

Residential Rehabilitation As A

Rite of Passage

A Case Study

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the values, goals, methods and context of Camp Trapping, a wilderness-located residential rehabilitation program for teenage males in conflict with the law. The program is located on a small lake approximately thirty-five miles south of Prince George, British Columbia. The study is not an evaluation of the camp's effectiveness or an exploration into the problems or resolutions of juvenile delinquency. Instead it focuses on Camp Trapping's relationship to rites of passage, an anthropological concept used to describe and explain a range of techniques used by a multitude of cultures in their attempts to transform individuals from one state of social-psychological being to another.

A series of interviews and a search of Camp Trapping documents provided a clear example of how the Trapping organization presents itself to the community. A five week participant observation study provided insight into the way Camp Trapping is presented to its client group and into its daily operation. The information obtained from these sources was then compared to a body of anthropological theory concerning ritual and rites of passage. This comparison indicates that Camp Trapping and rites of passage share a number of aspects and that an anthropological exploration of social work practice provides valuable insights into the structures, purposes and value systems of social service programs.

The perspective I have used for this study is based primarily on a large body of theory created or expanded on by Victor W. Turner.

Turner has focused on ritual, myth and symbol in general while paying particular attention to rites of passage, a specialized ritual format. Perhaps his greatest contribution to anthropological theory is his work on the purposes and format of the mid or liminal stage of the three staged rites of passage. It is during this mid-stage of the rite that an experientially-based learning process attempts to induce the desired transformation.

Turner has also provided us with the phrase "rite of affliction", indicating a type of passage designed to take an individual from a culturally-defined state of ill-health to one of health. He provides evidence that indicates that types of individual ill-health can be associated with a marked degree of social tension and stress. Specific rites of affliction attempt to correct both the individuals and the society's ill health.

This study indicates that Camp Trapping shares goals, objectives, methods and format with these types of rites. Camp Trapping creates a specific type of social milieu, called a circular - repetitive society, that encourages individual rather than societal change as a response to social tensions and stress. This type of society is particularly conducive to the use of ritual for the redress of this tension and conflict.

Within this context, Camp Trapping uses a number of specific techniques to bond its participants to the desired value system and behavioural pattern. This study indicates that repetition,

paradox, the forced homo geniaity of participants, the methodical use of means to induce physical and emotional stress and the use of situationally-defined symbols are all in use at Camp Trapping. All these methods are associated with the liminal stage of an rite of passage. In a ritual context, they are used in an attempt to catalyze a transformation of world view, the revitalization of a person's perception of his or her own potential, and, as importantly, the positive reapraisal of the society's potential. Ultimately, it is hoped that the rite will create or strengthen a positive bond between the individual and the society. These rites also attempt to provide meaning to and reconfirm the validity of the individual and the society. This study also indicates that Camp Trapping could well be an example of a logical extension of the routinization of Protestantism, i.e. a secular faith.

Finally, this study provides a number of implications for social work, particularly in respect to rehabilitation programs. It provides a new perspective from which to examine the problems of institutionalization, values education and the reintegration of residential treatment residents into the parent community. It seriously questions our society's ability to rehabilitate certain of its members while the society itself continues to disassociate itself from the rehabilitation process and its aftermath. It also offers some tentative suggestions aimed at improving the rehabilitation process and suggests that organizations like Camp Trapping could well be used by social workers in an attempt to revitalize their own commitment to the aims and methods of the social service profession.

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INTRODUCTION

Camp Trapping is a wilderness-located residential rehabilitation program for teenage boys who have run afoul of the law. This study does not, however, concern itself with the problem of juvenile delinquency. The symptom of law breaking is incidental and of minor importance to the perspective presented here. Nor is this study an attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the Trapping program. Instead, Camp Trapping is examined as an example of some of the values and methods promoted and used in current rehabilitation practise. To rehabilitate, in a social work sense is to "...restore to a state of health, useful activity etc. through training therapy and guidance" (1), selected inter-and intra-personal dynamics. Camp Trapping's rehabilitative process and the values this process promotes are examined in the light of current theories derived from the anthropological study of religion. The concept of 'rites of passage' is the principle theoretical construct guiding this exploration. There are a number of reasons which lead me to choose this perspective.

First and most personally, I was an employee of Camp Trapping's for two years. During that time, I was struck by the superficial similarity between the Trapping program and the rites of passage concept. This superficial similarity between rites of passage therapy and numerous processes in Canadian society has been recognized by many. High school graduation, gang membership, marriage, college entrance and fraternity induction are just a few of the events we have been told are forms of such rites. When we

are told, for example, that high school graduation is a rite of passage, the association normally refers to the ritualized or standardized ceremonial process whereby the 'initiate' is recognized by some group as having left one status role and entered another. While this may well be an important aspect of rites of passage, it provides a rather obvious and uninformative comparison.

The concept of rites of passage has been studied in some depth by, among others, Victor W. Turner. It is Turner's more detailed examinations of these rites which will guide us through an indepth interpretation of the why's and wherefore's of these ritual sequences and their links to the society which creates them. This study indicates that Camp Trapping's rehabilitation process bears much more than a superficial resemblance to the intentions and processes of rites of passage.

A second reason for using rites of passage theory in this study lies in the connection between rites of passage and rehabilitation in general. Rehabilitation refers - for the purpose to this study - exclusively to our society's attempts to cure or correct 'malfunctions' in the social and psychological activities of some of its members. Rehabilitation at Camp Trapping is intended to prepare the student to assume a personal stance and behavioural pattern which allows him to function effectively within the guidelines set out by the parent community. It implies that the previous stance and behavioural pattern were inappropriate. Camp Trapping is thus designed to create a transformation within its students. Rites of passage are perhaps

one of the most ancient frameworks humankind has used in our attempts to perform and validate such transformations. We could, perhaps, consider it a prototype of the rehabilitation process. As such it provides us with an opportunity to touch the roots and core of Trapping's transformative aspects.

A rehabilitation program designed to transform an individual's situationally defined inappropriate behaviours and attitudes is a vehicle of social control. So too, according to Turner, is a rite of passage. Rites of passage is a process which apparently encourages and condones personal transformations that reinterpret individual need in a manner that reinforces social solidarity and continuity. The Turnerian model of rites of passage allows us to examine both the therapeutic and control aspects of a rehabilitation process that social workers often choose to see as solely therapeutic. It highlights the fact that therapy is conducted within a given social order. The rules and framework of which are accepted as given by those conducting the therapy or rehabilitation.

The 'client' or student at Camp Trapping can only be considered rehabilitated when he shows an acceptance of the rules and framework that the therapists take for granted. That the student may also feel better about himself may be a goal of equal importance to the therapists. Yet the Trapping graduate that feels better about himself while continuing to operate outside of, or in contradiction to, the rules and framework of society would never be considered as having been successfully rehabilitated.

Rites of passage theory outlines methods, objectives and goals that show us more clearly how these two aspects of rehabilitation - social control and the enhancement of personal well-being - are intertwined in an attempt to satisfy both individual and societal needs.

I have not attempted to pass judgement on the social control aspects of this form of social work, preferring instead to be content with clearly illustrating its existence. No one would deny that a society needs some means of insuring its solidarity and continuity if it is to survive. Whether or not social work and social workers should be a part of this 'means' is not a topic of this study. What this study does provide is a clear example of social service workers involved in a social control process.

Whether it be for the society or the individual, Camp Trapping attempts to shape the individual's perceptions and behaviours. Rites of passage theory takes us beyond the conventional explanations of how this is done. Some of the methods that Turner has outlined illustrate the importance of affect and role modelling in the therapeutic process. We are also shown how symbols, paradox, trauma and stress can be used as effective educational techniques, particularly in the area of values education. Rites of passage theory reformulates the purpose and effectiveness of repetition and association, two familiar aspects of operant and classical conditioning. It also reinforces the call for, and provides a new perspective on, the need for effective aftercare and for strong consistent links

between the rehabilitation program, the students, and the community at large.

Finally, rites of passage theory and the anthropological study of religion in general helps us to discover and examine the fundamental value system and world view at work at Camp Trapping. It allows us to place Camp Trapping in an historical context which helps to clarify its ideology and perspective. As we shall see, Camp Trapping appears to be one very good example of the secularization of the protestant tradition. This direct link with a moralistic salvation religion compels us to re-evaluate our stance as an applied social science. It appears that Camp Trapping, and by implication, perhaps numerous therapeutic rehabilitation programs (and perhaps social work in general) are in many respects secularized replacements for or extensions of our religious traditions and values.

This study provides another insight in respect to our societies value system and world view. Most people are socialized to accept and believe the perspective and ethics of their community. The socialization process provides them with a code of behaviour and reasons for complying with it. It enables them to choose a role in the society that will more or less satisfy both the individual's and the community's needs. Individuals are given a sense of meaning and relevance through the roles their society encourages them to play. If the socialization process is not blatantly coercive or tyrannical, the roles individuals choose must be played with conviction and faith if the society is to maintain itself. To do so, individuals

must successfully internalize their community's world view. Their life experiences must reinforce the 'correctness' of this world view. The community must provide periodic moments of reaffirmation of the world view which reinforce individuals' roles and reconfirm the potential for each individual's personal success in the community.

Individual's must feel and believe, if only for periodic moments, that all is well with themselves and their community, that who they are and what they can become are best served by their society, and that they and their society are in tune with or guided by a power or 'truth' that transcends and validates the mundane realities of existence. This study explores how one contemporary British Columbian rehabilitation resource for juvenile delinquents attempts to provide these feelings and beliefs.

Much of what follows is a form of ethnographic description. The information used to create this description was gathered from three main sources. Camp Trapping documents such as follow up studies (informal evaluations), staff manuals, and brochures were examined in an effort to obtain an idea of how the organization wished to present itself. Ten key informants were interviewed to obtain their perspectives on Camp Trapping's goals, values and methods. The informants were all connected with Camp Trapping in some capacity, eg: staff, director, founder, referring agent (user), and society board members. The information they provided was compiled to provide a picture of how the relevant actors in the Camp Trapping experience interpret and visualize the program. These two sources of information,

the key informants and the documents, have been combined to form a major descriptive section of this study which I have entitled "What Is Said".

The third and final means of information gathering was a participant observation field study. In the late spring of 1982 I lived at Camp Trapping for approximately five weeks. During this time I participated in the daily camp activities; working, playing, sleeping and eating with the residents. Much of my time was spent observing student and staff interaction. This documentation was supplemented with casual conversations and semi-formal interviews with both staff and students. Some of these interviews and most of the formal staff-student meetings were taped and later transcribed. I also read through the students' chart folders and the camp log or diary to obtain some inkling of the events and experiences this particular staff/student group had shared between February 1982 (intake) and the time of my arrival in May. The information from the participant observation phase of this study is presented in descriptive fashion in the section entitled "What Is Done".

This study's descriptive chapters are presented with minimal interpretation and analysis although the reader must be reminded that my own perspective and theoretical bias undoubtedly colour and shape the description. It is my hope however, that this description will allow the reader to immerse him or herself for a while in the lifestyle and perspective of Camp Trapping. I hope the reader may feel the texture of this unique and fascinating

community and formulate his or her own ideas and impressions of the community.

This study is exploratory-descriptive in scope and method. (2) The information is presented in a fashion which encourages the readers to arrive at their own conclusions. I have, however, provided a set of conclusions based on my interpretation of the camp and shaped by the theoretical perspective found in Chapter two.

My reasoning is deductive. I have started with a theoretical framework which provides a description of a general type of process. This description isolates a number of key variables, the presence of which implies the occurrence of a specific process. An hypothesis could be stated as follows: 'If a rites of passage form and techniques are in use at Camp Trapping then variables x,y,z, etc. will be present at Camp Trapping' The variables are outlined in some detail in Chapter two.

No firm conclusions can be drawn from this study. It is an initial exploration; a first attempt to apply some knowledge gathered and theories formulated by anthropologists to a specific social service program. Hopefully, the conclusions and implications I have drawn will stimulate others to pursue similar avenues of exploration. Hopefully the social service community may derive some inspiration from this study which could lead to improved rehabilitation design.

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CHAPTER ONE

CAMP TRAPPING - THE BEGINNING

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'It was my contribution to this world' - Bruce Hawkenson, Spring, 1982.

Those who have heard the stories of Bruce Hawkenson's various endeavours and impressive physical stamina would be surprised, perhaps with his unpretentious stature. His lean face and well-muscled neck are the only visible clues to his almost legendary vitality until he begins to speak. His voice is clear and resonant. Although not overly loud, his voice easily fills a room, compelling attention. When he begins to speak, an aura of self confidence and intense involvement with the task at hand begins to surround him.

Bruce Hawkenson is the founder of Camp Trapping. His life has been a rich complexity of struggle, ingenuity and experimentation. He is perhaps best described as an eccentric, rural entrepreneur. Hawkenson spent much of his childhood roaming the British Columbia interior with his mother and siblings. Hawkenson's mother was a teacher and although she always provided for his family there were few luxuries in their lives. Hawkenson learned from experience that one needed few amenities to both survive and enjoy life.

As a young man, Hawkenson was quite religious. He went to study for the ministry in a American Baptist College. He never entered the minisry however and described himself as not being "overly religious" in a traditional sense when he started Camp Trapping in 1971.

By the mid-60's Hawkenson was back in Prince George working as a probation officer. He soon became frustrated and despondant over the probation department's inability to pull its adolescent clients out of an increasing involvement in criminal life. The boys he worked with would confidentially express confusion, fear and frustration with their lives, often in direct contradiction to the bravado and enthusiasm for their lifestyle that they would exhibit with their peers. They were not satisfied with their lives but the corrections system could not offer them viable alternatives. Something, Hawkenson thought, had to done.

The Idea of Camp Trapping

The brief and disconnected contact with clients the probation officer's role allowed did not satisfy Bruce Hawkenson. If, he thought, he could just get a hold of these boys for a protracted length of time and become totally involved in their lives, then perhaps something could be done. Camp Trapping was his answer. The actual form the camp was to take became a direct reflection of his past experiences, personal strengths and predilections. Hawkenson continually emphasized four major themes in his conceptualization and operation of Camp Trapping.

Participation and Involvement in one's environment

The boys were not to be coddled. The necessities of life would be provided but it was to be in an environment that demanded the

boy's participation and involvement. Without it, their basic physical survival would not be possible. Without their involvement there would be no firewood, without firewood there would be no heat. It was to become that basic. Hopefully, the boys would begin to see that they could act to affect their own lives in a positive fashion. This was crucial for Hawkenson. He believes that (within limits) "The worst thing you can do to a person is do things for him. If you make things so secure for people that all they have to do is eat and shit and sleep then they will never become anything. They won't know how to become anything. If a person is unable to look after himself then his freedom has been taken away. " 1.

Directly connected to this idea of "becoming" through participation is the idea of struggle. Hawkenson believes that we have to have 'a resistance to push against' or a 'test to meet' in order to grow. In short, a person learns through meeting challenge and through the successes and failures that result.

Challenge and experiencing successes

Challenges were to be presented in a number of ways but they were all to be rooted in the basic assumption that you can start with very little yet 'create abundance' from it. This sense of challenge was to pervade the camp and was to begin with learning to enjoy its environment even though there were few amenities and many rigorous tasks. This is one example of what Hawkenson refers to as 'starting with the physical'.

A physical expression of challenge, endurance, achievement and community was vital to him for a number of reasons. Physical challenge was something he was familiar with and enjoyed. As a result, his involvement in it and presentation of it would be sincere and natural. It would not be a program he was presenting but instead a part of himself. In addition, the results of physical challenge were tangible, easily measured and in relatively close temporal proximity to their cause. Finally, relating physically is, in Hawkenson's opinion, the first step in a three step progression of natural relationship building between people. As he sees it, we become involved with each other initially through some sharing of a physical task. His example is playing sports. What follows is a natural progression to relating 'mentally'. To follow up on his analogy, after the game the players will meet over a beer to discuss such things as work and politics. As intimacy and trust begin to develop, emotional concerns can be shared and discussed in the third stage of a relationship. Hawkenson set up his camp to follow this pattern and designed challenges to compliment each stage.

The counsellors and 'modelling'

Another essential ingredient for the program was to be the nature of staff involvement. Ideally Hawkenson would have liked to run the camp with volunteers. Practical realities denied this possibility but he designed the program in a way that would attract people who were willing to commit themselves totally to the program. They were to believe in it and to live it if they were to have any

effect. They had to be willing to dedicate their lives to the program for as long as they were involved in it. Working at Camp Trapping was to be a person's 'joy' or 'mission'. If they could not feel the program in their 'hearts' they were not wanted.

For Hawkenson, the ideal counsellor was to be a kind of superman model. He (Hawkenson hired only male counsellors) was to be young, physically fit, happy and attractive. The students were to look at them and say "I want to be like that". Hawkenson admits that he was looking for supermen models yet continues to maintain that it is the key ingredient to ensure such a program's success.

The counsellors were to become involved with the students in the same manner that they were involved with the program. Hawkenson felt it was impossible to encourage change in a person without a personal and intimate relationship forming first. Each counsellor through his own unique personality was to form a meaningful relationship with some, if not all, of the students. They were not to be carbon copies of each other or of Hawkenson. Staff selection was crucial. Hawkenson would attempt to locate people who were unique individuals, who could complement each other's strengths and who could express the spirit and values of the program in their own personalized manner. Each counsellor was to be a model or image of a successful and fulfilled person who could live within society's limits.

One of the generic aspects of this image was to be what is

most succinctly summarized by reversing the Christian golden rule so that it reads as "do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you." Ideally, a counsellor was never there merely to supervise and direct; he was at the camp to participate. If he requested a student to cut firewood all day, the counsellor would also cut firewood all day. This value was even present in disciplinary consequences, he would participate in those consequences. Hawkenson felt that this had the added benefit of ensuring that counsellors would have to exhaust all other means of changing a behaviour before he would consider any punitive form of discipline.

Evening Sessions

Another important ingredient in the program was a time for group reflection, discussion and encouragement. In Hawkenson's time this was not a structured group process. Although they sometimes used a pre-packaged life skills program called Zoom to guide their meetings, it was a fairly casual time when students and staff could discuss the events, the difficulties and the delights of the day. Staff could use the Zoom stories to provide a message ("it was sort of like their little scripture and verse for the day") and would usually suggest that everyone take sometime to think of how they could do one thing a little bit better the next day. These small challenges were to be personal and did not have to be shared with the others. It was a time for reflection, private and public, on past events and future possibilities. It was a time when the group could encourage an individual, reminisce about a shared success, or plan for a future goal.

While these four program components were the heart of Camp Trapping, Hawkenson believed that their full effectiveness could best be achieved if each student had been personally interviewed by Hawkenson prior to attending the camp, and had, as a consequence, made a personal decision to attend the camp and commit themselves to the program. In Hawkenson's time each student came to Camp aware that he had chosen to come. The student had to meet a certain description even before he was interviewed as Hawkenson had a clear idea of the type of student Camp Trapping could best serve. It was to be for the 'hard core' juvenile delinquent, the one who had passed apparently unchanged through all other available resources. It was not for any juvenile diagnosed as having a severe psychiatric problem, something Hawkenson felt incapable of handling. In addition, the boy had to be in reasonably good physical condition. These were the preconditions for referral. Every attempt was made to satisfy them although not always with success.

The Design and Environment of the Camp Trapping Program - First Year

It took Hawkenson less than a year to move from the idea of Camp Trapping to its realization. During his last few months as a probation officer he located an appropriate semi-wilderness setting thirty miles south of Prince George and four miles east of Highway 97. Trapping Lake (hence the name Camp Trapping) is perched atop a ridge that is approximately 600 feet above the highway. Its shores are ringed by a stand of pine, spruce and birch

about a quarter of a mile thick. Outside this ring the hillsides have been logged and are now covered with scrub brush, young conifers and the occasional stand of birch. The lake has been stocked with trout and is home to beavers and a variety of water fowl. In the autumn and winter strong winds rush along this ridge, often ripping many of the tall, slender spruce from their precarious hold in the sparse topsoil.

There were no neighbours to become fearful of a 'gang of delinquents' near their homes. There were no amenities, in fact there were no buildings. Hawkenson leased two lots from the government and put up a couple of surplus quanset huts made of wood and canvas.

In addition to finding a location, Hawkenson also had to locate funding. Although Prince George's social service community supported him, the Victoria government was reluctant to provide any money. As a result, the program started as a type of foster home, under the auspices of the Department (now Ministry) of Human Resources (MHR). Hawkenson, his wife Jay, and a young man who was an ex-probationer of Hawkenson's were to run the camp on five dollars a day per student for a trial period of three months. This amount had to be supplemented if they were to survive. Hawkenson's first moneymaking idea was to have the camp participants cut and sell birch as firewood. Each student would get a portion of his earnings while the rest was to be put towards the camp's operation.

If Hawkenson's operation was ever to move from foster home to residential treatment centre status, he would have to have a private non-profit society to back him. Thus Cariboo Action Training Society was created to oversee the camp's operations. In Hawkenson's mind, the Society in 1972 was only a figurehead. All the decisions were to be his and the Society existed to endorse them.

Finally, there were the students. Hawkenson had no difficulty in locating them, having as he did the backing of the local MHR and Attorney General's (AG) offices both of which saw a desperate need for a local, non-containment residential treatment resource for their delinquent clientele. In June of 1971 Bruce and Jay Hawkenson along with their young assistant, were ready to open their door for business.

The Camp Schedule

During its first three years the camp's length and focus changed frequently, without however, changing the essence of the four key components.

The first camp of three months duration set a general pattern. There was to be at least half a day of hard physical work every day. The boys were to learn the value and necessity of earning a living although the work had an additional, more mundane goal. The practical realities demanded that money had to be earned if the camp was to survive. As we have seen, the firewood selling project began

for this reason. It continues to this day although its revenues are no longer essential. The boys and staff would also hire themselves out for local odd jobs like haying on nearby farms. By the following year the work program had expanded to include tree planting. The camp had also to be maintained. Much of the day was taken up in the performance of routine tasks. Water had to be hauled from the lake for cooking, drinking and washing. The participants had to find and prepare firewood for their own consumption. Living quarters had to be kept clean and meals had to be prepared. In keeping with the physical nature of the program, each day would begin with a two - later four - mile run which always ended with a jump into the lake. Hawkenson also introduced a weightlifting program. To keep clean, the residents resorted to a sweat lodge which in the early years consisted of a dome-shaped frame of sapplings covered with plastic. The Hawkenson's and their camp apparently passed inspection. The referring agents were pleased with the results (although there was no official evaluation) and were anxious to see the camp continue.

Throughout the next three years the camp began to evolve. In the spirit of experimentation, the camps varied in length from three to ten months. Out-triping, which included backpacking and canoeing, became an important part of the program but never its principal focus. Unlike, Outward Bound, Camp Trapping did not see short term, high risk wilderness activity as its principal method. It merely supplemented and provided more intense counter points for the more mundane routines of camp life. They did experiment briefly with a pure

wilderness adventure format but even this was in addition to the regular camp routine, one group living at Trapping Lake while another roamed the wilderness. An out-tripping adventure did become the standard format for the first few weeks of each camp.

Hawkenson introduced this initial wilderness experience in an attempt to compensate for one of the less attractive results of Trapping's success. As the camp's reputation grew, referrals began to come in from all parts of Northern British Columbia. As a result, Hawkenson was unable to interview each boy prior to their attendance. He was unable to obtain their personal commitment to the program before their arrival. In addition, some referring agents were beginning to use possible attendance at Camp Trapping as a threat to control their clients. To offset this, Hawkenson thought it best to take the boys to an isolated wilderness environment to provide them with an orientation to the spirit of the program, to ensure that they could not run from the program and to attempt to establish a personal relationship with and obtain a commitment from each boy before they settled down to the daily routine at the lake.

An academic program was added in the program's second year when the Prince George School District provided a teacher. Hawkenson thought that this was a very important addition as it allowed Camp Trapping a greater opportunity to focus on that second level of interaction which he called the 'mental'. The academic program was designed first and foremost to teach the joy of learning. By providing a continuous series of small academic successes and by using

the environment to provide an experiential learning base, Hawkenson hoped that the students would come to feel more comfortable with the idea of school and more importantly, the idea of learning. Learning was to be presented as a vital and integrated part of daily life and this perspective was to be personified in the teacher's role. The teacher was to participate completely in the program just like any other staff. He was to eat and sleep with the counsellors and students for five days a week.

By the time a teacher had arrived at Camp Trapping, the staff component and involvement had changed. Initially, the Hawkenson's and their assistant had no time off. It was a total commitment. By the spring of '72 a cook had been hired as well as another counsellor and every attempt was being made to provide two or three days off every two weeks or so. Before the end of its second year there were two counsellors per shift and regular time off although the now standard week on, week off shift was yet to develop.

Camp Trapping was quickly developing a reputation of excellence. Referring agents were pleased with the results and impressed by the staffs' dedication. The students' work and dedication was also impressing the larger community. They established new records of efficiency and quantity in tree planting and were viewed as dependable and energetic workers.

One camp will forever stand out in Hawkenson's mind. It has been

to date, what he describes as the greatest experience of his life. This particular camp is, at ten months duration, the longest in Trapping's history. It became a camp with a theme, almost an obsession.

Hawkenson and his staff decided that it would be good to get the boys involved in canoeing and canoe racing. They began with a rigorous physical training program to get themselves and the boys into good physical condition. Wage labour was part of this training as they needed some means of acquiring canoes. The canoes were not to be bought however, but constructed by hand. With the help of their cook who was in addition a highly skilled woodworker, the boys and staff constructed their own racing canoes and then began to practise in earnest. Before the ten months were up, Camp Trapping had won not only the junior division of the Northern Hardware Canoe Race (a division created at Hawkenson's request) but had managed to win the British Columbia Junior's title, and adult races in both Alberta and the state of Washington. Hawkenson notes that the camp ended with the races as a "...kind of reward. It was all camaraderie and gung-ho travelling down the road singing a song and driving off into glory - it was pretty strong stuff."

It also marked the time when Bruce Hawkenson began to disengage himself from direct participation in the camp process. He had spent three years totally dedicated to this creation of his. He had established its credibility, obtained permanent funding and groomed his successor. It was time for him to pull out. The

intensity and self-sacrifice of his commitment took its toll. There was no private time and there was a family to raise. There was no rest.

Hawkenson believes that the counsellors' workload and commitment "wasn't really sane", nor were they OK sustainable for a long period of time. Commitment to the camp and the boys had to be, in Hawkenson's mind "our mission and our joy and it had to be done with a missionary zeal". He felt that this was the only way Camp Trapping could be effective and likened the involvement a counsellor had to have to inlisting for military service. For him, it was something you did for a few years to serve the country. After the war you could get on with your own life. Hawkenson resigned as program director in the spring of 1974, passing the title on to Merl Gordon, a counsellor who had worked at the camp for two years. Both Gordon and Phil Kolbuc, who was to assume the directorship in 1976, had worked with Hawkenson at the camp. As Hawkenson chose Gordon, so Hawkenson and Gordon chose Kolbuc. Although Kolbuc was the last director to have worked directly with Hawkenson, the succession continues to be carefully handpicked from the counselling staff. Both Hawkenson and Gordon continue to sit on the board of directors and thus retain a major say in the selection of the director. Both men try to avoid too much involvement however. This is a conscious decision made early in the camp's life. Hawkenson believes each director as well as each counsellor, must make the program his own. If the program is to be directed and designed by an executive removed from its daily operation, Hawkenson feels that the staff could no longer

operate or understand the program from their 'hearts'. He believes that the program can only retain its freshness and vitality if the employees see it as a creative expression of their own personalities.

This has resulted in a rapidly evolving and diverse program. Each director has added new components and worked from a unique perspective. In the following chapters we will see that both the site and the program have changed quite dramatically between 1974 and 1982. This transition did not occur overnight. Each director has added at least one significant program component and each has emphasized a slightly different therapeutic approach. The Spring 1982 version will be described in some detail, and while we will see that Camp Trapping is quite different from its original design, we will also be able to distinguish a familiar core. While this core is, in part, attributable to the four key components outlined at the beginning of this chapter, its essence lies in the basic values and ideology Hawkenson provided.

The Assumptions and Value System of Camp Trapping - First Years

As we have seen, Bruce Hawkenson had trained for the Baptist ministry. By the time he was developing Camp Trapping however, he saw himself as "more of a secularist, all the ideals (of the Christian faith) were there but not wrapped up in a religion." Starting from this foundation his first and most important assumption was that an individual "is the most important thing in the world ... The Christian belief is that you're really important to God - well,

I just left out the word 'God'."

Instead, Hawkenson maintained that an individual was the most important, the most precious thing to themselves and other individuals. Specified further, each of the Camp Trapping students became important and precious to Hawkenson and the other staff.

His second assumption was that there was "a dynamic potential within each individual that could, without exception, be developed. Following on this, his third assumption maintained that an individual, having recognized the existence of this potential and having experienced some of its power, would want more, and more intense, instances of realizing that potential. In other words, Hawkenson felt that developing one's potential was intrinsically rewarding.

In order to live life at its fullest, Hawkenson also assumes that one needs a sense of direction or purpose to life. In addition, one has to believe in oneself, be self confident and possess a positive outlook on life. Hawkenson did not believe that Camp Trapping would necessarily provide its students with these attributes but he did consider them very important, if not essential attributes for the counselling staff.

Another important assumption was that one could not learn or develop one's potential without practice. Hawkenson believed that one of the major purposes of Camp Trapping was to provide appropriate designs or routines for effective living and then compel the

students to act out these designs and routines on a daily basis. Finally, Hawkenson firmly believed that each person has a 'will', a 'power of conscious, deliberate action' which allows and necessitates personal choice. From these assumptions grew a number of value statements. For example, it wasn't enough to have a will, one also had the responsibility to use it. According to Hawkenson, we have to act out our lives, not sit passively and receive or only react to another's initiative. By the same token, it wasn't enough to have a potential, one had to act to realize that potential.

For Hawkenson, a successful person would be productive, constructive and a 'go-getter'. The ideal Camp Trapping graduates should "try out every nerve and fibre in their body, they should explore, they should accomplish." Hawkenson says he is dissatisfied with the competitive overtones of his rationale for advocating this value, yet maintains it is based on personal survival. Those who are incapable of looking after themselves, who are dependent, within limits, on a system or other people, may not survive. For Hawkenson, dependancy also denies freedom through inhibiting one's ability to choose and act.

'Acting', itself crucial, was made even more valuable if one could act with commitment and dedication. It was important to be involved, or participating in the fullest sense with one's environment. The counter-balance to this action-oriented, one might say almost aggressive stance, lay in Hawkenson's emphasis on sharing. One had to share for one's own good and the good of others. This

follows from the assumption that each individual is precious and was expressed in the emphasis Hawkenson placed on 'comaraderie'; the familial closeness he wished to develop at Trapping Lake.

More specific value statements are included in his definition of a Camp Trapping success. Not only would the graduate stop his law breaking, he would also become constructive and productive in a relatively consistent manner. For Hawkenson this meant either working or going to school. In addition, the graduate should be able to relate better to others. This could be shown, for example, in an understanding of difficult family dynamics, obeying one's parents, or respecting one's probation officer. Finally, thoughtfulness should show in the graduates' behaviour. They would be able to reason through difficult situations, arriving at effective and socially acceptable solutions.

Hawkenson summarised this value system in a set of five short statements which is referred to today as the Camp Trapping philosophy. They are as follows:

- 1) I possess a lot of worth as an individual,
- 2) I have the ability to discover potential qualities,
- 3) I have the responsibility to develop these qualities within myself,
- 4) I can develop these by mental, physical and spiritual exercise, and
- 5) I can only maintain my growth and success as I share it with others.

Those who are presently involved with Camp Trapping maintain that

these five statements continue to be the camp's ideological foundation.

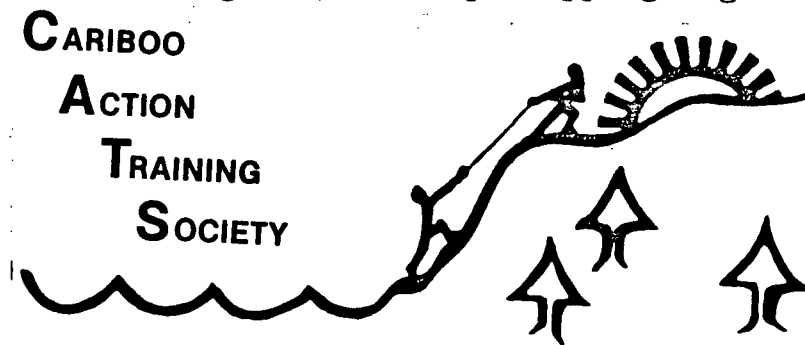
Bruce Hawkenson also provided Camp Trapping with a logo which was to symbolically express his five point philosophy (see figure 1.1-1). He created this logo to summarize Camp Trapping's essence in one concise, easily recognized image. Its implications are straightforward, the water and trees indicating a wilderness environment, the sun and hilltop the goal of realizing one's potential. The two individuals helping one another up the hill express the process of challenge, sharing and cooperation. Phil Kolbuc, the third program director, added the phrase "helping one another help oneself" as a succinct caption which focuses our attention on the process elements of the logo.

Problems Inherent in the Program Design

Bruce Hawkenson was very clear in describing what he thought the program did for these boys as a general rule. It was designed to "... shock them out of their line of thinking. I had to take them away from their group and give them a real shock treatment in order to change all the patterns and then we'd give them a whole new experience, something to follow. Hopefully, they'd get excited by and dedicated to this new pattern so that it just might jog them loose from what they were doing."

This shock treatment was to be delivered not only through the

Figure 1.1-1 Camp Trapping Logo



"Helping one another to help oneself"

physical demands and rigorous environment, it was also to come from the intensity and sincerity of the staff's involvement and the continual successes the boys experience. But Hawkenson was not blind to the obvious problem that this could create.... "One of the biggest dangers to anyone is when they have a real good experience and then go into a setting where they can't get that experience - then there's a big letdown. Sometimes it's cruel to give something really good because they can't have it afterwards and they're so dissappointed, and that utopian society that you set up was so unreal, that when they leave it they become disappointed and just say " to hell with it, I've tried it and it doesn't work". You can't live on a continual shock. It's like an orgasm, it's not good to have it all the time. People just don't wake up singing every morning."

Hawkenson was not satisfied with the transition back into the real world. He knew from the start that this was problematic yet made a conscious decision to develop the program as it was, in his opinion, far better than having no alternative for these boys. The staff attempted to reintegrate the students with discussions about the future, letter writing home, and visits from the families and others, but it was not until 1977 that an aftercare program was initiated. Without consistent support in the community, whether it be from family, friends or professional caregivers, without someone who wants to share the boys' recounting and analysis of their Camp Trapping experiences and help apply them to daily life, only the strongest willed could successfully integrate his new knowledge into his old habitat.

Further problems existed in the difficulty encountered in attempting to express the 'sharing' value. Although the camp provided many opportunities to share, it was difficult to make the students appreciate the essential role sharing had in ensuring an individual's success. "We emphasized it alot", said Hawkenson, "but that's a long ways down the line, from exercising a muscle to exercising a social muscle. Even most religious people can't understand that they have to share things with the world. But some of it did get across. A number of the kids wanted to come back and volunteer their time at Camp Trapping and that was them wanting to share. But it was hard to get across; really hard."

The criticism most often levelled at Camp Trapping was that it appeared to create a dependancy. Some referring agents felt that the boys came out needing Camp Trapping and suffering from its absence. As we have already seen, Hawkenson acknowledges that this occurred and that it bothered him, as it naturally would with his strong distaste for dependency in general. His only suggestion was that communities must become obligated to work more closely with CATS during the weaning process.

It was obvious to Hawkenson that the communities needed Camp Trapping. The increased funding and consistent waiting list were evidence of this need. It had to be as much the community's efforts as Camp Trapping's if this problem of dependancy was to be overcome.

Hawkenson left the program in 1974 and has gone to on practise

what he preached. In eight years, he has developed one of the largest and most efficient tree planting operations in B.C.. He has also gone on to win numerous canoe races. His passion appears to lie in constant action and catalyzing change in his own life. Even now he is thinking of removing himself from his million dollar business to pursue another exciting and hopefully lucrative business endeavour. His new idea is typically high risk, novel and largely unexplored. In continually trying to grasp for his own potential, he has long since removed himself from intense involvement with Camp Trapping. Although he has left it behind, he will never forget the experience.....

"I always look back with extreme fondness at Camp Trapping. I think everybody has a need to act something out in life - I don't mean like a drama where you're just playing. Camp Trapping was my - I was a missionary - it was my contribution to this world. I put my heart and soul into it; everything I had. I couldn't have given more energy or thought. It might not have been much but I can look at it and say that there isn't a single thing I would have done differently. To me it's a great joy and it's good - to this day it's good. I'm a proud man because of Camp Trapping."

CHAPTER TWO

rites of passage - theory

rites of passage - theory

I was first introduced to Camp Trapping in the summer of 1976. Hired as a counsellor, I participated in two weeks of staff training prior to being thrust into an arduous twenty-one day mountain hiking adventure with three other staff members and twelve teenage boys. It seemed a fitting introduction to a program that consumed and regulated much of my life for the next two years.

During those two years my fellow counsellors and I would often speculate about the effectiveness, purposes and design of the program. In the course of these reflections, I was reminded of something I had been introduced to through my readings in the anthropology of religion. Camp Trapping, it appeared, was very much like what Victor Turner had been referring to as a rite of passage. This concept seemed to provide the only theoretical perspective that could begin to explain why the idea of Camp Trapping would exist in the first place and why it felt so appropriate for the task at hand. Turner had provided me with a set of theoretical constructs that placed Camp Trapping in a cultural context and helped me to understand why certain components of the Trapping experience existed.

Victor Turner has written a great deal. There is no one book theory which synthesizes all he has said on this subject. His ideas continue to grow and change, making it difficult and perhaps

inappropriate to attempt to simplify and collate a concise Turnerian view of ritual, symbol, and rites of Passage. Nevertheless I have attempted to do this in order to provide this study with some shape and orderliness.

Before presenting my interpretation of Turner's ideas, I must point out that I have a very narrow knowledge of anthropological theory in general. Turner is only one of many gifted anthropologists attempting to make sense of patterns of human activity through the study of symbol and ritual. Not all anthropologists agree with Turner's conceptualizations and all those who agree with him in general do not necessarily agree with all he has written. To do justice to anthropology, I should provide critiques of and points of view that differ from Turner's. It is not my intention however to critique Turner's 'doing' of anthropology, or his conclusions from an anthropological perspective. It is my intent to use what he and a few others have provided in an attempt to describe and shed some light on one of the formalized methods our society uses in its attempt to rehabilitate some of its more troublesome citizens.

Rites of Passage

The term 'rites of passage' was popularized by the Belgian folklorist Arnold Van Gennep in 1908. He defined these rites as "Patterns which accompany a passage from one cosmic or social world to another" 1. Van Gennep goes on to suggest that every rite

of passage will be subdivided into a sequential three stage system. The first stage he called preliminal or separation rites. There are designed to remove the participants from a former state and prepare them for the second or liminal stage. Rituals of purification often occur in this stage. The liminal or transition rites provide a time during which the participants are suspended between the former status and the status yet to come, or, as Van Gennep puts it 'he wavers between two worlds' 2. Finally, the participants begin to enter the new status by means of a reaggregation or post-liminal rite. Val Gennep uses the term liminal (from Latin, *limens* - threshold/portal) in recognition of the frequent use of a door or threshold to symbolize the transition point in ancient ritual. Any of these three stages can be downplayed or emphasized depending on the occasion. In addition, rites of passage can be part of a larger ritual sequence or, if the transitional stage is long enough, can be found within another, broader rite of passage. 3.

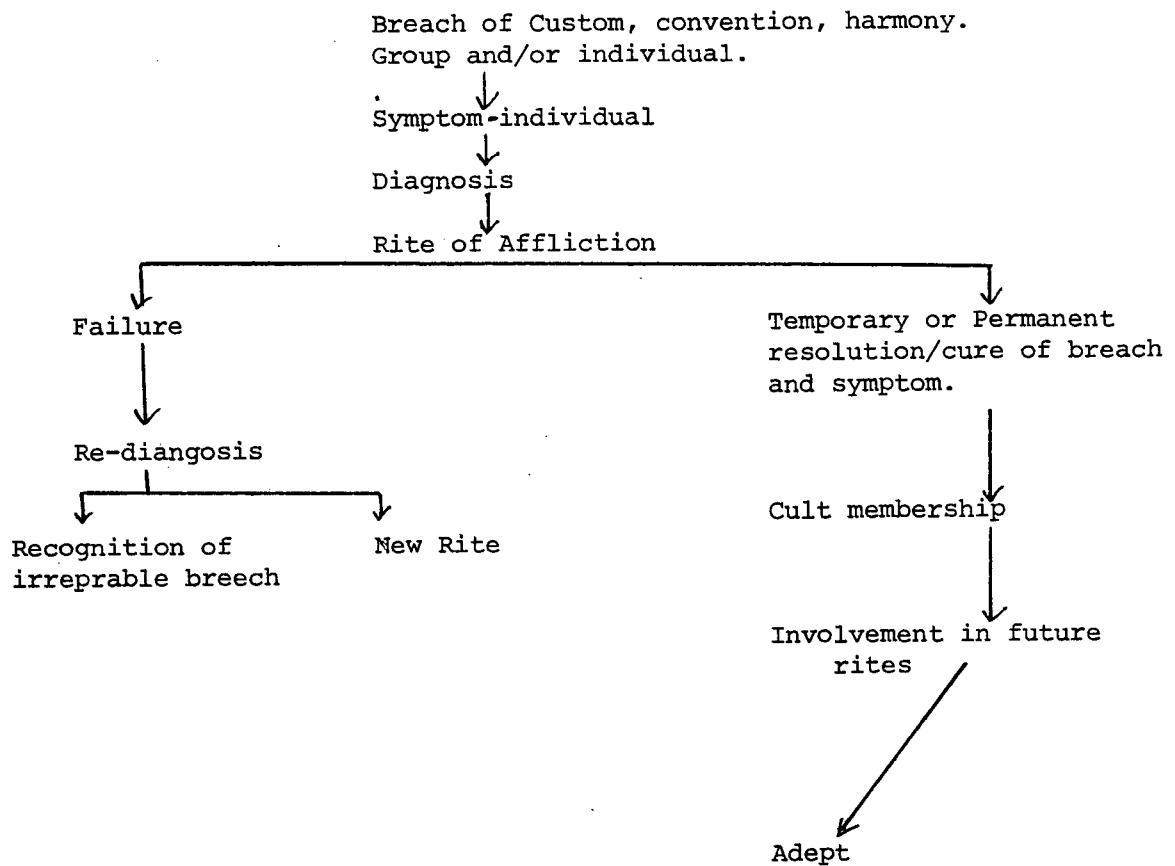
Using Van Gennep as his starting point, Turner has expanded and elaborated the concept of rites of passage in general while paying particular attention to the second, or liminal stage. Before examining what Turner has to say about the rites of passage process, we should first take note of the types of rites of passage that he has differentiated. There are two.

Rites of initiation or life crisis rituals are the types with which we are most familiar. These are the ceremonial events

marking a group of society's recognition or important times in an individual's development that end a former and begin a new social status. Birth, puberty, marriage and death are examples of times when rites of initiation tend to occur. Entrance into a religious organization, a street gang, a secret society and graduation from highschool may also be marked by such events. As Turner notes, rites of initiation not only concern the individuals on whom they are performed but also mark changes in the relationships of all people connected with these individuals. 4.

