This study, instead of identifying the developmental benefits of religious residential summer camps (Garst et al., 2011; Christen & Dolan, 2011), attempts to highlight the importance of the potential long-term benefits of summer camp involvement, and critique the current practices of helping camp staff transition back to their home communities. Gaining a solid understanding of religious residential summer camps enables this study to make useful contributions to a variety of non-academic audiences for whom the findings have relevance as well as for further academic research in the area of religious residential summer camps.

Lichterman (2006) notes that religious networks are “rich nodes” of social capital, and claims that it is important for secular or community organizations outside of religious networks to understand how to “corral” the capital present within the original religious network (p.261). It would be irresponsible of summer camp leadership not to identify and resolve the issue of the transition from the summer camp network to their home network (Rose-Krasnor, 2008; Thurber et al., 2007). The research in this study helps form a particular type of social capital, which has been developed within a temporal religious network whose emphasis is adolescent development. More research is needed in order to understand how to best leverage this new brand of temporal religious social capital. The identification of program strategies which are able to bridge the social

capital from a temporary network to a 'home' network will be relevant to many other youth development experiences involving temporal networks (missions trips, youth conferences, etc.).

The research within this study is the foundation for a better understanding of how to not only develop youth in positive ways, but to help them exercise this development within their home networks and engage civically (Greeley, 1997; Einolf, 2011), beyond the initial experience. Researchers Droege and Ferrari (2012) write:

A favorable outcome of engaging students in civic activities is that their sense of civic duty may be increased by these experiences. Students who engaged in, for instance, service-learning (i.e., academic courses combined with services designed to benefit a community) reported an increased desire to improve one's community and also improve society. Providing opportunities for faith-based expression and activities increases students' civic engagement, as well as benefits to society as a whole (p.146).

Residential summer camp leadership must understand this, and they must also understand that the purpose of religious residential summer camp community is to equip and launch campers and staff back into their home communities. This research is the beginning of the critique of youth events, and the beginning of determining how to best retain the positive developments stimulated through these temporal networks. This is the area where this study will offer insight to the already existing literature.

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