Rites of affliction, the second type of rite of passage, are curative. Theoretically, a person need never pass through one although among the Ndembu the tribe with whom Turner did most of his early ethnographic research this is seldom the case. Turner has examined this type of rite extensively and maintains that it represents the major theme in Ndembu religious life. Upon manifesting specific disorders or misfortunes (usually concerned with bad luck in hunting for men and reproductive disorders for women), a specific affliction is diagnosed and its corresponding curative rite prescribed. There are a number of interesting points concerning these rites which I believe will aid us in our understanding of Camp Trapping.

First of all, though the disorder's symptom may be physiological, the disorder's cause is both social and spiritual. It is said to stem from the afflicted person's failure to perform a socially demanded task associated with the honouring of a deceased ancestor. While this diagnosis provides the rationale for the rite's

Figure 2.1-1Context of a Rite of Affliction

performance, the individual's affliction inevitably occurs simultaneously amidst inter or intra-group discord involving the groups or groups with which the individual is associated. Turner believes that the rite of affliction "becomes a matter of sealing up the breaches in social relationships simultaneously with ridding the patient of his pathological symptoms". 5. Socondly, upon the rite's completion, the patient becomes a cult member who can eventually become a practioner or adept of that specific ritual through participation in subsequent performances. Cult membership cuts across family and even tribal boundaries. The following diagram illustrates the general pattern of events surrounding a rite of affliction. (See Figure 2.1-1)

The Goals, Objectives and Methods of Rites of Passage

Rites of passage is a sub-category of ritual. Although Turner is somewhat vague in his description of the goals of ritual, he has provided some guidance in this respect. Thses same goals apply to the more specific type of rite we are examining. The goals Turner has identified as as follows:

- 1) communication,
- 2) control of aggression,
- 3) bonding, and
- 4) creation of an idea system concerning guilt and
conscience. 6.

The broadest of these, communication, is, at first glance almost too obvious. Turner, however, is referring to more than an exchange of information and ideas. He is, I believe, referring to the desire or need to communicate. What is more, he is referring to the transmission of affect. Given Turner's interest in 'communitas' (see page 43), we would be well advised to think of the word 'communion' and its implication of an intimate conversation and a common sharing.

For Turner, ritual attempts to control aggression by reaching back to one of the root causes of conflict and aggression - the tension between natural drives and cultural necessities, that is, between what one wants to do for self gratification and what one must do to preserve social life. Specific rituals, or a common ritual theme in a given culture will often deal with a more specific form of conflict. Among the Ndembu for example, Turner found that the attempts to reduce the tension created by maternal descent and viriolcality were usually embodied and addressed in ritual practice. In our own culture the theme may well be based on the tension between individual success and freedom and the need for social control and solidarity.

As a general rule, ritual will attempt to control aggression by communicating 'certain universal human values and principles upon which all must depend to survive and which transcend or preempt social conflicts.' 7. By appealing to these 'universal' values the ritual practioners hope to transcend and domesticate the destructive,

aggressive and divisive impulses of individuals and communities so they may become willing servants of social order. In this sense, control of aggression can be expanded to include the preservation of social order, or as Turner puts it to "nip radical deviation in the bud". 8.

According to Turner, 'bonding' often results from overcoming the troublesome dialectic and conflict between nature and culture and between different aspects of culture. Successful bonding will supposedly result in the "creation of a motivated idea system concerned with guilt and conscience." 9. Although he has provided us with one of the causes of bonding and one of its results, Turner does not provide a definition of the term itself. Funk and Wagnall's provides some illumination. A bond, it states is a "uniting force or influence...and a voluntary obligation." 10. The most obvious implication is that the participants in a ritual become united to their society and each other. Within the context of Turner's theory, there is another form of bonding. I refer here to the property of polarity which he ascribes to dominant symbols. Through interaction with a dominant symbol, the participant experiences the ideology or value statement of the symbol manifested in a physiological sensation or reality. Thus certain values and ideologies are bonded to an experiential reality. Bonding, then, most probably relates to connecting the individual to his/her society in general and connecting values to an experiential referant in the participant's life. The voluntary nature of bonding should not be ignored. Goal number two, control of aggression, implies

an external control for society's benefit whereas goal number three, bonding, implies an internal acceptance of one's allegiance to one's society and one's role in that society.

This leads naturally, as Turner has indicated, to goal number four, "The creation of an idea system concerning guild and conscience." 11. Turner does not include this final goal in his system, preferring to see it as a result of bonding. I believe the two should be seen as distinct goals. The phrase "idea system" implies a conscious awareness of a rationale with which the individual can justify his or her behaviour. While bonding many provide the motivation, it does not necessarily provide a conscious understanding of or a rational justification for why one is bonded. By separating the two, I hope to make a distinction between feeling to be a part of a moral world and the articulated rationale for being a part of that moral world.

Turner sees ritual as "...a device for establishing relationships between men". 12. As such they are primarily educative, not in the sense of acquiring specific technical skills, but in the sense of acquiring social skills and social place. Ritual is thus a form of socialization. Rites of passage, as a type of ritual, provides its own unique shape to this socialization process.

Objectives of Rites of Passage

In current problem solving techniques and curriculum design,

the objectives of a process are defined by their measurability. They are worded in a manner that connects goals to specific activities, the products or results of which are quantifiable. For my purposes, 'objectives' will refer to the experiences or sensations that the ritual practitioner wishes to induce in the participants.

We have seen that the overall goal of a rite of passage is the transformation of an individual or group from one social state to another. In the preliminal or separation state, the objective is the effective removal of the participants from the former state. The intentions here are to make it very clear that the participants are no longer what they were, and to introduce the liminal state, where they will have virtually no status. Although it is not always the case, separation is often compared to or made to represent a state of death, infancy or prenatal existence. Radical changes in clothing, hygiene, places of residence and daily activities are all common events. The separation stage attempts to remove all stimuli considered superfluous to the intention of the rite. Turner does not pay much attention to this stage. It is difficult to determine just when it ends and the second, or liminal stage, begins. We might expect, however, that without an effective separation the participant would be able to continue indulging in or relating to his or her old habits and patterns to the detriment of any new learning.

The post liminal or reaggregation stage has also received little scrutiny. It is designed to reintegrate the participant, complete

with new status, into daily non-liminal life. It is also a time when the participants are integrating their new ways of thinking, acting and perceiving. They are beginning to solidify - through application - a new perception of themselves, their society and their place within it. Concurrently, the society is stating its acceptance of them in their new roles. Feasts, celebrations and graduations are just a few of the examples that are familiar to us which are used to emphasize this stage.

It may be appropriate to note here that passing through a rite does not guarantee a participant full status in a new role. As we have already seen with rites of affliction, the participant's new status is defined more by accessibility to new information, respect and roles. He or she does not automatically become a practitioner, but rather a junior practitioner or apprentice in the cultic activities. We can safely assume that one does not automatically become anything in its fullest sense. Through participation in a rite of passage one begins to become something.

The Mid-Stage - Liminality

Liminality is the focus of most of Turner's attention. He has in fact, uprooted the stage from its bracketed position in a rite of passage and transplanted it into a variety of other locations. He has transformed it from a liminal stage into a liminal state. My categories of methods and objectives correspond to the distinction of stage and state, the objectives dealing exclusively with the ideal

state of mind of the liminary while the methods category outlines some of the techniques employed to create the state, i.e. what is done in the liminal stage.

Objectives

1. The liminal state will be the antithesis of the preceeding state.

In his article on myth and symbol, Turner informs us that liminality is the antithesis of what preceeds it (and the separation stage) and a preparation for what is to follow. 13. This is a very straight-forward statement that should provide us with our first indicator of whether or not we are entering liminality. If the previous state was, on the whole, one of routine adherence to order, the liminal state may be chaotic, spontaneous or unpredictable. Although Turner does not point this out, his statement also implies that one might expect order in the liminal stage if it was preceeded by chaos.

2. The Participants will experience a state of *communitas*. *Communitas* is another major focus of Turner's. He also refers to it as anti-structure. He uses these terms to describe "... a relational quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of group situations and circumstances." 14. We find here support for our assumptions concerning communication as a goal of ritual.

Turner elaborates. He distinguishes between three types of *communitas*, 1) spontaneous or existential; which simply appears to happen; 2) normative, which occurs when someone attempts to codify the spontaneous variety in a set of ethical precepts and legal rules; and 3) ideological; once again an attempt to capture spontaneous *communitas* but this time through the creation of a utopian blueprint for the reform of society. Turner believes this latter type is primarily liminoid, or like, but not identical to, liminal.

If one experiences a state of *communitas* then one should be experiencing a rich, meaningful, direct and sincere communion with others and perhaps with an ideal expressed through others. The object, ideal, person or group with which one feels this *communitas* in a rite of passage is dependent on the objectives and goals of the specific rite and the society that has created it. It could be a god, the State, your ancestors or perhaps all of the above.

3. The subjects will experience the objectification of all that is not manifest in moral, daily life. 15.

Turner makes reference to this type of occurrence from a number of perspectives. It is evident in his discussion of the multivocality and polarization characteristics of dominant symbols, the former allowing a number of ideals and values to speak simultaneously and in harmony, the latter connecting these ideals

and values to a tangible, easily understood and emotion-evoking reality in the participant's life. According to Turner, another rites of passage method which serves objective number three is paradox. By showing us an harmonious association of elements and/or relationships which would normally be considered incongruent or impossible, we are reminded of and compelled to reflect on the normal associations and prescribed patterns.

Finally, as normal life is segmented, differentiated, and often conflict-ridden, a rite will typically attempt to manifest the existence of an all-pervading and benevolent unity underlying daily life.

4. The participants will explore and scrutinize their society's norms and values. 16.

Objective three paves the way for and is a necessary precondition of objective four. This objective speaks for itself. It sets out the principal task for the participants at least in respect to goal number four. Once again, how they do this and what norms and values they scrutinize will depend on the particular rite and society in question.

5. "The irksomeness of moral restraint will be transformed into a love of virtue." 17.

Needless to say, this is a tall order. In those societies where

rites of passage have been studied, there is a continual re-affirmation of values and roles through ritual and sanctioned liminality. No one expects a ritual participant to be once and forever transformed into a paragon of virtue. What the rites do is to remind the individuals of the elements of virtuousness and, as importantly, remind them of the benefits and virtues of being virtuous. We may suppose that while one is in a state of *communitas* one may temporarily achieve objective five.

6. The participants will experience and/or develop a sense of unlimited potential at least for the duration of the rite.
- 18.

You will have noticed, perhaps, that objectives 3,4, and 5 could easily be goal statements of public schools in post-industrial societies. A traditional educator would be less familiar and, perhaps, less comfortable with objectives 1,2, and 6. Along with *communitas*, objective six is one of the cornerstones of Turner's theory of ritual. It is his argument against the structural-functional definition of ritual which sees it primarily as a reflection of social order, and/or technically instructive. According to Turner, ritual is instructive but more importantly, it is transductive. By expressing what must be and connecting the participant to it, the rite provides a great sense of power to the individual. By removing the boundaries that differentiate daily life and place limits on individual activity, the rite provides an

unlimited sense of potential to the individual. Since he or she is formless, he or she has the potential to create a new form out of a multitude of possibilities and then maximize the possibilities contained within the form. I say 'multitude of forms' guardedly as, paradoxically, this unlimited potential has limits, bounded in part by the rite itself and more completely by the society's definition of virtuousness which, if all is going according to plan, the participant has come to love, thereby no longer seeing it as an 'irksome restraint'. This freedom and potential 'to be' may be largely symbolic but when compared to the confinements of daily life it can become a welcome and sought after release.

In Turner's view liminality is an essential ingredient of social health. Like a battery charger, liminality depends on the system it regenerates. Liminality regenerates a society's members so that they in turn can regenerate the society which then calls upon periodic moments of liminality to regenerate its members. Without liminality, the society cannot renew its members' commitment and thus maintain its own structure. Without the structure however, liminality could not maintain the society and its members at their more practical or mundane levels.

In de-ritualized, post-industrial societies, liminal occasions are less likely to be exclusively collective and religious in nature. Many cults, utopian movements, and the counter culture

of the 1960's are seen by Turner to be attempts to strive for liminality as an end in itself. For Turner, a permanent state of liminality is both impossible and undesirable as such a system could not maintain itself.

For many of us, the liminal occasions are provided through art, music, drama, play, or membership in a marginal of subgroup that does not preclude participation in the larger society. These situations however are said to be unable to provide the same sense of potential and bonding. They are like liminality but not identical. Turner calls such situations 'liminoid'.

Liminoid situations are more idiosyncratic and experimental than the collective and well-established liminality of pre-industrial societies. Where they occur, there is no longer a society-determined cycle of liminality and structure. Instead, liminoid situations occur spontaneously in leisure time. There is more choice involved. An individual choosing one set of liminoid activities may be surrounded by neighbours who each have their own distinct sets of liminoid activity.

Where liminal occasions promote personal change, they also promote maintenance of society's status quo (not necessarily the individual's). Liminoid situations are quite free to, and often do, promote changes in society's status quo.

A desire of need to experience *communitas* is at the core of both situations however. They both provide an opportunity for individuals to examine cherished symbols of their society's by producing a "metalanguage (verbal and nonverbal) for talking about the various languages of everyday." 19.

When a pre-industrial society provides its people with *communitas*, it will usually be through a system of ritually guarded and stimulated liminality. Post industrial society appears to allow rather than provide *communitas* through idiosyncratic liminoid situation. While there is more variety and a greater element of choice, there are fewer safeguards available for both the individual and the society. 20.

The Methods of the Liminal Stage

Now that we have some idea of what a participant is intended to experience in the liminal state, we should provide some indication of the means by which a rite of passage attempts to create that state in the second or liminal stage.

Any casual relationship between method and objective is largely speculative. Moreover, the methods outlined here must be viewed as a recipe, that is, their sum total may or should result in achieving the desired state (the objectives) and goals whereas, for example performing method number one would not necessarily create any one of the specific objectives. Recipes can be modified by the chef, certain ingredients can be left out or added without

radically alternating the outcome.

1. Removal of the status distinctions among the participants for the rite's duration.

This method is first introduced in the separation stage. Novices must often shed their clothing and go about naked or dressed poorly. All personal property is removed. Although this is done to highlight their separation from, and inability to, depend on a former status, it also serves to illiminate any obvious status distinctions among the novices themselves. 21. Each participant is, in respect to the practioners, the ritual and the values which are presented, identical and equal. This method may also serve to draw the participants together, if not more closely than would otherwise be the case, then at least more quickly. There are fewer barriers between them. Bonding and communitas may both be served by this method and it may also stimulate thought concerning the purpose of status distinctions in daily life.

2. Complete compliance of the participants to the practioners' demands and requests.

Turner believes that this method goes hand in hand with method number one. It is another means of illiminating status distinction and denying credibility to any former way of being or acting. Both methods one and two are means of taking away a former way of being while simultaneously providing an identity with or bonding to

the group of participants.

3. Physical hardship and endurance.

This method along with methods one and two, serves in part to teach endurance, humility and obedience although Turner believes that the most important function of these three methods is to "render the participants down into some kind of human prima materia... beneath all accepted forms of status." 22. I believe that in addition to this, method three also has the effect of creating unforgettable if traumatic experiences that are connected to the key values of the society. Although the experiences themselves may be painful or difficult, passage through them is remembered as a success, as a key to an improved status. One can see the relation here between these methods and the polar nature of symbols. They may not only teach endurance but more importantly, teach the value or benefit of endurance.

This may be an appropriate time to mention Turner's belief that "the body can be regarded as a symbolic template for the communication of knowledge." 23. This is particularly relevant to the effectiveness of the polar nature of ritual symbols in general and leads me to the conclusion that, if Turner's analysis is correct, rites of passage which utilize methods one through three are in effect creating a portable symbol for the participants. In otherwords, when the graduate participates in difficult activities (physical or otherwise), when he is humbled or finds that he must

obey, the similar experiences he went through in the rite of passage will be remembered but in conjunction with the values which were attached to those rites and with the feeling of success achieved by passing through the rite. These methods then can also be related back to goal number four.

4. Frequent paradoxical situations, statements and behaviours.

The betwixt and between nature of liminality itself is a form of paradox as Turner defines it, i.e., the situation of "being both this and that". 24. He goes on to provide further examples, describing masks and costumes that are both animal and man, and reminding us that participants are often treated as if they are androgenous, or neither living nor dead. The primary purpose of ritual paradox is to catalyze a shift in perspective. Presenting an incongruous relationship is said to remind the observer or participant of the normal state of that relationship and to stimulate reflection on the difference between the two situations. Watzlawick et al believe that paradox is equally beneficial in psychiatric treatment. They believe that the presentation of a paradox forces a shift in perspective, allowing the clients to view the vicious circle they have entrapped themselves in, in a new, creative fashion which often results in an effective resolution of the problem. According to Watzlawick et al, paradox as therapy is a form of second order change. It is based on the formula "not 'a' but also 'not not 'a'", which forces "... the mind out of the trap of assertion and denial and into the quantum jump to the next higher logical level..." 25.

In short, paradox as a tool of therapy and ritual helps to objectify all that is not manifest in daily life, one of the crucial objectives of ritual liminality.

5. Frequent repetition of acts, statements, roles and crucial values.

Within a ritual, within each stage of a rite of passage, or across a series of rituals, one is likely to find recurrent reference to or use of symbolic acts and roles, crucial values and key phrases or expressions. Turner believes that there are three major reasons for this. Firstly, these repetitions contain images, meanings for, and models of behaviour that are considered to be essential cultural elements. They must be known and remembered if the society is to be preserved. Secondly, the ritual, or a series of rituals may present these specific images in a variety of different relational patterns, providing the participants with examples of their pervasive utility and significance. Finally, Turner, in agreement with Edmond Leach, believes that the repetitions serve to compensate the ambiguity created in symbolic condensations. 26. As we have already mentioned briefly, symbols speak of many things at once and tend to dissolve differentiation in favour of presenting pictures of a unified wholeness. Symbols, if they are to achieve their ends, tend to be ambiguous and vague if one tries to analyze them or reduce them to their various components.

6. The presentation of work as play.

Turner documents frequent occurrences in ritual of what we would call play or amusement. This documentation includes such things as joking, game playing, puns and riddles, gentle tauntings, clowns and the trickster myths. 'Work as play', is, however, a far broader concept, confirmed by Turner's definition of play. He describes it as "experimental behaviour ... any action or process undertaken to discover something not yet known". 27. Liminality encourages play, or conversely, spontaneous, self-motivated play as defined here may produce a state of liminality or *communitas*.

Turner maintains that there is a freedom here, fenced, of course, by axiomatic values, to try out new ways of behaving, discarding and accepting them at will. This seems to imply that a rite of passage will contain occurrences of what Canadian educators would call experiential education, or learning programs based on learning through active participation in one's environment. As one curriculum development project describes it, "There should be a wide range of "doing" opportunities. It is through experiences with diversity that basic principles are learned and general effectiveness built". 28.

7. The establishment and use of ritual symbols.

Symbols can be anything (objects, events, persons, relationships, activities, a period of time) if "they are regarded by general consent as naturally typifying, representing or recalling, some thing or things by possession of analogous qualities or by assoc-

iation in fact or thought". 29. What is more, Turner believes that ritual symbols express a resolution of two opposing tendencies which are ultimately connected to the opposing tendencies of self gratification and adherence to social control. 30.

Symbols have three properties which aid this process. A symbol can represent many things simultaneously, even an entire culture or belief system. Any one of these meaning can dominate the others depending on the specific situation. Turner calls this a symbol's multivocality. In addition, through analogy or association, normally unrelated activities or things can become meaningfully related in a symbol. This is referred to as the unification of disparate significata. Finally, Turner refers to a symbol's polar nature. Each symbol has an erectic or sensory pole connected to a cluster of natural and/or physiological phenomena which tend to arouse desires and feelings. The ideological pole provides referants to morality, social order, norms and values. The symbol is designed to connect these two poles such that the emotional power aroused by the former become associated with the ideological values. 31.

The meanings a symbol may have are provided by a form of association whether that be analogy, homology, opposition, correlation, or transformation (32) and by the dimensions in which it operates. There are three dimensions isolated by Turner.

The exegetic dimension refers to how symbols are described and

explained. It has three semantic foundations: the nominal, or what it is called; the substantial, or the culturally selected natural materials or properties; and the artifactual, when it is an object fashioned by purposeful human activity. The second, or operational dimension refers to what is done with the symbol, while where and when the symbols come into play is the third or positional dimension. 32.

Turner differentiates two types of ritual symbol. One is the operational which is said to be related to specific goals at specific times in a ritual. He has not ascribed the three properties of symbol to this variety. Dominant symbols, on the other hand, possess these properties and will recur throughout a ritual and even a culture. These are the symbols that relate most strongly to the culture's entire value system. Sherry Ortner calls them key symbols and provides us with three types; summarizing, concept elaborating and action elaborating. 33. Summarizing key symbols are said to synthesize a complex system of ideas and express an entire system at once. They also tend to be catalysts of emotion and/or objects of reverence.

Elaborating key symbols work in the opposite direction. They sort out and make comprehensible various complex and undifferentiated feelings and ideas in a way that makes them communicable in actions or words. They are seldom revered, instead they derive their power and "key" status due to their frequent occurrence. Concept elaborating symbols provide categories for conceptualizing world

order usually through a root metaphor that is able to illuminate social or cosmological order. Action elaborating symbols provide key scenarios that formulate a culture's basic means - ends relationships in actable forms, i.e., a myth describing how one should act or even a ritual that dramatizes the means-end relationship. This may also include ritualized sequences enacted in everyday life which would not have the obvious dramatic quality of a formal ritual. 34. If Ortner is correct, we not only have symbols in ritual but also ritual as symbol.

In summary, we have seen that symbols, when they are used, are teaching devices that provide values, ideologies, norms, etc., with a tangible and emotionally significant ground. If effective or 'alive', they provide meaningful cognitive categories which help to order the world while simultaneously evoking an emotional attachment to the categories and their underlying value system.

Additional Theoretical Concepts

Social Drama

Turner also provides us with a model of the type of social situation in which rites of affliction would take place. Social dramas, as he calls them are categorized by "units of aharmonic or disharmonic social process arising in conflict situation". 35. The four main phases of public action in this drama are: 1) an initial breach of regular, norm-governed social relations, 2) a crisis where the breach widens to the point that society is

compelled to act. This stage also has liminal characteristics.

3) redressive action, which is that point to which ritual or other action would be taken, and 4) reintegration, at which point the breach is healed or recognized as irrevocable. 36.

This scheme is reminiscent of Van Gennep's, merely adding a category and applying the total scheme to conflict situations. It is also worth noting that failure of the redressive action is accepted as one of the consequences.

What is more important for the purposes of this study is that Turner's social drama model is intimately connected with his acceptance of Gluckman's assertion that conflict will be dealt with in this drama-ritual framework within a circular-repetitive social system. 37.

Gluckman defines this as a system in which conflicts can be resolved "... within the pattern of the system. The individuals who are members of the group and the parties to the relationship which constitute the parts of the system, change, but there is no change in the character of those parts or the patterns of their independence". 38. This is contrasted to a "changing social system" which allows changes in the system itself.

Frank Young finds support for this assertion in his cross-cultural examination of initiation ceremonies. He notes that "dramatization is the communication strategy typically employed

by solidarity groups in order to maintain their highly organized, but all the more vulnerable definition of the situation". 39.

Summary

Turner's theoretical ruminations have provided us with a relatively complex system. His work on rites of passage has given us a framework of goals objectives and methods which should help us in determining whether or not various social dramatizations are using a rite of passage format - or something akin to it - to achieve their ends. We have also been introduced to a theory which maintains that dramatizations of this nature are most likely to occur in a specific type of social system, one that is relatively static in itself yet promoting change in its individual members. The following chapters will provide a description of a specific microsystem, Camp Trapping. In chapters five and six we shall see if these theoretical constructs can help us to understand what is occurring at Camp Trapping and how it is connected to its parent society.

GOALS, OBJECTIVES AND METHODS CENTRAL TO A RITE OF PASSAGE according to Victor Turner

GOALS OF RITUAL

1. Communication 2. Control of Agression 3. Bonding 4. Creation of a motivated idea system re_guilt and conscience

OBJECTIVES OF RITES OF PASSAGE:

The transformation of an individual or group from one state to another.

PRELIMININAL

-SEPARATION

- removal of subjects from a former state.
- introduction to the ritual state.
- symbolic removal from former state.

LIMINAL

- 1) The subjects will experience a sense of communitas.
- 2) The subjects will experience the objectification of all that is not manifest in normal, day to day life.
- 3) The subjects will develop and experience feelings of unlimited personal and/or group potential at least for the rit 's duration.
- 4) The irksomeness of moral constraint will be transformed into a love of virtue.
- 5) Subjects will explore and scrutinize their societies norms and values.

POSTLIMINAL

AGGREGATION

- reintegration of subjects into daily life.
- acceptance of subjects new state by others in society at large.

8
0

METHODS


- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">- physical removal from normal social environment.- change in dress, eating habits sexual status.- symbolic death. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Removal of status distinctions among subjects for rite's duration.-Complete compliance of subjects to practioner's demands and requests.-Establishment and use or ritual symbols.-Physical hardship and endurance.-Frequent paradoxical situations, statements, behaviours.-The presentation of work as play.-Frequent repetition of acts, statements, symbol use. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- not specified- celebrations, feasts, graduations, birth (symbolic), coming out. |
|--|---|--|

ATTRIBUTES OF SYMBOLS :1

Turner and Ortner

Symbols can be objects, events, persons, relationships, activities, or a period of time "if they are regarded by general consent as naturally typifying, representing, or recalling, some things or things by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought". (Turner, Forest of Symbols, page 19.)

Types Of Symbols

| | | |
|---------|--|--|
| Turner: | <u>Operational</u> | <u>Dominant</u> |
| | Specific, related to clearly differentiated times, objectives, goals. | Synthesizing, all embracing. Expressing pervasive and crucial cultural values. |
| | <u>KEY SYMBOLS</u>  | |
| Ortner: | <u>Elaborating</u> | <u>Summerizing</u> |
| | Differentiate and make communicable specific feelings and ideas. not revered; often repeated. | Synthesize a complex system of ideas and express an intire system at once. Are often catalysts of emotion and/or objects of reverence. |
| | a) <u>Concept eleaborating</u> provide categories for conceptualizing world order, usually through root metaphors illuminating social or cosmological order. | |
| | b) <u>Action elborating</u> provide key scenarios that formulate the culture's basic means-ends relationships in acrable rorms. Includes ritualized sequences in everyday life. | |

ATTRIBUTES OF SYMBOLS : II

Symbols obtain meaning through: analogies

homologies

oppositions

correlations

transformations

their dimensions

Dimensions of Symbols

1) Exegetic: How symbols are described and explained. It has three semantic foundations

i) the nominal, what it is called.

ii) the substantial, culturally selected natural materials and properties.

iii) the artifactual, an object fashioned by purposeful human activity.

2) The Operational: What is done with and to a symbol.

3) The Positional: Where and when symbols are used.

CHAPTER THREE

WHAT IS SAID - DOCUMENTS

Camp Trapping's Relationship to the Community: 3.1

Many who are familiar with Camp Trapping think of it as an isolated wilderness program involving delinquent boys in a rugged, spartan and high adventure lifestyle. While there is an element of truth in this image, it hides the intricate web of connections Camp Trapping has with the community at large. Cariboo Action Training Society (CATS) is this web's most essential strand.

When Hawkenson first created Camp Trapping, he was aware of the need for private society status. CATS was formed to satisfy this legal requirement. Under British Columbian law any private treatment resource must be operated under the auspices of a non-profit society registered under the Societies Act if it expects to receive government funding and recognition. In its early years, Hawkenson viewed CATS as a necessary inconvenience. He made all the programming and budgetary decisions. The family-like original structure and the very small budget during its early years enabled one person to assume the administrative and therapeutic responsibilities.

In 1982, with a staff of fourteen and a budget of almost 300,000 dollars per annum, not including the aftercare or CAT house due to open in the autumn, the administrative duties have become far more complex. In addition, public accountability becomes much more essential when the well-being of thirty-six youths and fourteen employees depends on the judicious expenditure of half a million tax dollars a year.

A private non-profit society provides the local community with access to the control and monitoring of any program operating with public funds. Membership is open to all members of the public with the exception of employees and funders. Members can attend meetings, question and critique expenditures, policies and programs, vote on issues and elect the board of directors. In theory, it provides the government with an accountable corporate body.

According to the current director, the funders, and every referring agent with whom I spoke, CATS is the most efficient and committed non-profit society they have ever worked with. This reputation is based on a number of elements. From a fiscal standpoint, it is conscientious and well managed. CATS is not viewed as greedy or overly ambitious (empire building). It has never overspent its budget and is always well audited.

CATS members also have a reputation for neither shirking nor overstepping their role in respect to the program. Society members do not try to control the program, recognizing, as did Hawkenson, that the program director and his staff must feel that the program is theirs if it is to be run effectively. In this respect, the Society monitors the program from a values and ethics perspective, demanding only that it stay within the guidelines and tone established in the five point Hawkenson 'philosophy'.

Many societies are infamous for their internal bickerings and program manipulation. That this does not occur at Camp

Trapping is not too surprizing however, It is a small society, its membership never more than twenty individuals.

Within the membership, one can find four former Camp Trapping directors and two former Camp Trapping teachers. In short, the society membership is aware of the needs of the program through their former direct involvement with its operation. In addition, members who have not actually worked for Camp Trapping have often been invited and encouraged to join by present or former camp employees. The few who have joined purely out of personal interest have tended to be attracted by the CATS philosophy and aims and have shown no inclination to significantly alter the program. If such an inclination did exist, one might assume that the former directors and teachers in the society and on the board of directors provide an effective barrier to protect the camp from such inclinations.

The Society is generally viewed as being supportive of both its director and his employees. The only criticism of the Society is one agreed on by both its members and its employees. Individuals from both perspectives feel that the program would benefit from the Society's informal involvement with the staff and the camp. More specifically, it was suggested that society members should make a point of visiting the camp more often to offer their encouragement to both the students and the staff.

CAT's structure is like any other Society's. A general meeting is held once a year to elect a board of directors to a one year

term. The board is responsible for the society's routine work which includes regular liason with the program director, the overseeing of fiscal management, endorsement or rejection of proposed program changes, hiring new program directors as needed and monitoring their effectiveness, and operating monthly society meetings. The board always works in close cooperation with its program director and office manger. If indepth study or planning is needed for specific projects, the board can create a committee or task force for these purposes. Such was the case when CATS began to plan and lobby for its aftercare home.

A quorum of society members must vote their agreement on any item prior to it becoming CATS policy. The society and board meet monthly with the program director who provides a report on the camp activities and administration. Other meetings are called at need.

Aside from providing community involvement with Camp Trapping, CATS is the camp's official link to its funder, the Ministry of Human Resources (MHR). MHR does not have a mandate to provide facilities for delinquent youth but it does have a mandate to provide for or fund programs that provide social services to the community which are child focused. In this respect, Camp Trapping is in a rather unique position, funded as it is by an agency that is not its principal user. MHR's responsibility for the foster home program had enabled it to fund Hawkenson without seeking additional dollars for its 1971 budget. In addition, MHR and the Attorney General's office were well aware that they shared many of their clients. A

resource for one was equally beneficial to the other.

As the program gained credibility it retained its connections with MHR, although the idea of transferring funding responsibility to the Attorney General's corrections branch had been agreed to in principle as early as 1977. This transfer has never occurred. Until recently this was due primarily to Federal-Provincial cost sharing arrangements under the Canada Assistance Plan which, until 1978, excluded juvenile correction facilities from Federal contributions. Rumour of a transfer of responsibility is again in the air, but is unconfirmed.

MHR has never been involved in direct evaluation or design of the Camp Trapping program. MHR Region Five's Family and Children's Services Coordinator (F&CS) monitors the program informally through obtaining feedback from MHR social workers with children in the program and through consultation with the Prince George Southeast MHR office's district supervisor who is the Ministry's direct liaison with CATS. The F&CS is also responsible for conducting budget negotiations with the program director.

In the past few years, the Interministerial Committee on Wilderness programs has, at MHR's request, conducted two evaluations of Camp Trapping. These evaluations were not concerned with the program per se but rather with staff outdoor education competency and with the safety provisions at the camp and on out-trips.

MHR has two other formal links with Camp Trapping. Each student who attends the camp must be a child under the Ministry's care. If this is not the case prior to the student's attendance, he will become a child in care for the camp's duration. As a result, every student has, in theory, a social worker responsible for his well being. The remaining link is found in the Camp Trapping student selection process. A few weeks prior to each camp, a representative from MHR and one from the Attorney General's juvenile probation branch (AG) meet with the program director to evaluate the referrals and select twelve new students. They also select one or two second choices who will be offered a place at the camp if a space becomes available.

The selection committee is the only formal recognition of the important role that the AG's regional office plays. In actual fact every student will have had extensive involvement with a probation officer who is usually the principal referring agent and ongoing link with the community at large. The referring agent, whether a probation officer or social worker, is responsible for getting the student to and from the camp, completing the CATS six month and one year follow-up or evaluation forms, and for securing all aftercare arrangements. As most of the referring agents are probation officers Camp Trapping staffs' primary link to the social service community has become the probation office. With the advent of the CAT house, the probation office will have its first financial link with CATS through its purchase of two of the six beds in the home.

Camp Trapping has a direct link with the Prince George school district. In 1982, the special education teacher it provides worked three and one half days a week at the camp for the duration of the regular school year. The teacher is officially a staff member of one of the local high schools, from which he obtains any supplies he may need. CATS has nothing to do with the funding of this position although the program director normally has some say in the selection of the teacher. The construction trades teacher is also administered by the school board although the funding for the position has been provided by the Federal government through its Job Creation Branch's Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP). This funding was for a developmental stage only and will not be renewed past September 1982. Current attempts are being made to secure funding from another source.

These are the official links Camp Trapping has with its parent community, although in theory, Camp Trapping must also conform to the regulations set out in the Community Care Facilities Licensing Act. There are however, other, less formal links.

The most important of these is with the local police, the Prince George RCMP detachment. They are frequently called upon to search for and apprehend students who run from the camp (referred to as AWOL). Any student who AWOL's is in breach of his probation order and is thus breaking the law. Camp Trapping staff, particularly the Program director and aftercare coordinator, are frequent visitors to the city jail where they pick up their lost wards. The

police are, in respect to CATS, almost a second line of defence. Camp Trapping students are never forced to stay at the lake but they are made quite aware of the fact that if they run from the camp they will be dealt with by the police and courts. The police then, have the same relation with Camp Trapping as they do with the rest of the community. Their ever present vigilance acts as a deterrent and control.

The RCMP have another, more relaxed and informal connection. As part of the aftercare lifeskills program, an RCMP constable will spend an evening with the boys discussing various aspects of the law and police work although the specific focus is often on the issue of drinking and driving.

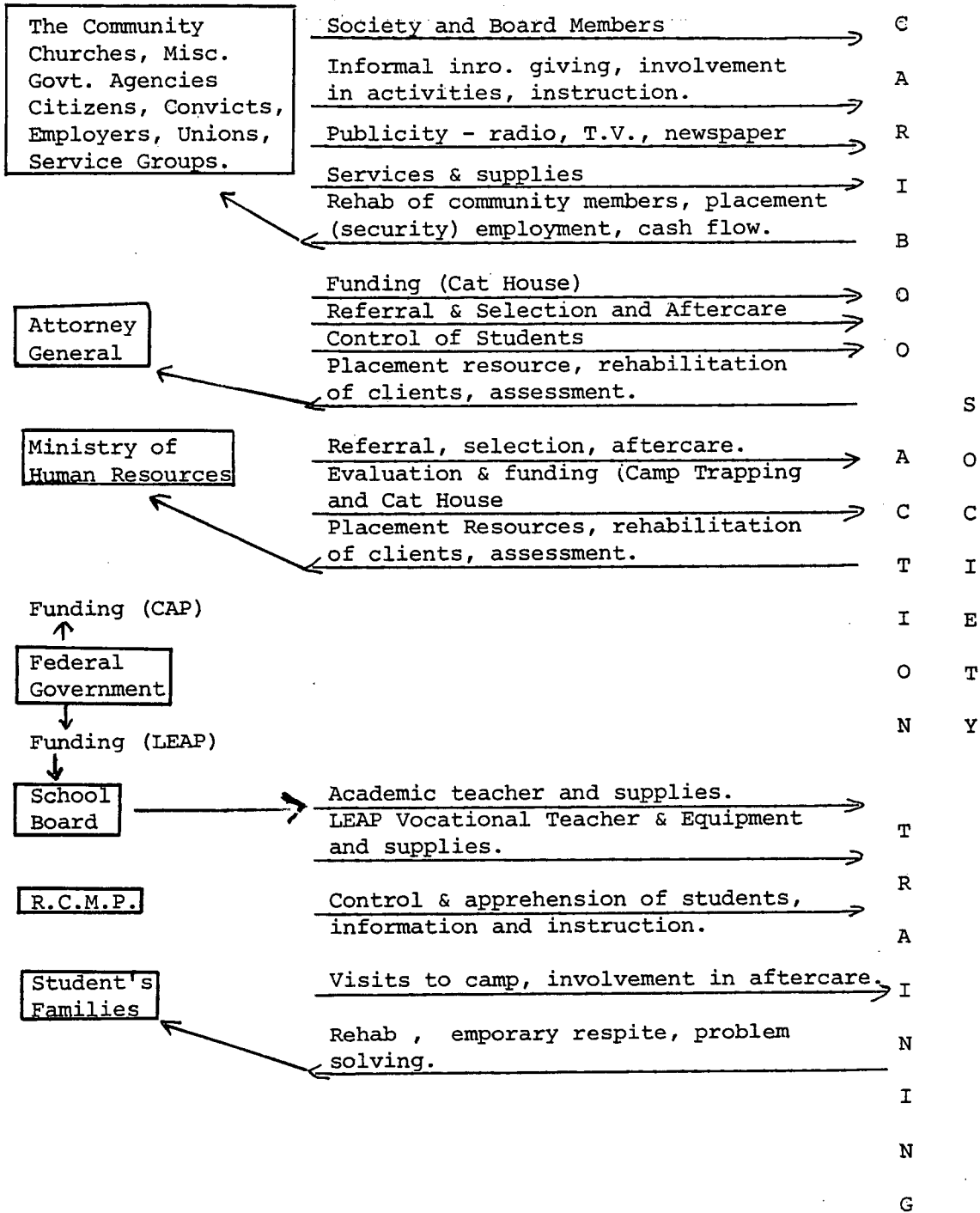
The aftercare program will introduce the students to a number of community resources and perspectives. Each camp will have visitors from employers, educators, convicts, handicapped people, victims of crime and religious leaders. Students usually spend some time at camp learning first aid from the St. John's Ambulance and often visit the local college, the apprenticeship board, the Canada Employment Centre and various industrial worksites. In each of these situations at least one community member has volunteered some of his or her time to become involved with the students.

Camp Trapping has also sponsored or taken part in long distance runs with community groups, most notably with the Prince George Roadrunners (a running club) and Canada Forces Base Baldy Hughes.

Finally, we must not forget to mention that family and friends are encouraged to visit the camp on Sunday's after the first month of camp and that some counsellors and the aftercare co-ordinator are often in frequent contact with these families in an attempt to plan aftercare and explain and promote the Trapping program.

We can begin to appreciate that Camp Trapping, for all its isolation and uniqueness, is intimately connected to the community through a variety of formal and informal channels. Figure 3.1-1 provides a scematic representation of these relationships.

Figure 3.1-1

Cariboo Action Training Society's Relationship to the Community

Cariboo Action Training Society - Internal Structure: 3.2

CATS and Camp Trapping are hierarchical. At the top, the society members have, in theory, ultimate control of the Camp Trapping program. They elect the board members who in turn, hire the program director. In actual fact, the program director holds the most powerful and responsible position. Through his recommendations, the director can often ensure that even his successor will be of his choosing. CATS has never hired a program director who has not worked in a counselling position at the camp. One former director, though he spent two years at the camp as its teacher, spent the first month of his directorship as a counsellor in order to fulfill this unwritten law.

The Program Director

The program director is responsible for the total operation of the camp. He must hire, supervise and dismiss all employees with the exception of the business coordinator who is also hired by the board. With the help of the business coordinator, he must prepare the yearly budget and negotiate its settlement with MHR. The director is also responsible for the proper and efficient use of all operational and capital assets.

He must ensure that proper care and guidance is provided to each student and that the staff are appropriately trained. The director is ultimately responsible for program implementation and

development, and liason with the public and government agencies.

While it is not part of the job description, the director will inevitably spend as much time as possible in interaction with staff and students at the lake. He chairs the weekly staff meeting and will try to stay overnight at the camp at least once every two weeks. It is also not uncommon to see the program director on at least one out-trip each camp.

The maintainance of staff rapport, shift consistency and staff morale are perhaps the director's most crucial duties. If the staff do not feel his support, if he does not encourage and critique their ideas for program inovation and implementation, aid in the resolution of inter-staff and staff-student conflict then the program will be in serious jeporady. No matter how efficiently the financial, physical plant and liason duties are performed, Camp Trapping would collapse if its staff were not properly cared for. During my short stay at the camp the director made, on average, two trips weekly to the camp in addition to his regular attendance at the weekly staff meeting. He would often be at the lake well into the evening, whether it was to resolve some staff conflict, attend an evening session, or personally interview and counsel particularly troublesome students. He was always on call and had to pick up or take students to cells after regular working hours on a number of occasions. Although counselling staff had been staying at Camp Trapping for an average of one and a half years since Mr. Rail began his directorship, he was often interviewing prospective counsellors and

making arrangements to ensure that the proper staff compliment was always maintained.

As we sat down to a formal interview one day in March, he noticed that I was jotting down basic identifying information at the top of the interview schedule. "Put 'married' beside that one" he had said in reference to the 'relationship to Camp Trapping' category. Although it was offered in jest, his comment is not far from the truth. In fact, employment at Camp Trapping is generally considered to be rather risky for a married individual. Employees normally become totally involved in the program, and few if any spouses of Trapping staff have avoided feeling at least temporarily resentful of the program if their mate has stayed with it for any length of time.

The Business Coordinator

Of all the CATS staffing positions, this is the most office bound. Although the duties may require occasional trips to Trapping Lake, most of the business coordinator's time is spent carrying out the administrative intricacies of bookkeeping, purchasing, inventory control and all the secretarial duties. The business coordinator is, nevertheless, in constant contact with staff and students alike. It is a rare day that you would not be able to find a counsellor or student sitting comfortably beside the coordinator's desk talking at length about the joys and trials of Trapping life. The current coordinator, Ms. Olson, has been with

CATS longer than any other employee. Since 1977 she has worked with three program directors, five aftercare coordinators and scores of counsellors.

The position is one of three without formal responsibility to counsel or direct students. This relatively neutral designation seems to allow a more relaxed relationship between herself and the students. In a sense, the relationship is not unlike the joking or casual relationships many societies make a habit of providing in at least one kinship category. The caretaker and the cook share this relaxed, nonparental role.

The Caretaker

The caretaker is responsible for the maintenance of all buildings equipment and machinery necessary for the daily functioning of the camp. This includes the power plant, the crawler tractor, the fuel supplies, chainsaws, hand tools and building supplies. If building repairs are necessary he will coordinate the work.

The caretaker is in daily contact with the students and often has one or two of them working at his side. It is not his responsibility however to monitor their behaviour. Although students are aware that counsellors will ask him if student performance is acceptable, they are also aware that his responsibility is to the task at hand rather than to the student. Although he may

exert authority, he is seldom viewed as an authority figure and is thus able to maintain a more relaxed relationship with the students.

The Cook

The cook has a similar relationship. Like the caretaker, she works a normal eight hour day, five days a week and does not sleep at the camp. Both of them drive in from the nearby town of Hixon every morning. Both have held their positions for over three years.

The cook has a student assistant who is scheduled to work in the kitchen for week long shifts. Each student will work in the kitchen at least once during this stay. With no direct monitoring responsibility, she is usually able to establish a comfortable rapport with the students, although, once again, the students are aware that the counsellors will ask for her comments in respect to student behaviour. Although it can be hard work, most students look forward to their kitchen duty as a welcome respite from the more controlled environments of the worksites and the schoolroom. The cook is responsible for preparing three meals daily from Monday to Friday and for inventory control of all foodstuffs.

The Aftercare Coordinator

This is perhaps the most unique and vaguest of Camp Trapping staff positions. The job was created in 1977 in recognition of the difficulty most residential rehabilitation graduates have in trans-

sferring their newly acquired knowledge and behaviour back to their regular community. The ACC has become responsible for designing and implementing a life skills component of the Trapping program that includes exposure to a variety of different community perspectives, job search techniques and discussions concerning specific problem areas such as alcohol and drug abuse.

The ACC is also responsible for assessing student aspirations and opinions on a variety of issues. This information is shared with the counsellors and referring agents, helping the counsellors to focus on specific problem areas and the referring agents to plan for aftercare arrangements. The ACC is not systematically involved with graduates as he must always focus on the students in attendance.

Camp Trapping graduate evaluations are conducted by the ACC who requests and analyzes the six month and one year follow-up questionnaires he receives from the referring agents. Although he is not directly responsible for staff supervision, it is his duty to observe shift continuity and to share these observations with the staff. In addition, the ACC assumes the director's role in his absence. On average, the coordinator spends two nights each week at the camp.

This position will soon be significantly altered. With the advent of the aftercare home, the program director will become the executive directors to CATS, the aftercare coordinator will become the camp's director and the CAT House will be operated by a house

director. The ACC's duties will become the responsibility of the Camp Trapping director.

The Counselling Staff

There are seven rehabilitation counsellors. One of these is a relief counsellor. While his duties are identical to those of the other counsellors, his shift is flexible. He or she will be required to stand in during a counsellor's absence or perhaps become a fourth staff member if there is a particularly stressful time at the camp. The relief staff will never have to work more hours per camp than would be required of a shift counsellor.

The remaining six counselling positions are divided equally between two shifts. At the present time each shift has one female and two male counsellors. They are the backbone of the Trapping program. As a unit, each shift must contain skills that range from expertise in wilderness training and survival to expertise in group therapy and therapeutic design. Each counsellor must be physically fit and have some wilderness experience as they are required to participate in all the activities they provide for the students.

A shift runs for one week, beginning at noon each Monday, half-way through the weekly staff meeting. While at the camp, each counsellor is on duty twenty-four hours a day and eats, sleeps, and works with the students. A counsellor must be able to cut firewood with a swede saw for a full work day, participate in all

recreational activities including the morning run, engage in individual counselling sessions and crisis intervention at any time, administer the behaviour modification program, participate in the evening group sessions and plan and implement out-tips. That is not to say that all these events occur daily, merely that the counsellors must be prepared to do them as required.

Each counsellor is designated as a key counsellor for a maximum of four students. She or he must prepare two reports each camp on these four, which normally involves establishing a close relationship with each of them. Each student has one key counsellor on each shift.

There is no consistent shift coordinator. Instead, each day one of the counsellors is selected to act as the counsellor of the day (COD). As the COD, it is the counsellor's responsibility to coordinate the days events, assume responsibility in an emergency, make all final decisions and monitor the behaviour modification program.

The counsellors are responsible for delivering and interpreting the program on a daily basis. As such they are responsible for the students' well being. They must ensure that the students live and work in a safe environment while simultaneously providing the challenges and motivations necessary to encourage the students' participation in camp life. Their daily interaction with the students, their demand for work and participation, their administration

of the chart system and their availability for and encouragement of close personal relationships ensure that the counsellors will receive the most intense emotional response from the students. As a result, the counsellors are constantly involved in emotionally draining interactions of a positive and negative nature as they develop these relationships with the students.

Each counsellor attempts to develop these relationships through a genuine expression of her or his own personality as an interpretation of Trapping's 'personality'. Although there is a core program of therapeutic techniques and daily activities, each counsellor is responsible for translating and/or improving that program through their own unique skills, abilities and perspectives. If a counsellor is a gifted musician, music lessons and sing alongs may become a part of the program. If a counsellor has geological or botanical expertise the students may be offered training in these areas. If a counsellor is boisterous and gregarious she will be encouraged to express the program in a boisterous and gregarious fashion. A quiet and reflective counsellor would be encouraged to express the program in a way which will not contradict or clash with his more subdued personality. Whatever their inclination, a counsellor's expression of the program should be unaffected and genuine.

It is the most emotionally demanding position in the program. If a counsellor is not actively participating with the students and her fellow workers it becomes evident immediately. Other

counsellors feel the stress of carrying an additional load while students become resentful at the lack of involvement they feel. Each counsellor is under constant scrutiny from his colleagues and the students and there is thus a constant pressure to perform consistently to the best of one's ability.

Counsellors on opposite shifts are given the opportunity to work with one another through a complicated system of mid-shift change overs where one counsellor from each shift exchange positions. In the course of a year, each counsellor should have had the opportunity of working on both shifts. This is arranged in an attempt to avoid shift inconsistency, to improve staff rapport, and to minimize the ability of the students to play one shift off on the other (students often attempt to gain privileges or sympathy from one shift by complaining about the cruelty or extolling the generosity of the other).

The Alternate Education Teacher

School District 57 (Prince George) funds this position. The teacher is theoretically under the supervision of a Prince George highschool principal. In actual fact, the Camp Trapping director supervises the position and attempts to have input in the hiring process. The teacher works from September to June and is responsible for providing an individualized academic program for each student. In addition, he may instruct such skills as wilderness safety, environmental awareness of any other area in which he may have

expertise. He and the aftercare coordinator often share the responsibility of presenting the job finding skills package.

The teacher must participate in all aspects of the program. He works from noon Monday to Thursday afternoon of each week, taking half the students each morning and half each afternoon except on Mondays which are reserved for staff meetings.

The Construction Skills Teacher

This individual has the same weekly and yearly schedule as the alternate education teacher. Although the school board's special services section administers the funding of this position, supervisory authority rests with the camp's program director. The Construction Trades teacher is responsible for teaching proper work and safety habits and providing skill development in a variety of construction trades centred around basic carpentry. His program attempts to duplicate a typical worksite and even accommodates the firing of students for the day if they do not work to the teacher's satisfaction.

Both teachers are in a position of authority in respect to the chart system and student behaviour. They are required to participate in all the program activities of a regular week and often accompany students and counsellors on out-tips. One could describe them as specialized counsellors, hired to operate a specific program component but also required to participate in

every other aspect of camp life. The only real difference between themselves and other counsellors lies in their teaching duties, other than the fact that they get the weekends and summers off.

They each plan their own programs but must be flexible enough to accomodate daily program changes, unexpected events, out-trips and emergency work programs all of which may take some, if not all, of their students from them for varying lengths of time.

These fourteen positions comprise the total CATS staff. The counsellors, aftercare coordinator and program director are those most directly responsible for the smooth operation of the total program as it relates to the students although the teachers have similar but more specialized roles. The three support staff positions, while allowing a great deal of contact with the students, are not vested with any direct authority over the students, and are thus able to allow a more relaxed and casual relationship with them.

CAMP TRAPPING SCHEDULES:3.3

Camp Trapping does not operate on a continuous intake format. New students enter and leave as a group, staying together for the duration of a camp. The only variation to this pattern results when selected students are removed from the program. If this occurs early in a camp a replacement is found. As a general rule, any student that has been removed from a camp for other than medical reasons will most likely return to participate in the next camp.

Prior to 1977 a variety of yearly scheduling formats were explored, with camps ranging from one month (wilderness only) to ten months in length. In 1977 the program director decided to establish and maintain a schedule that conformed to a regular high school year. This schedule was designed to allow Camp Trapping graduates a less traumatic re-introduction to school should they wish to return, allowing them the opportunity to enter the education system at the beginning of a semester without lengthy delays. As a result, Camp Trapping now offers three programs, or 'camps' each year, beginning in September, February, and July. The two five month programs are reserved for those youths who are considered most at risk to themselves and the community. The two month summer program is offered as a preventative program for those youths who are just beginning to exhibit delinquent tendencies. The average age of this group hovers around fourteen whereas the average age in the five month programs is in the fifteen to sixteen year range.

The longer programs are, on average, eighteen weeks in duration, the summer program lasts seven to eight weeks. The remaining eight weeks of the year are divided unequally between each camp and are used primarily for staff training, program planning, and as a brief rest from involvement with the students. At the end of the spring 1982 camp the staff had one week of holidays prior to two weeks of training and planning sessions.

Training and Planning Sessions

These sessions often include a critique of the camp that has just ended. If specific program areas have been problematic, new approaches are suggested and perhaps incorporated into the program. The entire staff (except the support staff) then designs the basic outline of the next camp. If possible, each employee will indicate when or if they plan to take holidays or professional development time and the schedule will be adjusted accordingly. As a general rule staff are hired and resign during these between-camp breaks. The weeks for out-trips, the aftercare lifeskills program and the students trial week at home will be designated. Normally the location and nature of the first out-trip will be chosen and preparation for is initiated.

Staff training serves a dual purpose. More often than not at least one new counsellor will have to be introduced to the program. Although most new counsellors have already spent a trial week at an earlier camp, and although their real introduction to the

program will not begin until the students arrive, they must be provided with a general introduction to the rules, procedures and operating style.

The other aspect of training involves staff development. While this does not always occur, staff may be introduced to one or more new therapeutic techniques or participate in a skill development workshop. On one occasion the staff toured a number of resources similar to Camp Trapping to see the types of programs and therapeutic techniques used by other residential rehabilitation settings.

Camp Schedules

Each camp does not follow an identical pattern yet the percentage of time spent in camp and on out-trips remains relatively constant. Four weeks, or just under twenty-five percent of a five month program is set aside for out-tripping. The aftercare lifeskills program takes approximately ten interspersed days of a camp's time not including interviews and evening sessions. One week is set aside towards the end of a camp for student home visits. The remaining eleven weeks are spent carrying out the daily and weekly camp routines. The two month summer program is almost equally divided between out-trip and in-camp routine, four weeks hiking or canoeing and four at the camp.

The overall outline for the Spring 1982 camp was as follows:

| | | |
|----------|--------------|---|
| February | 9 - 15 | Intake and orientation |
| | 15 - 22 | First out-trip (ski) |
| February | 22 - March 1 | Regular program plus testing and interviews |
| March | 1 - 8 | Regular program |
| | 15 - 22 | Regular program |
| | 22 - 29 | Regular program and first day of life skills program. |
| March | 29 - April 5 | Regular program plus LSP |
| | 5 - 12 | Second out-trip (ski) |
| | 12 - 19 | Regular program plus LSP |
| | 19 - 26 | as above |
| April | 26 - May 3 | as above |
| | 3 - 10 | Working out-trip to Nakusp |
| | 10 - 17 | Two regular days plus five days of home visits |
| | 17 - 23 | One and a half days home, remainder regular plus LSP |
| | 24 - 31 | Regular program |
| June | 1 - 7 | Regular program |
| | 7 - 14 | Regular program, marathon, graduation |

During the first three weeks students are normally introduced to all aspects of the program. The first week will emphasize a strict adherence to work and chore schedules and will introduce evening sessions and charts. The second week's out-trip will often be to quite an isolated area and will be used by the counsellors to begin developing a more relaxed and intimate relationship with the students. Often both shifts will be involved in all or part of this

out-trip. In the third week, the aftercare coordinator begins his intake interviews, meeting with each student separately in an attempt to ascertain their opinions and feelings about their families, Camp Trapping, drugs, self growth, future plans and past experiences. The academic skills teacher is also conducting his initial tests to determine each student's level of academic ability. The construction trades teacher also introduces his program at this time. From this time on, the daily program follows the regular format that is outlined in the next few pages.

Graduation day is normally the last day of camp. Parents and referring agents are invited, as are some of the special lecturers and visitors the camp has had. A large banquet is prepared and trophies and graduation certificates are provided for each student. Most of the trophies focus on some positive but humorous aspect of each student's stay at the camp although there is also a trophy for 'most improved camper'. Students are taken home after the banquet by their parents or guardians although there are occasions when a student is taken to his home by one of the counsellors.

Within this eighteen week schedule, excluding out-trip weeks, the weekly schedule remains relatively constant. From the staff's perspective a week begins at noon Monday and ends sometime in the late afternoon on the following Monday. Although students generally view the staff change as the beginning of a new week, the chart and reward system ends on a Friday night and begins on the following morning.

A Camp Trapping Week

On Mondays, the students are always involved in general maintainance duties which could include firewood cutting, camp and vehicle clean-ups and building or road repairs. In the afternoon they are left largely unsupervised while the entire counselling staff meets to discuss the past week's events and each student's progress. Evenings are devoted to free time, group sessions and individual chart sessions.

From Tuesday morning until late Thursday afternoon the students are divided into two groups, one of which works in the shop while the other is at school. In the afternoon the two groups switch. One student is always working in the kitchen in the mornings and there are usually one or two students working with a counsellor or the caretaker on some maintainance task. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday staff and students take a mandatory sauna between four and five P.M.. During the same time on Tuesday and Thursday everyone must be involved in some form of recreation. Each student can choose his own leisure activity but it must be approved by a counsellor. Every evening except Saturday, unless many students are away, students and staff participate in what is known as the 'evening session', a form of group therapy lasting at least forty minutes an evening. This session will be followed by an individual chart session for all students on or below Level I of the behavioural modification program (see an explanation of this system). Every Friday evening after the

group session all those on Levels II and III will have their own meeting in the kitchen to determine by consensus who in these levels has earned what rewards and whether or not their personal contracts have been honoured during the week.

On Saturday, all those students who failed to make the run more than once in the preceeding week must run again. All those who failed to earn their way to town must stay behind and work at the camp. Those who earned their town trip go to Prince George with one or two counsellors late Saturday morning. In town they do the camp laundry, participate in group sports, take any earned free time, have a restaurant meal and see a movie. They usually return to the camp around 10:30 p.m.

Sunday is a free day except for those who have earned sixty-eight points or less. These unfortunates must work in the morning. The other students can sleep in but must be up by 11:00 a.m. if they want brunch. Family and friends are encouraged to visit in the afternoon and a group session is held in the evening. Voluntary saunas are not uncommon on the weekends. The residents prepare all their own meals on the weekends.

A Camp Trapping Day

Although the nature of the work varies from Monday to Friday, it is all performed within the same daily schedule. The weekend schedule has already been sketched.

One or two counsellors will get up shortly before 6:45 a.m. every weekday morning. They will then wake up the other residents. Everyone must have their beds made and closets tidied by 7:00 a.m. at which time the group moves en mass to the school/recreation building for ten minutes of warmup exercises. At 7:10 a.m. all who are physically able, begin the four mile run. This must be completed nonstop in under forty-five minutes. By 8:00 a.m. everyone must be cleaned and dressed for breakfast which is served between eight and eight thirty. Morning chores are completed between 8:30 and 9:10 at which time the work, school and vocational programs begin. There is normally, but not always, a fifteen minute coffee break sometime each morning. Lunch begins at noon and the mid-day chores are completed by 1:10 p.m.. Work, school and construction skills continue in the afternoon although the students involved in each activity may have changed. At 4:00 p.m. work ends and, depending on the day, either the sauna or recreation period begins. Shortly after supper and evening chores the evening group session begins. It's maximum length is left open but the session seldom last longer than an hour. When the group session ends, the individual chart sessions begin for those who are still 'on charts'. Those who are not have the rest of the evening as free time. By 9:30 everyone must be in the bunkhouse preparing for bed. The residents are in bed by 10:00 p.m. at which time the power plant is shut off. The day usually ends with a counsellor or student reading aloud from a novel or short story as the others slowly drift into sleep.

This format is surprisingly consistent but by no means invariable.

Counsellors have been known to stay up well past ten as they quietly make last minute preparations for an out-trip or some other activity, and there are also times when the evening will end with a campfire and weiner roast that lasts past the regular bedtime. Daytime activity also varies to accomodate special guests, essential work projects and training for the marathon run, which involves runs of eight to twenty miles.

The daily schedules are all posted on large sheets of paper tacked to the bunkhouse wall. Figure 3.3:1 approximates these schedules while figure 3.3:2 summarizes the type of events that occupy typical Camp Trapping days.

Figure 3.3:1

Daily Schedule

| | |
|--|--|
| Wake ups: Monday to Saturday | 6:45 a.m. |
| Sunday | 7:45 a.m. for those who have to work |
| Morning Exercise: Calisthenics and run | |
| Monday to Saturday | 7:00 - 8:45 a.m. |
| Sunday | No exercise |
| Breakfast and Chores: | 8:00 - 9:10 a.m. |
| Morning Activities: | 9:10 - noon |
| Sunday | 8:00 - 10:45 a.m. |
| Mid-day meal and chores: | |
| Monday to Saturday | noon - 1:10 p.m. |
| Sunday (Brunch) | 11:00 - 1:00 p.m. |
| Afternoon Activities: | |
| Monday to Saturday | 1:10 - 4:00 p.m. |
| Sunday: leisure time | 1:00 - 5:30 p.m. |
| Late Afternoon: | |
| Monday to Saturday | 4:00 - 5:00 p.m. (Sauna Day) |
| | 4:00 - 5:30 p.m. (Recreation Day) |
| Evening Meal and chores: | |
| Monday to Saturday | 5:00 - 6:30 p.m. (Sauna Day) |
| | 5:30 - 7:00 p.m. (Recreation Day) |
| Sunday | 5:30 - 7:15 p.m. |
| Evening session, charts, and leisure time: | |
| | From the end of evening chores to 9:30 p.m. |

Quiet time and ready for bed:

All days

9:30 - 10:00 p.m.

Lights out and story time

All days

10:00 p.m.

Figure 3.3:2

Basic Weekly Activities

Monday: Maintainance work
 Staff meeting and shift change
 Sauna, evening session and charts

Tuesday: School, contruction skills and maintainance work
 Recreation, evening session, charts

Wednesday: School, construction skills and maintainance work
 Sauna, evening session and charts

Thursday: same as Tuesday

Friday: Maintainance work
 Sauna, evening session, charts, Level II meeting

Saturday: At camp; maintainance and cleanup work, charts
 In town; laundry, recreation, free time, restaurant, movie

Sunday: Sleep in for all those earning sixty-eight or more
 points, maintainance work in the morning for those
 earning less than sixty-eight points.
 Leisure time, visitors day, session and charts

THE THERAPEUTIC MILIEU AND TECHNIQUES AT CAMP TRAPPING: 3.4

Bruce Hawkenson has described Camp Trapping's 1971 program as consisting of a blend of recreation/physical training, out-tripping, hard physical labour, maintenance functions and establishing a strong family feeling or camaraderie. Cariboo Action Training Society's program has expanded and diversified since this initial conceptualization. One can now isolate six distinct subprograms. With the addition of the aftercare home there will be seven. The six subprograms are: out-trips; school; construction skills; the aftercare program; the alternate program; and the core program which includes work, maintenance, chores, the behaviour modification component and the daily run. Within the total program the staff employ a number of specific therapeutic techniques which will be discussed in more detail in section

The Out-trips

There are five types of out-trip at Camp Trapping: cross country skiing/ winter camping; hiking and backpacking; canoeing, urban survival (visits to large metropolitan areas); and working out-trips.

The first three of these types are all variations of the traditional wilderness adventure model that one commonly associates with organizations like Outward Bound. Camp Trapping, however,

is not authorized to involve its students in white water canoeing, ice climbing or rock climbing that would necessitate the use of ropes, rappelling, etc.. Even without these high risk components, these wilderness adventure trips are normally quite challenging and exciting. They serve a variety of functions including a vacation or break from the camp routine; development of team work and cooperation; an introduction to and development of new recreation skills; providing opportunities to overcome a variety of physical and problem solving challenges; providing adventure and exploration for its own sake; and providing an opportunity for staff and students to interact in a more casual and relaxed manner.

As a general pattern, each individual carries about fifty pounds of equipment on his back including a personal food supply, personal clothing and equipment and a portion of any items that must be shared by the three or four person sub-groups into which the total group is divided for sleeping and cooking arrangements. The average out-trip last from five to seven days. A hike usually involves three to five days of walking anywhere from ten to twenty miles a day and one or two days of bivoac or rest midway through the journey. Canoe trips follow a similar pattern. Ski trips can follow this pattern but is is more likely that an initial day long ski will take the group to a mountain hostel from which the group ventures forth on day trips.

Working out-trips generally involve the staff and students in some form of bush work whether that be brush clearing, firewood

cutting or, in earlier years, tree planting. Students normally earn some money on these ventures. Since 1976, Camp Trapping has had a standing contract with the Nakusp Hotsprings to clear brush and obtain firewood for one week each spring and each autumn. Although the group lives in tents and must prepare their own meals the camp routine, and in particular, the chart system is maintained throughout the out-trip.

Urban out-trips are the least likely to occur as they are now seen as a type of reward. In addition, students must be willing to work to earn money that would partially subsidize a trip of this type. As students must work in their free time to earn this money the urban out-trip does not always occur. When it does, it normally involves a trip to Vancouver and Victoria. Students and staff stay at the youth hostels in both cities and take in a wide variety of events and sightseeing activities. Students are usually given free time in which they quickly learn that negotiating a large city can be as difficult and treacherous as negotiating a craggy mountain top.

The School or Academic Program

The academic program was the first addition to Hawkenson's initial design. As we have seen, Hawkenson believed it would provide a large part of the 'mental challenge' and involvement that he felt his students needed. Its importance as a provider of basic survival skills was also recognized. Although there

is a wide variation between individuals, the average student at Camp Trapping has been unable to successfully complete a grade eight education. A substantial minority have been classified as functionally illiterate. One of the academic program's aims is thus to begin to develop the students' basic arithmetic and literacy skills to a functional level. An individualized modular learning program called VAST is used for this purpose. If an individual is highly motivated, advancement in this program can be rapid. The Level Two VAST program that is used can take a person up to the end of grade ten. For those students who already have grade ten, correspondence courses are used to continue their academic development. Unless a student uses his free time to pursue these academic challenges, he will - at most - participate in one hundred and seven hours of academic involvement during a five month camp. Each student is given nine hours of instruction per week for an average of thirteen weeks.

Academic advancement is not the main purpose of the program. It is, instead, one of its by-products. The overriding goal of this subprogram is to create a positive attitude towards learning in general and schooling in particular. The VAST program, by providing a series of consistent and frequent rewards (i.e. successfully completed modules) allows many students to experience their first prolonged period of academic success. The casual environment, limited school hours and individualized tutoring all help to make school a more enjoyable experience.

In addition to the VAST program, the school experience has been enriched by the specific skills and abilities of each teacher. Depending on their training and interests, different teachers have been able to provide sessions on guitar playing, orientering, wilderness survival, identification of flora and fauna, photography and a variety of crafts and artistic endeavours.

The Construction Trades Program

Established in September of 1979, the construction trades course is designed to teach the students such skills as basic carpentry, masonry, insulation installation and some finishing carpentry. It is also designed to teach work skills which include such things as safety, punctuality, consistency, obeying one's foreman and proper care of tools and the worksite. This program's ultimate aim is to become a self sufficient enterprise that would, through (contract)work be able to pay for its own supplies and equipment and the instructor's salary. Although some contacts have been obtained, self-sufficiency has not been realized. The construction trades program has drastically altered the nature of work at Camp Trapping. Prior to its introduction, daily work would almost inevitably be centred around firewood cutting, supplemented by various maintainance tasks. It was often difficult to find enough work for all the students on any one day. The construction trades program has provided a consistent source of work that introduces a greater variety of work skills than earlier work projects.

The Aftercare Program

The aftercare program has been CATS first consistent attempt to provide an effective transition from Camp Trapping to the community. It has four major components. The aftercare coordinator conducts a needs/attitude assessment of each student early in each camp and again just prior to graduation. While these assessments provide valuable information for the counsellors, their primary purpose is to aid the aftercare planning process by encouraging the student to think about his future and by providing a body of information that can be shared with referring agents and parents. This helps the aftercare coordinator perform his second major function which is to act as a liason or link between each student and the student's community. The ACC encourages the referring agents and guardians to think about the student's future and assists them and the student in developing aftercare plans. It is also the aftercare coordinator's responsibility to conduct a six month and one year follow-up evaluation of each student. Referring agents must agree to participate in this evaluation before a student is accepted into the program. The ACC sends out a brief questionnaire focusing on the graduates' attitudes, activities and current status, then compiles the results into a profile for each camp.

Finally, it is the ACC's responsibility to create and offer a life skills program for the students which supplements the experiential life skills offered through the daily activities at

the camp. This is broken down further into an alternate awareness package which includes such things as trust exercises, individual and group problem solving activities and alcohol and drug education. Another package could be labelled community awareness. This involves discussions with people from various walks of life including religious leaders, convicts, victims of crime and handicapped people. There is also a job-readiness or pre-employment package which includes instruction in interview techniques, resume writing and job hunting. It involves tours of various industries, services and educational centres, as well as group discussions with employers, union representatives, and employment, apprenticeship and school counsellors. The ACC is also responsible for arranging the trial week home, a time when each student visits his community with a pre-arranged list of after-care related activities which he has contracted to fulfill.

The Alternate Program

The alternate program is Camp Trapping's means of providing itself with its own isolated residential program for those who don't fit into Trapping's society. Approximately one and a half miles into the bush beside a small pond, the staff have constructed a pit house, a semi-subterranean dwelling of Indian design. If a student does not "wish to participate" in the camp program he is sent to the pit house location where he must cut wood all day and prepare his own meals. Any number of students can be sent there but one would rarely find more than three students at the alternate

program at any one time. Used primarily in the first two months of the program, the student is accompanied by a counsellor and must stay at the location for a predetermined length of time. It serves two main purposes. It removes particularly troublesome students from the Trapping Lake site, allowing the other students and staff to function more comfortably. Secondly, its ruggedness tends to highlight the advantages and luxuries of the regular program. Perhaps most importantly, it allows each student a time to reflect on his actions and speak at length with one of the counsellors on a one on one basis, thus encouraging the relationship building that Hawkenson felt was essential.

The Core Program

The core sub-program is an interesting potpourri of Trapping activities which provide a ground or base to which all the other subprograms have been attached. It includes the morning run, the sauna, the behaviour management program, chores, maintenance functions, recreation and work.

The least consistent and least emphasized of this grouping is the recreation component. Hawkenson's strong emphasis on weight lifting and sports is no longer present at the camp. Most outdoor sport activities, other than canoeing, hiking, skiing and running, tend to be solitary activities. These are supplemented by occasional and casual games of football, hockey and baseball. The camp's definition of recreation has been expanded to include

the very private pursuits of reading and playing solitaire.

Chores and maintainance functions are all those work elements that must be done to ensure the cleanliness, safety and upkeep of the camp premises. Three daily chore times are set aside for the routine maintainance functions which include filling all the water containers, cleaning the buildings' floors and counters, maintaining the firewood and kindling supplies in each building, cleaning the outdoor toilets and feeding the cat. Other routine but not daily duties include sauna preparation, cleaning the vehicles and grounds maintainance. There is usually always some minor repair needed on at least one of the buildings and, at times, there are major construction projects such as building a new sauna.

I have included work in the sub-program because of its essential nature above and beyond the construction skills and maintainance functions. In otherwords, if the Construction trades program did not exist, the camp would want to and have to find work for its students. Work is a key component of the camp's philosophy. Teaching students how to work and the joys of work are two of the major objectives of the program. Consequently, staff are always searching for or planning a variety of work projects for the students to be involved in. In a sense, the construction trades program and the maintainance duties are subsets of the core program's work element.

As we have already been told, the sauna is the camp's only

means of bathing. In this sense, the sauna could be more appropriately viewed as one aspect of personal hygiene. The nature of the sauna experience has raised it to a special status of its own however. It is not only a novel form of bathing for most students, it is also one of the camp's challenges. Immersing oneself in a ice-covered lake during the winter months is a novel and unattractive concept. The sauna's communal nature tends to create anxiety for the students during the first few weeks of each camp, yet eventually allows the sauna to be viewed as an important and enjoyable leisure time during which staff and students can relax together. It is one of the two routine events that graduates speak of most often.

The other is the morning run. Five days a week staff and students alike must run two miles down the steep dirt road leading to the camp and then back up for a total of four miles. It is a difficult run because of the road's steep incline and the mandatory daily nature of the event. The run is only cancelled if the road is treacherously slippery with mud or ice or if the temperature drops below -24 degrees celsius.

The Behaviour Management Program

The 'self management' or 'chart' system is camp's behaviour modification program. It weaves itself into every aspect of camp life and is initially the main incentive for the students' participation in Trapping's mandatory activities.

The original tailor-made design of this system was provided by a psychologist at Prince George's College of New Caledonia. Behaviour modification is based on the premise that most human behaviour is learned through complex interactions between an individual and her or his social and biological environment. Another important assumption is this theory's belief that rewarding a behaviour will increase its probability of recurrence. The therapists attempt to isolate and articulate very specific, clearly defined and desirable behaviours. Successful completion of this behaviour will result in a reward being earned by the actor. If the rewards are clear and relevant, and if the behaviour's definition is clear, the client would choose to behave in the desired manner. The behaviour and the reward must be associated clearly in a cause and effect relationship, and should occur in close temporal proximity.

Camp Trapping's chart system offers rewards for every mandatory camp activity. In its initial form it was quite straightforward but it has now evolved into a more complex four level system, the ultimate aim of which is to eliminate the necessity of its application to each student. The performance chart (Figure 3.4:1) regulates much of daily life, at the initial or zero level of the behaviour management system. If a student performs an activity adequately, he has earned the point or reward that is associated with it. Each student can earn a maximum of ten points a day. If this is accomplished, he receives an additional two points. These bonus points are not connected to the weekly reward system. Instead

109 Figure 3.4-1
PERFORMANCE CHART

Student's Name: _____ Week of: _____

Note: A student starts the week with 0 points and earns these throughout. He can never lose a point or have them taken away. He can only earn them. In the event that a weekly total is 1/2 point, base the rewards on the next lowest whole number.

| Objective | Sat. | | Sun. | | Mon. | | Tues. | | Wed. | | Thurs. | | Fri. | |
|---|------|---|------|---|------|---|-------|---|------|---|--------|---|------|---|
| | p | c | p | c | p | c | p | c | p | c | p | c | p | c |
| Morning Alert (1/2) (1/2) = 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Work/School (1/2 + 1/2) = 2 a.m. (1/2 + 1/2) = 2 p.m. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chores a.m. (1/2 + 1/2) (1/2 + 1/2) noon. (1/2 + 1/2) p.m. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Session and Free Time Conduct 1/2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cleanliness 1/2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Run 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Punctuality 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Caretaking 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bonus (2 X 15¢) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Daily Total | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Accumulated Daily Total | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Accumulated Bonus Points | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Weekly Total

Rewards Earned: Allowance: _____

p - performance

Free Time: _____

c - conduct

they are accumulated over four week segments and can be traded in for what is known as a special function. Special functions can be of a student's choosing but must be approved by staff. Each pair of bonus points also earns the student thirty cents. The total bonus point cash accumulation is given to the student at graduation along with any other money he may have earned.

The counsellor of the day (COD) has the responsibility of ensuring an accurate recording of points earned each day. The job foreman, the teachers and the other counsellors all report back to the COD after they have determined who has earned specific points. If a point has not been earned, a brief explanation including the name of the person who determined the 'failure to earn' is normally entered on the back of the chart. Every evening except Saturday, a counsellor will call each student into the bunkhouse office to go over the day's points. During the first few months of a camp these chart sessions are emotion-laden times. Students are often aware of their point earnings but choose this time to argue, protest or threaten. Half way through the camp the chart sessions begin to lose some of their importance. Many of the students may no longer be on the chart system or may be charted for only one or two activities, having earned their way off a specific charted item with two weeks of adequate performance. A student can, however, move back to charts if his behaviour deteriorates. In a situation such as this the strong emotional flavour of the sessions may be recreated. Some students and some staff use chart sessions as a time for individual counselling. If this is the case, a chart

session can last for as long as half an hour for a particular student. It is one of the few times that a student can be assured of the undivided attention of a counsellor on a one-to-one basis. Most students prefer to either confirm or dispute their earnings as quickly as possible thus allowing themselves more free time in the evening.

Friday evenings the counselling staff will tabulate point earnings for the past week and translate them into the actual earned rewards.

The current reward system is outlined in figure 3.4:2. The amount of money earned has increased over the years to maintain its effectiveness as a reward. The possible earnings are posted on the bunkhouse wall so that each student is aware of exactly what is available.

The reward system's clarity and visibility is complimented by the clarity and visibility of the definitions of adequate performance for each charted activity and chore. A poster outlining the performance definitions is tacked to one of the counsellor bunkbeds. Bunkhouse and schoolhouse chores are outlined on a poster in the bunkhouse's mud porch while a poster defining kitchen chores is affixed to a kitchen wall.

Figure 3.4:3 and 3.4:4 are copies of these posters. As can be seen, each chore and each charted area is provided with

Figure 3.4:2 Chart System Rewards

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Allowance - 0 | .40¢ | .80¢ | 1.20 | 1.60 | 2.00 | 2.40 | 2.80 | 3.20 | 3.60 | 4.00 |
| Points Needed-68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78-84 |
| Bonus Points - | .15¢ per point, received at graduation | | | | | | | | | |

Non-monetary rewards:

Points Needed

- 78-84 - Trip to town on Saturday including: recreation or gym at counsellor's discretion, laundry, McDonalds, theatre.
- Sleep in on Sunday morning.
- 73-77 - Sleep in on Sunday.
- 69-72 - Only allowance earned.

Freetime in town: Earned by establishing trust with the counsellors; not tied to chart system.

Special Functions:

Bonus Points Needed

- 1st 4 consecutive weeks of 12 bonus points per week = 48 bonus points
- 2nd 4 consecutive weeks containing a minimum total of = 52 bonus points
- 3rd 4 consecutive weeks containing a minimum total of = 56 bonus points

Special Functions cannot be home visits and must be counsellor approved.

Figure 3.4:3 Performance Charts - Definitions

| | |
|---------------|---|
| MORNING ALERT | : Bed made, closet clean and tidy. Dressed and ready for run and/or calistenics (No smoking until after run and/or calistenics). |
| PUNCTUALITY | : Being on time as daily schedule designates. Being on time as counsellor designates. |
| CLEANINESS | : Sauna - soap body / hair - rince body / hair jump into lake |
| WORK | : Actively participate and complete assigned tasks in allotted time. |
| SCHOOL | : Actively participate and complete assigned tasks in time allotted. |
| RECREATION | : Complete four mile run <u>non-stop</u> in allotted time (masimum 45 minutes) Actively participate in designated recreation. |
| CARETAKING | : Proper storage and maintainence of all work, school and recreation equipment (or other equipment as designated by counsellors). |
| CHORES: | : Complete chores in allotted time as defined on chore chart. |

Figure 3.4:4Chore Chart Definitions

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| BROOM HILDA | : Sweep bunkhouse floor so no line is found in a single sweep. Put brooms and dust pan in proper place. |
| HYDROLOGIST | : The following water pails must be full to line: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bunkhouse - stove wash water - drinking water container (must be strained) 2. Kitchen - hot water container - cold water container - wipe off all counters and floor of spilt water - hange up water carrying pails |
| FIRE BUG | : Bunkhouse bin full to line Kindling in box full to line Make and maintain bunkhouse fire when needed Put away axe |
| LAVORATORY TECHNICIAN | : Two rolls of toilet paper in out-house Sweep out-house floor Wipe seats with pinesol - once a day (after supper) Clean wash basins in bunkhouse Top counter, tidy and wiped clean Put away all cleaning material in designated area. |
| SANITARY ENGINEER | : Empty kitchen slop pail when needed - at least once a day. Wash slop pail once a day after supper Sweep kitchen floor and all porches Shake out all rugs Empty and replace full garbage bags when needed - at least once a day. |
| KITCHEN HELP: | |
| Washer | : Wash all dishes, pots, pan, utensils, etc. Clean out sinks and basins - wipe down counter top around sink. Note: be sure to put one camp of bleach in wash water. |

Figure 3.4:4 continued

- Dryer : Dry all dishes, pots, pans, utensils, etc.
Put away all dishes, pots, etc.
Put away all condiments from eating tables.
Wash and dry all eating tables and benches.
Hang drying towels in proper place.
- KITCHEN DUTY : Assist cook in designated task when needed.
Put away all leftover food after each meal
in designated place.
Set tables for each meal.
Clean stove grill when needed.
Clean counters where food is prepared and
served.
- CAMP DUTIES : Feed cat
Sweep school-recreation room floor after
breakfast.
Do extra tasks designated by counsellor.
- JOB FOREMAN : Check each and all chores after every meal
and report to counsellor of the day only.
- PLEASE NOTE : Each day (in the morning) one counsellor
should be designated Counsellor of the day.
That counsellor will then be responsible
for checking all chores throughout the day
and marking charts. Job foreman is responsible
for reporting chores to designated Counsellor
of the day.

Figure 3.4:5

Conduct Code

You can earn this point by behaving in a responsible manner to those around you. If you verbally or physically abuse (i.e. swear at, hit or call down) others then you will be expected to discuss the matter in a calm manner within a short time and to apologize if necessary. You may not agree with a person, or with their actions but swearing or fighting is not an appropriate response. You may earn half a work point for doing the job you are supposed to do but may not earn the other half if you swear at someone, etc.. On the other hand, you may earn your conduct point for being civil to others but not earn the performance point if you do not complete the task.

a definition that is relatively easy to measure. Students have no difficulty in understanding these definitions after one or two weeks of direct involvement with the tasks at hand. There are however, some grey areas open to interpretation. Performance at work and school, although defined as 'completing required task' is often modified to allow for those people who have tried their best to complete the task but have been unable to do so. The conduct point is even more subjective although every attempt is made to make it as clear as possible. Nevertheless, it does offer supervisory latitude in its administration. Outline in Figure 3.-:5 the conduct point definition is also tacked to the bunkhouse wall.

The camp's behaviour modification chart system operates on the principal of positive reinforcement, complimenting the camp's emphasis on the 'positive' in all aspects of life. Negative reinforcement and punishment are believed to be counter-productive. Consequently, staff are advised to 'let the charts do the work' (staff policy manual, section 2, page three). Rather than cajole or criticize a student concerning inadequate performance, staff are told to comment only on the successfully completed charted areas. The unearned points are considered to be an effective reminder of needed improvement without any verbal clarification from the staff.

Students must be frequently reminded that points are always earned and never taken away. Counsellors are careful to say "You failed to earn 'x'" as opposed to "you lost 'x'". This distinction appears to be too subtle for many of the students. If the students

believe they have been given the points as a right, then loose them for inappropriate behaviour, the system is transformed from one of positive reinforcement to one of punishment.

The chart system is designed to ensure the students' effective participation in the daily routines. If administered consistently, a new camp will be running smoothly in a month as far as its basic maintainance is concerned. The chart system, at this level, is not designed to deal with the specific behavioural problems and developmental needs of each individual. It does however provide tone, setting and a clearly understood pattern on which other therapeutic techniques can rest.

On rare occasions, an individual student's chart may be modified. A student who has a particularly troublesome behaviour, e.g. excessive swearing or aggressiveness may have a new charted area added or substituted. It is possible then, that a student may have to earn a daily 'politeness point' based on a definition provided by the staff. This type of modification is rare and handled with caution as staff must avoid charting an unmeasureable behaviour or one which would be inappropriately dealt with by the chart system.

The staff's ultimate aim is to have each student transcend the chart's zero base and attain Level II or beyond. As a student progresses their will be charted areas in which the student excells. After two weeks of earning perfect points in these areas, the

student is no longer required to earn the points in question. It is assumed that he has internalized the behaviours and will perform then out of habit or desire. Eventually (it is hoped) a student will reach this point in every area. When this occurs for two consecutive weeks the student has reached Level I. Level I can be both a transistional phase or an end result. In order to transcend it, a student must maintain his perfect point record for an additional two weeks and create a personal development plan that outlines specific behavioural problems he exhibits and the various means he will employ to eliminate them. Counsellors often help the students with this task. At the end of two weeks, the student presents his contract to the Monday staff meeting at which time Level II status will be granted if everyone is in agreement with the contract.

A student at Level I is said to be at the self management stage. His rewards are automatic but are still tied to the chart system. He receives a warning on any charted activity the first time in any given week that he fails to perform adequately in that area. The second time this occurs he is placed back on charts for that activity and must perform perfectly for another two weeks in order to earn his way off. If a student gets a total of three warnings a week, spread throughout all the charted areas, he goes back on charts for every area in which he has received a warning. By the time a student has reached Level II he is obviously quite adept at managing adequate performance in the charted areas. While on Level I, each student is given his own chart on which he records what he

thinks he has earned. This is then compared with the staff records each evening.

Level II is further removed from the chart system. A Level II student is not put back on charts in the same manner as described above. Instead, each Level II member monitors and records his and his fellow member's behaviour throughout the week. On Friday evenings there is a Level II meeting which allows special priveledges like hot chocolate and smoking in the kitchen. During this meeting each student presents his evaluation of his week's performance and states whether or not he believes he has earned full rewards. Other Level II members then comment on their impressions of his behaviour. Finally, all present vote on any rewards to be granted. One staff member is always present and is allowed to vote. In order for a vote to pass it must be unanimous. Level II members also share their contracts with each other and critique performance based on these personalized goals. Rewards can be withheld or reduced if it is decided that a member has not lived up to his contract. Entry into and exit from Level II are not determined by the members but by the staff. If a Level II's attitude is not considered appropriate he can be demoted to a lesser status, although once again, the demotion would be described as a failure to earn the priveledge of staying at Level II. As Level II members are supposed to be examples to other students, non-charted inappropriate behaviour can be anything that is not considered supportive or reflective of the camp's ideology.

Level II members can also be promoted to Level III. Level III is, in effect, a junior counsellor position and only two students have as yet earned this status. The primary prerequisite for Level III is evidence of leadership ability coupled with an ability to maintain a good rapport with both students and staff. Camp Trapping staff have not yet developed the Level III status to their satisfaction as neither its rewards nor its responsibilities have been clearly defined.

Attaining any level is no guarantee that one will stay there. During my five week stay at Trapping Lake, one student was demoted from Level II because of a temper tantrum he threw in learning that his free time for the next town visit was to be revoked. Consistently appropriate behaviour is the only sure means of avoiding demotion.

Camp Trapping does not consider the chart system to be its most effective therapeutic tool although it is considered invaluable for establishing consistent and acceptable behavioural patterns at the camp. Success with the chart system establishes only the minimum behavioural standard however. There are three other recognized therapeutic approaches that Camp Trapping uses in an attempt to go beyond this minimum standard.

Other Recognized Therapeutic Techniques

Modeling

The staff policy manual includes modeling as part of the behavioural management techniques the camp uses. Modeling also relates directly to Hawkenson's insistence that counsellors should be ideal images of successful people whose actions match their words. Counsellors are admonished to never ask a student to do something they themselves would not do. They are not to tell students what to do but instead are to show by action and involvement what and how to do it. This involves all aspects of camp life.

Staff sleep in the same room as the students, run each morning with the students, work side by side with the students and abide by the same camp rules as the students. This also holds for interpersonal interactions. Staff are constantly aware of their responsibility to deal with other staff and the students in a manner that exemplifies the advocated values of sharing, empathy, honesty and consideration. Staff must also show that they accept responsibility for their actions even if this means being able to admit they are wrong and capable of erring.

In general, this approach is taken for two different reasons. On the one hand it is inspired by Hawkenson's 'do unto others as you would have them do unto you' approach. On the other hand, as a tenant of a therapeutic regime, this approach is seen to provide a consistent example of appropriate behaviour which students can observe, experiment with or mimic.

There is very little written information in the training

manual which deals with modeling. Instead it has the stature of a fundamental, almost sacrosanct, convention. It is intimately connected with personality requirements deemed essential for employment at Camp Trapping and as such is almost viewed as a natural rather than a theoretical therapeutic tool. A counsellor must 'have it' or 'live it' as opposed to employing it.

Reality Therapy

Reality Therapy is a therapeutic model designed by William Glaser. 1. It begins with the assumption that all people need to be loved and to love, and need to feel worthwhile to themselves and others. It also assumes that we need a strong personal identity. A 'failure identity' results from a person's inability to act in a responsible manner as defined by that person's context. A 'success identity' is developed by active, responsible involvement with one's environment.

A person should be able to accept responsibility for his or her actions and thus be able to accept the positive and negative consequences of these actions. In short, a person must believe that his or her actions affect the environment. Victim stances are not tolerated in Reality Therapy. There are basic principles involved.

The first is that every person needs involvement and intimacy with others. Clients or students must feel they are important

to the therapist. They must feel that he or she cares for them and believes in their potential. Although this is a necessary prerequisite, it is not sufficient. True caring, in Glasser's opinion, can only occur when one is willing to demand responsible action from the one that is cared for. This can only be done however if the demander can be seen to accept responsibility for his or her own actions. This means that the counsellor must accept scrutiny and critique from the counselled. The terms of this caring relationship must also be clearly established. Staff must be honest with their friendship and explain that its limits are defined by their job as therapists.

Reality therapists do not dwell on or dig into the past. On the contrary, they avoid or discourage conversation about past failures or irresponsible behaviour, preferring instead to concentrate on the present and the desired future. In keeping with this second principle, counsellors attempt to work with actions or behaviours, as opposed to feelings. They believe that when a person performs better (i.e. responsibly) they will then feel better. Although a Reality Therapist will not deny that past events have led to present behaviours, he or she believes that the person must not dwell on the past. Instead, he must realize that it is his choice to act as he does in the present and as such, it is within his ability to choose successful behaviours regardless of what has gone before.

Once a student has realized this and once he has developed a

warm, personal involvement with the counsellor, he is ready to begin evaluating his own behaviour. A counsellor should not preach or moralize but concentrate instead on pointing out various behaviours and their consequences, then help the student to decide which of these are the most effective and helpful.

Finally, the counsellor and student can begin to plan together. The student can now commit himself or 'contract' to achieve certain performance standards or behaviours, ones he has chosen himself. At this point, the counsellor's responsibility is to agree to hold the student to his promises. She must not accept excuses or rationalizations but focus instead on whether or not the plans are being put into action. Counsellors are to be tenacious in their efforts to ensure that a student fulfills his commitment to himself. One can see a similarity here with the behaviour modification program's level system.

The counsellor must never punish, cajole or force compliance. He or she must rely on a system of natural or logical consequences that are clearly spelled out and understood as part of the planning process. In this way, the student begins to see he has a choice of actions, each with its own result regardless of the feelings or authority position of the counsellor.

This is only a brief outline of the perspective and techniques of Reality Therapy. I believe it is sufficient to provide us with some idea of the focus and themes it creates. The Camp Trapping

staff manual maintains that it is the major therapeutic tool (page 12) and provides a fourteen page summary of its principles and practice. It's major themes appear to be as follows: develop a warm personal relationship; accept responsibility for your actions and their consequences; an individual always has choice; and concentrate on doing or 'acting' in the present.

Positive Peer Culture

Positive Peer Culture (PPC) is a new addition to the Camp Trapping milieu. In this context, it refers to a specific group therapy or problem solving design developed by Harry H. Vorrath and Larry K. Brendtro. 2.

Before briefly describing what it entails, it must be noted that Camp Trapping has always recognized the importance of peer influence and has attempted to create a positive peer culture simply through daily interaction and involvement. PPC however provides a systematic group process in which this can be developed, a modified version of which now shapes the camp's evening sessions.

It must be noted that there are no CATS staff with extensive formal training in either Reality Therapy or PPC. The camp's present director and one of it's counsellors have extensive training in psychology, especially in respect to conditioning techniques. Familiarity with the other therapies is the result of short workshops or extensive reading or on-the-job training.

In respect to PPC, two of the present CATS staff have worked at another B.C. wilderness rehabilitation program which uses PPC, and the CATS staff have had one PPC workshop. Staff often mention their desire to have more specific training in these areas.

PPC is based on the assumption that the adolescent peer group is the single most influential group affecting adolescent behaviour. It provides a system that is intended to strengthen an informal positive influence or transform a negative to a positive influence. Like Reality Therapy, it assumes that the 'here and now' is more important than the 'then and there' and that each person needs to be accepted by others and deserves acceptance. Although aggressive attacks on and exposure of an individual is avoided, it emphasises trust and openness in discussing and presenting problems and maintains that challenge is essential if behaviour is to be altered.

Vorrath and Brendtro believe that adolescents are in a limbo, caught between child and adult status with no valid role or credibility. Their system is designed to allow adolescents an active, responsible role in helping others cope with problems and succeed in the world. They maintain that this system shows adolescents their own potential and encourages them to strive for greatness rather than acquiesce to authority.

There is an underlying value which the PPC creators wish to impart. They believe that anything which hurts a person is wrong and that we are all responsible for caring for one another. 3.

The overall objective of PPC is to make caring fashionable while at the same time providing an effective group problem solving model. Modeling caring behaviour and relabelling caring activities are two of its principal techniques.

The creators of PPC provide a very specific format for the process which they believe, should be rigidly adhered to. It is a group process with the group to meet five times a week for approximately an hour and a half each session. There should be only one group leader whose responsibility it is to provide the ground rules, direct the conversation through subtle questions rather than persistent control, ensure that the rules are followed, and provide a summary of the sessions events. In a sense, he or she is a chairperson who is to provide structure rather than content, which should be provided by the adolescents. Formal PPC is set up in a specific spatial arrangement (horseshoe of chairs with the open end of the horseshoe partially filled by the chairperson's chair and table) in a room that will protect the group from outside distractions. The group should not be co-ed, and the students are to accept responsibility for all the problem solving.

A meeting begins with a review of all the known problems and attempted resolutions which the group has dealt with. Afterwards new problems or continuing issues are presented and the group votes on which one it will deal with that evening. The rest of the time, save for a ten minute summing up period, is spent clarifying the problem and exploring solutions.

PPC membership is open ended. New members are chosen by staff but members can graduate from the group only after the group has decided that they are ready to leave. Its creators maintain the PPC takes a minimum of four months for it to have an effect on a delinquent population. Ideally the group members should and are encouraged to continue their positive problem solving outside of the formal meetings. They are expected to begin to act as positive peer influences in the society at large. Vorrath and Brendtro call this a practical therapeutic approach based on counselling experience as opposed to theoretical concepts. They go on to say that a person can only learn the techniques by exposure to and practise of it. 4.

Much more could be said about all these therapeutic techniques. I have left out most of the detailed rationale and operating methods for each. The brief sketches provided do, however, provide an accurate outline of their major assumptions and objectives.

We can see common threads running through them all. Each therapeutic technique is present-oriented and concerned with actions or behaviour as opposed to feelings or thoughts. Each one in its own way demands that the students accept responsibility for their actions.

Each therapy also provides its own unique contribution which compliments the other therapies. The chart systems provides practise in fulfilling a consistent routine and ensures that a minimum standard of physical and social well-being is maintained.

Modeling provides a tangible and observable manifestation of appropriate behaviour attached to, or as a part of, a respected and intimate other.

Reality therapy provides a clear theoretical model which can be used to apply a judicious combination of love and a demand for action. It emphasizes that a person's actions result from that person's own choice, an emphasis that simultaneously places the responsibility for actions on the actor while providing that person with the awareness that he or she can effect his or her own life. It also suggests the contracting system at use in the program. Finally, PPC provides Camp Trapping with its first consistent model of conscientious sharing among peers. As Hawkenson has already noted, 'sharing success with others' was the one aspect of his ideology that he found difficult to teach. PPC, although unproven as yet, at least provides a group therapy design that has sharing and caring as its primary objectives. Without advocating or rejecting Trapping's ideology and methods one must at least admit that it shows internal consistency. As we examine Trapping's value system we will begin to see a consistency between the methods we have been introduced to and the value system it promotes.

CAMP TRAPPING VALUES - WRITTEN: 3.5

As we have seen, a rite of passage can be viewed as a socialization process which attempts to bond individuals with the dominant values and behaviours of a given culture. It attempts to do so by revitalizing the relationships and injecting meaning and purpose into everyday life.

In the rituals of preliterate societies, myth is often the exegetic modality embodying descriptions of things as they came to be and as they must be; they provide a beginning and a rationale of sorts for the values and belief system of a culture. In literate, cosmopolitan and mobile societies myth is often superseded or overshadowed by doctrinaire or dogma. Our values are carried in a more linear and less metaphorical fashion. 1. Camp Trapping as a rehabilitation program is, in effect, a re-socialization program and as such is very much concerned with values education particularly in respect to their enactment in everyday life. One can find a clear doctrine or ideology in the various publications Trapping has produced. Before reviewing these however, it will be helpful to briefly examine the ideology of the Outward Bound movement, an other program with similar goals and methods.

The Outward Bound Ideology

Outward Bound has been defined as "... an educational process dedicated to the principle that the individual develops self-

confidence, concern for others and self awareness in the broad scheme of things when confronted by challenging, shared experience and adventure". 2.

This theme is based on the following assumptions:

- one reveres life for having experienced it in real, dramatic terms.
- from such experience one learns to respect self.
- from respect for self flows compassion for others.
- compassion for others is best expressed in service to mankind. 3.

Like Outward Bound, Camp Trapping believes that an exciting and demanding wilderness environment provides the most effective and least complex context in which these principles can be experientially learned. Unlike Outward Bound, Trapping offers its program only to teenage boys who have run afoul of the Canadian legal system. Trapping thus maintains that an Outward Bound - like experience can or should end or reduce an individual's proclivity to break the law or act in an anti-social manner.

Camp Trapping has expressed its values and assumptions in a number of documents it has published for internal consumption. They are found with particular clarity in the staff manuals. The following fourteen points are a synthesis of these statements.

1. Pre-camp student behaviour is inappropriate. It is harmful to both the student and his society.
2. Camp Trapping provides an opportunity for realizing all of the following:

3. The student as an individual is valuable in his own right.
4. The student has potential, positive qualities which have not been realized.
5. If these qualities and abilities are realized, the student's self image will improve.
6. If the student's self image improves, his behaviour will become more appropriate.
7. The student's self image and behaviour (positive) will only be maintained if it is shared with and recognized by those around him.
8. It is a responsibility of each individual to develop these potential qualities and abilities.
9. The individual is responsible for his actions and must bear the consequences of that responsibility.
10. The individual grows through experiencing challenge and conflict.
11. Demand from others only what you would demand from yourself.
12. It is essential to develop empathy for the situations of others.
13. Positive self-image and functional behaviour can only be maintained if one develops successful routines or habits that are productive in the community.
14. Positive self-image, functional behaviour and successful routine can be developed by mental, physical and spiritual exercise. 3.

These fourteen points should be said to comprise a fair doctrinal body for Camp Trapping. The key points are stated as truths, as the way things must be. Using Turner's definitions we have here a modern-day equivalent or substitute for, myth.

This written value system, the key informants' opinions which follow in the next chapter, and Hawkenson's personal beliefs and aims present a doctrine of the powerful and potentially self-

actualizing individual who, if given the opportunity, will naturally discover and utilize all his or her inherent abilities. This can only be accomplished however through struggle, challenge and conflict.

The individual is only finally and completely successful if these achievements are shared, recognized and appreciated by others. If success is obtained with no concern for others, (lack of empathy), and indeed at the expense of others, then it will be transitory and ultimately worthless. This ideology's congruence with Canadian and Protestant - perhaps Christian - values, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter four and in the epilogue.

Cariboo Action Training Society has also developed a set of four objectives which articulates, in a general way, what it wants its students to experience. They are as follows:

- 1) To develop the maturity level of each student by exposing them to a wide range of life responsibilities within the program.
 - 2) To increase the interest level of each participant in the world about them by exposing them to a variety of experience.
 - 3) To increase recreational and mechanical skills as well as to develop good work habits.
 - 4) To increase the level of self motivation by enhancing the student's self image in terms of achieving and recognizing success.
- A challenge-commitment process is built into the system.

The self management program and reality therapy are described

as two of the techniques used to obtain the first objective. The work program, recreation, play, out-trips and counsellor enthusiasm are aspects of the program aimed at accomplishing the second objective. The wilderness location and camp routines are said to operationalize objective three. Emphasizing the positive, what can be rather than cannot be done, counsellor-student rapport, and continual challenges for both staff and students are all intended to promote objective four. 4.

We now have some idea of how Camp Trapping presents itself to the community. It's 'philosophy' or value system, the structure, techniques and objectives are all available in written form on publicity pamphlets, in the policy manual and in the 1976 Evaluation Report. It is a picture of Camp Trapping that the average citizen could obtain in an hour's reading. To know more about Camp Trapping one must either speak with someone who has been involved with the program, or observe, or participate in life at the camp. In the next chapter we will examine what a variety of CATS associates have to say about various aspects of the CATS program at Trapping Lake.

CHAPTER FOUR

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS - INTRODUCTION AND VALUE STANCE

In March 1982, two months before I actually begin living at Camp Trapping, I spent a week in Prince George interviewing a variety of people who were or had been involved with Cariboo Action Training Society. These interviews were conducted to obtain subjective opinion about Camp Trapping from a variety of perspectives. All the key informants had been associated with CATS for a minimum of two years. Some has been involved since the camp's inception in 1971. Their relationship with CATS is as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Ministry of Human Resources | 1) Liason worker and referring agent. |
| | 2) Family and Children's Services Coordinator (Funder) |
| Juvenile Probation | 1) Liason worker and referring agent. |
| | 2) Referring agent. |
| CATS, Society Members | 1) President |
| | 2) Board Member |
| CATS, Staff | 1) Program Director |
| | 2) Male Staff |
| | 3) Female Staff |
| Former Associates | 1) Founder |
| | 2) Program Director 1976-1978 |

Each informant responded to an identical set of questions during the first two thirds of the interview. Refer to Appendix 5 for the questions used during the interviews. There were two exceptions to

this pattern. The MHR Family and Children's Services Coordinator (Funder) was unable to provide me with enough time for a complete interview. As a consequence we discussed only his formal role in respect to CATS budgeting and financial concerns. The founder on the other hand was able to provide me with a wealth of information about Camp Trapping in a free flowing reverie prompted only occasionally by my questions. As he spoke, I heard answers to all my pre-arranged questions.

Each interview was at least ninety minutes in length and recorded on audio tape. The interviews focused on four broad areas:

- i) purposes or goals;
- ii) values;
- iii) Camp Trapping sub-programs;
- iv) techniques and methods.

A fifth section asked questions designed specifically to gather subjective information related to rites of passage theory.

The interview format allowed a great variety of responses in each area. It was relatively easy to distinguish a few common themes running throughout each section however.

I had originally intended to use the information gathered during these interviews to help me focus on relevant points of view, behaviours and rhetoric in evidence at Camp Trapping which could indicate both staff and student compliance with the articulated ideology. I had also toyed with the idea of creating a student

questionnaire based on this information which could assist me in determining whether or not the students had incorporated the desired value system and behavioural stance.

It soon became evident however that this evaluative effort was expanding the scope of this study beyond the bounds of manageability given the time constraints with which I was faced. As importantly, I came to realize that the intent of this study was not to prove or disprove the effectiveness of the Trapping approach. Instead, the primary objective was to examine the intent and procedures of the program in an attempt to ascertain whether or not it fit into a ritualistic rite of passage format.

As a result, much of the information obtained from these interviews became unimportant in respect to the thrust of this study. The interviews did, however re-introduce me to the tone, level of commitment and rhetoric of the Camp Trapping environment. They also provided me with an opportunity to discover how others interpreted the program.

The key informants' values and goals statements became relevant to this study's hidden objective. While unconscious and unarticulated initially, I became aware of my own need and interest in discovering the underlying point of view and interpretation of the world as Camp Trapping presented it. I believe this information is valuable if only because it is so often ignored as we attempt to develop and operate social service programs. We would be well

advised to become more aware of our own points of view or interpretations of the world, as they are, ultimately, that which we are attempting to thrust on others.

My questions and the comments they elicited did not lead themselves well to a positivistic, demographic and/or statistical analysis. The interview schedule had not been designed to do so. It had, instead, been designed to gather information on which to base a more carefully constructed questionnaire and observational guideline.

As a result, most of the information the key informants provided is not presented to the reader in this section. The key informant comments on values and goals have direct bearing on the analysis presented in Chapter Five and the epilogue. It is therefore, contained within the main body of this study. All the remaining information they provided has been very (curatorily) summarized and tabulated. This can be found in Appendices i and ii should the reader be interested in examining it.

Camp Trapping Value System

It appears that values (defined as beliefs, standards or moral precepts concerning human interaction with the psychological, social and natural environment) are rather difficult to pin down. Many of the informants were hesitant or came up with only one or two value statements when asked to comment specifically on Trapping's value

system. Throughout the interview however, numerous values statements were made, particularly in respect to Trapping's goals and objectives. Shifting through the transcripts of these interviews, I sought out statements that were indicative of a value or belief. Statements such as 'there's no free lunch', 'people are precious', 'people should be go-getters', 'people should be useful', were classified as value statements along with more direct statements such as 'honesty is an important value'. Many of these statements blended and shared attributes, making it difficult to isolate the key point the speaker was attempting to make. There did however, appear to be eight common themes running throughout the interviews supplemented by six other values statements which stood out but were expressed by only one or two of the respondents.

Value I - The Three A's: Ambition, Assertion, Achievement

As with each values statement, I have summarized and synthesized a multitude of statements made by the key informants. Though the phrasing is mine, the content was provided by the respondents.

The first values statement I have summarized as the statement: "You should be assertive, ambitious and achievement oriented". This is of course, an amalgamation of a cluster of values which were usually mentioned in conjunction with each other. The 'Three A's' all have a dynamic, goal-oriented tone about them which implies that to succeed to whatever you are doing is of great importance. It also implies that being active is preferable to being passive. Seven

informants stressed this value and only one of the five present or former CATS employees did not stress its importance.

Value II - Each Individual is Precious

I have used Hawkenson's phrasing to epitomize this cluster of value statements. The cluster includes such statements as 'you should avoid self-destructive behaviour', 'you should build self-respect', 'each person has a great potential', 'each individual is of value', 'each individual is worthwhile', and 'man is good'. Once again, there were seven informants who stressed this value, four of whom were present or former employees.

Value III - Each individual has the responsibility and ability to control his/her life.

The inherentness of the ability and potential to effect and control one's life is a common element of the first three value statements. It is difficult to conceive of anyone working in the rehabilitation field without this being one of their basic working assumptions. The key element of this statement which provides its uniqueness is its emphasis on responsibility. The cluster of statements subsumed under Value III contains such phrases as 'people are responsible for their actions', 'people must accept the consequences of their actions', 'each person ought to realize their potential'. It assumes that all people have a choice and are, in a sense, creators of their own environment or situation. It

assumes that it is not only our right but our duty to control our own lives. Eight informants mentioned this value and once again four of the five former or current staff included it in their statements.

Value IV - You should have reverance and respect for others

Every informant referred to this value at least once. In one sense it is a logical extension of Value II. Value II however is more concerned with each person believing in their own preciousness while Value IV serves as a reminder that others must be seen in the same light. Reference to this value is contained in such phrases as 'you should have thoughtfulness and regard for others', 'only ask others to do what you will do', 'I'm not the most important person in the world', 'be fair', 'care for others', and 'be concerned for others'.

Value V - You should be cooperative and useful in the community.

While this value shares attributes with I and IV its difference lies in the communal utilitarianess of its objectives. For some of the informants this value also implies that it is necessary to share with others before you can be self-fulfilled.

Reference to this value cluster is made in such statements as; 'you can't be happy if you hoard success to yourself', 'share your success', 'help friends', 'be a useful citizen', 'contribute something

to society', 'be cooperative', 'be constructive for society'. Seven of the informants made these and similar statements.

Value VI - You must earn your own way.

There are two overriding implications derived from this value cluster: 1) a person cannot depend on others for their basic needs, and 2) you must work or expend effort to survive. These ideas are expressed in statements such as 'you can't be free if you are dependant on someone else', 'the guys have to learn to earn their own way', 'you have to work hard', 'there's no free lunch', and 'you only get what you give'. Half of the informants offered this type of statement as an expression of Camp Trapping values.

Value VII - Live within the rules

Six informants believed that Camp Trapping taught the value and importance of living within the confines of society's laws and conventions. This was expressed in such statements as 'be lawabiding', 'do what's expected of you in an acceptable manner', 'accept things you can't change', and 'an individual can't live without structure'.

Value VIII - Openess

All of the current Camp Trapping employees believed that 'openess' is an important Camp Trapping value. Although only one

other informant mentioned it, it appears that those working with the students believe it is an active operating principle. It is expressed in such statements as 'be honest', 'trust yourself and others', and 'be open'. It seems to imply that honest communication with and trust of others benefits the individual.

Value statments IX to XIV did not appear to fit comfortably within any of the preceeding categories. Although one might assume that they refer to one or more of Values I to VIII, they also appear to me as having messages of their own. They are as follows:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| IX : 'You can't force values down another's throat' | (1) |
| X : 'Democracy' | (1) |
| XI : Christian ethics | (2) |
| XII: 'Be positive' | (1) |
| XIII: 'Be happy' | (1) |
| XIV : 'you grow through facing challenges' | (2) |

KEY INFORMANT VALUES STATEMENTS BY TYPE OF INFORMANT

| | <u>I</u> | <u>II</u> | <u>III</u> | <u>IV</u> | <u>V</u> | <u>VI</u> | <u>VII</u> | <u>VIII</u> | <u>IX</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>XI</u> | <u>XII</u> | <u>XIII</u> | <u>XIV</u> |
|----------------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|
| Current Director | x | x | x | x | x | o | x | x | x | o | o | o | o | x |
| Current Staff Male | o | x | x | x | o | x | x | x | o | o | o | o | o | |
| Current Staff Female | x | x | o | x | x | x | x | x | x | o | o | o | o | |
| Founder | x | x | x | x | x | x | o | o | o | o | o | x | x | x |
| Former Director | x | o | x | x | o | x | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | |
| CATS Member Male | o | x | x | x | x | x | x | o | o | o | o | o | o | |
| CATS Member Female | x | o | x | x | x | o | o | o | o | x | x | o | o | |
| Referring Agent | x | x | o | x | x | o | o | x | o | o | o | o | x | |
| Referring Agent | x | o | x | x | x | o | x | o | o | o | o | o | o | |
| Referring Agent | o | x | x | x | o | o | x | o | o | o | o | o | o | |
| TOTALS | 7 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | |

x = made statements agreeing with value.

o = did not.

Camp Trapping's Moral/Ethical Perspective

Taken as a whole, this value system (statements I-XIV) immediately excluded the philosophical belief that people are inherently 'bad'. Consensus on Value IV, and seven of ten agreeing with Value II could lead one to believe that this particular group of key informants believes that Camp Trapping believes people are inherently 'good'. From this perspective, individuals who exhibit 'bad' behaviours are not 'bad' in themselves. They are, instead, misguided and must be redirected to the source of their own inherent goodness. The emphasis placed on valued I, V, VI, and VII however, leads me to believe that the predominant assumption about human nature expressed here is that a human being presents a tabula rasa or neutral entity who can choose to be either good or bad. Developing this one step further, the informants appear to be saying that an enlightened self interest should lead one to the conclusion that self and others are of equal value and that one cannot succeed without the help of others and without helping them in return.

The ideal person emerging from this values composite has somehow managed to love her/himself and others, share and cooperate with others, while at the same time realizing his or her own goals and potential. This totally integrated individual has a finely developed sense of social duty and self care. He is able to achieve his ambitions without harming others and will help others whenever possible. She is able to do this because of the great inner potential and preciousness of the individual.

The informants' opinions on other Camp Trapping aspects provide further value statements (see Appendix). They are not, however, in contradiction to what we have already seen. The most important of these is the informants' belief that actions are far more significant than intentions. In the Camp Trapping milieu one learns through doing; one is understood and interpreted through one's behaviour. An individual's intent, thoughts, and value system are not as relevant as the individual's actions.

Camp Trapping's emphasis on routine, physical activity, and personal daily interaction are examples of this stance, as is its adherence to Reality Therapy and Behavioural management techniques.

Another assumption (and hence value stance) that emerges, concerns the importance of challenge and struggle in the learning process. We have already seen that the prevalent belief at Camp Trapping is that one learns best by direct participation in an activity and that one learns most effectively by confronting and overcoming a variety of obstacles which are taken on as personal challenges. Struggle and confrontation are thus 'good' activities which facilitate self development and social order.

The Canadian Context

It is surprisingly difficult to locate a concise 'official' statement of Canadian values. Perhaps our attempt to incorporate

a wide range of philosophies, political doctrines, religious and cultures makes us reluctant to advocate any one set of guiding principles. Yet, if you were to show the list of Camp Trapping values to a random sample of Canadians I believe you would find that, by and large, the list would be considered an accurate expression of what Canadians think they should believe.

In his booklet Enduring Values , the Saskatchewan educator Henry Janzen presents a list of nine 'cardinal principles for effective living' or 'core value concepts'. They are as follows: 1) establishing warm relationships with others; 2) accepting responsibility; 3) demonstrating courage and self discipline; 4) feeling reverence; 5) promoting respect for law and order; 6) developing responsible relationships with the opposite sex; 7) learning responsible financial management; 8) developing international understanding and concern; 9) maturing into integrity. 1.

Although Camp Trapping writings and the key informants make no specific reference to points six and eight, we can see that the two lists (Janzen and Camp Trapping) have a great deal in common. I believe it is safe to assume that Camp Trapping has created a value system that is closely attuned to Canadian culture.

Key Informants - Camp Trapping's Goals

A number of informants mentioned very specific goals such as teaching good nutritional habits, personal hygiene, punctuality, good

manners, consistency, completing assigned tasks and improved physical condition. While these may well be important aspects of the program, I have assumed that all of them are covered under the broader goal categories that emerged. These specific goal statements are all covered implicitly or explicitly in the chart system described in Chapter 2.4.

Five broad goal statements emerged from my interpretation of the key informant's statements. They are as follows: 1) end or significantly reduce lawbreaking, 2) to provide immediate social control and consequences in an isolated but supportive environment, 3) to provide practical social skills, 4) to encourage personal growth in socially accepted manner, 5) to mold the students into more acceptable citizens over and above ending their law breaking activities.

These goal statements are the result of a preliminary and tentative content analysis of the information provided during the interviews. Each goal statement is based on a very subjective amalgamation of key informant comments. Category I, "to end or significantly reduce law breaking", is a paraphrasing of statements such as: "Graduates should keep out of trouble with the law", "Camp Trapping is designed to treat hard core delinquents" and "Camp Trapping tries to get the kids out of a delinquent rut". Every person interviewed mentioned something to this effect.

Category II, "To provide immediate social control and consequences

for juvenile law breakers in an appropriate and supportive environment" expands on Category I. It is the most punitive of the categories expressing as it does a clear desire to protect society in an cost effective but humane environment while providing 'appropriate' consequences for the misdeeds the Camp Trapping students have committed. It is best exemplified by the key informant-provided statement "Camp Trapping is designed to remove troublesome people from the community and provide appropriate consequences". It also contains statements such as "to provide an alternative to jail or containment", and "to provide containment and consequences in an cost effective manner".

Category III, "To teach practical social skills to the students" includes statements like "students should learn to relate well to their families and others", and "students should learn to take responsibility for their actions and to accept the consequences". It also includes statements that describe the type of social skills that the students should develop. They should be able to "control themselves", "think their way through difficulties", "think and act constructively in a group" and "look after themselves" (e.g. financial independence).

Category IV, "To encourage personal growth in a socially accepted manner", focuses on self improvement. Key informants believed it was important for the students to learn to feel better about themselves and develop skills and abilities that would help them succeed in a socially accepted manner. This category includes such statements as

"Camp Trapping should let them experience success in non-delinquent activities", "provide them with a stronger identity" and "provide them with more self worth".

Category V, "To make them better citizens" takes us beyond passive or negative definitions of the ideal graduate in respect to his relationship to society. It speaks of the students' and the society's need to have the students contribute to the society in a positive and constructive fashion. It includes statements such as "Camp Trapping should make them positive, constructive and consistent citizens," "... teach them that they have to fit into a highly structured and routine world" and "... give them something acceptable to believe in and follow."

Although categories III and IV seem to have much in common, the former concentrates on outward manifestations of acceptable behaviour while the latter concentrates on feelings and behaviours relevant primarily to the individual. Categories V and III are also similar, the former however concentrates only on what society wants to see whereas the latter focuses more on the social skills the informants wish to see students develop. Category I may be seen as the minimum requirement in Category V but because of the nature of the Camp Trapping clientele it receives a very strong emphasis and should be viewed as a separate goal. We can see how the goals and values compliment and blend with one another. While there is certainly less emphasis on the preciousness of the self and others, more functional equivalents of these values can be found in goal areas III, IV and V.

Conformity, usefulness and social acceptability are the predominant themes in goals III and IV. These correspond to key values VI - 'you must earn your own way', and VII, 'live within the rules'. Finally, the goal statements also recognize the necessity of placing controls on individuals and protecting society. In society's eyes, Camp Trapping is a control of and consequence for inappropriate behaviour. If our key informants are correct, it is one of the most important aspects of Camp Trapping as far as the average citizen is concerned. If this were the only goal however, little more than a jail would be needed.

Chapter 3 and 4 have provided, I hope, a bird's eye view of Camp Trapping. The description these chapters contain could be obtained without ever visiting the Trapping Lake site. It is a description in short, of what is said about Camp Trapping. While certain parallels between Camp Trapping and the Turnerian rites of passage theory can already be detected, it would be unfair to begin any analysis of this relationship without first examining what actually occurs in daily life at Camp Trapping. The next chapter attempts to provide a description of a typical 5 month Camp Trapping session and a typical Camp Trapping day. While it is a step closer to Camp Trapping's reality, the reader must remember that the biases and selectiveness I bring to this study have undoubtedly shaped and filtered the description in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHAT IS DONE

The First Three Months of the Winter-Spring 1983 Camp

It was a hot sunny day in early May when I first returned to Camp Trapping. I had hitched a ride into camp with the program's director, Rob Rail. He, Rick, one of the counsellors, and myself had squeezed into the cab of Rob's pickup after loading a variety of supplies into the back of the truck. Rick had a plaster cast on his right arm, which now placed him in the evergrowing "temporarily handicapped counsellor" category.

Unfortunately, it had been that kind of camp. None of these partially incapacitated counsellors had been injured on the job, but they all had injuries that reduced their level of involvement with this group of students. Rick was the third counsellor this camp to be wearing a cast.

Everyone was telling me how this group of boys was an exceptionally difficult group to work with. Most of the staff were dissatisfied with the amount of progress they had made with the students and were frustrated in their own attempts to establish a good working rapport with much of the group. Most of the staff had been with CATS for at least a year and a half and had at least four other camps to compare this one with. The boys, it seems, were bigger, meaner and tougher than any group they had seen in the last two years. I had been told all this in the CATS office that morning and during my brief visit to Prince George two months earlier.

Now, as we drove south from Prince George down Highway 97, little was said. We were all lost in our own thoughts. I watched the

countryside roll by and thought back to a 'camp.' I had participated in as aftercare coordinator. It had been described in the same terms. Oddly enough, that camp had also been plagued with numerous staff injuries and illnesses. It had not been the best of times and I had seen how quickly the remaining healthy staff had been drained of their energy.

Apparently much the same had been occurring in the Spring, 1982 camp. One of the most severe winters in recent Prince George history had not helped. Living under a low lying sheet of grey cloud, being snowed on every day, having to expend most of their energy shoveling paths and maintaining the firewood supply had preoccupied staff and students for the first month of the program. Now, however, three months from its beginning on February 9th, this particular Camp Trapping community was getting the beautiful weather it had earned through its winter struggles. Spirits had risen with the temperature and some of the old vitality was beginning to course through the counsellors' veins.

We soon came to the Woodpeacker Ranch Road turn-off where a hand-made sign pointed east to Camp Trapping. As we drove up the logging road I reminded myself that I was no longer a counsellor at Camp Trapping but an observer. It had already proven very easy to slip back into a counsellor's perspective of Camp Trapping, and I did not want that to happen. Even though I would be participating in the program, I could not be viewed by either the staff or students as one of their cohorts. As we drove those last four miles to the

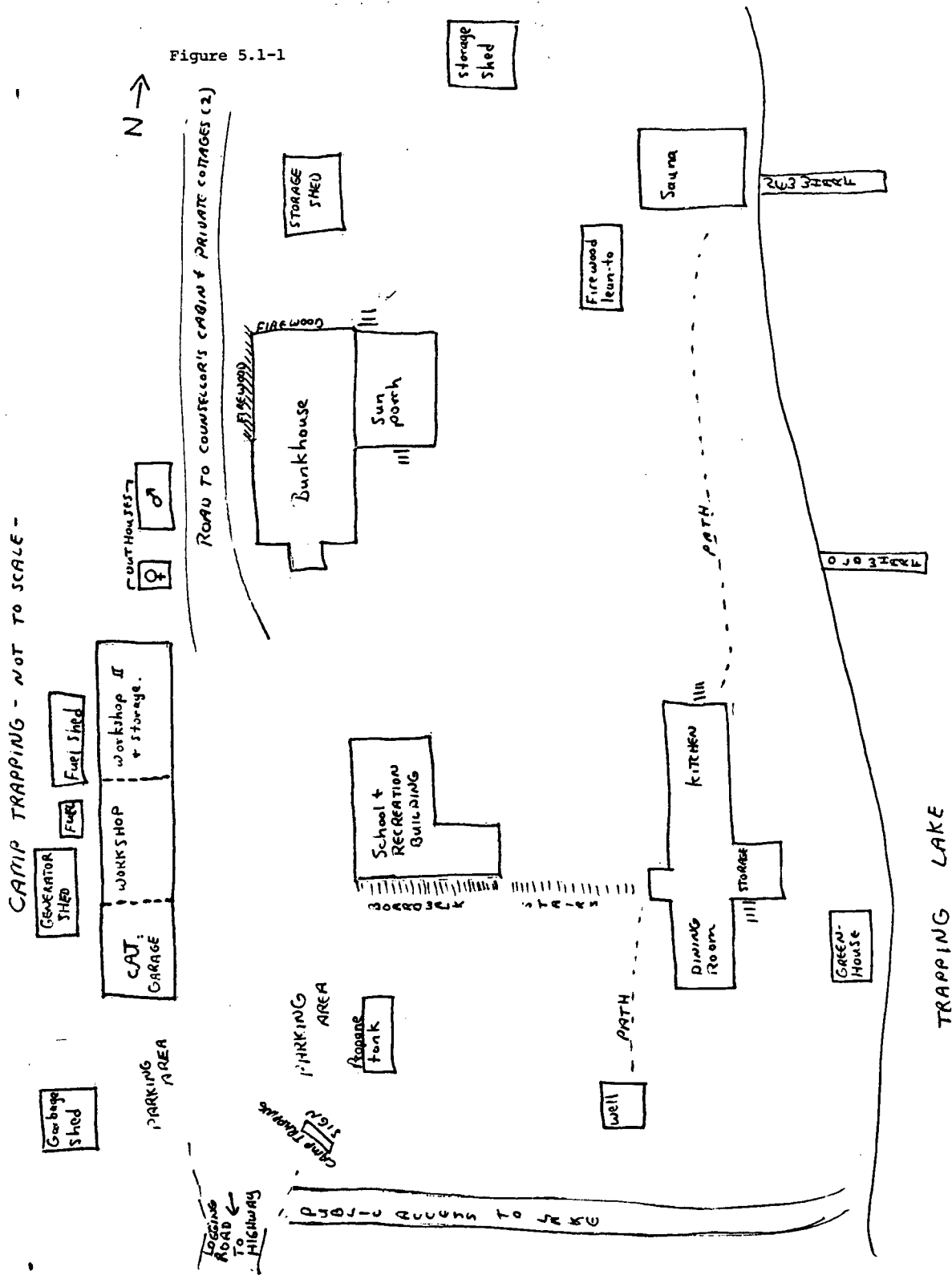
lake, I was beginning to realize that maintaining this role would be more difficult than I had anticipated.

Being overly familiar with one point of view of this community might, it appeared, have its disadvantages. I had chosen Camp Trapping for my field work because it was while working at the camp that I had first seen the possible relationship between rites of passage and the design of therapeutic or rehabilitation communities. I had chosen the participant observer research model as the only method available that could examine this hypothetical connection given the lack of previous research in this area and given the nature of the type of information I would be seeking. The difficulty in being a neutral but participating individual at Camp Trapping was only now becoming evident.

Physical Setting of Camp Trapping

Camp Trapping points north like a knobby finger. It stands close to the eastern edge of a ridge that overlooks the six mile band of farmland separating it from the Fraser River. This beautiful panorama can only be clearly seen at certain points along the old logging road that winds its way up to the lake. The lake itself is surrounded by a narrow band of trees, largely spruce, which had been left untouched by the loggers. By climbing the hill immediately to the east and south of the lake, one can look east to a vast expanse of logged-off rugged hills that provide an introduction to the Cariboo Mountains. Scattered birch, scrub brush, second growth pine and spruce and a

Figure 5.1-1



profusion of wild flowers cover these hills. Looking north, one sees a thick stand of conifers which hides more farm land just a few miles away.

Camp Trapping is located at the southwestern corner of the lake. Here one finds a small, crescent shaped clearing containing only a few tall conifers among a scattering of buildings. As with the rest of the lake, the land slopes gently to its edge providing easy access to the water. There is a small marsh at the southern tip of the lake through which a feeder stream flows. A variety of ducks use the marsh as a nesting area. Immediately south of the marsh is the 'landing' or playing field that Camp Trapping sometimes uses for team sports. The logging road branches off in three directions at the landing, the northern branch ending at Camp Trapping's yard. Here a hand carved sign points you to the lake's public access road that forms the camp's southern boundary. The same sign informs you that this collection of buildings is Camp Trapping and advises visitors to lock their vehicles and remove all valuables.

Immediately beyond the sign is a wide dirt courtyard and parking lot bordered on the west by a long building divided into three sections. This building houses the garage, the construction trades workshop and the all purpose workshop. The power plant and fuel sheds are hidden behind it while the garbage shed (well secured against bears) sits to the south of the workshops. The eastern edge of this courtyard is bound first by a large propane tank and then by the building that serves as school house, meeting place and

recreation hall. A small road separates the outhouse and the bunkhouse, the two buildings that mark the northern end of the yard.

A set of wooden stairs descends from the schoolhouse to the dining hall and kitchen, both of which are contained in one aluminium-sided trailer. Just to the south of the trailer sits the wellhouse while the old quanset hut, now a greenhouse, lies between the dining room and the lake.

One can walk north from the kitchen along a wellworn path midway between the bunkhouse and the lake. This path leads you past an old wharf and over to the sauna and its woodshed. A new wharf floats on the lake in front of the sauna. There are two other small buildings on the site. One immediately behind the sauna contains each person's canoeing and backpacking equipment in individualized lockers. The other, between the bunkhouse and the first shed, contains an assortment of out-trip equipment and a variety of hand tools.

The cleared crescent ends immediately to the north of the sauna and out-trip shed but a path beginning at the shed leads you another two hundred yards to the counsellor's cabin in which counsellors can stay during their time off. This cabin was to become my refuge, a place where I could retire to write, read and sleep.

There is no consistency in the design of the buildings except for their shining tin roofs. The bunkhouse and powerplant shed

log structures, the former with its logs placed vertically, the latter with them laid horizontally. The workshop, schoolhouse, sheds and sauna are of plywood and frame construction. Large stores of firewood are stacked neatly under shelters along the west and north sides of the bunkhouse. These buildings had accumulated slowly during Trapping's eleven years. In 1979, there was no fuel shed and no well, while the schoolhouse and workshop were half their present size. There was some talk now of adding a second story to the bunkhouse.

Camp Trapping's natural environment is the essence of Cariboo country. The ridge on which it sits marks the eastern edge of a thin inhabited band of good farmland bordering the Fraser River. East of the ridge lies wilderness. Vast logged-off areas crisscrossed with logging roads spread through the forested land between Trapping Lake and Barkerville, sixty miles to the east. This land is all but uninhabited by humankind. Trappers, hunters, loggers and prospectors visit the forest, take from them, but seldom stay long. A large population of bear (black and grizzly), moose, coyote; the tangled forests and sodden marshes, all demand that the traveller treats this country with caution and respect.

Your initial impressions of the site could vary considerably depending on the day of your arrival. If you first see Camp Trapping in an unoccupied state during the summer you may be impressed with the almost eerie silence that embraces a ghost town. It will be still enough for you to hear the lake lapping against its shore as you stand on the bunkhouse porch. The sound of your boots as you walk

walk on the wooden porches and boardwalks seems to linger, reverberating in the air. An almost ever-present wind will be rustling the bushes and causing the conifers to sway and creak. An occasional barn swallow may swoop close to investigate you while the sound of a woodpecker digging for its lunch comes to you from the forest.

Occasionally your attention will be drawn to the lake by a soft splash. At first you will only see the ripples on the water but then another rainbow trout will suddenly breach the surface. The ducks will occasionally call to each other. You may be fortunate enough to hear their singing wings as they fly overhead. On occasion, a beaver from the northern end of this mile long lake may venture to its southern end. An abandoned beaver lodge sits across the lake from the camp, reminding us of our encroachment onto their territory. It is quite likely that you will see a black bear on the road or near the camp's slop hole (a pit for organic refuse). The bears have been a problem at times but usually mind their own business.

The buildings will all be locked but if you peer into a number of the windows you will see that the place is occupied. You will notice the neatly made beds and the clothes hanging from the drying rack over the large woodstove in the centre of the bunkhouse. An open book may be lying face down on one of the beds.

If you ignore for a moment the shining white aluminium cookhouse and the propane tank, you could easily imagine yourself to have walked back a hundred years in time to find yourself in an old logging camp recently carved on the edge of an uncharted wilderness.

Camp Trapping does not impose itself on this land. You are very aware of the connection between humans and nature at this place, the former blending in with and depending on the latter.

If you arrive at the camp when its residents are at home, the feeling is quite different. Everything you saw and felt when the place was empty remains, but is now a background to the busy goings-on of a human community. The power plant's constant hum is ever present at the edge of consciousness. The various sounds of hand and power tools often predominate. Human voices can be heard from inside the buildings and without. Two or three people are chopping and sawing wood beside the bunkhouse while another crew carries a prefabricated roof truss from its birthplace in the workshop. A truck idles in the yard while the crawler tractor clanks and rumbles down the road. Two or three students may be sitting at their desks on the school's porch busily writing or reading while the teacher squats by one of them, quietly discussing a particularly difficult math problem. Smoke is rising from the sauna's chimney and a rattle of dishes floats up from the kitchen. Two dogs fight playfully in the courtyard while a counsellor and student sit in animated conversation just a few feet away.

Although the place is alive with human activity, it maintains its close connection to its environment. When the work crews put down their tools, nature quickly reasserts itself. It is a small community incapable of overpowering its natural surroundings. Somehow this makes each activity and each individual unique and observable.

They are not lost in an endless and anonymous flow of action. Life appears ordered and controllable - not controlled - but capable of being controlled. Life appears manageable if not managed.

Of course the mood at Camp Trapping can change somewhat with the seasons and the weather. In the winter months much of the daily activity will be indoors. The variety of its natural environment will be homogenized by a thick covering of snow. The mud and heavy rains of spring may also keep much of the activity indoors as can the rain and strong winds of autumn.

The mood is also profoundly, if more subtly affected by the camp's inhabitants and the daily events they create. At times there can be a thick aura of tension, animosity and wariness. On others occasions Camp Trapping can exude a joyfulness, playfulness and warmth that would make anyone want to call it home. Yet through all these changes, Camp Trapping never loses that feeling of a manageable, ordered world. It appears complete in itself and compatible with its environment.

The 1983 Spring Camp - The Residents

As we have seen, three groups of twelve students pass through Camp Trapping each year. Each group is unique, as is each individual. The students attending the spring 1982 camp ranged in age from fourteen to seventeen with the average age being sixteen. They came from as far away as Prince Rupert and Fort St. John although the majority

were from the Prince George area.

A total of thirteen students attended part or all of this camp. Two of the original students were no longer with the group by May, one being freed by the court and the other removed at the staff's request. A third student arrived in the second month of the program as a replacement. This particular youth had already spent three months at the Autumn 1981 camp but had not graduated.

During the first week of my stay there were only ten students in the camp. The eleventh arrived shortly after, having spent a month in the Youth Detention Centre (YDC or Willingdon) in Burnaby at the camp's request. This boy had been one of the original group that had arrived in February.

Two of the eleven students had been referred by the Ministry of Human Resources (MHR) while the remainder had been referred by probation officers. Although one student had arrived without a court order, all of them had been involved in law breaking activities. As a general rule this included breaking and entering, car theft and theft under two hundred dollars. One boy had an assault charge against him.

Aside from their delinquent activities, all of the students had exhibited some other form of behavioural problem. One was known to have suicidal tendencies, another to be involved in chronic alcohol abuse. Alcohol and drug abuse, disobedience at home and

school and an apparent dis-interest or refusal to involve themselves in the accepted activities and aspirations of their age group were common attributes. Over half the boys came from either single parent, reconstituted or foster families. A number of the natural families had their own history of criminal activity, violence and alcohol/drug abuse. The common points of reference for all these boys however remains law breaking, and what can only be described as disobedience or inappropriate behavioural patterns. The communities, the schools and the families had been unable to control these youths or guide them to effective and socially acceptable lifestyles.

The Camp Trapping Employees

The teaching and counselling staff ranged in age from twenty - one to thirty. The program director and aftercare coordinator had worked at Camp Trapping for over three years while the average length of employment for the counsellors was approaching the two year mark. Only one counsellor had been employed for less than a year. The three Camp Trapping support staff were all over forty-five and had been involved with the camp from three to five years. Both the office manager and the cook had worked for three different program directors since their arrival at the camp.

Seven of the counselling and teaching staff held a university degree of some sort. The areas of study represented were psychology, physical education, kinetics, education, sociology and recreation education. There were no graduate degrees. Those who did not have

a university education brought with them an extensive and diverse background.

Taken as a whole, the skills and experiences this group possessed were quite impressive. They included such things as instructor's certification in skiing, canoeing, gymnastics and a wide variety of group sports. Certification in industrial first aid, rock and ice climbing, kung fu and scuba diving were also included. Most of the staff had had some experience in a variety of outdoor labouring jobs such as forest fire fighting, truck driving, skidder operator, surveying, prospecting, tree planting, carpentry, lumber mill work, ranch and farm work, military service and general labour. Interestingly, only five of the staff had any previous experience employed in a counselling or teaching capacity and only two had had previous work experience with delinquent youth.

This group of unique and diverse individuals appeared to share only two common attributes (as viewed from their resumes), a love of and involvement in outdoor and physical activities and a general desire to work with youth at Camp Trapping.

The support staff also lent variety to the camp milieu. All long time B.C. residents, they offered a wealth of practical experience and skills, shared through their frequent and intimate contact with the students.

It is not surprising to find such diversity in a program that

prides itself on the variety of experiences it offers. We should also remember that the staff are as much models as they are 'counsellors'. If Camp Trapping can offer fourteen unique and successful life models it is assumed that the students are provided with a greater range of appropriate life models. Camp Trapping, recognizing the uniqueness of each of its students, attempts to increase its ability to establish intimacy, trust and rapport with them by ensuring that its counsellors represent a broad cross section of personalities and lifestyles.

By the time of my arrival at Camp Trapping, the spring program had been running for three months. The twenty-five people in this community had already developed reasonably well established patterns of interaction. This particular group of students had, as a general rule stubbornly maintained its solidarity as a peer group in opposition to the staff. While there were many open breeches in this divisiveness, and many more covert breeches, students were still 'us' to the staff's 'them'. No group of Camp Trapping students ever discards this mistrust completely but the staff felt it was stronger and more resistant than at previous camps.

Among the students, there were some distinct groupings. John and Chris shared a similar native heritage and a love for music. Wendall and Vincent had what appeared to be a genuine empathy for each other and offered each other their support. Both were often scapegoats and victims of the tougher boys. Roy and Jerry were both street wise and tough. They were in many respects the most representative of the juvenile delinquent stereotype. Both had difficult

home lives and lengthy involvements with the court and social service network. They were the most openly defiant and antagonistic and spent much of their time together, Roy as the instigator and Jerry as the follower. None of these dyads were inseparable. They were merely the most obvious and consistent relationships.

There was another group that could be defined more by its relationship to the program than to each other. This consisted of Robert, Reg, David and Don. By March these four had managed to master the basic requirements of the program and had decided to participate in the camp activities. Three had attained Level Two and one had become the first student in the camp's history to attain Level Three. There were others who had earned Level Two (L2) and then fallen back, and then there was Jerry who had reached L2 for the first time during my stay. Only Robert, Reg, David and Don had maintained what the camp referred to as Level Two behaviour for any length of time.

The four L2 students did not form any obvious close attachments to each other or to any Camp Trapping peer subgroup. Three of them had managed to earn the respect of both their peers and the staff yet remained unattached to either group. The fourth had managed to earn the staff's respect but was not viewed too favourably by the non-level two students. Having been one of the most disruptive and uncooperative students at the camp's beginning, this dramatic character change may have been resented and viewed as desertion by some of the others. He did, however, manage to avoid harassment

from the others. Perhaps the most remarkable feature these four young men shared was their individuality. Each had somehow managed to carve out a unique niche for themselves without depending exclusively on staff or other students to define it for them. They were all, to greater and lesser extents, loners who dealt with others courteously yet did not form any apparent close ties.

The eleventh student had been unable to form any positive relationships with the other students. Jim was isolated from the others, almost, it seemed, by choice. Although he, Wendall and Vincent shared the brunt of student harassment, Jim appeared to be in a rather unique position. Other students were not openly antagonistic to him. Instead, they appeared to be affronted by his apparently passive disinterest with them and the program in general. If there was one thing that staff and students appeared to agree on, it was their distaste for Jim's voluntary non-involvement with life at camp.

The students had also formed their opinions of and relationships with the staff by the month of May. There was very little strong pair bonding in evidence although three of the students appeared to have a close reciprocal relationship with at least one of the counsellors. Two of the counselling staff had managed to earn respect and appreciation from the majority of the students while one counsellor was disliked and shunned by the majority. Each student had one or two staff members whom he liked and appreciated. In private conversation, the actions and words of these counsellors

would often be referred to by the student in a positive sense. By the same token, each student would have one or two counsellors in mind when they wished to describe unpalatable actions and attitudes at the camp. These student likes and dislikes were spread evenly throughout the staff such that most counsellors and the teachers were liked, respected or disliked in about the same proportion. The two support staff who worked at the camp were liked and appreciated by the vast majority of the students.

Staff had likewise formed their impression of and attachments with the students. Although two staff mentioned that they and most counsellors had favourites among the students, there was little evidence of overt favouritism. Certainly the Level Two and Three students were given more priveledges and treated more as equals but it was impossible to tell if this had occurred before these students had obtained their higher status; status which by definition gave them more priveledges and equality. Most of the Level One and chartered students received as much if not more personal attention.

There was a general consensus among the staff as to which of the students were the most disruptive and troublesome. Two students were mentioned consistently in this respect yet each was viewed in a very different light. One was generally liked and dealt with compassionately while the other was disliked and avoided by most of the staff.

Inter-staff relationships created their own dynamics. While I observed only one incidence of staff critizing other staff in front

of the students, private conversations revealed a fair amount of tension. On separate occasions, three different staff members told me of their desire to fire other staff members had they been in the position to do so. There were a number of occasions when the approach or counselling style of other staff were severely criticized privately. Whether or not these concerns were every expressed to the individuals in question is unknown to me although a number of counsellors informed me that in the recent past the camp's director often had private conversations with a number of counsellors concerning their approach and ability.

These staff tensions did not, as a rule, emerge during the working day. The staff all worked together in a spirit of cooperation and mutual support. Generally, there was a relaxed, joking rapport between staff as they worked. On many occasions and especially around meal times, counsellors would continually chide and joke with one another. This joking relationship existed between staff and students and among the students themselves. It would most often consist of gentle and humourous insults or embarassments, frequently based on incidents that had occurred earlier in the camp. At times, the students would take the joking one step too far and begin to say or do things that would actually hurt another's feelings. There were times when this was done intentionally but most often the limits of this joking relationship were merely forgotten in the exuberance of the moment.

Staff and students alike appeared to have a good understanding

of each other's limits. Students were particularly adept at knowing just how far they could go with each staff member when joking, arguing, or expressing opinions and concerns. It appeared that some students enjoyed seeing how far they could push a counsellor, hoping perhaps, to evoke the beginnings of anger and then quickly making conciliatory gestures. Staff were also adept at this game although their purpose was hopefully to push students beyond a particular block or limitation that appeared to be inhibiting a student's successful rehabilitation. Although the gauging of each other's limits was not always accurate, most of the people at Camp Trapping had quite a clear understanding of what could and could not be done with each individual.

In short, by the time of my arrival, Camp Trapping was no longer a community of strangers. They had been able to develop an adequate working and living relationship based on the recognition of each other's abilities and limits. While there seemed to be very few close and intimate relationships, most of the participants had learned to work and live with one another in a relatively relaxed atmosphere. With all the students and four of the staff leaving in little more than a month, some of the individuals were already beginning to withdraw from involvement with the community in preparation for this imminent and inevitable separation. Others, recognizing that time was running short were beginning to reach out for assistance and friendship before it was no longer available.

It is extremely important to remember that Camp Trapping has a set beginning and end. This group's first month of cohabitation

would have been very different in tone and activity from the month which I spent there in May and June. Thirteen weeks before my arrival, the camp was opened to welcome twelve new individuals, none of whom knew each other except on the most casual basis. Each student was an unknown to the counselling staff as well. This group of strangers had gone through a very intensive three months in order to weld themselves into this relatively cooperative and peaceable community.

To do the program, students and staff justice, we should take a quick look at what had transpired between February ninth and May tenth.

Nine of the eleven students arrived at the Prince George office on the first day of camp. After their belongings were checked, (to make sure their clothes were marked, that all necessary clothing was there, and to confiscate any prohibited articles) the students were hustled into the camp's van and pick up truck and driven out to the lake. They were welcomed by the cold abandoned buildings of Camp Trapping, surrounded and partially hidden by the heaviest winter snow in recent Prince George history. There was no time to lie about. A meagre supply of firewood had to be supplemented, paths had to be dug, fires lit and water hauled from the well. This was their introduction to Camp life. No welcoming speech, no personal interviews but plenty of work. Only later, when the essential chores were complete and their clothing put away, were they able to sit down together with the staff to hear their initial orientation to the rules and expectations of Camp Trapping.

Robert gave me his impressions of the first day: "They started throwing little challenges at you right away. All we did was work for the first couple of hours, and some of these guys had never worked in their lives. Having your tailor-mades (cigarettes) taken from you and having to learn how to roll your own was really hard too. No one had ever lived in a bunkhouse before either. Like, you didn't have much privacy with everyone, even the counsellors, sleeping in one big room. You couldn't just turn on the tap for a drink of water or turn up the thermostat if you got cold. A lot of guys found not being able to swear really hard too. It was all pretty strange."

The students had been at the camp for less than twenty-four hours before being introduced to the four mile run. Although the first week of the run was not charted, the students were still expected to go the entire distance. It is impossible to describe the formidable appearance of that road to one who must run it. Running two miles downhill and two miles up before sunrise in subzero weather was most definitely not the type of activity these boys were used to. No one made it non-stop in the allotted time in the first two days.

The first days were filled with work. As there was no school or vocational program during the first weeks, most of the boys were busy finding, bucking and splitting firewood. Finding the deadfalls was no easy task with five feet of snow on the ground.

During this time, the teacher had begun to interview and test each student separately to determine their academic level of competency.

Other than these brief interludes in the warmth of the school house, the days were filled with hard physical outdoor work. Reg, one of the older students who had fairly extensive experience with hard physical labour (logging, farming, oil rigs) told me that the work was so hard during the first two weeks that even he had considered running from the camp. For the younger students who had never worked before, it was in his opinion, "pure hell".

Long hours of physical work, the four mile run, an unfamiliar environment and the lack of amenities and friends were not the only challenges these students had to face. There was also the chart system with its very particular definitions of appropriate actions. The routine and exactness of this system proved very hard for most of these students to handle in the first few weeks. Looking back on those early days, there was a general consensus among the students that the staff pushed them very hard at first and were very strict about the rules. As one student mentioned, "They didn't let you get away with very much. They were always watching really close and were really picky".

Some of the students believed that the staff eased off, becoming less particular over time, however, one young man voiced his opinion that the staff had only 'slacked off' because the students had gotten used to doing the work the way the staff wanted it done.

The evening sessions were as disconcerting and difficult as any other aspect of the program. Even in May, thirteen weeks after

their introduction, most students continued to dislike the sessions. When asked why, the answers were generally vague. There was a general consensus that they were a 'pile of shit' and an infringement on their free time. A number of students admitted that they did not like talking or exploring their inner feelings in public, while a few felt that critiquing other students was like breaking ranks with their peer group, 'squealing' as it were, thus being seen as siding openly with the counsellors.

Many, of the students felt that 'their meeting', as the PPC group was referred to, could be used to critique and change the program. When staff persistently turned the students' focus away from changing the program and towards changing themselves, some of the students felt frustrated and 'ripped off'. It wasn't what they wanted to do so how could it be their meeting? By the end of May there were three or four students who had begun to talk about the meetings in a more positive fashion but initially these meetings were seen by all as an imposition, a frustration and a threat.

By the end of the first week, the new students had already been fully immersed in Trapping's intense lifestyle. They were given no respite. It was run in the morning, work all day, session in the evening and in bed by ten p.m. Even the most outstanding and successful students had wanted to run from the program. For some, the physical isolation and severe climate had been the only things that kept them at the camp.

Before the first week had finished, the students had been introduced to the alternate program and the reward schedule. Staff, having already spotted three or four problematic students, had taken these boys up to the alternate site and explained the hows and whys of its use. Daily life at Camp looked quite luxurious in comparison. The students were also introduced to crosscountry skiing in the first week. They had to learn quickly, as the following week they were scheduled to embark on a five day ski out-trip. The weather and the boys' lack of experience combined to force the cancellation of this trip, but not before the group had spent an arduous day of uphill skiing. Because the trip was cancelled, the second week was much like the first. The remaining days were filled with wood cutting, path shovelling, and general maintainance.

The first two weeks of the camp were, in fact, the orientation time for this group of young men. The school and construction trades program began in the third week, establishing a work pattern that was to continue until the camp's end, punctuated on occassion with out-trips.

Although one can examine the counsellors' "log" (a daily camp diary), the session log and the students' charts, it is actually very difficult to capture a precise picture of the events and essence of the camp during its first three months. The two logs are very scetchy. Entries seldom go beyond stating whether a day was particularlyly good or bad or mentioning student actions that stood out in a positive or negative way. The general tone of the

counsellors' log supports what the counsellors told me about the first three months. Entries bemoaning the lack of student participation and progress and in particular documenting a steady stream of undesirable behaviour on the part of three or four students, outweigh the positive, upbeat notations. But this generally negative tone over-shadows the many positive events and encounters that the counsellors recorded. It was as if three or four particularly difficult students had managed to capture and control the mood of the spring camp, robbing the counsellors of the pleasure they should have had through watching and partaking in positive change and growth that the other students were showing to greater or lesser degrees.

For example, three students were already earning full rewards by the end of February. By the end of March almost half the camp was at Level One or beyond. Brief pages of optimism punctuate the log. Counsellors commented on the positive tone of some of the evening sessions as early as February while productive and enthusiastic work days were noted regularly. Enjoyable town trips, ski excursions and pleasant evenings appeared to occur frequently enough while small but important achievements and successes of individual students are recorded on nearly every page.

There is no doubt however that this particular group of students presented more than its share of difficulties. Within the first three months, seven students spent at least one night in city cells, six students spent time at the alternate program and five students

ran from the camp. There was an attempted suicide, two aggressive attacks made against staff and numerous fights between students. Two or three students were consistently harassing the weaker and less popular students. All this contributed to a more or less continuous state of tension and mistrust lying just below the surface of daily life. It was of little comfort for the staff to know that only three students were consistently problematic and behind most of the tension. Two particularly troublesome students were no longer with the program when I arrived and a third was just completing a month's stay at a containment centre. Their absence had done much to improve the camp's mood.

Aside from the turbulent fluctuations of interpersonal relationships and group mood, the Camp Trapping community also had to deal with the many challenges, demands and pleasures of the program. The students had been on two out-trips prior to my arrival, one an exciting ski trip to Grizzly Den and the other a working out-trip to the Nakusp Hot Springs. The aftercare coordinator's alternate awareness program had taken them through a variety of experiences including group trust exercises, discussions with police, clergymen, victims of crime, criminals, employers and educators, and an extensive drug and alcohol education program. They had already begun preparing for the end-of-camp marathon run to Prince George, having begun weekly runs of ten or more miles. Most students had made at least some progress in the academic and vocational programs while some had shown hitherto untapped ability and skill in these areas. Three students had securely established themselves at the Level Two status

and another had managed to reach Level Three. Another student was almost at Level Two while one of the Level Two's was on the verge of becoming the second Level Three. No more than two students were consistently failing to earn all the tangible rewards associated with the chart system.

Yet all this is a poor and scanty picture of what occurred in those first three months. There were no records of the personal struggles, successes and frustrations that each student must have felt as he confronted challenge after challenge. Nowhere could I find an adequate description of the many hours of intense and intimate interaction that must have occurred.

To examine Camp Trapping in any given month cannot do it justice. Like a school year, like a play, the Camp Trapping program has a definite beginning and end. What happens in May is not at all like what has happened in April or February.

I had visited the camp for half a day towards the end of March. It had happened to be during one of the most tension ridden times this particular group was to experience. No less than four students had been taken into town and threatened with a stay in cells that day. Two of them actually stayed in those cells for a day or two. The difficult students were at their most difficult and staff patience was wearing very thin. If the majority of the staff had had their way, at least three students would have been permanently removed from the program. Tension and fatigue were etched on the

faces of all the counsellors and teachers.

Six weeks later the worst appeared to be over. Everyone was more relaxed, playful and thoughtful. With two of the most troublesome students gone from the program, the remaining residents had been able to create a reasonably cooperative community. The counsellors had been able to concentrate more on the students who were trying to succeed. Staff and students alike were beginning to trust and respect one another. Students were suddenly beginning to realize that they would be leaving very soon. Four staff members were also preparing to leave the program, two permanently and two for the summer only. Leave-taking, separations and the future were to be the major themes in the next five weeks.

What follows is a chapter which describes a 'typical' day in the life of Camp Trapping. It is, of course, a composite of events which took place throughout the five weeks of my stay at the camp. It was difficult to decide how best to present the information I had gathered through my participant observation role. I wanted to present as best I could the essence of life at the camp. Consequently, I did not wish to present this information in a categorized or abstract fashion, losing as it would, the tone and pace which are integral parts of the program design. This chapter is thus an attempt to provide the reader with a brief glimpse of life as it is lived at Camp Trapping.

Camp Trapping - A Snapshot

The bunkhouse is very quite in the early morning. It is 6:35 a.m., the sun has been up for over an hour and now streams through the curtainless windows. All the occupants are asleep, most with the covers up over their heads to block out the sun. Outside, swallows, robins and crows are providing a natural reveille, while inside the buzz and whine of a few insects are the only accompaniments to the rustles and snorts of the sleepers.

An alarm clock ticks away on the windowsill beside Rod's head. Rod, a counsellor for almost two years now, is sleeping on the upper bed of the bunk in the southeast corner of the room, right beside the sinks and directly across from the counsellors' office. At 6:40 a.m. the alarm goes off. Rod's hand shoots out, grabs the clock and shuts off the alarm. He groans slightly as he raises himself on his elbows and gazes briefly out over the room of sleepers. Turning over onto his belly, his gaze shifts to the lake, the sun and the new day.

Sitting up, he swings his legs over the side of the bed and drops quietly to the floor. Marion, sleeping in the bed beneath his, wakes up and they mumble their goodmorning's as Rod slips into his sweat-shirt and running shorts. Ralph, one of the counsellors's dogs is instantly awake and alert. He has padded over to Rod and with a gentle whine suggests that he should be let outside. They go out together.

When he returns Rod begins to make the rounds. Going from bed to bed he gives each student a shake while he says "Good Morning" or "time to wake up". He does not leave a student until they have made eye contact. Reg and Dan, two of the students, are already awake, dressed in their gymstrip and busy making their beds. A few others are awake but are still gazing bleary-eyed at the room around them.

By 6:50 a.m. everyone is awake and up. Even Brian the teacher, with a cast on his leg, is up and dressed with his bed made.

The students are now busy dressing, making their beds and tidying up their closets. Not very much is being said on the students' side of the bunkhouse but over at the counsellors' beds, Ian, the after-care coordinator (ACC) has become quite exuberant. In a loud voice he can be heard commenting on the beauty of the day and how is is "really gonna give'r on the run today". He and Brian, engage in some lighthearted banter about Brian's running ability. Ian insists that Brian injured his leg just to avoid the run. Marion and Rod add their own pithy comments on the subject. The students are obviously enjoying this exchange and begin to add their own humorous insults.

Two people was missing this morning. Mike, the construction trades teacher, and John, one of the students, have gotten up quietly at 6:00 a.m. and gone off on a long run of eight or ten miles. Mike has been doing this for two or three weeks now in preparation for the marathon which is only two weeks away. Today is the first day a student has joined him.

At four minutes to seven, Rod announces that calisthenics will begin in four minutes over at the recreation/school room. Some of the residents have already wandered over that way and are now groaning and grunting as they stretch and bend. In the bunkhouse, a few stragglers are putting the finishing touches to their beds and closets. As they leave to join the others, Rod makes a brief circuit of the room, checking to see if everyone has earned their morning alert points. Everyone's bed is neatly made and the closets are reasonably tidy. The morning is off to a good start.

As Rod leaves the bunkhouse, Marion the cook and John the maintenance man drive into the parking lot. Marion gets out of the truck and grabs a box containing a large jar of fresh cow's milk and a few other foodstuffs she will be using for breakfast today. John heads over to the power plant where in a few moments the diesel motor is heard coughing to life.

For the next ten minutes the staff and students perform a variety of stretches, isometrics and calisthenics as they warm up for the four mile run. A number of them can be heard discussing the various correct muscle-stretching techniques. A few others complain about the aches and pains they feel. Vincent is only going through the motions, attempting to avoid any strenuous activity so early in the morning. Two of the students notice and criticize him for it. He shouts back "eat mine you goofs" but Marion is quick to chastize him and asks that he get to work. He complies with a frown and a steady stream of grumbling which every-

one chooses to ignore or make fun of.

At 7:09 a.m. the group is massed together in the parking lot, some still stretching, some still yawning. Ian notes the time and starting to run, urges the others to begin. At varying speeds and with varying degrees of enthusiasm showing through, the group heads off down the road. Only Brian and Reg stay back, both out of action on doctor's orders.

It has not rained for the past five days so the dirt road is hard and dry. The runners kick up little tufts of dust despite the early morning dew. Ian, Rod, Jerry and Chris have shot out ahead of the other runners who remain bunched together during the first mile or so. The only consistent sound is the thud of the runners feet against the road. Very little is said, even though there are a number of runners pacing each other. Most of the residents prefer their own thoughts to any conversation that could occur.

The front runners are well past the half mile mark now and have begun the steady descent to the wooden bridge that marks the two mile point where they turn back towards the camp. Just before the one mile mark, the road affords a panoramic view of the central plateau to the west of the Fraser River. On top of a high promontory, far in the distance sits what looks like a fairytale castle. Spires and domes reflect a golden early morning light. The image is somewhat misleading as what they are seeing is Baldy Hughes, a Canada Forces radar station.

As the slowest runners round the corner that affords them this view, those out front are descending the last hill before the bridge. The fast runners are fortunate this morning as they have surprised a cow moose grazing in a clearing. She gives them a startled glance then wheels abruptly and trots into the forest.

The four front runners are now on their way back to the camp. Their pace has been slowed by the steep incline of the road which rises without interruption until they are only half a mile from the lake. By the time they top the 'hairpin turn' hill they have passed all the other runners still on their way to the bridge. Only Marion has not run the full distance, as she continues to recouperate from a leg injury she suffered six weeks earlier.

A half mile from camp the road levels out. The runners are able to pick up their speed and almost race with each other to the bunkhouse door. Ian decides that a quick dip in the lake would be a fitting climax to the run. He convinces most of the others as they straggle in and they are soon all down at the sauna wharf, each making a quick jump or dive into the icy water then quickly swimming back to shore. The water is still very cold, in fact, most of the lake was still ice covered only two weeks earlier.

Everyone has completed the run successfully today except Robert who was seen walking part of the way. There is no known medical reason why he should not have run so he is sent back down the road to do it over again. The counsellors do not appear to care whether

he runs or walks the second time as they merely give him a rag to place at the bridge rather than accompanying him. Robert is angry because he will miss his breakfast but complies with the request. Meanwhile, the others wash, shave and change into their work clothes. Immediately after washing, Wendel, the kitchen duty student for today, runs down to help Marion in the kitchen. At 8:00 a.m. he appears at the kitchen door banging a pot with a large metal spoon. This is the breakfast call and all those not already waiting in the kitchen vestibule hurry down to the kitchen.

Leaving their jackets and boots in the vestibule, the staff and students line up to receive their food. As always, the cook has prepared it in wholesome abundance. Plate in hand, each person selects his or her own eggs from the grill then returns to the serving table where Wendel serves out the pancakes and bacon.

There are three tables in the dining area, each attached to the west side of the building and each with benches running the full length of both sides. Dan and Brian always sit at the table closest to the serving area. Roy and Jerry usually sit at this same table but appear comfortable at any table as long as they are together. Wendel and Vincent also attempt to sit with each other and are usually found at the back table. Other than this, there appears to be no consistent seating arrangement.

After serving the others, Wendel gets his own food and hurries to the back table where Vincent has saved him a place. There is an

immediate hush. As soon as he is seated Marion says "Can we have a minutes silence please?" As the seconds tick by, a few of the students at the middle table attempt to stifle their laughter at some private joke. Their muffled giggles are guaranteed to prolong the silence. Shortly after a minute Marion says "Thanks Marion, thanks Wendel". This is followed by a chorus to thanks as the other residents repeat her words.

Initially, the table talk centres around the food but the topics begin to change as the appetities become partially satisfied. John and Rod are talking about rebuilding the sauna which was severely damaged by fire in early April. It is almost complete now and is scheduled for its inagural use this afternoon. John will need two boys to work on it with him today. Marion and Jim are having a quiet conversation to themselves which draws occasional glances but no comments from some of the other students. Brian, Mike and the student John are talking about fishing. Since the ice has left the lake, this has become a major topic. Many of the staff are avid fishermen and a number of students have caught their enthusiasm. Although the fish are jumping, no one has yet caught one. Some of the others are discussing the marathon run. There are some strong student runners at this camp and these are now engaged in an earnest conversation with Phil and Ian about carbohydrate loading, a special pre-run diet for marathoners.

Roy is talking loudly to Jerry about his exploits at Willingdon from where he has just returned. He then notices Robert returning to

camp. He calls Robert a 'goof' and goes on to tell Jerry about what the Willingdon inmates thought of Robert who had also stayed there at one time. Phil and Ian simultaneously turn to Roy. Phil is the first to speak, "You know, with an attitude like that Roy, you're going nowhere fast. Why don't you try being positive for once in your life?" Roy, a fellow never short for words, maintains that he has been doing 'good' since he returned to camp but that the counsellors are "really on his case now". He is showing real anger but then suddenly laughs. Roy is aware that any major confrontations could have him in containment for a number of months. Ian grimaces and is obviously trying to refrain from saying anything further to Roy.

The cook calls seconds on breakfast and most of the boys rush up to the serving area. Food is seldom wasted at Camp Trapping. A second cup of coffee is appreciated almost as much. Coffee is served only at breakfast and morning break times, which appears to be a particular hardship for many of the staff. The one or two cups they get each morning are savoured and longed for.

Rod has finished eating now and goes over to the chore board. Each resident's name tag is placed on a peg beside a chore and is moved down one peg each day. When the camp is full, there will be three people on days off. Such is the case today. David, who was at the bottom of the chore board yesterday is moved to 'days off' while Chris is moved from 'days off' to the top of the chore list. After conferring with the other staff, Rod places his own name tag beside the peg indicating 'counsellor of the day' (COD). The name

tag rearrangement completed, Rod announces that school and work will begin at 9:10 a.m. This statement is the official signal that breakfast is over and chore time beginning. It is 8:30 a.m.

Everyone rushes up to the sinks to rinse off their plates then hurries off to their chores. If they can be done quickly, there will be time for a short rest in the sun and a leisurely cigarette. Jim and Vincent, both on days off, amble up to the schoolhouse porch and begin rolling cigarettes. Jim has just lit his when John walks by and slaps it out of his mouth. Jim scowls but says nothing as John smirks and walks away. Jim reaches down, picks up the cigarette and continues to smoke.

The dishwashers will be the last to finish their chores as is usual. Since all chores are done three times a day, it is usually not too difficult or time consuming to refill the firewood box, and water containers or to sweep out the floors and clean the counters. Soon there are six students sitting on the school porch sharing Jim's tobacco while chatting enthusiastically about 'Conan the Barbarian', their favourite movie this spring. Reg and Robert sit quietly on the bunkhouse porch lost in their own conversation. Robert is angry over his humiliation and cold and meagre breakfast. Reg is comforting him and suggesting that he 'cool it' as it's not that important and there's only a few weeks of camp left. As Reg sees it, there is no point in antagonizing the staff with an angry outburst that could possibly loose Robert his Level Two privileges.

The job foreman (one of the chores) walks up to Rod at 8:55 a.m.. He has been kept busy running from chore to chore ensuring that they are completed to the camp's specifications. The sooner the chore is checked, the greater the amount of free time the students have before work. Loud shouts for the job foreman ring out constantly between 8:35 and 8:55 a.m.. Finally, the job foreman and the counsellor of the day check the chores together. If the COD finds that everything is as described by the foreman then the foreman has also earned his point. This is done quickly today for Rod and the other counsellors must have a short conference before work. The counsellors meet in a small huddle in the parking lot as they delegate each other's responsibilities for the morning. Marion will be driving Reg into town for a doctor's appointment and will also pick up some supplies. They also decide to get Robert an appointment as Rod has discovered that Robert may have a legitimate knee problem. Robert and Dan are assigned to help the maintenance man put the finishing touches on the sauna while Ian arranges to have Vincent out of the classroom for his end of camp aftercare interview. If time allows, Ian will interview another boy later in the morning.

The two teachers, Brian and Mike, leave the staff group just before 9:10 a.m. and walk to the schoolroom and workshop respectively. There is now a group of students waiting at each location. Reg is already standing by the truck waiting for Marion. Mike sends Dan and Robert down to the sauna where John can already be seen carrying a step ladder into the building. The Camp Trapping day is two and a half hours old as the boys and staff settle down to their morning's

work.

Morning in the Schoolhouse

The morning shift in school would have consisted of Chris, Vincent, Roy, Jim and Reg. With Reg and Vincent otherwise occupied, Brian and the three remaining students enter the school room where the boys quickly set up their desks, one on each side of the stove, the third against a wall at the opposite end of the room. Brian retrieves their school books from his locked office and distributes them.

As each student settles down to his individualized program of math or communications skills, Brian hobbles about from student to student quickly discussing initial questions and making mental notes of the sections each boy begins to work on. Jim and Roy quickly settle down to their work. Both boys have good reasons to be as cooperative as possible. Jim's blatant detachment from the Camp Trapping community has almost guaranteed that he will be going to a foster home after camp. There is a 'slim chance', if his attitude improves, of returning to his parent's. The prospect of a foster home frightens Jim and he is beginning to become more involved. Roy, on the other hand is only 'one false move away' from being returned to the correctional centre from which he has just returned, and then facing further sentencing to other resources. Being fully aware of this, he has become extremely careful not to provoke a staff person. Although this is proving quite difficult for him on

many occasions, he appears very studious and quiet this morning. Both these boys are capable of handling the available academic material. Chris however, is another story. Brian spends a great deal of time with him, carefully explaining the math section Chris is working on. Chris has taken on a different persona in front of his school books. He appears almost shy and speaks very quietly. Outside of school he has a tendency to swagger, confident in his physical strength, his guitar playing and his singing. He is always being a practical joker. A number of the counsellors had mentioned how they feared Chris had been damaged by his excessive drug and alcohol consumption and had even implied that his mother's alcoholism could have caused some prenatal braindamage in Chris. Whatever the reasons, Chris is a very subdued young man in the classroom.

It is 9:40 a.m. by the time Brian leaves Chris to his books. He walks over to an unused desk and sits down. As he begins to leaf through a National Geographic magazine, Roy asks him to check a section of math that he has just completed. Walking is difficult for Brian due to his cast so he asks Roy to bring the work to his desk, where he quickly goes over the work. It is done well enough to enable Roy to move on to the next section. As Roy examines this new work, he begins to ply Brian with questions concerning the directions. Brian cuts him short. "You know how to use the book Roy. You'll just have to try to figure it out for yourself. Its a natural progression from what you just completed". Roy begins to protest, but a stern look from Brian turns his protestations into a cackling laugh and he returns to his desk. Brian, having tested and learned the

abilities of each student, prefers to encourage those who can to explore and discover on their own as much as possible. The VAST program which he uses, is also designed to encourage the same process. Brian knows very well that Roy is capable of deciphering the new instructions and proceeding on task without the teacher doing his thinking for him.

Brian turns back to his National Geographic. He is given ten minutes of uninterrupted reading before Jim requests some advice. Bringing his book over to Brian, Jim explains his difficulty. Brian looks over the work then asks a few questions of Jim. He finds a concept that Jim understands and then quickly builds from it through a short series of understandable concepts until the specific problem area is arrived at. Jim, having answered and understood all the questions Brian has asked, now sees the logic behind the math problem that had stymied him. He thanks Brian then returns to his desk.

While Brian is talking with Jim both Chris and Roy appear to have lost interest in their books. Roy is miming to Chris his disgust of Jim's interaction with Brian. Chris giggles and mines back. They whisper a few words together but remain quiet enough to avoid Brian's attention. As Jim and Brian finish, Brian notes that it is 10:15 a.m.. He calls a break, asking that they be back at their desks in ten minutes. Students and teacher go outside to the wooden porch. Jim sits down and begins to roll a cigarette. Chris sits beside him, places his arm around Jim's shoulders

and says "Hey buddy, good friend, how about some tobacco?" Jim grimaces and complains about never being repaid as he hands his rolling papers and tobacco pouch to Chris. Ron paces, his hands in his pockets, as he chats with Brian who leans against the school-house wall soaking in the sun. The sound of hammering coming from the workshop provides a continual background noise.

The four talk about fishing and the marathon but appear to be concentrating more on the sunshine and warmth. Roy is the only one to appear restless. He is talking almost nonstop as he paces. His right hand reaches up to brush his hair out of his eyes every few minutes.

Soon they are back in the classroom, each at his desk, each working quietly. Brian sits on the couch in the recreation area of the building and has only just begun to read his magazine when Chris comes over with a puzzled expression on his face. Brian is very patient and begins to go through each character in the math problem. "Do you know what this means?" Pointing to an 'equals' sign, Chris mumbles a no. "Well, it means equal to. Do you understand that?" Chris mumbles again, still unsure. Brian continues: "If I get four glasses of milk and give you one then we wouldn't have an equal number of glasses would we. I'd have three and you'd have one". Chris looks interested, he is beginning to comprehend. "But," Brian continues, "If I hand four and give you two then we'd both have two right? Would that be equal?"

"Yeah, sure it would, I get it now". Chris is excited by this exchange, something has been clarified for him. They go through the problem fairly quickly now and Chris soon returns to his work.

Now Jim brings a section of work over to Brian, who checks it, congratulates Jim for doing well and encourages him to go on to the next section. As Jim returns to his desk, Vincent walks in, having completed his interview with Ian. He tells Jim that Ian wants him in the kitchen. Brian makes sure that Vincent is settled into his work then comes over to talk with me. In the last few minutes of the class he and I discuss the school program in general.

In his opinion, there is not too much he can do with this group. He is no longer trying to motivate the students who have exhibited no or little interest in the program. With only three weeks left, Brian has decided to concentrate all his efforts on those students who are sincerely working towards completing some academic goal. The two youths who have been taking correspondence courses are doing well and two or three others have been working consistently and diligently towards their grade ten. Brian would rather do all he can to help these boys succeed. As for the others, he feels it is up to them. He is aware that little can be done now unless the students themselves decide they want to work. The academic program has been slowly de-emphasized as the camp draws to a close. The aftercare lifeskills component and interviews, the home visits, and the final out-trip have all taken the students'

time and attention, drawing them away from consistent involvement with their studies.

Brian and Ian have co-taught the job-finding, job-readiness course and Brian reminds me that lifeskills are an integral component of the school program. He feels that it is difficult, although not impossible, for any student to actually finish a VAST level or correspondence course during a camp. There is very little time. If a student can begin to feel safe about succeeding in school, if he can begin to appreciate the practical importance of finishing school, then Brian feels that the program has done its work. Brian, along with the aftercare coordinator and other staff, do everything they can to ensure that every Camp Trapping student showing an interest and determination to get back to school will be placed in an appropriate school setting upon leaving camp. There is little more that can be done.

Brian gets up and hobbles into the schoolroom. He goes to each student and performs a quick check on their progress then tells them to clean up and put their books away. It is 11:55 a.m. and the work crews can be seen heading for the bunkhouse to clean up. For the boys with Brian, school is out for the day.

The Construction Trades Program

Mike watches Brian herd his three students into the schoolroom then turns and enters the workshop. John, David and Jerry have

already entered the workshop, retrieved their carpenter belts from the cupboard and are now filling up the belt pouches with nails. Mike wastes no time. He goes over to the truss form, unclasps it and lowers it to the floor. By this time the crew has walked over to the pile of pre-cut truss pieces and is already carrying a set over to the form.

No one has yet said a word. Everyone knows exactly what is to be done and works efficiently. The truss is on its way to being hammered together within minutes. Mike watches each student carefully. He ensures that the truss pieces are placed correctly, that the correct number of nails are used at each point and that the nails are properly spaced. His workers are old hands now. They know the routine and the expectations. Jerry seems perturbed and mumbles to himself but works steadily.

The Construction Trades Program was originally intended to be self-supporting within two years. Operating now for over a year and a half, it has yet to reach this goal. Yet there is no shortage of work. Mike is responsible for securing work contracts and tells me he has no difficulty in this respect.

The truss the crew is completing right now is one of an order of eighty requested by a greenhouse owner near Prince George. Since the student labourers are not paid for their labour, Camp Trapping can offer a good price to its customers, but because of the frequent interruptions and the limited hours of work, the program cannot make

enough to pay for Mike's salary. The Federal Government LEAP grant which funds the program will expire by the autumn of 1982, and the future of the program, although reasonably promising, is by no means secure.

Mike wishes he could work his crew longer hours and with fewer interruptions. Sometimes he is frustrated by the camp's irregularity. A portion of his crew always seems to be needed for other tasks, is sick, or being interviewed or examined by someone.

Nevertheless, Mike is pleased with the progress and enthusiasm and potential of three of the camp's students. He talks with pride about the boys he has working on the schoolroom windows - building them from 'scratch' and doing fine finishing work. He is impressed with their ability to learn new concepts and skills and to work independently and consistently. The others are, on the whole, average workers. They can, Mike says, "Take direction but they don't think enough".

Mike is a fellow that most of the students are careful with. Everyone respects and admires his skill, but most students feel that he works them too hard and that he gets angry or impatient too easily. Mike does not seem to mind. As far as he is concerned, the students are coddled. He wants to treat them like employees, to show them what "it really means to work hard and well". He believes that his program is much more tolerant than a real work situation. Many of the students, he believes, would have a difficult time "holding

down a real job".

Mike takes up his hammer now and assists his crew complete the first truss of the day. Getting Jerry to help him he carries the completed truss outside to be stacked with the others. Twenty more and they will have completed the contract. Jerry begins to complain. He feels frustrated with the truss work and uses this time alone with Mike to express his wish for other work. Jerry says that he wants a chance to work on the more intricate carpentry but Mike refuses, saying that he does not think Jerry is ready. Jerry angrily maintains that he would rather be digging ditches. He is quite sincere. Mike tries to reason with him, but Jerry is becoming quite distraught. James pledges to do anything other than trusses and Mike finally agrees to see what he can do.

In actual fact, Jerry is handling himself very well in comparison to his initial behaviour at the camp. Mike recognized this - Jerry is not swearing, he is offering to work and is arguing reasonably. Mike and James seek out Rod who suggested that he and Jerry could spend the rest of the morning filling in some of the spots on the road that have been eroded by recent rains and the spring run-off.

Mike is back working with his crew of two as Jerry and Rod drive down the road. Mike and his crew get no coffee break today. They work steadily, the sound of their hammering inhibiting any conversation. As each truss is completed, they rest for a few moments before taking it out and beginning another. Any conversation

that does ensue is entirely work related.

At 11:50 a.m. Mike, almost reluctantly, calls a halt to the work. The boys and Mike put away their tools and head to the bunk-house to clean up. They have completed five trusses this morning and Mike is pleased. As the three of them leave the workshop, he congratulates the students for working so well.

Work at the Sauna

Robert and Dan are pleased that they have been chosen to work with John the maintenance man. Although Robert is one of Mike's trusted workers and is often assigned to the challenging and interesting carpentry jobs, he knows that today he would have been working on the trusses. Rebuilding the sauna is much more interesting and there is a more casual atmosphere when working with John. Robert and Dan are both aware that being assigned to the sauna is a type of reward from the staff, a recognition of their ability and their trustworthiness. It confirms and enhances their status, already high, as both are Level Two and too strong and big to be treated with disrespect by their peers.

Robert is brooding a bit today. Although he is civil and cooperative with John, he appears preoccupied, frowning and uncommunicative. It has to do with more than just being caught walking during the run. That was frustrating but 'no big deal'. He and all the students continually break the rules, whether it

be smoking or walking on the run, obtaining some 'weed' (marijuana) or numerous other 'little' infractions. That, to Robert, is just part of the game, as is getting caught occasionally. Only occasionally, mind you, for it you become too obvious in your rebellion "then they start to watch you closely - real close". It is something else that is bothering Robert this morning but he is not sure as to its nature.

Rebuilding the sauna had been going slowly until recently. In the last two weeks however, the roof had been rebuilt and a new cinder block chimney installed. Now the ceiling is almost complete and it is time for the benches to be put in place. If they work hard enough, the residents should be able to use the sauna this afternoon.

John never appears to be in a hurry but works methodically and leisurely until the job is done. He and the two boys begin nailing the ceiling's 1x4's onto the ceiling's frame. Not too long after they start, Rod joins them. After taking a brief look around, he joins them at their work. The four work together easily. There is occasional mild banter as they work but the conversation is sparse. The noise and their concentration on the work will not allow too many interruptions.

Unlike Mike, John always takes a coffee break. At around 10:15 a.m. he calls a halt to the work and the four workers saunter over to the cookhouse. Rod leaves them to their coffee and goes to see how Mike is doing. Although he planned to return, he soon finds himself digging ditches with Jerry.

John, Dan and Robert drink their coffee quickly. Ian is interviewing at the back table so the worker's conversation has to be somewhat subdued. They soon return to the sauna but pause to sit in the sun and have a cigarette before returning to work. They had already completed the ceiling and were busy with the final measurements for the new benches before being joined by Phil. Phil and Rod had both begun the morning writing their reports on the three or four boys they are each responsible for monitoring. These were the final reports required by Ian and the referring agents. They were to summarize each student's growth, strengths, and weaknesses, and were to make any recommendations they thought could be helpful. At that point he felt it was best if he go out and join in the work. After a few words with Mike, he too had eventually ended up at the sauna where he began to help the others.

Before the morning's work was complete the sauna crew were aware that they would definitely have the sauna in useable condition for the late afternoon. It had been a good morning's work, the crew well satisfied by the time they began to clean up for lunch.

The Afternoon

It does not take long for the students to clean up and scurry down to the kitchen vestibule where they wait anxiously for the second bell, the official announcement that lunch is ready to be served. Rod and Phil are up at the bunkhouse. The radio phone had rung and Rod is now speaking with the program director, Rob, who is

calling the camp from Prince George. Rod and Phil are told to expect Marion and Reg for lunch and that Rob would be coming out around sauna time and staying through evening session. He has something he wished to bring up in session and would also like to observe Roy for awhile.

Lunch goes by quickly, interrupted only by Marion and Reg's arrival. As everyone leaves for their chores and to unload the supplies that Marion has brought with her, Ian takes the staff aside for a moment. He is expecting the personnel manager of Netherlands Overseas, one of the largest logging and milling operations in Prince George. He is scheduled to speak with the students this afternoon about job expectations and prospects. It is possible that this man may not arrive so Ian suggests that the afternoon begin as scheduled. If the personnel manager does arrive then all the work projects can be shut down for an hour or so, while he speaks with the students.

Chores are completed by 1:10 p.m.. The residents are ready for the afternoon's events. As their guest has not yet arrived, the counsellors decide to continue with the regular schedule. Mike takes Vincent, Roy and Chris into the carpentry shop, John takes Dan and Reg to the sauna while Jim and Ian return to the kitchen to complete their interview. The rest of the boys join Brian in the schoolhouse.

The various crews have settled down to their respective

tasks for no more than twenty minutes when a Netherland's Overseas pick-up truck drives up to the schoolhouse. Ian, having half an eye out for Lloyd's arrival, runs up the steps to greet him and sends Jim over to the sauna to fetch Reg and Dan. Within minutes, the entire crew has gathered expectantly in the recreation room.

This is no formal lecture. Three students lounge comfortably on the sofa, apparently savouring these few moments of passive entertainment. The others however, appear quite curious. Some lean up against the walls staring intently at the stranger. Most stand unsupported in groups of two or three, their arms crossed on their chests, their faces a picture of concentration. It looks as if they are ready to follow Lloyd back out into the bush as soon as he has finished talking. Everyone in the room appears to have a reverence for the mystique of logging and recognize, perhaps, that it continues to be the lifeblood of this area and their probable source of livelihood in the years to come.

Lloyd's appearance has put the boys at ease. He does not look like a personnel manager. He is a young man in work boots, jeans, plaid shirt and down vest. He looks very much like the other adults in the room, as well he should, having just returned from a bush site construction project. He speaks to the students in a very blunt and forthright manner. An occasional swear word punctuates his statements. As he answers the students questions, he begins to paint a clear and realistic picture of a logger's life and responsibilities. "Yes," he replies, "there are big bucks in this

business and its a valid reason for getting into it. But don't expect to get those big bucks right away. You gotta start at the bottom and work you ass off. You've got to be responsible for yourself, your fellow workers and your equipment... it costs too much to have some careless or lazy bugger destroy it. Safety and productivity are the two key points. We gotta have both. That means you gotta be able to think and move quickly, work hard all day and keep your mind on your environment and your work".

Lloyd does not talk down to the students. They sense this and respond enthusiastically to his descriptions and questions. Ian and some of the other staff punctuate and summarize some of Lloyd's points by translating his statements into phrases and words used frequently by the counsellors. "Is education important?" one of the students asks. "Yes", Lloyd replies, "because its one way we have of selecting people. Besides, a lot of loggers do contract work. They have to be able to read and understand a contract, respond to tenders and balance books". At this point Ian takes the opportunity to build on the theme. "Not only that", he says, "but getting through school shows you're not a quitter, that you see something to the end".

Lloyd continues, "If you really want to work in logging even now, in tough economic times, you've gotta chance if you come to the worksite ready to work everyday. One of those days there's gonna be someone missing and then you've got your chance."

"You see", Ian adds, "if you're a keener the door's not closed. You can get it. If you're patient, if you got perserverance, if you're not greedy for the big money first thing, then you can do it. But don't think you can slack off once you're on and in the union. You've got to obey orders, work hard and be civil to your boss or you'll be gone, and fast".

The students have enjoyed the session and appear inspired. Half of them have said they want to be loggers and are bouyed by the realistic if subdued optimisim Lloyd projects. Their work and lessons at Camp Trapping suddenly make sense for some of them as they can see these experiences preparing them for the type of life they are saying they want.

Although the formal session has ended, the students are not prepared to let Lloyd leave. Back outside, they cluster around him asking more questions as he leans casually against his pick-up truck. Ian and Rod confer a moment as they watch this informal and exuberant gathering. Ian then walks up to the group and announces that Camp Trapping would like to give Lloyd a gift of birchwood. He accepts gratefully and the students are quick to accomodate him. They begin to load up the truck's box with dry cordwood from a stack beside the bunkhouse. While half the students are engaged in this activity, four others continue to ask Lloyd questions about his company, some of them recounting stories about their logger fathers and brothers.

By 3:15 p.m., Lloyd and his newly burdened truck have driven off. There is an air of optimism and confidence around some of the bigger and older students as they talk with renewed vigour about future employment prospects. This talk continues as the residents return to their activities. Ian, having finished with Jim, sends him up to join Mike's crew and asks Reg to join him in the kitchen. John, who preferred to continue working during the lecture, has announced that the sauna is now ready for use. Dan is asked to stoke up the sauna's stove and prepare the renovated building for its christening. Everyone is back at work within five minutes of Lloyd's departure.

The Aftercare Interview

The kitchen windows are opaqued with condensation, Marion's cooking and baking having heated up the building. The aroma of fresh-baked bread fills the kitchen as Ian and Reg settle down to their interview and coffee.

Although the aftercare coordinator is primarily concerned with providing each student with a smooth and well directed transition from camp to the parent community, he actually wears a number of hats. Today Ian is fulfilling two of his roles. The camp-end ACC interview is intended to assist Ian, the referring agents and the youths' guardians to plan effectively for each student. In addition, the interview is intended to give the student an opportunity to assess the last five months and

contemplate his future. It also serves as an informal and subjective evaluation of the effects the camp has had on each student. By comparing the answers he receives today with the answers obtained at the first interview in February, Ian has some record of self-assessed change that has occurred during the student's stay. While each interview schedule varies slightly through the addition or exclusion of a number of questions, most of the questions are identical, allowing comparison of the student's responses. Program evaluation and student follow-up studies are additional ACC duties.

Ian is frustrated today. Yesterday afternoon's and this morning's interviews were, in his opinion, rather lacklustre and discouraging. Yesterday's had been particularly difficult. The student had sat expressionless, answering each question monosyllabically. The student had shown no inclination to plan for and work towards his future. Ian was afraid that the six month followup would indicate that this particular student would be back in trouble with the law. Although the two students he had interviewed this morning showed more promise, Ian felt that they too would have some serious post-camp difficulties.

Reg, however, is another story. He had been an enigma at this camp. His behaviour, ability and rapport with the others had been exemplary since the beginning. He is the spring camp's star student and the first student to reach Level III.

Like all the others, Reg has just returned from the week-long

home visit that Trapping arranges towards the end of each camp. Unlike the others, he was away for nine days instead of the usual seven. Although his two extra days were not scheduled, Reg has not been punished or 'consequenced' for his absence. Although there have been mumblings about favouritism, the staff feel justified in treating Reg this way. His extra two days had been spent at Tumbler Ridge, a new coal development in Northeastern B.C.. With his father's help, Reg's visit to Tumbler Ridge had secured him a job as a surveyor's apprentice. He is now scheduled to begin work immediately after camp. Reg was the only student to return to camp with both a confirmed job and good reports from parents and referring agent.

Ian and Reg appear equally comfortable and relaxed in each other's company. Reg's Level III status has had the effect of making him a junior or apprentice counsellor. His ability to work on his own, to work consistently and to lead the other students while retaining their respect, has earned the staffs' respect. They can relax with him. Ian relates to Reg like a friendly employer reviewing his employee's work record. Reg, not surprisingly, says he likes the camp. He tells Ian that "The first couple of weeks were tough alright. It was like being in the army. I felt like running away then but I wasn't that dumb. I'd take six months here to two weeks in jail anywhere. The work isn't that hard really; its nothing compared to farm work".

Reg tells Ian that the camp has helped him. He feels more sure

of himself and knows he can 'stick to things' until they are finished. Reg is proud of his running ability and is determined to complete and 'win' the forthcoming marathon. He feels particularly confident about his future. Although he does not plan to return to secondary school, he feels his surveyor's apprenticeship will lead him along in the right direction as far as both work and school are concerned. "It's not like just a labouring job, I'll be learning a trade".

Reg is confident that he can avoid further confrontations with the law. He will be working long hours and will not be keeping the same company. He admits however that if he was just going back to the same situation from which he came, he could very easily end up in more trouble.

When asked about drugs and alcohol, a crafty smile appears on his face. "I'll be takin' a toke or two for sure, but that cop who was here really drove it home about booze and drugs mixed with driving. I'm not gonna do that". Something behind his smile indicates that a "toke or two" may be a bit of an understatement.

Ian however appears resigned if not satisfied with Reg's response. The counsellors are aware that even Reg had used marijuana while at the camp. Drug and alcohol use is an inevitability for most of the students. As a result, the counsellors try to treat the issue realistically. If students are caught with drugs or are incapacitated by their use then the staff will ensure that some logical consequence

will occur. If the students are not caught, if their performance does not suffer and if they are not blatantly defiant of the camp's rules concerning drugs, then the counsellors will do little to force the issue even if they are reasonably confident that drugs are in use. Any student that arrives with a recognized drug or alcohol problem is watched closely and provided with additional counselling in the area if it appears necessary.

Ian and Reg decide to take a break. Marion (the counsellor) and John have just walked in and are sitting with Marion (the cook) discussing a book that John has just received in the mail. It is a book of native history and folktales written by John's uncle. Reg and Ian join the discussion. John is pointing at various people and objects in some of the book's photographs, telling us who and what they are. He is very proud of his uncle's achievement. Marion suggests that John could perhaps read aloud from the book at bedtime. Ian and Reg support this idea and express a great deal of interest in the book. John seems genuinely touched by their enthusiasm and interest. He does not commit himself to reading aloud tonight however.

The afternoon is quickly drawing to a close as Ian and Reg get back to their interview. Ian runs through the remaining questions very quickly. Reg listens intently, answering most questions briefly with little elaboration. Reg does not think he has changed all that much but, he says, he sees what he was doing more clearly now and knows now that it was 'leading him nowhere'. He notes that he has

always been a conscientious and hard worker and quite competitive. He believes he 'just got into raisin' a little hell too much". Camp Trapping, he maintains, has shown him that his lawbreaking was moving him rapidly towards a loss of control and freedom. For Reg, such a prospect is like death itself. "So you guys may not have changed me all that much," he summarizes, "but you've kinda shown me a better way of getting what I want. It's been OK here too. I mean, if I hadn't been here I'd either have been in jail or just hanging around not doing anything".

The interview ends. Ian and Reg get up, stretch and begin to walk towards the door. Reg pauses to read one of the posters on the dining room wall, "It is not how much we have but how much we enjoy that makes happiness". He takes his cup up to the sink, rinses it out then goes outside with Ian to join the others as they prepare for the sauna.

The Sauna

It is 4:15 p.m. Smoke and heat waves are rising from the sauna's chimney. Two students are walking towards the sauna, each in a bathing suit and carrying a towel.

Everyone at camp is justifiably proud of this moment. Trapping has lost three saunas to fire. When the sauna caught fire this spring, an effective bucket brigade and fast cooperative action had enabled this group of campers to contain and put out a fire that had

threatened to consume the building. That was six weeks ago. Now, with a new roof, chimney and interior, the sauna was in better condition than prior to the fire. For six weeks, keeping clean had been a difficult chore. They had relied on a sweat lodge made of poles and heavy plastic. They had to rinse off in the open air. While a unique experience, it was not particularly enjoyable.

When students first arrive at Camp Trapping, the sauna sessions are one of the least palatable aspects of the program. Within a month this opinion is completely reversed. Saunas are eventually viewed as one of the most relaxed and enjoyable parts of the week. Although mandatory only three days a week, the sauna stove is more likely to be stoked four or five times weekly. Even the jump into the lake in the winter becomes accepted after the first few weeks. It becomes one of life's little adventures.

According to staff who had worked at Camp Trapping before the arrival of female counsellors (1979), there used to be more tension around sauna time than now exists. It took the newly pubescent youths much longer to feel relaxed in the all nude, all male environment. Students would watch in horror as nude counsellors would wash each other's backs or perhaps massage each other's aching legs. This type of contact was viewed as threateningly intimate and counsellors would be derisively hooted at as "fags" and "queers". Although all but the most inhibited students would eventually get over their shock and begin to realize that men can be intimate without being sexual, it would often take up to two months.

Since the arrival of female counsellors, convention now has it that everyone must wear a swimsuit during sauna. The threat of communal nudity has thus been removed from the experience.

As this is the end of camp, the students have already rid themselves of their fear of touching and being touched. Inside the sauna we find that two of the students have already worked up a sweat and returned from their first jump in the lake. Back now for the second phase of every sauna, they are shampooing their hair and soaping up and scrubbing their bodies. Each scrubs down the other's back without anyone else giving it a second glance. It had not been that way initially. I ask Wendel and Vincent about their initial feelings around the sauna and they tell me about how 'weird' the counsellors were and how 'funny' it felt to watch them help each other wash. Wendel calls over to John, asking him if he remembers how everyone was 'weirded out' by John's lack of inhibition right from the start. John, it appears, would always take off his bathing suit as soon as the women had left the sauna.

As Wendel and Vincent and I talk, Dan and John are rinsing off. Scooping a bucket full of hot water out of the tub on top of the stove, Dan mixes it in another pail with cold water from the lake. With two pails of warm water he then proceeds to pour them over Jerry's head and body as John rubs off the remaining soap.

Some of the late arrivals have now become hot enough to make a run for the lake. Wendel and Jim dash out the door, run down the

long wharf and make clean dives into the cold water. Ian, looking on, refers to their dives as an example of the unique Camp Trapping circle dive. Each camper quickly learns to dive out in a curve that has them heading back towards the wharf almost as soon as they hit the water. It will be a good month and a half before the lake is warm enough to swim in comfortably for any length of time.

The next set of divers is asked to take the now empty pails to the lake to refill them. This process will be continued until everyone has soaped up and rinsed off. Half the crew has already finished and returned to the bunkhouse. A few others are drying themselves off in the sauna's porch.

Inside, Mike and Phil have stretched out flat on two of the benches for a few minutes of blissful relaxation. Reg and David, also relaxing now, are discussing their post graduation plans. David is almost certain that he has work for the summer but is determined to complete his grade eleven correspondence courses at the same time. Both of them are looking forward to some 'heavy partying' as a well-earned graduation celebration. Phil wonders aloud if that means they will end up getting arrested for drug use the day after camp ends. Both boys tell him not to worry. They will have fun they say but they will be careful. Just as David finishes reassuring Phil, we hear the first bell announce that dinner is only fifteen minutes away. We make one more rush to the lake before we head up to the bunkhouse to hurriedly dress and join the others for the last meal of the day.

Evening at Camp Trapping

Supper is over now. An abundance of chicken, potatoes, vegetables, homemade bread, salad and fruit cocktail has satiated even the most cavernous adolescent appetite. All the chores have been completed except for the dishes. Phil and Jim remain hard at work at the kitchen sinks as the others relax and enjoy the lingering sun.

Rob, the program director, arrived half way through supper and is now having a private conversation with Roy in the bunkhouse office; part of the close surveillance and tough-line process the staff are taking with their most troublesome student.

Mike and Vincent are out fishing in one of the canoes while Marion and Wendel, in a second canoe, are paddling slowly along the edge of the marsh in search of two mallard eggs for the cook's incubator. Jerry, Rod, Robert and Reg are playing catch in the parking lot. Chris sits in the schoolhouse strumming one of the camp's guitars and singing an old Rolling Stone's song. John sits with him, listening intently with an harmonica cupped in his hands. Dan is asleep in the bunkhouse while David and Brian engage in an earnest conversation on Brian's bed.

This is the first time in the day when there is a noticeable lull in the activity. It is a thin slice of free time coveted by staff and students alike. Tonight most have almost an hour in

which to indulge themselves. The majority of students do not concentrate on any one activity during this time. The game of catch breaks up in twenty minutes. Rod enters the bunkhouse and lies down for a few minutes while the three students sit for awhile in front of the schoolhouse smoking and talking about last weekend's town exploits.

Vincent has had Mike drop him off at the wharf and Brian is now fishing with Mike. Vincent joins the other three. The four boys do not sit for long. Robert and Reg get up and begin to walk down the road on the east side of the bunkhouse. John heads for the bunkhouse while Vincent follows Robert and Reg. If there is any marijuana at camp today this is probably the first opportunity the students have had to make use of it. Vincent's nervous excitement as he leaves to follow Reg and Robert may indicate that the opportunity is being grasped.

For ten, perhaps fifteen minutes, the camp is very quiet. Chris's singing and the muffled rumble of the generator dominate the soundscape. Around 6:55 people begin to congregate around the schoolhouse porch again. Marion, Rod and David are already inside, setting up chairs in a horseshoe-shaped configuration partially blocked at the open end by two chairs set behind two school desks. By 7:00 p.m. all but Mike and Brian are in or around the schoolhouse awaiting the beginning of the evening session. Ian runs over to the clearing between the bunkhouse and school and yells out to the two fishermen, calling them back in.

Inside, Marion and Rod are already seated at the two desks. Rod has a loose-leafed binder in front of him. As secretary this evening, he will record tonight's events in the Session Log. Marion, as chairperson, has a sheet of paper and pencil in front of her. She need only jot down specific points or concerns that must be dealt with before the session ends.

With much scrapping of chair legs against the floor accompanied by loud conversation, the staff and students begin to seat themselves around the horseshoe. At 7:05 p.m. only Brian and Mike have not arrived. Marion and Rod decide to begin without them.

The Evening Session

Sessions are based rather loosely on the design and rationale of Vorath's and Brendtro's Positive Peer Culture model (discussed in Chapter). The structure of any given session is identical to that of any other. Every session begins with a question relating to the day just past or to a major camp event.

Tonight Marion asks what each person is planning as a special training regime for the eleven days left before the marathon. There is a surprising variety of answers as each person in turn offers their suggestions. They include quitting smoking, longer practice runs, more exercises and stretches, toughening one's feet and relaxing for two days before the run. Ian mentions carbohydrate loading and the next ten minutes are devoted to an explanation of

the word 'carbohydrate' and of this special marathoner's diet.

Marion, with an eye on the time, cuts this discussion short with a promise to go over the diet and 'loading' process at another time. She then initiates the second phase of the session by calling for issues. John is the first to respond with the terse comment "Vincent's behaviour". Reg adds "Grad Day", and finally Roy adds "Yesterday's work on Marion the cook's trailer".

Marion waits for a few moments. When no other issues emerge she selects Grad Day as the first topic of discussion. Reg reminds his fellow students that thirty minutes of the Grad Day ceremonies are reserved for a student presentation. He suggests that the students get together soon and begin planning. When Reg suggests that each student could make a short speech, Chris becomes worried. He has misunderstood and believes that each student will have to present a thirty minute speech. Chris is relieved to hear that Reg was thinking more along the lines of thirty seconds for each student.

The idea of a talent show is suggested and the size of the "feast", time of day, quests, and other festivities for the day are all mentioned as aspects of the day that must be planned and coordinated. There is a groan of disbelief when Rob tells them that everyone will be working on Grad Day to make sure that the camp is clean and all the day's preparations complete. Before work on Grad Day can become a point of debate, Marion closes the issue,

reminding the students that Reg's suggestion should be acted on soon. She then asks Roy to present his issue.

Roy : Yesterday when we were working eh, I was talking to Mike eh, and he walked away and I looked down and he turned around and said 'that's ten' and that I swore. I never even swore

Jerry : Well, what do you want? What are you saying?

Roy : Well, like, I don't think he should take my conduct point away.

John : Well you did eh? You sent, 'well f... you" after he gave them (pushups) to you, and before you said something like "What the f... do you do?"

Roy : No way - I said "what are you doing around here" or something like that. And I never swore.

Marion : OK, if you want to talk about a problem with Mike yesterday that's fine, but leave out anything about points and consequences.

John : Why don't we ask Mike cause I think what I said was right.

Chris : Ya, I think that's true cause everyone was cursin' out there.

Roy : Ya, but the way he works it everyone should have got pushups for smilin' and saying hi.

Marion : So, is the issue over or what?

Jerry : I don't think you should worry about it Roy, like everyone coulda got nailed all day long for swearing

so like it's really a little thing eh?

Dan : Maybe it just slipped out by accident, sometimes I do that, I don't mean to, it just comes out.

Roy : Ya, but it's not fair.

Marion : OK, can anyone think of some way to help Roy out?

Reg : If you're gonna swear you might as well just say it right out then take your consequences. Don't mumble 'cause then they might assume you're swearing anyway and make you do them.

John : Just do your pushups man. It's just ten. Richard gave me a hundred once just for swearing twice.

Roy : But I never swore man. It's like, unjust. That's what I'm saying man.

Mike (who has arrived about ten minutes earlier) : OK, a lot of people were swearing out there when they hit themselves with hammers and I don't pay attention to that. But Roy said something deliberate to me twice and that's why he got pushups.

A long silence.

Vincent : Maybe Roy didn't swear. Maybe Mike made a mistake.

Another silence.

Marion : OK, you've brought up your issue Roy. Are you satisfied with the response?

Roy : Ya, now lets talk about the drinking water at work yesterday. Like another

Marion : OK. we're going to go on to another issue. Maybe we'll

get back to that later. John?

Roy is not satisfied. He is about to speak again but decides against it and hunches down in his chair. The other students are not supporting him on this issue. To have John against him is nothing new. Both students have a profound dislike for each other. But this time even Jerry, his best friend, is not supporting Roy. Roy realizes that he will not get anywhere without a well-reasoned support from the other students.

John's issue is of a different sort. This morning Vincent had been very surly and uncooperative with everyone he encountered. Vincent's behaviour is a topic that quite a few of the others also have on their minds. John wants to know what is bothering him.

Ian begins by noting that Vincent had talked with and apologized to Ian after the argument they had had. Ian compliments Vincent for his initiative in 'talking out' the issue. Vincent explains that he can not swim and the insistence of the others that he come down for a dip in the lake this morning made him both frustrated and angry. But Vincent had some behavioural problems after breakfast as well. Roy wonders why Vincent always takes his anger out on the staff. He is implying that Vincent is a coward and will not fight with the students. Everyone ignores Roy's comment.

Marion mentions that Vincent has been having difficulties .

during work and chores as well. She suggests that the group hear about them so they can try to help him. Vincent maintains that he was in a bad mood and that it was 'no big deal'. Marion, on the other hand, suggests that he was arguing and doing sloppy work on purpose just to 'try everyone's patience' and to see if he could get them upset. She thinks he is playing a game.

Vincent : You're wrong Marion.

Marion : OK, then tell me how I'm supposed to talk to you about things to do around here without getting into a big argument.

Vincent : I don't know. I knew this was going to happen.

Wendel : I think he was doin' what I do when I'm in a bad mood. I start to bug someone else.

Jerry to Marion: I don't think it's a good idea, what you're doing to Vince. You're pressuring him. He's just having a bad mood. Seems like he's a lot better than he used to be.

John : I don't think he should take it out on other people. He should just leave everybody and sit by himself.

Ian : The object of this session is to put pressure on people whose behaviours aren't appropriate and we'd like to know why all this uncalled for behaviour was happening today. "Just a bad day" isn't an excuse. Everyone has bad days but it's no excuse to go around wrecking other people's days.

- Vincent : Maybe I don't know how to handle bad days. Maybe I should do what John said and take some time out.
- Marion : Maybe we could get some other suggestions to help you.
- Rob : Well, I don't know if this is a positive suggestion but Wendel's point was a good one. I know when I have a bad day I sometimes want to bring someone into it - I get mad at the world. I think it takes alot of will-power to say "Ya, I'm having a bad day and I'm sorry I'm putting it on to you". If you keep it to yourself you'll end up yelling at someone and then they'll yell back, and then you yell ... it gets worse. If you tell people, it tends to get better. You almost forget and find yourself saying "gee, why was I in such a bad mood?" Everyone around you is still relating in a positive manner and then someone will tell a joke ... and you forget the bad mood. It can go away quickly but it takes will power.
- Vincent : Well, everyone knew I was in a bad moody today but some people didn't help. They just made me more pissed off.
- Marion : I still don't think that tells me why you were putting so much energy into thinking up what you could do wrong. 'How can I do this wrong to get shouted at so I can get angry?' I'd rather see that energy get put into positive stuff.
- Vincent : Uh, this isn't personal or anything but have you ever seen a psychiatrist? You're thinking up some pretty

weird stuff. It's not true what you said.

Marion : I disagree so I guess you and I will have to talk about it later.

Ian : I think Vincent is just trying to get away from his problem - not deal with them. I think you want us to think you're a turkey. I'd like to know why you're playing that game.

Vincent : You're positive I'm playing a game aren't you?

Ian : Well you do it enough.

Vincent : You're wrong.

Ian : Prove it!

Vincent : I can't eh!

Roy : This thing is going in circles. Maybe we should get off it. It's possible to help but Vincent won't admit anything.

Rob : OK, to a certain extent it had a lot to do with Vincent and the rest of the group. One of the assumptions so far is that what Vincent is doing is intentional and another is that Vincent was in a bad mood. But can you say why you were in a bad mood? Maybe it's intentional, but there's a lot of other things going on at this time of camp 'cause there's a lot of indefinites and a lot happening inside ... something we call separation and loss. There's a lot of close attachments that have been formed and these are gonna end two weeks from now and everyone deals with that a little differently. I'm

just wondering if that's one of the things behind
Vincent's bad day. What do you think Vincent?

Vincent : I dunno, when I woke up I just got pissed off easily.

Ian : I wonder if anyone is pushing Vincent around and he's
covering up.

Vincent : No one's pushing me around or aggravating me.

Wendel : I think Vincent is just all tensed up 'cause it's the
last two weeks. I know I am.

Chris : No one's pushing him around. I was just fooling around
this morning and I'm sorry if it was me that got you
pissed off.

Jerry : I never heard anyone pick on Vincent this morning. If
anyone does then maybe everyone should help. Pretend
he's your friend for the last two weeks. If I see anyone
doing it I'll tell them to try to help.

Marion : OK, thanks Jerry. That was a really positive way to end
this issue. Maybe we can go to Rob now because he wants
to talk about the separation and loss thing.

Rob : It's not really a big thing, but it's something the
counsellors talk about a bit and it's something we see
recurring. You know, we've just spent five months
together and have gone through a lot of crap and good
times together. People have developed friendships and
dislikes, but overall it's a solid group. In the backs
of our minds we start saying 'hey, it's coming to an
end". On one hand we're happy - we'll be out of this

place but there's also ... you're also gonna see good buddies go off and you're not gonna see them again for a long time; maybe forever.

Deep down we don't really want to go. Some would like to stay here because goin' home isn't gonna be great so they start getting into trouble or acting funny and some of them don't know why. People react differently during this stage. We might have to look at ourselves and see how we honestly feel about camp and deal with it. I know I feel it and I know a lot of the counsellors feel it. Sometimes we can get in really terrible moods, sometimes we're happy it's over but sometimes we're sad. We worry about some of you guys not making it, we loose friendships. It hurts, but sometimes we don't know why we're hurting. We're saying goodbye to something pretty powerful and we don't all know what's ahead.

Marion : I think what you said about future uncertainties is really true. A lot of the guys don't know how it's gonna go when they leave. There's security and friends and support here so maybe everyone's a little anxious.

Rob : Knowbody really knows what it's gonna be like. You've been away from home for five months- things change, you change.

Wendel : I agree with Rob, 'cause in two weeks I don't know where I'm gonna be. I've got nothing to look forward to.

A long silence. Everyone is looking at the floor.

Robert : I agree too. It feels weird going back to the real world

after being out here in the bush.

Reg : Me too, it was really different going home. My little sister seemed to have changed so much. My friends had taken off.

Marion : A lot of the time I can't relate to the way you guys feel but I'm leaving camp this time too, and I wonder what's going to happen. It feels funny. It's pretty tight here... so, maybe we can close with this issue. Lets think about it, talk about it. We've covered alot and it's been a really good session. OK, charts will be in ten minutes.

Two things happen that I have never seen occur before. Wendel jumps up, knocking his chair over as he rushes outside followed quickly by Vincent. The others, instead of getting up quickly, talking and laughing as they usually do, sit for a moment, all save one or two apparently lost in their own thoughts. People begin to walk out slowly, alone or in pairs.

Ian, Rod, Marion and Rob leave the room together. They are outside now leaning up against Rob's pickup truck. Ian thinks that Rob has 'hit the nail on the head'. He thinks there might just be some good things going on at camp right now - students looking hard at themselves. He feels that it is about time.

"I could have told them the same thing I said a couple of nights ago", Ian says to Rob, "I could have complemented a lot of people

Even Roy. It never ceases to amaze me how positive he can be if he decides not to put people down. He was saying some pretty good things towards the end tonight, not as good as two nights ago, but ... and Jerry. Amazing. Wendel, even Jim. In the last couple of weeks I've been feeling that people are genuinely trying to help each other".

"It all seemed to start just before they went home for a week" notes Rod. "Maybe the blunt reality of home life really started alot of them thinking. They're using the sessions a lot better now". "Ya, like a few nights ago when we were focusing on Robert", Marion adds, "they were offerring really meaningful and 'felt' ideas".

I remember back to that evening. Wendel, Jim and Roy had spoken at length about the value and support of a good home. Robert, who had ignored his parents and 'partied' most of the time during his week at home, had listened very carefully. He knew he had upset his parents very much even though he admitted they were very good to him. Listening to the other three students talk - two of them from very bad and unhappy homes - had humbled or shamed Robert and he had begun to reassess his attitude towards his family.

Their advice, was, in essence, to honour and love your parents because you're very lucky to have them and even more lucky that they care for you. Robert had come to me after that meeting. He was

almost bubbling and beaming with excitement. What the other students had said had "Opened a whole new door for me". "It makes sense", Robert had added, "what they say about being decent to your folks. It's been getting me nowhere the way I've been doing it, but now I feel like I really want to try to do what those guys suggested".

Robert's reaction had amazed me. From my vantage point at that session, I had heard the very same suggestions students had been giving every night in respect to a variety of issues. They were standard phrases that were repeated almost verbatim every night. They had all had the same general theme. "You've got to be more positive", "control your temper", "think before you speak or act", "offer to help instead of criticize", "you have to take responsibility and accept the consequences", "think about the people around you". These were the same messages one heard every session. I had even heard Robert say the same things to others in earlier sessions.

Yet that night they had been said to him and directed at an important issue in his life. He had obviously been listening. In retrospect I realized that there had been a difference in the quality of the suggestions that night. Each had been supplemented by a personal testimony of how the point in question had effected their own lives. Perhaps Robert had been listening to the emotional strength behind the words that night.

Not long after Marion had mentioned Robert's session, Robert walks up to us. He tells Rob that Vincent and Wendel are sitting down by the lake almost in tears and suggests that maybe a staff should join them. Ian follows up on his suggestions and heads off to the lake.

Shortly thereafter Vincent comes up heading for the bunkhouse. Rob intercepts him and they walk off down the road together. A few minutes later I notice Ian and Wendel putting a canoe out into the lake. They paddle off together.

Marion and Rod have gone into the bunkhouse to record the points and comments of the day for each person's file or chart. Almost half the camp is on either Level II or III. These students are not required to attend chart session. Four of the remaining six are on charts, the remainder on Level I. These six must report one by one to the bunkhouse office to go over their day's earnings. Marion steps out onto the bunkhouse porch and calls for Chris.

Chart sessions are normally tumultuous and emotion laden during the first few months of any camp. Most students value the rewards that can be earned through the chart system yet most also find it difficult to perform well enough to earn them. 'Charts' thus often becomes a place of confrontation, re-negotiation, tantrums and threats. Although as a rule, students know beforehand the number of points they have earned, the formal chart session is often used by students

to vent their anger and make one last try at gaining any points they may have failed to earn. During the first few months most of the students stay in or around the bunkhouse during charts, at times almost hovering around the closed office door. As each student leaves the office, an excited chorus of 'whatcha get's?' coupled with either congratulatory statements or sympathetic and usually loud support for a wronged student. These and the often bitter complaints against the staff, significantly raise the decibel level in the building. At times it is almost reminiscent of a particularly active day on a stock exchange floor.

A chart session can also become a counselling session although its primary function is a rather blunt if supportive tabulation and presentation of the day's earnings and by direct implication, of the day's behaviour. In keeping with their behavioural management philosophy, a counsellor is supposed to comment on only the earned points, congratulating and supporting each student for his successes. The unearned points are supposed to speak for themselves. This is not always the case however. Students often demand discussion and negotiation on unearned points and staff have been known to forget the positive aspect of this reinforcement schedule, using the time instead to criticize, threat or demand improvement.

Some students, usually the shy, the scapegoats and the loners look forward to this time during which they are guaranteed a semi-private opportunity to discuss any problems, concerns or successes they may have. Some staff are also prone to use this time as an

individual counselling session where they can probe, critique, develop a relationship or support and encourage an individual. Though the core of each session is a constant, the counsellor involved and the events and mood of the day provide a continual variety to this last formal activity of the evening.

By the time a camp has passed its half way point, and especially towards the end of a camp, chart sessions begin to lose their importance and emotional impact. By that time, the vast majority of the students are performing well enough most of the time to receive full rewards. If the camp is going particularly well, it may be that all the students are at Level I or beyond, thus almost eliminating the need for a chart session.

As camp progresses, students also learn that they will seldom, if ever successfully negotiate an additional earned point. The game has been learned and, for the most part, mastered. There are however, still sessions of emotional excitement if there is a particularly contentious issue or if the possibility of moving up a level is eminent.

Chris joins Marion in the bunkhouse office. Marion has Chris's file open on the desk. It, like all the others, is a typical 8x14 inch file folder. On the left inside face are a number of stapled sheets of paper. One, entitled 'chart changes' outlines and dates each chart modification and level change. Chris, for example, first obtained Level I standing on March twentieth, and attained Level II

on April the third. On April the twenty-fourth however, he was dropped back to Level I for being 'abusive to staff'. For the same reason, he was put back on charts on May the eighth. Although attitude and rapport do not effect reward earning, they become central to maintaining a 'Level' status. Chris has obviously had his ups and downs. Tonight is a definite 'up'.

Marion(smiling): Guess what Chris?

Chris : I dunno, well maybe I do.

Marion : You've just made it back to Level I. Congratulations.

Chris : Alright! Far out!

Marion : Ya, it's good to see you picking up again Chris.

We were getting worried about you for awhile. Have you got anything you want to bring up?

Chris : Nope, That's just fine.

Marion : OK then. Maybe you could round up John for me. I'm glad you're moving on up Chris.

Chris wanders out and can be heard hollering for John. It is the same story for him tonight, although for John it is the first time he has gone beyond charts. He is equally happy but in his own quiet way just smiles. He tells Marion that he decided a few weeks ago to make it to Level I before camp finished. He realizes that there is not enough time left to reach Level II but he wanted to reassure himself that he could at least perform well enough to be there if he puts his mind to it.

As John leaves, he is asked to call in Vincent. Vincent had attained Level I at the beginning of May only to loose it the following week when he ran away. He has yet to earn his way back to Level I and shows no real interest in doing so. He has not earned enough points to make it into town this coming weekend but does not appear overly concerned.

One of the other shift's counsellors, Richard, has become tired of Vincent's constant complaining of being 'ripped off' by the staff. Vincent, it appears, is always blaming someone else for the injustices in his life. Richard decided to show Vincent the difference between 'failing to earn' and being 'ripped off'. After ensuring that both he and Vincent knew that Vincent had earned a specific chore point on Monday, Rick had informed Vincent that he had decided to not let him earn that point. The two had had a lively debate that afternoon. Richard had not been able to keep a smile off his face, and even Vincent, after fifteen minutes of haranguing Rick had, in spite of himself, laughed aloud during the argument. Vincent knew that Richard wanted him to articulate his knowledge of the difference between the two concepts.

Vincent continues to refuse to do this even tonight. Richard has left a note on the chart, to the effect that Vincent can have his point back if he agrees to stop claiming a 'rip off' all the time. Marion points this out to Vincent.

Vincent : (with a big smile on his face) This is an injustice! I can't make that commitment to you. He wants it his way, I want it mine. You should give me half a point cause he's half right and I'm half right. Rick is trying to say that I say 'rip me off' all the time. I earned the point so its unjust.

Marion : Different counsellors do things differently.

Vincent : Well I guess I'll just have to beat you up then. They'll take me to cells then. (Vincent is fooling around now).

Marion : You're not taking Richard's point very seriously. It's like a debate in school.

Vincent : It's unfair, just like Hitler killing the Jews. I can't make that commitment 'cause maybe I really will get ripped off sometime. He's just trying to provoke me.

Marion : Looks like. Tell you what, I'll call Richard and see what he has to say.

Marion picks up the radio phone and gets the operator to dial through. After a brief explanation of the situation, Richard tells her that he was just trying to make a point. Rick is fully aware that he must honour the chart system, thus the point must be rewarded. He talks with Vincent for awhile and apparently both to them are satisfied. Vincent leaves contentedly even though his reinstated point will not earn him the week's rewards. Marion smiles and with a shrug says "It must be the principle of the thing".

And so the chart session continues. Roy, like Vincent, appears to enjoy debating and negotiating every possible angle. He has failed to earn a point today that will keep him from going to town. He argues strongly to have it reinstated. He is unsuccessful. Surprisingly, given the vehemence of his argument, he accepts this with a shrug and walks off. I am told later that Rob stayed at camp after the evening session specifically to see what Roy's reaction at charts would be. If Roy had lost his temper or become verbally or physically abusive to staff, Rob would have taken him to cells and Roy's spring '82 camp experience would have been over. Roy appeared aware of the thin line he trod. Not all the staff seemed pleased that Roy had been able to hang on.

Marion has finally completed the chart session. A brief conversation with David about his impending Level III status was the last issue to be dealt with. It is now 9:15 p.m. In fifteen minutes the students will be expected to be in, or almost in, bed. Two of them have already gone to bed, one to read, the other to sleep. Robert and Roy sit in their underwear on Roy's bed playing a game of chess. Ian and Vincent, also in their underwear, are wrestling in the middle of the floor. Three of the boys are at the sink brushing their teeth. Mike is also in bed already. The others are outside, some sitting on the porch having a last cigarette. Marion and Rod are standing beside Rob's pickup truck. Rob is at the wheel and the engine is running. The three of them are having a conversation about arrangement for Saturday's town

visit. Rob is tired and anxious to get home.

By 9:55 p.m. everyone except Rod is in bed and relatively quiet. Someone asks who is going to read tonight. Phil says he will but then John suggests that Chris could. To everyone surprise Chris agrees.

For the last two weeks the story that has been read aloud almost every evening has been a rousing Louis Lamour western in which a 'breed' (mixed Indian and Caucasian) is the hero. Apparently Chris has been enjoying the story and is willing to try reading it aloud. This is an impressive act of self confidence as, by B.C. school standards, Chris was close to being functionally illiterate when he arrived at the camp.

Rod takes the book and a flashlight over to Chris and shows him where the last night's reader left off. Rod then announces that he's 'gonna shut'er down', meaning that he is about to go out and turn off the diesel generator. As he walks out the door he flicks the light switch, leaving the bunkhouse in darkness except for the small circle of light coming from Chris's flashlight.

Chris begins to read. He falters initially and must labour through sounding a number of words. At a particularly difficult word which is beginning to frustrate him, a number of the students call out the correct pronunciation. Chris thanks them and tries out his new word. There is no laughter or derision. Those who

are still awake are giving Chris their full attention, and perhaps what is more important, their full support.

Rod has come back in and is slowly undressing, listening to Chris and watching his face as he struggles with the story. Rod whispers to Marion, "Isn't this great, I didn't think I'd ever hear Chris do this. The other guys are really being decent too". Marion and Ian nod their agreement as they continue to listen.

Chris reads for twenty minutes and then comes to the end of a chapter, Phil thanks him at this point and calls out a goodnight to everyone. There are only a few mumbled replies and one "good-night Johnboy" in return. Most of the students are already fast asleep.

The counsellors, or most of the, will be awake for awhile yet. It is always hard for them to relax at the end of a day. Each one is lost in his or her own thoughts, worries and satisfactions from the day. All of them will have eventually slipped into sleep by midnight after savouring for awhile the only truly private time they have at Trapping Lake.

ANALYSIS

"... be the man through whom you wish to influence others. Mere talk has always been considered hollow, and there is no trick, however cunning, by which one can evade this simple truth for long. The fact of being convinced, and not the subject matter of conviction it is this which has always carried weight" 1.

C.G. Jung

It is now time to compare fact with theory. When we attempt to place Camp Trapping within the general framework of rites of passage aims and activities, a few similarities immediately stand out. Perhaps the most obvious of these is Trapping's clear three stage system of separation, re-education, and the graduation process. There can be little doubt that this corresponds nicely with the preliminal, liminal and post liminal phases of a rite of passage. I believe this similarity merits little discussion however as a vast array of human activities can be seen to have clearly marked beginning, middle and end segments. It is what occurs within each segment that is of more importance. This three phase nature of Camp Trapping should be considered only a clue or indication that a further relationship may exist.

Another rather straightforward similarity between Trapping and rites of passage lies at the goal level of both systems. We will recall Turner's suggestion that ritual in general has four broad goals. When we compare these goals to those outlined in

Trapping's policy manual, the key informants' opinions and the founder's conceptions, a more significant similarity begins to appear. The following chart outlines this similarity. The intent of both systems mesh fairly well.

While we will be returning to some of these goal statements in our discussion of liminal stage objectives and methods, little more need be said concerning this correspondance. Both sets of goals are quite general and, as such, tend to be of little value in indicating any strong correlation between these two systems. If the goals were not shared we would, perhaps, have little need to explore the comparison further. It is safe to say they are close enough to encourage a closer scrutiny. To say, however, that Camp Trapping and rites of passage are similar would, at this point, be equivalent to stating that the Canadian New Democratic and Progressive Conservative political parties are identical in that they both believe in the preservation of democracy and the provision of justice to Canadians.

Our time will be better spent in examining the objectives and methods of liminality and of the program Trapping offers. We shall also be looking more closely at the concept of a rite of affliction and its relationship to Trapping's program.

Liminality at Camp Trapping

Turner's description of the liminal phase creates an image

Figure 5.1-1

Goal Comparison - Ritual and Camp Trapping

| CAMP TRAPPING | RITUAL | | | |
|--|-----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| | Ritual I | Ritual II | Ritual III | Ritual IV |
| | Communication | Control of | Bonding | Creation of an idea |
| | | Aggression | | system re guilt and conscience |
| CT I End or significantly reduce low breaking. | | Corresponds | | |
| CT II Provision of immediate controls and consequences in a supportive environment. | | Corresponds | Corresponds | Corresponds |
| CT III Provision of practical social skills. | Corresponds | | | Corresponds |
| CT IV Encourage personal growth in a socially acceptable manner. | ← Corresponds → | | | |
| CT V To create better citizens. | ← Corresponds → | | | |

of great intensity and paints a picture saturated with emotional experience and personal insight. If this is typical of liminal experiences then Camp Trapping would fail to qualify, filled as it is with many hours and days of mundane existence. There are times when staff and students alike find boredom their most troublesome issue; a situation which may not be that unusual in a program attempting to duplicate or model the realities of everyday life. Fortunately liminality itself can be defined in more mundane terms.

As a ritual phase, liminality can be described as the time during which the new perceptions, values, behaviours, social roles and information that describe the impending status are introduced to and ideally adopted by the ritual initiates. Turner's use of the term leads this writer to believe he is attempting to describe a state of mind occurring or sought after in a variety of situations. This liminal state is described as one in which individuals experience themselves as having unlimited potential and as one in which a feelings of 'oneness' with something positive and greater than one-self is attained. I believe this state of mind is central to Turner's definition as it appears to be the common thread running through a variety of situations he defines as liminal or liminoid. Thus, according to Turner, the counter culture of the Sixties and other marginal groups consider liminality as an end in itself, while Christian pilgrimage is a contemporary example of controlled liminality as a means to an end.

However real the experience of this liminal state may be, it is beyond the scope of this study to conclusively demonstrate its existence in the minds of Camp Trapping students. Ritual liminality is the issue in question and as such, liminality becomes relevant as a set of ritual techniques (including setting) which, although they may induce this state of mind, are used by the ritualists to achieve the objectives of the specific rite and the goals of ritual as Turner defines them. It is important to distinguish a ritual phase of liminality from a psychological state of liminality. While the latter may be an essential prerequisite for the success of a rite, ritual liminality must be more clearly defined by its techniques and objectives, only one of which would be the participants' experience of the liminal state.

There is much at Camp Trapping that is non-ritualistic and that would be experienced as mundane activity by its participants. Because of the camp's use of various therapeutic techniques, its limited duration, some of its objectives and its frequent contact with the urban community, liminality in the camp is somewhat sporadic and modified. One of the strongest counterbalances to liminal activity is the staff's awareness of the tendency of rehabilitation literature and social service folklore to criticize programs which isolate participants from the 'real world' on the assumption that it is precisely in the real world that the participants must learn to operate. There is a tendency then, for the camp staff to balance the program's liminal characteristics with frequent incursions into or from mainstream society, particularly after the first month

or so. While some of these incursions are components of Trapping's reaggregation process and thus intended to terminate the liminal phase, their frequency has the effect of subduing liminality at the camp. In the discussion of liminality which follows, it will also be shown that there are a number of program variables which have the same effect. It is for this reason that I prefer to think of Camp Trapping as a liminoid or quasi-liminal phenomenon, one that has "features resembling liminality...but not identical to it"

2.

In its early stages, the camp may have been more liminal through evoking a stronger sense of *communitas*, perhaps even spontaneous *communitas* made more accessible to the students through Hawkenson's charismatic leadership. We need only remember Hawkenson's description of the 'gung-ho camaraderie' as the staff and students 'drove off into glory'. As the camp grew in size and complexity, as new coordinators arrived to re-interpret the original program, the style of *communitas* - and by implication its liminality - became more an expression of normative and occasionally ideological *communitas*, both being a subdued and translated form of the spontaneous variety and more closely associated with liminoid phenomena. 3.

The increasing complexity of camp life, the conscious attempts to create 'real life' situations, to provide more interplay with the parent community, and its routinized *communitas*, ensure that Camp Trapping is more liminoid than liminal. This is an important

point. It reminds us that Camp Trapping is not a rite of passage per se, but that it performs similar functions in similar ways.

The mix of liminoid and non-liminoid camp components will be examined item by item. There are in addition, however, some familiar activities which, though not liminoid in themselves, take on liminoid aspects through the context of the program. Such is the case with both the academic and vocational programs:

The principal objectives of the vocational program are to develop specific manual skills and effective work habits. One, though not the principal, objective of the academic program is the development of academic skills. With these objectives in mind, both programs could be operated quite effectively outside of the camp milieu and indeed are modified versions of programs that do just that. Their content, some of their objectives and especially their classroom structure are all quite familiar and mundane to Trapping's students. In the Trapping context however, these programs take on some liminoid characteristics.

School

Throughout most of their lives, school is the central focus around (and occasionally in) which Trapping's students plan their lives. At Trapping however, the school components are expected to conform or blend into the camp's overall lifestyle. They become part of the students' lives, not central to them, yet precisely

because of this, their relevance to the rest of society becomes more obvious. Herein lies the liminoid connection. At Camp Trapping, school becomes just one aspect of an intimately connected whole.

Under normal circumstances, schooling is quite removed from work, the family, recreation and even to some extent, specific peer support groups. In addition, it is seen as a separate and self-sufficient system intended to provide a specific cluster of needs. It is relatively easy for someone to begin to see school as having little relevance to other present or future events in his or her life. It, like all other aspects of society, can be dealt with as a semi-isolated compartment of one's life. What one does in school need not be discussed utilized or remembered outside its door.

Because of its size and its generalized - as opposed to individualized - curriculum design, a student can remain virtually anonymous within the system unless he or she is much more or much less successful than the average student in respect to academic and/or social performance.

On average, a student spends no more than nine hours a week in the Camp Trapping school program, yet it takes on much more importance than the time would indicate. School is perhaps the most resisted aspect of the Trapping program due, it is assumed, to the students' previous school experiences. This resistance can be modified and, on occasion, transformed into a commitment

to schooling. There are liminoid characteristics of the school program that may be partially responsible for this change.

A high school student does not normally sleep in the same room as his or her teacher, nor are his or her parents or older siblings (i.e. the counsellors) actively involved in classroom activities. The Spring '82 students mentioned that two counsellors took particular interest in the school program. They often spent time helping the participants with their academic work both in the classroom and after school, in the evenings. We have seen how Trapping's teacher eats, sleeps and plays with his students. He can be seen doing all the normal activities of daily life just as he, in turn, can see his students in this broader perspective.

The chart system is another link between school and Trapping life in general. The conduct point, for example, is defined in the same terms for every aspect of the program. Appropriate school behaviour is no different from appropriate behaviour during work or play. One earns the same rewards for doing well in school as one earns doing well at work. In conjunction with the individualized academic program, these attributes of Camp Trapping school substantially changes its nature. School becomes a more personal event, connected to the Trapping family, peer group and workplace by a number of interconnected and highly visible relationships. School is no longer an isolated event where one is either exceptional, anonymous or infamous. At Trapping, small, individual accomplishments

are recognized and applauded not only by the teacher but by other relevant adults in the community. School is thus capable of providing personal value and positive social recognition

Needless to say, the numerous speakers that come to the camp, the counsellors and the teachers are continuously emphasizing the practical necessity of obtaining some form of scholastic certification. This fact begins to be recognized by the students when, for example, lack of mathematical ability blocks learning and advancement in the vocational program.

In terms of a rite of passage two things are occurring here. In part, the situation is paradoxical. School is apparently the same - the content and objectives are similar to previous scholastic experiences - yet the context and experience are totally different. It is the same yet not the same. Paradox is one of the key techniques or methods at use in Turner's liminal phase. It appears to be an effective means of drawing one's attention to the normal through the normal's unusual association with some other item or event. By noticing that an association is disjoint, one is simultaneously recognizing the normal form this relationship takes. Thus paradox can be seen as one of the tools used to objectify all that is not normally manifest. In this specific situation, the juxtaposition of the school and the Trapping community should display for the students' scrutiny the interconnectedness of school, society and the individual. This ability to display (or manifest) things

not normally manifest in daily life is one of the properties of ritual. I have referred to it earlier as one of the objectives of a rite of passage. In other words, one of the methods - paradox - is being used to achieve one of the objectives of ritual, that is, revealing what is not normally apparent in, yet underlies, mundane social existence.

Camp Trapping attempts but is not wholly successful in creating another liminal aspect.

The individualized learning format, the inclusion of life skills and occasionally the inclusion of such programs as first aid and outdoor education are all conscious attempts to provide an environment and academic experience that will, as Hawkenson desired, instill a joy in or love of learning.

School programs are not normally run to foster an appreciation of and positive attitude towards themselves and their objectives, yet Trapping's school has this as its major objective. Acquisition of academic skills and factual knowledge are secondary objectives which almost become methods to reach the primary objective. Meeting consistent, small successes within one's academic program is hypothesized to produce an emotional satisfaction and hence enthusiasm for learning. Ideally then, Camp Trapping hopes that the academic experience can be pulled out of the tedious and onerous context most of its students place it in. School should become pleasurable,

perhaps even exciting. In short, school and learning should become play in Turner's sense.

Although many of the students I spoke with were proud of their academic achievements at Trapping, only one expressed any new found interest or enjoyment in academic pursuits. Most students would have preferred employment to school and continued to have some aversion to school and formal learning in general. Trapping wants its students to foster a new appreciation for learning through experiencing it as play. They have been unable, it appears, to achieve this aim.

By and large then, we must conclude that the Camp Trapping school program is not a liminal or liminoid activity. It does however, through its context and inter-relationship with the Camp Trapping community, help to provide - and in turn, takes on for itself - a liminoid quality in the Camp Trapping milieu.

Work and the Construction Trades Program

If new students are unfamiliar with hard physical labour prior to attending Camp Trapping, they have certainly had a solid introduction to it by the time they have left. Some of the older students who have worked in the bush and those students who have been brought up on farms would however, consider Trapping's work program rather light. There are usually one or two such students in each session. As we have seen, Robert and Rod both fit this description in the

Spring 1982 Camp.

Work takes place from Monday to Friday between nine in the morning and four in the afternoon. If there is a project demanding rapid completion, the hours would be extended. On Saturdays, those students who have not earned their way into town will normally put in at least half a day's work. Tuesday through Thursday, each student works only half a day, the remainder of work time being spent at school. In a normal week, each student will spend three and one half days in the work program, one and one half days of which are spent in the construction trades program.

The construction trades program is one of the most recent additions to the camp. It is well received by staff and students alike. Students expressed an appreciation for being taught a useful trade. In fact, one of their major criticisms was that Camp Trapping did not offer enough vocational training.

The staff also recognize the construction trades program's (CTP) training value and are most appreciative of its ability to provide consistent and meaningful work throughout the week. One counsellor mentioned how difficult it was to find work projects to fill the days on which CTP did not operate. During my five week stay at Trapping, counsellors appeared to have more difficulty finding time in which to do all the work.

Three counsellors also expressed some concern about the effect the CTP has had on their role at the camp. Prior to its introduction, staff were responsible for designing each work day and working with the students. These counsellors now felt they were often left with little or nothing to do during the day, feeling at times like unnecessary appendages. While I did, indeed, observe occasions during which counsellors appeared to 'do nothing' (resting, reading) while the students worked, such occasions were few. More often, counsellors would use this time to run errands, write reports, repair or locate equipment or prepare for future activities. It is true, however, that little time was spent with the students during the school and CTP times. I believe the counsellors were uneasy about this lack of contact which, as we will see, could well be a legitimate concern.

The CTP program, like the school program, is basically non-liminal in nature. It is a very typical work setting, being task oriented and time conscious. Although this may be a novel experience for many of the students, its focus and style of operation are well known to them. Unlike the school program, it is not designed to ensure small daily successes nor is there any mention of it being used to inculcate a sense of joy about work. It is, for the most part, hard physical work of a routine nature in which all students are obliged to participate. In this sense it can be seen as an example of forcing compliance to the practitioner's demands and as a provider of physical hardship, endurance and repetition. In other words it does provide one element of a typical rite of passage. It

does not however, provide homogeneity; quite the reverse in fact. A student can earn more responsible and interesting work if he shows inclination and ability and if he works with consistency and perseverance. Thus it was that three or four students of the eleven were usually always working on the finishing carpentry (in this case constructing window frames) while the others were left with the more repetitive, simplistic and physically demanding truss construction.

Even its repetitiveness and physical demands can hardly be said to be indicators of liminal-like activity. It is quite simply a typical North American work environment. Thus a large part of the Camp Trapping work week is now devoted to a distinctly non-liminal activity. Not all Camp Trapping work is of this nature however. Maintenance work and in particular, those tasks demanding hard physical labour in which the staff participate have a distinctly liminoid character.

For four or five years prior to the CTP's introduction, firewood cutting - birch for sale and coniferous for on-site consumption - was the core of the work program. Both these work projects continue but with less emphasis placed on them. Students now cut birch voluntarily in their free time should they wish to earn a few dollars to have upon graduation or to finance a city out-trip. Cutting firewood for local consumption (only the kitchen is not heated with wood), while still essential, must now be accomplished on Mondays,

Fridays and Saturday or during the first few weeks of a camp when the CTP has not yet come into full play.

Yet , if work was the ultimate goal of this particular project, full scale production using modern technology would have been instituted at the camp long before now. What one finds in the wood cutting project indicates that motives other than profit and ensuring warmth are at work for it is the sound of the swede saw rather than the chainsaw which predominates.

One of the staff will use a chainsaw, perhaps with the assistance of a student, to fall the trees but it is never used to buck or limb them once they are on the ground. On some occasions, the caterpillar tractor will be used to winch and drag particularly large trees out of particularly difficult situations. For the most part however, the focus is on manual labour. This leads me to believe that the process is more relevant than the product or, that a large quantity of firewood is not the true or only goal of this particular work program.

While they are not the most important variables influencing this manual work style, there are practical considerations used to justify it. Safety is one. A chainsaw, for example, is a dangerous tool in the most competent hands, calling for skill and caution at all times. While ax and swede saw must be treated with respect, they are not considered to be as dangerous.

Another practical concern centres around the staffs' constant worry over the paucity of work for each camp session. A work day without work is considered anethma for both practical (supervision, misadventure) and ideological (work is good, work gives meaning) reasons. The use of less efficient technology increases the amount of time spent on the job and helps to ensure that the day can be filled with activity.

The staff become very concerned when there is little work to do. Some counsellors feel that the students' energies must be used in a productive fashion else they will become problematic and unruly. For most counsellors however, a paucity of work goes against the very essence of the program. Students are expected to develop good work habits, learn to follow a consistent routine and become productive, constructive members of society. Being an experiential teaching process, Camp Trapping teaches these behaviours through direct experience. Without the experience, there will be no learning.

I believe there is another and ultimately much more important reason for the rather primitive nature of the work experience: its symbolic nature.

The wood cutting project is, in large part, a symbolic act which provides an opportunity to create a liminoid situation. The use of, for example, swede saws, peevees and axes is particularly effective in maintaining the homogeneity of the students. A more traditional crew would have a definite hierarchy of faller, buckler,

limber, etc.. The person most closely associated with the chainsaw would have the greatest status, the person who stacks the wood would have the least. Although status differentiation is never completely avoided, this task at Trapping is designed to avoid its emphasis. Each worker uses the same range of tools and participates in all aspects of the job save the counsellor-controlled falling operation.

Physical endurance and hardship are other aspects of the liminal stage ensured by this process. While not extraordinary or particularly stressful relative to much work outside of Camp Trapping, most students will never have worked as hard or as consistently for such little financial rewards. It is unlikely that the students would work in this manner without the staff's enthusiastic encouragement and insistent demands. Complete acquiescence to the leaders' demands, another element of rites of passage, it thus reinforces at the work site.

The woodcutting program also provides a direct and immediate link to Camp Trapping's ideology. Carrying log segments by hand becomes a group effort requiring a fair level of physical endurance. The value of a supportive and cooperative community is made much more apparent by using this primitive technique. The construction trades program is not totally devoid of this aspect. Towards the end of my visit to Camp Trapping the students completed the eighty-truss order a greenhouse owner had contracted. Although the students had consistently complained about the tedious, routine nature of the

job, its completion evoked an entirely different response. The boys worked enthusiastically as they loaded the trusses for delivery and insisted that their picture be taken in front of their completed project. The trusses were clearly a major accomplishment in their eyes. The group stood in silent satisfaction as the loaded truck drove away. I heard one student say to another, "We actually did all that".

"Helping one another to help oneself" thus becomes a tangible reality made even more obvious by the work program's attachment to the chart system through which each individual student can gain relatively immediate financial and recreational rewards.

The swede saw is itself an effective metaphor for the same concept. Although it can be used by an individual, its design encourages team work. Two people can use it more effectively than one. Cutting with the swede saw allows one to actually feel the physical exertion of your partner as he endeavours to assist you in completing the task. The concepts of hard work, cooperation and perserverance become directly linked to the tangible physical reality of you and your partner's exertion. One could say that the swede saw satisfies the definition of a symbol's polar nature.

These attributes, in and of themselves, would not necessarily raise swede saw use or the woodcutting program in general to a symbolic level. The way in which the task is presented and the counsellor's role tends to create a liminoid situation which allows

the swede say to be seen from a different perspective. We have here another example of paradox. Counsellors present the woodcutting program as an important task justified by its utilitarian value, i.e. warmth and profit, yet the relatively inefficient way in which the work is done contradicts the stated objectives. Nevertheless, the counsellors are persistent in their demands and enforce compliance. Somehow the task is simultaneously important and not important. The role that staff play on the work site (and ideally at all times) further heightens this sense of paradox and the uniqueness of the camp.

Counsellors are required to be, about all else, role models for their students. It is quite often that a counsellor will be at the other end of a student's swede saw or trudging up a hill with an armload of cordwood. Counsellors are not only expected to participate in everything students are required to do, they are also expected to do so with enthusiasm. It is not that they must feign unbound enthusiasm, but they must at least demonstrate an appreciation of and a willingness to do the work at hand without complaint. Their behaviour is paradoxical in two ways. Most Trapping students are of the opinion that work is to be endured or avoided, not enjoyed or appreciated. Suddenly students find themselves surrounded by people who appear to have difficulty in distinguishing work from play. This novel attitude is rarely expressed in the world at large. Thus students are exposed to a new mind set - a shift in perspective - which forces them to re-examine their attitudes. Secondly, we must remember that most of these students have had a

lengthy history of interaction with social service and corrections officials. The function and involvement of these officials vary, but generally speaking they listen, respond, lecture, monitor or enforce. They have little direct contact with their clients in the more mundane and daily life activities, especially on what seems to be equal terms. At Camp Trapping, the counsellors are doing the very things they ask of the students and for the most part, work on equal terms alongside the students. It is almost as if the counsellors had invited the students into their world to participate with them. This is a very atypical client/counsellor interaction. It puzzles, it causes thought on the relationship and once again shifts the students' perspective. The counsellor role, in the student's eyes is a paradox.

This rather unique counselling role provides symbolic relevance to the staff position. It is more definitely a role or model of what the ideal citizen and the ideal citizen interaction should or could be. We must remember that this role is to be played at all times. It becomes the primary symbolic representation of the Trapping ideology and of the potential inherent in human interaction. It is every present in every facet of camp life. We will examine the counselling role in more depth further on in this analysis.

Work time is not solely devoted to the CTP and firewood cutting. There are also special projects such as the construction of new buildings (the sauna has burned to the ground three times), and road repairs. Although the liminal nature of work is not always present in these special projects, it can at times, be even more obvious.

On one occasion, the students had returned from an arduous eight day out-trip to find the road to camp caved in and washed out by an underground stream. After cleaning and storing the out-trip equipment and after a brief night's sleep, the entire camp was out working on road repairs. The caterpillar tractor and the chain saw were used to obtain large trees for a new culvert. While this was being done, the majority of students and counsellors were hard at work digging through mud and clay to create a trench ten feet deep and thirty feet long. By five o'clock in the afternoon, the trench was complete, the logs cut and waiting, the workers exhausted and mud splattered. Although there had been grumbling and complaining throughout the day, there was a subdued sense of pride in the air which was suddenly transformed into what can only be described as an expression of joy as a playful and spontaneous mudfight began in the bottom of the trench. By the time it had ended, counsellors and students alike had managed to crawl, between fits of laughter, out of the trench and into the late afternoon sun looking like a ragged group of misplaced mud wrestlers. An important bridge had been crossed, and for a moment work and play had become indistinguishable, both literally and figuratively. The blend of work and play is considered by Turner to be an essential aspect of tribal ritual liminality and anti-structure.

One can begin, I think, to see some of the liminoid aspects at play at Camp Trapping. The work program has provided us with examples of homogeneity, physical endurance, acquiescence to authority,

paradox, anti-structure, communitas and symbolic interaction.

Recreation and Leisure

While staff encourage students who wish to explore new or pursue old hobbies and interests, recreation and leisure time is usually spent in the pursuit of more traditional interests such as sleep, card games and reading comic books. Re-establishing and pre-Trapping social order is another important aspect of leisure time. Much of this time is spent alone or with peers, not, as a general rule with staff. It is the principal time for the resumption of hierarchical arrangements among the students and the recounting of past adventures and histories. Even some pre-Trapping habits are indulged in. As one graduate told me, it is quite common for students to obtain some mind-altering drug to ingest on a day of leisure. Illicit drug use is strictly prohibited. Past camp directors would attempt to hire counsellors who would not use such drugs themselves (almost, it seems, an impossibility). A counsellor found using such drugs would be immediately dismissed.

This provides some indication of the emphasis modeling receives. A counsellor is, ideally, to be totally and sincerely committed to the spirit and law of the program. Counsellors private lives are to lived in accordance with Trapping's philosophy and regulations.

Aside from its illegality and its role as a symptom of some of the student's problems, drug use is also a threat to the process and

purpose of the camp. Ingestion of an illicit and mind-altering drug removes much of the control staff wish to have over student perceptions and behaviour. Use of these drugs alters student perceptions of the stage set so carefully created by the program and reinforces attachment to past history and former patterns. The ultimate purpose of the camp is to create an environment and perspective for its students which support and enliven socially condoned behaviours. By accepted definition, use of illicit drugs is abnormal and marginal and thus at cross purposes with the camp's objectives. Needless to say, that in another culture or at another time, mind altering drugs could be used as a ritual and a therapeutic tool.

As I have mentioned, leisure time is also used to re-establish connections with the past and to evolve a peer hierarchy in the camp, both functions being in direct opposition to both rite of passage and camp objectives. Staff are instructed to turn students away from dwelling on the past, particularly if it is used to justify dysfunctional and anti-social behaviour. Students are frequently heard beginning to describe past delinquent activities to one another or to staff. Just as frequently, one is likely to hear staff reject these tales as out of hand. They tell the students that the past is of little value for the task at hand. It is only what is occurring now and what will occur in the future that is of real concern. Staff, of course, will admit privately that the past is of some causal relevance and that its recounting can be informative. What they wish to discourage is the past's use as a justification for present behaviour or as a

refuge from the demands for change. Camp Trapping is, above all else a transformational process. All positive associations with previous socially unacceptable lifestyles must be denied, rejected or redefined. They have lead, it is assumed to the student's anti-social activities. The student's self image and image of society must be redefined through a positive association with, and bonding to Trapping's definitions and perspectives of self and society. Staff also attempt to discourage peer-defined hierarchies although they tend to create student hierarchies which promote the camp's values.

Students do not spend all their leisure time attempting to counter-act the staff's efforts. Card and board games, group sports, canoeing, fishing, hiking and skiing are all quite harmless and acceptable activities in which both staff and students participate. These activities are not anti-liminaloid, they are simply non-liminaloid. While they are undoubtedly good for camp morale and student growth, these activities are more like a time out from liminality. Even leisure activities have the potential for becoming liminal events however.

Staff, always aware of their modeling and monitoring roles, will be quick to transform any interpersonal conflicts occurring during these times into a learning/teaching situation. The conflict and its resolution are used to point to more appropriate ways of interacting in everyday life. Occurances of this nature are rare during leisure times as staff and students alike often prefer to be alone or at

least removed from obligatory contact with each other during these brief interludes.

There have been times when group sports have risen above the mundane and taken on a bizarre nature. Though few and far between, these instances enhance the liminoid quality of the camp. Soccer games have been transformed into chaotic expressions of tricksterism parallel to a (graceless and skillless) Globe Trotter's spectacular. Staff will suddenly pick up the ball and run with it to throw it to a teammate. Goal creases will mysteriously double their size (when a goal crease is defined by two rocks this is not difficult) or an extra ball may suddenly appear on the field. I have seen this result in the same camaraderie as the mud bath experience mentioned earlier or do just the opposite. Some students can become extremely frustrated when no one abides by the rules. It is a most extraordinary occurrence to hear a youth who has made his mark by breaking the law suddenly berate and condemn staff for breaking the rules of a game. When such events occur they create a situation of contradiction and paradox which tends to highlight the values inherent in lawful behaviour.

This staff playfulness is, I believe, another source of paradox. The chaotic soccer game, games of flag or war or kick the can are all activities that teenagers do not normally associate as adult activity. Although these games are not regular events, when they do occur, they have the effect of highlighting play as an important adult activity.

That an authority figure can indulge in what is considered child-like behaviour confuses and confronts the students' definitions of adulthood and authority figures, forcing them to reconsider previous assumptions and beliefs.

This type of game playing occurs in less physical pursuits. We can recall Richard's and Vincent's debate over being 'ripped off' (see "What is Done - Charts"). Richard had quite intentionally taken on less attractive aspects of Vincent's behaviour - his arbitrary judgement and stubborn refusal to see another's point of view - in an attempt to bring these very aspects and the problems they create to Vincent's awareness. Vincent quickly saw the situation and was initially outraged that a counsellor would consciously not play by the rules.

Although these aspects of tricksterism, paradox and play can, and have been effectively used in recreation situations, as a general rule, recreation and leisure times are not consciously used in such a fashion. When they are, they add to the liminal tone or texture of the Trapping program. Often however, these times become intermissions in the Trapping drama. When this occurs the time will be non-liminal or perhaps even anti-liminal if it is used to re-affirm past histories and lifestyles.

Mandatory Camp Activities

Much of the students' time at Camp Trapping is taken up in the

performance of key, obligatory activities. These may be divided into two subcategories; camp maintainance and program requirements.

Camp maintainance is a continuous activity demanding the involvement of the entire community. Student participation is more or less guaranteed by the camp's self management system, a permutation of behaviour modification techniques. Personal hygiene, placing firewood and water supplies in the buildings, and janitorial duties are all monitored on the chart system and tied to a remuneration scale. This system is also expanded to include some program and personal counselling objectives but it is used by the staff as a means to ensure the smooth technical operation of the camp rather than as a major therapeutic technique. The chart 'session', a time when the day's point earnings are discussed, can become a personal counselling session depending largely on the inclination of the counsellor involved. On Friday evenings, points from the past seven days are accumulated and each student's weekly remuneration determined. The charts, in their simplicity, clarify the nature of the relationship between behaviours and their consequences and thus can be said to "make manifest" an essential aspect of social life.

I believe the entire self management system is an aspect of the program which promotes its liminoid nature. I would do so because of its highly ritualistic format. Students are already aware of what they have earned during a day once they have gained a familiarity with the program, yet the chart session becomes one of the most eagerly awaited times of the day. On the rare occasions when chart

sessions are cancelled many of the students become quite perturbed. It is as if that time of day has become a central focus, a time when the individual's accomplishments are laid bare for praise or silent rebuke. Perhaps it is only the allure of tangible rewards which causes this eagerness but the emotional attachment to the chart session indicates something more. It is, in effect, a continual focusing in on and repetition of the key behaviours and values the camp promotes. Like the church confession, the private sessions allow each student to confront his own actions and compare them to the ethical demands and minimal requirements of social life. He is reminded of how close he is to satisfying these demands and requirements and of their everpresent influence on his life. The student is not absolved of his 'sins' however. He is, instead, praised for his meritorious behaviour and reminded of how this praise can be increased as his behaviour improves. He is thus given hope for the future while at the same time his past actions are summarized and their consequences resolved.

The chart system ensures that the students strive for the minimal requirements and expectations of the camp. In this, it is largely successful. It is perhaps one of the more subtle forms of enforcing compliance. The student is seldom, if ever, forced to do something, yet the reward system (including praise and encouragement) begins to compel a student to perform in the desired manner. It becomes particularly effective when a few of the students are earning all the rewards. Those who are not begin to see two things; that the rewards

have value in themselves and that the requirements of the system are manageable. Most importantly, peer support for non-compliance begins to erode and reverse itself. Peer pressure begins to induce students to conform.

As one by one students begin to master the chart system, a new and uniform definition of the baseline of acceptable behaviour begins to develop. The chart system has the effect then, of creating a homogeneity in behaviour which conforms to the values and expectations of the program. It provides a definition of and motivation to attain, a minimum standard of acceptable behaviour to which all conform.

In the chart system lies the repetition, the clarifying of unseen aspects of social life, the enforced compliance and the homogeneity of a rite of passage. This system is held together or focused in the chart session, the ritual of which is used to further highlight and condense the messages imparted by the chart system in its entirety.

Core Program Requirements

What I call core program requirements are more obviously liminoid than the core mandatory activities. The most striking of these, the morning run, is - within the community - the dominant and most obvious symbol of the camp's essence. The run, as we have seen, is a charted activity. If a student fails to run, he fails to earn a point. Unlike other charted activities, there is a make-up

requirement if the run is missed twice in a week or if the student fails to complete the run out of choice. In the former case, a student runs on Saturday morning; in the latter, the student is usually required to re-do the run immediately. This was what happened with Robert as we saw in an earlier chapter. If persuasions or threats do not obtain compliance, the student will be sent to the alternate program where there is also a daily run requirement.

There are two specific program requirements that most students are aware of prior to their arrival at the camp, the run and the sauna. Graduates and referring agents appear to have selected these activities as those that are most descriptive of the program. The run, in terms of distance, is not an extraordinary event. It is a four mile circuit down and back the main logging road, difficult due only to the steep gradient of the road. More onerous than distance and gradient is the regularity with which it is performed. Every morning at seven, Monday thru Friday staff and students alike must complete the run non-stop in less than forty-five minutes. The only exceptions are when the temperature drops below minus twenty-five degrees or when the road is too icy.

In one sense or another the run becomes the major challenge for most people at the camp. Those who are physically fit find its persistent regularity the challenge, while those who are not have initial difficulty in running even a quarter of the distance.

Counsellors and the better student runners are encouraged to

help - to run with - those who are having difficulty rather than to pass them by. During the first month, it is not uncommon to see a student and counsellor jogging alongside another student as they 'talk' him up the hill inch by painful inch. It is a carefully designed run for, in actual fact, success is not difficult to achieve. It is extremely rare to find a student who has not mastered the run by the end of the first month. This first tangible success in overcoming an apparently monumental task is often a major breakthrough for the students and becomes a daily reminder of the potential inherent in each individual. The run never loses its challenge but the nature of the challenge changes over time. For most, the challenge becomes one of perseverance, successfully completing an often painful daily task. For a few, the challenge lies in improving their running time, perhaps even breaking the camp record.

The transformation of attitude concerning the run between the beginning and end of a camp can be quite remarkable. Although I did not experience the beginning of the Spring 1982 camp, the students and staff alike spoke of the lack of enthusiasm and compliance in February. Four years earlier, I had been witness to many occasions early on in a camp of individuals refusing to run, complaining bitterly about the run and trying every means to avoid it. The change from this type of attitude to one of determined - if resigned compliance is best exemplified in the Spring 82 preparations for the marathon run.

I was fortunate enough to participate in and observe some of the practice runs for the marathon. It was a major topic of conversation in those last few weeks of camp. Proper diet, exercise and preparation were always being discussed. A number of students were determined to complete the full twenty-six miles while most others were aiming for the twenty mile mark being touted by staff as a major accomplishment in itself.

Two weeks before the marathon, the entire camp set out on its first twenty mile practice run. Those who were determined to make the full twenty-six two weeks later were determined to run the full twenty that day. One of these fellows had just recovered from tendonitis. I watched him hobble past the sixteen mile mark barely running and in obvious pain. A counsellor suggested that he stop but he wouldn't hear of it. He had to keep moving until the run was completed. Another student stopped briefly at the sixteen mile mark. His feet were raw with blisters and he had almost decided to remain with the truck. As he sat there a transformation came over him. He appeared to get angry with himself, put his shoes back on, and cursing under his breath, he continued down the road. Once again the counsellors had suggested that he stop, yet he would have none of it. This particular youth had been one of the most troublesome students, often refusing to complete the four mile run during the first month of camp. This spirit of determination was infectious that day, even the most problematic students appeared determined to do their best. What is it about the run that can apparently cause

such a drastic change of attitude in such a few months?

Running may be an excellent cardio-vascular exercise yet this physical benefit is not the primary objective or motivation behind the run. Of all the symbolic interactions I have outlined, the run is the only component that is consciously recognized and verbalized as a metaphor for the camp's values. The students are often reminded that successfully completing the run for the camp's duration requires precisely the same effort that it take to live life in a successful manner. As one counsellor mentioned, "If they can't do the run, they won't succeed at Camp Trapping and probably won't succeed when they get out of here".

The run encapsulates most of Trapping's ideology. Perseverance, responsibility for one's actions, accepting challenge, receiving and giving support and establishing a productive routine are all said to be contained within it. On the other hand, it is physically and mentally demanding, it produces pain and exhilaration and catalyzes a wide range of emotions from hate to elation. The ideological and orectic poles are quite explicit in the run as are its multivocal and condensation qualities. What is more, the persistence of its presence creates a theme which reaches its climax in the marathon run. Needless to say, running towards the city, often with Prince George residents running beside them is a strong symbolic gesture of reaggregation.

The Sauna

The sauna is the other most remembered aspect of the camp. Unlike the run, it has a very utilitarian function. It is the only means of keeping clean at the camp. The long, cold central plateau winters transforms the normally pleasant sauna experience into a rather forbidding ritual.

There are no showers at the camp, only a lake which freezes over in November and often remains in that state until May. A refreshing dip in the lake to cool one's saunaed body in the summer becomes a feat of endurance in the winter. During the winter months, a hole is cut in the ice, a wooden frame placed around the hole and a ladder down into it. One is obliged to either enter the ice hole or jump into a snow bank. This process, like the run, never loses its challenge. Done once or a thousand times it somehow remains a feat of endurance. It too becomes a symbol of perseverance, personal strength, endurance and personal expansion by stretching the boundaries surrounding one's abilities. This ritual of winter bathing is not an uncommon occurrence in North American native rites of passage as too is long distance running. One may be tempted to see the sauna as a form of purification ritual but it is never presented as such. Without the seed of the purification idea placed in the student's minds, I doubt very much if it is ever perceived as such by the participants.

One aspect of the sauna that is not often mentioned after the camp but is certainly an issue during camp is nudity (no longer allowed since female counsellors began working at the camp in 1978) and personal physical contact. Once again it is the counsellors who create a situation of paradox and emotional discomfort.

Counsellors tend to be very supportive of one another. The demands of the program create strong empathetic bonds among them. It is not uncommon then to find a counsellor massaging another counsellor's legs in the sauna, legs that are usually sore and quite often damaged by the run and other physical activities at the camp. Nor it is uncommon to see one counsellor washing down another's back.

As adolescents, the students are particularly self conscious of their physical status and very concerned with establishing their own sexual identity. Non-combative physical contact with another male is almost automatically referred to as homosexual activity, verbalized as anethma by the students who will not hesitate to voice their negative opinions of this physical intimacy shown by the counsellors. Their comments are typically derogatory, ranging from pseudo vomiting sounds to accusations of 'fag' or 'queer'.

The students' perceptions of male sexuality in general and woodsman-like lifestyle in particular do not allow for the expression of caring between men, particularly if it manifests itself in physical contact. Yet counsellors are supposed to be - and show

themselves to be -stereotypically manly in their day to day work at the camp. Thus another contradiction and paradox enters camp life. How can men be manly yet sensitive towards each other? The counsellors actions simultaneously catalyze the question and provide the answer.

The Evening Sessions

Bruce Hawkenson mentioned that the evenign sessions were, with the run and the sauna, the three aspects of the camp his graduates most often referred to. The sessions were, in his time, regular events.

Since 1981, the evening session has once more become a regular event. The Positive Peer Culture (PPC) sessions are the only collective ritual aspects of the program. We will recall that Hawkenson felt the 'sharing' aspect of his philosophy was often the most difficult to impart ot his students. PPC is a conscious attempt to address this problem.

It is highly formalized. Seating arrangements, opening and closing statemtnts and its focus are all constant. The session described in Chapter . . . is remarkably similar to all the sessions in both its sturcture and the type of comments it ellicits. Like the chart session, it focuses on and summarizes a day's activities. It interprets them using Camp Trapping's language and perspective.

Unlike the chart sessions, it is a public, problem-centred and problem solving venture. There were no students at the spring camp who said they enjoyed these sessions. For the most part they found them simultaneously boring and threatening. PPC sessions were viewed as times of emotional stress and public humiliation. Some students reluctantly admitted that the sessions were 'getting better' towards the end of the camp but even these students did not enjoy attending.

The most striking aspect of the sessions was their problem solving aspect. Without fail, the solutions students offered were almost identical from night to night. The proffered solutions for a student's problem were almost always a paraphrase or even verbatim repetition of the standard Camp Trapping philosophy. The students had certainly heard Camp's message very clearly. The response of the student who was being helped was the most interesting aspect of this problem solving process. We have seen how Vincent, Robert and Wendel were all visibly moved by the sessions yet they had not heard anything substantially different from what had been said on previous nights. On the other hand, I observed instances when the same messages were presented to other students with no apparent effect.

I can think of only two explanations for this. The session will be an effective problem solver only if the student in question actually believes he has a problem. If the issue is genuine for him, he will listen and actively seek relevant solutions from whatever suggestions are offered. Conversely those students offering the solutions

must be offering them with sincerity and conviction. Without the former, there is little chance that the session will have effect. Without the latter, the effect may be minimized or perhaps felt only by the person to whom the problem solving statements are directed.

If receptiveness and sincerity are present on both sides, the evening session has suddenly been transformed into what I believe Turner could call an instance of *communitas*. The session described in Chapter was one of only two sessions in five weeks during which I saw such an occurrence. After it had ended, staff commented at length on its success. They had apparently participated in sessions which produced a similar feeling but not, however, with this group of students. While they were heartened that it had finally occurred, these counsellors were also saddened by the fact that it had taken so long to manifest.

At its best, the evening session appears to be a strong source of emotional power. At its weakest, it serves merely as a reminder of the form of appropriate behaviour and can be an insincere repetition of pat phrases rendered hollow by a lack of participation and conviction. Even at its weakest however, it retains the aspect of repetitiveness, a technique associated with rites of passage.

We have seen that the PPC evening sessions are attempting - with some success - to introduce and reinforce the concept of

sharing. They provide a structure in which the principal objective is to help fellow students who are exhibiting problems. The problems are without exception either centred around inter-personal conflict or a lack of compliance and/or participation in the program. Whether or not they are intended to, the PPC sessions tend to spotlight a student, make him defensive and, in a sense, shame him publically. At times, staff were observed offerring negative criticism and condemnation during some of the sessions even though they are expected to provide supportive critiques and helpful suggestions.

At their best, PPC sessions foster a sense of *communitas*. When they are not used as intended, they provide other liminal attributes. Humiliation and embarassment are often the result of this public scrutiny. I would suggest that in this sense the meetings encourage compliance with the rules if only so that public censure can be avoided. The strained and rather superficial rote responses of the students during most of these meetings are good indicators of a high degree of forced compliance.

Level Two Meetings

There is another group meeting of a very different nature although it is also intended as a form of public critique. Level II students have earned a relatively high degree of trust from the counsellors. No longer on charts, they are required to monitor their own behaviour and to report on it at the end of the week. What is more, they are

required to monitor each other's behaviour, as well as to keep track of particularly problematic or worrisome events in the camp at large.

During their meetings, each Level II student must publically review his contract and ask the others if he has lived up to it. If a Level II student is having difficulty the group will discuss his situation and try to arrive at some helpful suggestions. Although all this is accomplished in a relaxed environment, the students take their task very seriously. One evening, Robert ran out of the meeting angry and frustrated with a staff-inspired critique he was receiving. The other Level II's ran out after him, calmed him down and coaxed him back to the meeting.

After a student has presented his weekly summary and received feedback, the students and the one counsellor attending the meeting begin to discuss his progress. It is their task to decide by consensus, whether or not the student has earned his weekly rewards. Once this has been decided for all Level II students the meeting will often turn to a more generalized discussion about recent camp events. They may discuss ways to assist a non-Level II student improve his performance , offer suggestions for the next weeks activities or become involved in a casual conversation about life in general.

Level II and III students appear to be standing mid-way between the role of student and counsellor. They not only mouth the words

as in the PPC meetings, they put into action the concepts of self discipline, self control, cooperation and supportive group action. I believe this is an example of what Turner would refer to as bonding - a goal of ritual. It also indicates that these students are developing an idea system concerning guilt and conscience that corresponds closely with Trapping's ideology. Another goal of ritual is being met.

Level II students do not have to be forced to comply with the counsellor's demands. In a sense they choose to operate in harmony with the system. As a proof of this choice they take one further step and provide a self-criticism and develop their own plans for self growth and personal change. In doing so they go beyond the minimum demands of the Camp Trapping program and appear to begin to seek for a personal transformation.

Solos

During the first six years of Trapping's existence, its program included a time for each student to live alone in the wilderness, once again reminding us of many North American Indian rites of passage. Each student would be required to spend two nights alone in the bush with minimal gear. Aside from its endurance aspects, the solo was to be a time for reflection and contemplation, a time when one could incorporate new ideas and solidify a new image of oneself. Solos were performed only half heartedly and with little

preparation. Its exclusion from the program may be one indication of the routinization process that appears to be occurring.

Camp Trapping's current aftercare coordinator reinstituted the solo exercise but only sporadically. It has not yet become a mandatory part of the program. The solos were not run in the Spring '82 camp. When they are run, Ian, the aftercare coordinator, described them as being times that would hopefully allow the participants to reflect on their camp experience and future possibilities. At the same time they would provide another tangible example of the individual's potential for endurance and overcoming difficult challenges.

The Alternate Program

Somewhat comparable but designed to serve a different need is the alternate program, a home away from home for those who do not 'wish to participate in the regular program' (those who do not comply with the demands of the program).

Initially a tent or two set a few miles from the lake, the alternate site is now graced with a permanent Salish pit house style dwelling. The students at the alternate site have to spend a full day's work cutting wood, run every morning and cook their own meals. A counsellor is always with them at night but they are often left alone for part of the working day.

A student is sent there for a specified number of days during which quantified work performance levels would have to be maintained. A student may be required to cut, for example, eighty piece of cord wood a day, run every morning and keep the pit house clean for three continuous days before he can return to the regular program. If the daily requirements are not met, the day may not be counted as one of three days. The alternate program is the most blatantly punitive process at the camp yet students rarely fail to see the justice in it. Their only other alternative is to be removed from the program and sent to a correctional centre.

The alternate could be called a rite of passage within a rite of passage. A student is always welcomed back with enthusiasm and warmth and is encouraged to recount his experience and feelings for the other students. Its liminoid characteristics are similar to those of the camp at large but with an intensified experience of physical endurance and humility.

At least half the students in a given camp will normally spend at least one session at the alternate.

Out-trips

The final mandatory program requirement is participation in the camp out-trips which make up roughly twenty-five percent of the camp time. Like the alternate program these trips are rites

within the rite, each out-trip consisting of the three stage rites of passage sequence. Unlike the alternate program, they are group activities whose purpose is largely recreational. They provide similar, if more intensified, opportunities for overcoming physical and mental challenges, for working with others to achieve common goals and for supporting others in reaching their own goals. Out-trips provide spontaneous and unlooked for opportunities of this nature. One such adventure in 1976 found the group stranded atop a mountain in southeastern B.C. by an unexpected August snow-storm. Confined to soggy tents for three days, the campers were forced to deal with personal relationships and to tolerate idiosyncrasies at a level seldom achieved at camp. On another out-trip the campers' way was blocked by the unforeseen absence of a bridge across a raging mountain stream. After an extensive search, a thin slippery and twisted log was found spanning the water. Passage across this log was only possible by a concerted group effort and a length of sturdy rope. While the log was no more than ten feet above the water, the streams depth, temperature and ferocity guaranteed serious injury and perhaps death if one was to fall. A rather pleasant hike had been instantaneously transformed into a confrontation with danger, challenging everyone in the group. Meeting this challenge required a personal resolve and the support of the others in the group. This event provided a classic object lesson on Camp Trapping values. Similar events are bound to occur on every out-trip. They become teaching/learning experiences, easily manipulated to support camp-promoted values and full of 'orectic' experience.

The Camp Trapping Staff

As indicated by the key informants, the founder, and official policy, Camp Trapping's program succeeds or fails depending on staff competency and commitment. This statement is not as obvious as it appears. Notwithstanding the more punitive and containment oriented goals, Camp Trapping's ultimate aim is to transform its students into acceptable members of the parent community. Its principal tool in this process is its counselling staff.

Hawkenson has said he wanted 'almost supermen' for counsellors. Their dedication to the program had to be at such an intense level that it "wasn't really sane". Why does this demand for such an inordinately intense commitment exist? The answer lies in the emphasis Trapping's program places on the therapeutic technique referred to as modelling. Modelling is a technique whereby, to put it colloquially, those in a position of authority practise what they preach. Hawkenson was in deadly earnest when he demanded that his staff do absolutely everything that they in turn demanded of their students. The staff were to take this one step further. They were to live this life style without complaint and preferably with a sense of joy and enthusiasm. Put in another way, each counsellor is expected to be, in his own way, a personification of the camp program. The counsellors as a group are, in fact, the dominant ritual symbol of the Trapping community.

The staff are to be living proof that what Trapping has to offer

works, and works well. This does not mean that counsellors have to do everything perfectly. As long as the counsellors perform every aspect of the program willingly, with this performance resting at or above the minimum Trapping standards, they are fulfilling their modelling role. There have been counsellors who have barely completed the morning run in the required forty-five minutes, yet they persevere and complete the run every day. There have been counsellors who have no labouring, logging or carpentry experience and who show less skill and aptitude in these areas than many of the students. These counsellors work willingly, however mundane the job they are assigned. It is the motivation, determination and effort they are modelling. It is the willingness to struggle, to learn, to make mistakes and to do one's duty that is exhibited through their example.

Modelling is only one aspect of the counselling job. Equally important is their ability to establish and maintain a sincere and honest relationship with the students, Hawkenson, echoing Glasser's Reality Therapy, maintained that a therapeutic relationship had to be based on a mutual respect and appreciation between therapist and client. Camp Trapping staff are expected to establish this type of rapport with the students.

Staff are expected then, to represent the ideal lifestyle while simultaneously showing themselves to be warm, caring and respectful individuals. Staff, we could say, are both ideological and irectic. Students interact with the staff in a very intimate and emotionally

powerful manner. The staff are the disciplinarians, the friends, the devoted parents. They evoke rage, hatred, love, adoration and respect from the students. At the same time they are the examples of 'correct' living. They are the 'average joe' who somehow manages to enjoy life while living within the bounds and demands of society. They play at life yet perform effectively and to the satisfaction of society's demands.

The individual as dominant symbol is a very appropriate expression of the Trapping philosophy. Consciously attempting to be non-religious in theme, it places the source of all things social and psychological squarely in the lap of the individual. Each person is responsible for his or her own life. Fortunately, according to the Trapping philosophy, each person is also the source of his or her almost unlimited energy and potential (both terms being rather vague and mystical). How better to express this theme than through an individual who has apparently assumed responsibility for his or her own life and is actively developing this inner potential.

The students, though they may not have the same name for it, are very aware of the counsellor's modelling role. They are equally aware of the emotional commitment and relationship building the staff offer. This awareness is apparent in the students' descriptions of their favourite and least favourite counsellors. Counsellors who are not observed doing their share of the work are privately criticized for their laziness and hypocrisy although there is some

latitude here if it appears to be only a momentary lapse or an unavoidable situation. Counsellors who are distant or detached from the students or the program are, however, the least respected. These are the counsellors students perceive as unprepared or unable to show an emotional commitment to the community and the individuals within it.

In the students' eyes, the 'best' counsellors are those who are streetwise (which is their way of describing counsellors who can't be easily fooled), conscientious in their work, and who show an apparently genuine care and respect for the people at the camp. "It's not just that they work with you and do all the other staff - that's important - but they gotta be the type of people who when they see you on the street in Prince George, don't try to avoid you and really seem glad to see you". This is one student's way of describing a good counsellor. Another student went on to say, "Ya, the working and the running they do - that's good - like who wants to do something for some turkey who bossess you around and doesn't do anything ... but the really important thing they do is show you how to be with people. They treat all the people that come here, and us, usually, with respect. Like, they're really interested in us and respect us".

The reader may be coming to the conclusion that only paragons of virtue need apply for work at Camp Trapping. This is not the case. Camp Trapping is a place of employment that is not unlike a theatrical production. The staff positions are dramatic roles as

much as they are jobs. No one, not even Bruce Hawkenson it appears, is able to maintain that role over an extended period of time. Sufficient amounts of empathy, dedication, perserverance, enthusiasm and alertness must all be a part of the counsellor's natural character if the role is to be played with any sincerity. The camp Trapping environment however, compels the staff to stretch each of these attributes to its limit, exaggerating and intensifying each of them until they become manifested components of successful living.

Through this dramatic style of involvement, the counsellors satisfy one of the principal objectives of a rite of passage. They bring to light those aspects of social living that, while essential ingredients of effective living, are often obscured or hidden in daily life. Yet this, it appears, is only half their job. If they cannot create a strong emotional bond with the students, the students are unlikely to see or appreciate the patterns and models provided for them. The counsellor role at camp is clearly symbolic in a Turnerian, dominant symbol sense.

The counsellors, along with the run, are the major condensing and unifying focal points of the camp's ideology and emotional impact. They represent the very essence of the Camp Trapping community. Counsellors provide a recipe for proper living as our society defines it. They all share, to some sufficient degree, the enthusiasm, dedication, compassion, perserverance, playfulness, and positive, potential seeking attributes that Camp Trapping presents as the

formula for successful living. Yet each counsellor is unique. There is how it must be at Camp Trapping, emphasizing as it does that the individual is precious and the provider of his or her own success. The students are thus provided with fourteen examples of different permutations of the same basic attributes. While each person can still be highly individualistic they can do so in a manner that is successful in respect to their own aims and in respect to the demands of their society.

Camp Trapping - The Community

Camp Trapping is somewhat symbolic for some of both the staff and students prior to direct involvement with it. The richness and depth of this symbol is, however, only fully developed through active participation in the program.

Trapping symbolism is much more subtle than one might expect. There are no Trapping equivalents of Boy Scout flags or uniforms nor is there the vivid red/white - blood/milk type of symbolism at use in Ndembu ritual. There is, however, one area in which Camp Trapping's symbolism takes on a more graphic dimension. I refer here to the T-shirt art it encourages; an example of the exegetic-artifactual dimension of ritual symbolism described by Turner.

It has become a tradition for each group of students to create its own T-shirt design towards the end of a camp. While the students'

contribution to this design can vary from camp to camp, the founder-designed camp logo nearly always appears as a rather small design on the left breast. The obvious implications of this symbol have already been discussed (see Chapter one - see Hawkenson interview)

Aside from the logo on the T-shirt, each camp will select or create a design of its own which, due to its contextual originality becomes indicative of how the students view Camp Trapping. An artistically inclined student at one camp created an abstract design of a ferociously roaring lion's head. While I cannot say what this design meant to each student, I was reminded of our society's definition of the lion as king of beasts, fearless, strong and capable. For the students, it expressed the essence of five and one half months of life at Camp Trapping. The Phoenix has also been used. The students were fully aware of the regeneration power this mythic figure symbolizes. They chose it because of its motif of death and rebirth through fire, undoubtedly a passionate and intense form of transformation. I hesitate to isolate Camp Trapping as the sole inspiration for the phoenix's use as I am aware that other juvenile and adult rehabilitation centres have been associated by their inhabitants with this symbol. This fact itself leads one to think that at least those being rehabilitated view the process as some sort of fiery transformation.

The spring 1982 camp's T-shirt design was created by one of the native students. It is a refreshing combination of humour and a

more serious message. In the background, the sun rises over mountains, its rays spreading through the sky. An eagle or hawk dominates the upper foreground, its wings spread and its head down looking towards the earth. The sun is once again reminiscent of a new life or a new beginning. The bird of prey speaks of an assertive power and unbridled freedom, reminding us of the lion. Below the bird are two human figures on skis. One is skiing, back bent under the load of a full pack. The other is only half visible - the bottom half. We see his legs in a Y position protruding above a snow bank, skis and poles dangling awkwardly. One of the out-trips the students spoke of often was their journey to Grizzly Den in the Cariboo Mountains. It was the first time most of them had skied and winter camped and it was most certainly remembered with fondness.

Neither the camp's logo nor the student-inspired designs are used in the educative process at the camp, indeed, I am of the opinion that consciously created artifactual symbols, unless they are very artfully used, run the risk of becoming absurd and lifeless through their obviousness. In the Camp Trapping context, they appear to be most relevant as a means to express the Trapping experience to those who have not been through the program. While the logo expresses the founder's vision, the students' designs become expressions of the meaning derived from the experience regardless of what the experience was designed to create. As such they may be one indicator of the effectiveness of the process in conveying Trapping's message.

The exegetic-nominal mode of Camp Trapping as symbol is most obvious if by nominal we can include its dogma or philosophy as written and spoken, which is primarily, though not exclusively, for non-participant consumption.

The name itself is of some symbolic relevance; 'camp' signifying bush or perhaps military life; 'trapping' implying fur trapping, pioneering and perhaps being trapped. As far as the participants are concerned however, most of Trapping's symbolic significance is derived from participation in the program. Through this participation, Camp Trapping becomes the dominant symbol of its own ritual process. Work, leisure, school and the family concept are intimately intertwined in the Camp Trapping community. Each component is shown to share the same value system and become tangibly connected through skill transference, staff crossover, close physical proximity and time sharing. Camp Trapping is the vehicle by which this condensation and unification can occur. As such it can be viewed as a ritual symbol which will, ideally, become particularly important to the Camp Trapping graduate.

Trapping is also expressive of a number of ideals. Its rugged backwoods image is reminiscent of the pioneering frontiersman still idealized and remembered with fondness in British Columbia's interior. This image is associated with hard work, endurance and the overcoming of incredible odds. It is an image of great individual achievement enhanced by support from a loose community of like-minded individuals. In addition, the delinquent community has developed its

own image or mythology of Camp Trapping. The camp has a reputation of being a tough and demanding experience that pushes one to the limits of one's endurance. Students have arrived at the camp's office literally shaking with fear and anticipation. They are often defensive and prepared for immediate confrontation.

Students have obtained their impressions of the camp from their probation officers, from former students and from peers who have heard of but never participated in the program. Those who are excessively fearful of it often have the impression that the staff will be punitive and physically abusive or that the camp forces its students to flirt with death on a daily basis or both. Others, with what I believe is a more realistic impression, may be apprehensive yet simultaneously excited by the promise of personal challenge they believe the camp offers. From whatever angle they approach it, the majority of students anticipate a novel, challenging and physically demanding program.

Students only obtain their full appreciation of Trapping as symbol through its operational and positional dimensions however. In the graduates' eyes, Camp Trapping is much more than a geographic entity, vague mythology or abstract concept. It is an amalgam of every experience they have had while living at the site. The nature of these experiences, in conjunction with the espoused ideology, creates Trapping's richest symbolic significance.

Yet we have seen that various components of the camp offer a similar symbolic message to the students during their stay at the camp. What is more, the camp staff have laid claim to the position of dominant symbol within the program.

Camp Trapping as symbol only obtains its full significance towards and after the end of each camp. If the students' participation has been intense and meaningful the very name "Camp Trapping" should evoke a powerful image of an amalgam of emotion laden behaviours and attitudes that would - if applied to the everyday world - almost certainly ensure a successful and acceptable lifestyle by society's standards. If the internal workings of the camp have done their job, the graduate should have developed 'an idea system concerning guilt and conscience' to which he has become 'bonded'. Needless to say, this idea system would hopefully be similar to or in sympathy with, Camp Trapping's value system. The name 'Camp Trapping' becomes a convenient label to identify the synthesized essence of this idea system. If recalled at a time of personal crisis or decision making, it may provide the extra guidance and motivation the individual may need in order to choose the most appropriate and socially acceptable course of action.

I believe this is what Camp Trapping, in the final analysis, is attempting to provide its students. If this is the case, a number of problem areas become evident both in respect to the inner workings of the camp and in respect to the camp's connection with its parent

society. Before examining these problems however, we must first discuss Camp Trapping's relationship with its parent society.

Camp Trapping's Relationship with the Everyday World

Camp Trapping appears to fit snugly within Turner's model of social drama. There is a breach of society's norms followed by a crisis which in turn leads to redressive action. In this instance, the redressive action is Camp Trapping, a process which faithfully follows the three-phase rite of passage format. Finally, there is a resolution to the crisis or the recognition of an irreparable breach. In Trapping's case, there is an assumed resolution with fingers crossed. While rites of passage theory has provided a useful and, I believe, fruitful model with which to explore the inner workings of Camp Trapping, it has lead to other questions. This is particularly true in respect to the actual effectiveness of the program and its connectedness to the everyday world. We shall deal with the latter topic first.

While there can be little doubt that Trapping is a liminoid event, one must surely wonder how this can be when there is so much structure (Turner's definition) in a situation which, by definition, should be filled with anti-structure. This question can be addressed from two slightly different perspectives.

Camp Trapping is, in essence, a rite of affliction. Its overt

and primary concerns are diagnosing and curing afflicted individuals and thus repairing a troublesome relationship within society at large. In general terms, the affliction can be called delinquency although Camp Trapping staff isolate more specific problem areas for each individual. These individuals are already marginal in respect to society at large. In many instances, they live in anti-structural situations prior to their arrival at Camp Trapping. Indeed, it is their apparent lack of appreciation for structure and their marginal behaviour that has lead them to Camp Trapping. The camp is thus provided with an interesting and challenging task. It must somehow create the impression that the powerful and desirable feelings which arise out of the *communitas* and anti-structure associated with the marginality (and liminality) of sub-groups, are also available through highly structured and routine daily activities. If its students are not introduced to and do not participate in these mundane activities at the camp, they will be unable to associate them with the potential power and pleasure of the liminal state. Camp Trapping is faced with the curious paradox of having to take a marginal individual into what is in effect, its own marginal community so that it may produce, create or at least catalyze the beginnings of a non-marginal or more or less 'normal' individual.

An additional perspective to this problem is provided by Gluckman's classification of societies into continuous and circular-repetitive types. Everyday Canadian society does, by and large,

fit into Gluckman's continuous type. Complex interrelationships of individuals are fluid and inconstant. Norms, values, laws, definitions of work and social roles are in a continual state of flux. It can become very difficult for a youth to bond with and begin to comprehend this complexity and inconstancy especially if he or she is without family or consistent role models to provide some working definitions, emotional support and a semblance of continuity and predictability.

On the other hand, Camp Trapping is most definitely an example of a circular-repetitive type of society. Within the life of any given camp there is never any question of systems change. Any changing to be done will be done by the individuals or not at all. The Camp Trapping value structure, interpersonal networks, regulations or laws and its routine are easily observed and constant. If Gluckman's assertion is correct, this is the type of society that is ideally suited for the effective use of ritual to redress breeches in the social order and to promote individual status change.

Camp Trapping is an isolated and largely self sufficient circular society. Viewed from the inside it is not a ritual but is instead a lifestyle which uses ritual to promote itself. Thus it need not be a prolonged stretch of anti-structure of liminality. It need only have periodic incursions into liminality through ritual activity and play, supplemented or reinforces by every-present and meaningful symbols and easily accessible communitas. Camp Trapping is liminoid

in total with respect to everyday Canadian life not only because of its anti-structure of pure potentiality but also because it is a grossly exaggerated and simplified model of the world around it.

It is, in many respects, an exemplary community. At its best it provides an abundance of warm caring relationships, constant support and encouragement, a meaningful role for each participant, challenge, excitement and success in a variety of new skills and previously untapped abilities. It is designed to clarify the relationships between and value of the various components of social life that in the parent society are often compartmentalized and disconnected. The value and patterns of social order become visible and manageable. Each individual is acknowledged and appreciated in his or her own right and is shown to be an important contributing member of the Trapping community. The uncomplicated regularity of Trapping life its circular-repetitive nature - provides the ideal environment for the promotion and development of all these attributes.

Camp Trapping provides evidence to support Gluckman's assertion that ritual can be used effectively to support social solidarity within a circular society. The run, the sauna, the chart system and session, the evening sessions, the Level II meetings and the dramatized counsellor role are the most obvious and consistent ritual formats and symbolism used to promote, develop and maintain the desired social order. Constant practice or repetition of the events, mandatory group participation in the activities and the near

impossibility of attaining anonymity ensure participation, exposure and involvement.

Camp Trapping is a working model of Canadian Society "as it should be" (i.e. the master plan, the vision). It provides a tangible reality to the supposed underlying truth and 'correctness' of the social order and the individual's place in it. This is not to say that, as everyone fears, Canada is a nation of hewers of wood and haulers of water. The physical activities of the camp are meant to be simplified and emotionally powerful examples of (symbols of) the value and 'feel' of work. Each action, each relationship is meant to be an example of its underlying purpose; its generic component. This generic component, once understood, is then intended to be transposable onto whatever activities and relationships the graduates encounter after Camp Trapping.

Chopping wood and designing microcomputers, to be accomplished successfully, must share certain aspects. They both must be done with perseverance, dedication and full participation. This is, by example, the underlying premise or rationale of the Camp Trapping program and philosophy.

Summary

Camp Trapping shares goals, objectives, methods and format with the overall rite of passage design. It is more like a rite of

affliction in that it focuses on a personal dysfunction which, in turn, is symptomatic of a breach of social order and social propriety. It is more liminoid than liminal in nature due primarily to the fact that its *communitas* is more normative or formulaic than it is existential. Its liminality is further diluted or modified in that it must provide and make desirable normative structures and routines to its previously marginal and unstructured participants. Camp Trapping uses symbol within its community to reinforce the activities and types of relationships it finds desirable. It is able to use ritual effectively because it is a circular-repetitive type of society. It has simplified its parent society's predominately continuous type of social order so that this order, its meaning and the individual's role in it become comprehensible to the participants.

Camp Trapping contains many and is itself a ritual symbol. It and its internal symbols are all, in Geertz's sense, models 'of' and models 'for' effective living ... "they give meaning, that is objective conceptual form, to social and psychological reality both by shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves". 4.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK

Implications for Social Work

There is little doubt that Camp Trapping is effective in promoting and maintaining behaviour change within its own community. Even with the most difficult of student groups, like the Spring 1982 camp, life at Camp Trapping becomes well-ordered and congenial within two or three months. There is very little theft and violence. Most members of the Trapping community develop, at the very least, a respectful and appreciative relationship with their fellows. Most breeches in the social fabric that occur can be dealt with immediately and monitored closely. In many respects the Trapping residents can develop themselves into a model community of model citizens in very short order. Rites of passage theory does, I believe, isolate key components of the Trapping system which are largely responsible for this internal soidarity. Rites of passage theory also allows us to distingusish a number of important weaknesses within the Trapping system which are concerned primarily with its links to the parent society.

Rehabilitation Program Design - Internal

Previous chapters have revealed a number of points which could be of value for rehabilitation program design. The rites of passage perspective has reminded us of the importance of affect in the learning process espially as it is applied to socialization and values education. If the patterns of social life and society's

percepts are to internalized and accepted by its members, then the society must present them in a manner that appeals to and utilizes the emotional aspects of its members. Society cannot depend on a rational presentation of facts and their logic to bond its members to the social system. People must feel the 'correctness' of social order and social life if they are to embrace the rules and limits of the system. People must also be reminded of the potential each individual and the society itself possesses within the boundaries of social order. Finally, each individual must be acknowledged as a valid and important member of the community, each with an honourable role to play. The rites of passage process is designed to do all these things.

Camp Trapping's original design was an attempt to achieve the same end - the acceptance of controls and limits within which an individual can experience his or her own potential. Trapping's major strength lies in its recognition that its students must experience a sense of their own and their community's power and place in the grand scheme of things. It does not just tell its students about their potential, their roles and the attitudes and behaviours needed to attain them, it allows or encourages them to experience the power and strengths of both themselves and the Trapping community. In addition, it connects ideology to affect through a number of its program elements and its counsellors. It connects the individual to the community and the community's parts to each other through a number of linking mechanisms, (i.e. charts, PPC, session, the staff, the emphasis on process rather than content)

By showing how and why various community components are linked, and by showing how specific attitudes and behaviours are of value in all these components, Camp Trapping is able to 'make manifest that which is normally not manifest'.

I maintain that these are valuable aspects of Camp Trapping. Rites of passage theory indicates that similar social needs have been met successfully with similar techniques in a variety of cultures. While this cannot validate the approach, it does appear to emphasize those elements of Trapping's approach which differentiate it from what, in social service circles, is euphemistically known as an institution.

Social service workers have come to think of institutions as treatment and/or containment centres which, due to their size, program design, philosophy or any combination thereof, are believed to isolate their inhabitants from the world at large and to stigmatise them through derogatory labelling or association. They are places where the individual is dehumanized, governed and controlled by rules that treat the individual as an object in a group of objects. They are thought to encourage anonymity, passivity and dependence. Staff and clients are largely isolated from each other by their roles and statuses. Staff are viewed as custodians who interact with clients through more or less formal roles that omit them from sharing daily life and emotional closeness with the clients. I am not saying that all institutions are like this, nor that all institutional staff are aloof and isolated from the people who live in the

institutions. I am merely describing the ambience which has come to be associated with large treatment and containment centres.

Current thinking has led us to espouse the de-institutionalization of such centres. We now promote small family-like treatment homes or independent living for the mentally and physically handicapped.. We now encourage the normalization of lifestyles for these people, for those described as insane, for the aged and, to some degree, for criminals. To de-institutionalize seems to imply a number of variables. The physical size of the living environment should be decreased, a large impersonal building replaced by family-sized homes in a residential area. Each house should contain only a small number of residents, five to twelve, again to conform to a family-like environment. Residents are encouraged to make their own decisions and to control their own lives as much as possible. Staff are encouraged to become part of the family, an authoritative but not authoritarian member of the community. In short, we are saying that institutionalized individuals should be integrated into everyday life, allowed to play a valid and respected role in the community, allowed to achieve and experience their own potential and allowed to form intimate and meaningful relations with others.

There appear to be strong forces opposing this approach, one of which is an apparent tendency for this society to move steadily towards a bureaucratized and compartmentalized system of control and management. This, in my opinion, is a form of routinization of

a society's charisma, robbing it and its members of the crucial affect bonds, leaving us over-muscled and emotionally impotent legalistic and rationalized means of achieving social cohesiveness and solidarity.

Camp Trapping shows signs of becoming routinized. Although I would call it far from bureaucratized, one can see a movement in this direction, a movement that runs counter to the process of de-institutionalization. Camp Trapping began with two adults and eight youths living together continuously for months on end, sharing every aspect of life. It is now a program where a staff of fourteen share a portion of their time with twelve students. A program where everyone worked side by side each day has become one in which a variety of programs segments the days and weeks, and in particular, segment the staff roles. Camp Trapping has fortunately contained this tendency because of two aspects of its design. Its philosophy or basic premise has remained consistent. Its entire existence is therefore focused on its attempt to encourage and develop the individual's potential through experiential learning. Focusing on an individual's potential through an experiential process demands that the individual take an active role in his or her environment. Without this focus, Camp Trapping's history would be negated. It would be similar to its beginnings in name only. This focus has been translated and preserved in the charisma or personal presence of each of its staff. A continual influx of individuals who agree with and practise the philosophy, has allowed the original charisma

and vitality of Hawkenson and his co-workers to be preserved and renewed. There are some indications however of an erosion of this process.

We will remember that at least three of the counselling staff expressed concern over their lack of involvement with the students during those days on which the school and vocational programs operated. I believe their concern is justified. Camp Trapping's message is conveyed through each individual counsellor's active expression of the Trapping lifestyle. Anything that minimizes a counsellor's opportunity to share that expression with the students reduces the number of times the students have to interact and interpret the Trapping philosophy. In addition, it reduces the likelihood of the staff becoming ritual symbols. Only through interaction with and observation of the staff can the staffing role begin to take on symbolic relevance. When staff are isolated or uninvolved with the students for a large portion of the week, some students begin to question the staff's sincerity. Rather than seeing and respecting the role they begin to wonder what the counsellors do with their time. Finally, if the counsellors are used as control agents in the classroom and vocational settings, called in only to control difficult instances or individuals, the counselling role begins to be seen as custodial. This, I was told, occurred a number of times during the Spring 1982 Camp.

The teachers are expected to provide the same type of role model.

One may argue that the students continue to receive the same message through the teachers. This is true in part, but is offset by the task-oriented nature of both the classroom and workshop. In the classroom, the teacher does not work on similar tasks as the students. In the workshop, the trades instructor teaches and supervises, only occasionally participating in the same tasks as the students.

Camp Trapping was designed to focus on process, that is, on how one works, plays and interacts with others, not on task or achieving an end product. Task was, and certainly is, important but only in that it highlights the purpose and effect of the process. The counselling role is to exhibit, to manifest, that process. If they are not allowed that opportunity, if they become more isolated from the students and if their role becomes more supervisory, the principal means of translating ideology into action will be lost.

The more Camp Trapping isolates its subprograms from each other and the more it isolates its staff from its students, the more institutionalized it becomes. It will also be less effective in creating a vital and closeknit community at Trapping Lake. Of course it may seem ridiculous to say that this is occurring in a program where staff and students spend more time together than the vast majority of residential centres. I am not saying that it is institutionalized however, all I am pointing out is that even an organization like Camp Trapping is capable of and shows tendencies

towards institutionalization. When Trapping staff complain of their inability to erase the 'them versus us' attitude of the students - that is, when the Camp Trapping community remains polarized as a staff group and a student group - it is a clear indication of a lack of emotional bonding. I believe the compartmentalization of the program, the decreasing involvement of the counsellors in the students' daily work, and the vague, or worse, custodial role students perceive the counsellors playing cause this polarization to persist.

There is another, perhaps more difficult, internal programming problem. Because staff have traditionally had such a crucial role to play - demanding an intense and time consuming commitment - staff turnover has been high. The current program director has made every effort to improve the counsellors' working environment. His staff express a genuine appreciation for his efforts. Regardless of these efforts however, the director realized that Camp Trapping must retain its rigorous schedule and demand for commitment if it is to remain true to its original design and intent. Inevitably, staff tire. Inevitably, a sensitive management will wish to make the work environment more comfortable for its employees.

This genuine concern for the staffs' well being is quite probably one of the forces that pushes an organization like Camp Trapping toward the compartmentalization and rationalization of its program. If, as I have just argued, this is taken to its logical conclusion it would tend to institutionalize the environment. A

relatively frequent staff turnover may, therefore, be a desirable aspect of the program. When staff remain employed beyond the limits of their desire and ability to be completely dedicated and involved in the process, the affective qualities rites of passage theory has emphasized as being so crucial begin to erode. There is no easy solution to this dilemma. The need for economic security felt by staff and the need for staff continuity felt by the employer collide with the stress created by continually living in a liminoid environment like Camp Trapping.

This problem is compounded by the bureaucritized and hierarchical nature of the social service profession in general. Child care work is traditionally low on the status ladder. Child care staff may not have the education and experience that would allow them relatively easy access into other social service positions. Compounding this dilemma is the great variation in function and role of the many social service positions. A child care worker may wish to be intimately involved with those for whom he works (the clients). This intimacy is difficult to find in social service work unless one is willing to work at the lower end of the pay/status scale. The higher the status and pay, the less involvement there is with the individuals the service was designed to serve.

For some or all of these reasons, child care staff at Camp Trapping and other residential programs find it difficult to move quickly and easily to other social service positions. On a number of

occasions in Trapping's history, this has resulted in as many as half the staff group being too tired and/or emotionally removed from the program to perform in an effective manner. One could, I believe, find a positive correlation between difficult camps and staff exhaustion.

Ironically, many social service workers who have climbed the hierarchy ladder bemoan the lack of intensity and involvement found in their more lucrative positions. They feel numbed and isolated from the issues and work which first drew them to social service. Perhaps the hierarchical and compartmentalized structure of the social service network needs some revision. Perhaps Camp Trapping and similar organizations - i.e. those involving intensity, intimacy and commitment with a small number of people - should be viewed as opportunities for social service staff to renew their own commitment to the tasks at hand. In short, they would be used as 'rites of passage' for social service workers to which people could return for short term but intense involvement with the essence of social work. At the same token, access to positions higher up on the status ladder would have to be provided for the child care workers who often use places like Camp Trapping to begin their apprenticeship in the social service field.

Whether or not such a suggestion would be viable or helpful is open to debate. What should be clear however is the nature of the problem prompting the suggestion. Because of the intensity of the

involvement in direct social work practise, few people can maintain effective involvement over time. Yet to reduce the intensity and affective quality reduces the effectiveness of the service. Without the intensity and affect, there can be no 'communitas'.

As social workers, we deal largely with problems or situations in which either an individual or his/her community believes that he or she is not interacting effectively and/or appropriately according to community standards. Our objectives are to either dispell the belief or to assist the individual and the community to create congruency between the standards and the behaviours. One way we have of achieving these objectives is to create a positive emotional bond between the individual and the community. Camp Trapping attempts to do this by providing liminoid occasions during which the participant is introduced or re-introduced to the purpose and potential of his community and the purpose and potential of his role within it. I maintain that it provides the same experience for its employees. Unfortunately, this therapeutic process is seen as a cure. We act as if we assume that one 'application of Camp Trapping' will effectively cure the problem at hand.

We overlook our clients' need for periodic reminders of their and their society's purpose and potential just as we overlook the social service worker's need for periodic moments of reinvolvement with the purposes and essence of his or her profession. We could help to redress this situation within our profession by encouraging

workers to seek periodic work experiences in organizations like Camp Trapping and by encouraging agencies and governments to condone and encourage this type of staff rotation. If this were to occur, agencies like Cariboo Action Training Society would be provided with a constant source of experienced individuals who would be prepared for an intense but short term emotional commitment. The individuals these agencies serve would, in turn, be more likely to obtain the type of experiences the agencies were originally designed to provide.

The clients' or participants' need for these periodic interludes of society-condoned liminality will be addressed in the pages that follow.

The Treatment Centre and its Relationship with the Community

Rites of passage theory provides us with some insights concerning the nature and importance of the links between residential treatment centres and their parent society. Turner's concept of a rite of affliction is of particular relevance.

We will remember that a rite of affliction is catalyzed by an individual's dysfunction, that is, her or her inability to perform (willingly) in the desired or required fashion. Turner notes however, that the individual's handicap always appears to occur within an atmosphere of societal stress. Not only is the individual not

functioning as desired; the social bonds and obligations also appear to be in crisis. This is reminiscent of a number of current social service beliefs. We commonly admit, for example, that some forms of delinquency can be associated with a social malaise, e.g. anomie and economic disadvantage. Even more relevant is our assumption that an individual's presenting problem is, in most cases, influenced or even caused by inappropriate familial dynamics. We look at the dynamics of the nuclear and extended family and the inappropriate behaviours of other family members in an attempt to ascertain cause and design cures for the individual's problems. Then of course, we have the concept of scapegoating, that is, when a person or group is blamed for all or most of the problems a family or community may be experiencing. At whatever level, we tend to acknowledge that an individual's problem is often a manifestation of problems and stresses within that person's social environment.

Once the problem is defined we attempt to design and provide an appropriate treatment plan. As we have seen, Canadian society, through organizations like Camp Trapping has on occasion provided a treatment process very similar to the internal structure of a rite of passage. More specifically, Camp Trapping can be described as a rite of affliction as it attempts to cure or rehabilitate an individual so that the individual may once again function in a manner acceptable to both himself and his community.

Turner's description of a rite of affliction also illustrates

how the 'curative' process is intimately connected to and directed at the community which performs it. There are a number of important differences between his description of these links and the connection between Trapping and its parent society. An afflicted person in Ndembu society, whether persuaded by others or not, chooses to undergo the rite. Camp Trapping began with this element of choice but, as Hawkenson noted, his program was quickly transformed into a punitive threat used by many referring agents to scare their clients. It is no longer considered necessary to obtain a student's commitment to attend Camp Trapping. They are sent whether or not they wish to go. This must certainly have a profound effect on the treatment process. The student has not even necessarily agreed that he should change his behaviour or attitude let alone agreed to the process of the change agent itself. Medical doctors will agree that the patient's belief in the doctor and the medical process has a large part to play in effecting a cure. Camp Trapping and most rehabilitation centres must begin without this built in confidence and acceptance of its process and premises. Perhaps rehabilitation programs would be well advised to seek a potential participant's commitment to the program prior to their attendance. This could become the first step in the treatment process.

Turner also informs us that the rite is conducted by a large assortment of individuals from a number of related communities and that key persons in the individual's life - e.g. family - could be and probably are involved in the ritual process. In

otherwords, the individual is shown that the society, his community and his family care enough to become actively involved in his cure. They are familiar with, condone and participate in the process. The community does not hire a group of unrelated individuals to perform the treatment in isolation. While there are hired professionals, they work in conjunction with people who are related to the afflicted individual. The community and the family do not delegate their responsibility to others. Instead, they hire professionals who help them cure the afflicted. Unfortunately, we do not subscribe to the same process.

Our community, whether it is represented by the family, the law courts, the child welfare authorities or the population in general acts as if the hired professional is responsible for the entire process. We are each assigned our task and each task is largely unconnected to the others. The community does not sanction or work with the process in any manner that is effectively apparent to the individuals undergoing treatment.

If a rite of affliction is effective, the cured individual becomes an adept of the cult that performs the rite. He or she is recognized as having gained knowledge and experience which the community can and wants to use. The status of the cured individual thus encreases and so, we may speculate, does his or her self worth and sense of belonging. If the problem recurs, the person can undergo the same process again, or, if diagnosed differently,

participate in a different cultic rite.

All of these points relate directly to the perennial problem of residential treatment - i.e. its aftercare component. Aftercare refers to the process of transferring the new learnings to, and reinforcing the new learning and status in, the parent society.

Unfortunately, we make the assumption, in fact if not in theory, that a residential treatment process can effect an immediate cure in and of itself. The community and families are not expected to take an active role in the Camp Trapping treatment process. As with many residential treatment centres, Trapping attempts to involve these people but often meets with little success. In addition we do not acknowledge or emphasize the fact that the 'initiate's' new status should or would demand that those around this person must view and interact with him or her in a new manner. Nor does the community acknowledge the treated individual as having gained a new status or valuable community role as a result of the treatment. More often than not the individual is stigmatized as, for example, an ex-convict. The community does not expect or encourage these people to offer their assistance to others who may be diagnosed as having the same problems. There is seldom any expectation that the treated individuals will ever reconvene for any positive or useful purpose. There is no 'cult' membership bestowed upon the graduates and therefore no formalized requirement or opportunity for these people to support each other and remind themselves of their shared experience. In

many cases, as at Camp Trapping, there is also no opportunity to undergo the treatment process again. Society does not allow the individuals an opportunity to relive the experience.

Our society has enjoyed a large amount of material success due in part to our ability to delegate authority and compartmentalize various tasks. We have forgotten perhaps that people cannot be dealt with in quite the same manner. If a rehabilitation process fails, our assumption (not one of the considerations) is that the rehabilitation process has been ineffective. It could well be that many of these 'ineffective' programs are highly effective within themselves but that they lack connectedness to the society that creates and used them. Without strong affective and pragmatic links between the community, the rehabilitation program and the individuals who go through the program, there is very little hope that rehabilitation programs will every satisfy the communities they serve.

The comments and suggestions in this final chapter are highly speculative and tentative. This study is not designed to prove that a given problem exists or that a given process is or is not effective. It is offered to provide what is hopefully a unique and useful perspective with which to examine a social service treatment program. It has, I believe, indicated the importance

of affect, symbol, ritual and ritualistic behaviour in a treatment process. If this perspective and the comments and descriptions contained in this study stimulate some thought concerning the reasoning behind and process of rehabilitation then it has achieved its original purpose. It is also my hope that this study has indicated a new avenue of exploration which could lead to an improvement in the way we encourage and assist others and ourselves to lead more fulfilling lives.

EPILOGUE

CAMP TRAPPING & IT'S RELATION TO PROTESTANTISM

Camp Trapping and its relation to Protestantism

I would like to take us beyond the scope of this study to briefly examine Camp Trapping as an expression and logical extension of the religious tradition of Protestantism. Camp Trapping is not only a place and program designed to rehabilitate adolescent males who have run afoul of the law. It is also an expression of Canadian values, morality and lifestyle. In this sense, it is a mirror, capable of reflecting a cultural image. To my mind, Camp Trapping is an example of the logical extension of the secularization of the Protestant tradition in Canada.

Max Weber has informed us that ascetic protestantism is a form of inner-worldly asceticism which is, in turn, a means of religious salvation. 1. This means of religious salvation is described as highly rationalized and methodical. It asserts that material or worldly life, as a creation of God, is an expression of God's will. It is, according to protestants, the only means we have, as worldly creatures, through which to do god's will. An ethically correct involvement with the material world will allow individuals to obtain a state of grace in this life and salvation after death. Each individual is seen as having the responsibility to ensure his or her own salvation through 'good works'. Doing good works or, we could say, appropriate active ethical behaviour, is not an accumulation of good deeds but is a "religious total personality pattern... which may be aquired through training in goodness". 2.

Inner-worldly ascetics like the protestans recognized the need to experience a charismatic condition (a state of grace, *communitas*) but rejected 'orgiastic intoxicifications' or periods of intense liminal states of mind as a means of obtaining this condition. Instead, an active ethical conversion and subsequent ethical involvement in the world was believed to promise "a more enduring possession of the charismatic condition". 3.

Individuals were to find their 'calling' or vocation in life and then diligently apply themselves to ceaselessly perform that calling to the best of their ability. Thus ascetic protestantism provided an intensely individualistic means of obtaining salvation which was dependent on the total psychological makeup of the individual. Ideally, not only the actions but the attitudes and motivation behind them were to be ethically correct. Working responsibly and diligently within the world at one's own unique vocation become the means to salvation. Honesty, consistency, reliability and continual perserverance in one's calling were the principal ethical demands.

Desire for worldly goods was condemned, yet the aquisition of these goods was not. In fact, it became sinful not to aquire worldly goods if your calling plainly directed you towards such an accumulation. Max Weber quotes from the protestant writer Richard Baxter: "If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul or any

other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward and to accept his gifts and use them for Him when he requireth it: you may labour to be rich for God, thought not for the flesh and sin". 4. In short, it was one's duty to maximize one's potential as long as you did not impede your's or another's spiritual growth.

We have of course already been introduced to these same sentiments by Bruce Hawkenson and in our examination of Camp Trapping's "philosophy". The ethical framework of Protestantism is nearly identical with the camp's. We have seen that representatives of the community and government agencies have whole heartedly endorsed this set of ethics. The Protestant ethic appears alive and accepted as the appropriate mode of action in our society. But what of the spirit?

In Weber's opinion, the spirit has escaped from the cage that protestantism and its offspring have created. Weber indulges in an evaluation and judgement of his society as he goes on to say that "the idea of duty in one's calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs", and then continues by prefacing an unidentified source: "For the last stage of this cultural development, it might well be truly said: 'Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved". 5.

We are given the impression that protestantism, while fostering successful material acquisition, has de-emphasized or been robbed of the original purpose behind this acquisition. The accumulation of technology and material rewards is seen by Weber to have become an end in itself.

Hawkinson, through his creation of Camp Trapping, has attempted to revive the spirit, retain the ethics and ignore or discard the religiosity of protestantism. Hawkinson spoke of his desire to have each student recognize his own preciousness and potential. He referred specifically to his Baptist training which taught him that each individual was precious to God. Hawkinson felt that the message was valid without reference to a god. The preciousness of the individual, the realization of personal power and potential and the responsibility or duty to act are no longer promoted in an effort to obtain a religious state of grace or immortality after death. Instead, motivation to accept and act on these beliefs is to come from the direct experience of the effectiveness and joyfulness obtained through living life according to these guidelines. Hawkinson answers that the ethics and their related behaviours will prove themselves through individual feelings of self actualization or fulfilment which, he maintains, will result if the ethics and behaviours are adopted by the Camp Trapping students. Camp Trapping's circular-repetitive community, its rituals and its symbols are designed to encourage and enforce participation with this ethic and to enfuse it with an emotional appeal.

Underlying the Camp Trapping system is an implicit form of deification. Weber notes that the ethics of inner-worldly asceticism, with its emphasis on duty, good works and individual achievement, can become a means of self perfection or self-deification. 6. He goes on to note that initiations and other planned procedures are designed to provide the acquisition of superhuman powers, heroic personalities or rebirth into a more desirable position. The implication is that the self can take on some god-like characteristics. Hawkenson has not endorsed such beliefs, nor does he attempt to encourage the students to 'deify' themselves. Instead, I believe he has, consciously or not, attempted to deify "The Self". The seat of power and purpose no longer resides with a god yet nor does it really reside within each individual. The 'self' it appears, can only express its full potential within each individual if it is connected to, supported by and supportive of a group of individuals. Hawkenson has attempted to fill the gap vacated by a god with an ambiguous yet empowered 'social-self' towards the realization of which, one is encouraged to strive. Rites of passage techniques have been incorporated in perhaps an unconscious recognition of their ability to empower abstract ideologies if effective symbols can be brought into play.

Hawkenson has provided us with the almost inevitable extension of the protestant thrust - a secular faith. The Trinity of Society, Individual, and Human Potential has replaced the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. I believe Hawkenson's Camp Trapping is one example of

many current secular attempts to infuse our highly materialistic lifestyle with the spirit and passion formerly associated with religious movements. Camp Trapping, like many of the contemporary human potential movements, is an expression of this society's need to experience *communitas* without turning once again to established religions and their notions of god, the credibility of which, in the eyes of much of the public, has seriously eroded in the past century.

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APPENDICES

- i - Key Informants on Camp's Methods and Therapeutic Milieu
- ii - Key Informants on Miscellaneous Camp Trapping aspects
- iii - Consent Form
- iv - Letter of Consent
- v - Interview Questions for Key Informant Interviews
- vi - Letter from Camp Trapping After-care Co-ordinator to the referring agents in respect to the Spring 1982 Follow-up study

Key Informants - Camp's Methods and Therapeutic Milieu

A number of key informants felt that one of Camp Trapping's major strengths was its use and unique blend of a variety of techniques. Some informants referred to the program as eclectic and appreciated the variety of experiences Camp Trapping offers its students.

There is indeed a great variety of techniques and events. As we have already seen, Camp Trapping can be divided into seven subprograms. Taken together they form the therapeutic milieu. When informants were asked what was the most important and essential aspect of the total program, the 'Core' subprogram received the most votes. As we saw in Chapter (2.5) the core includes the morning run, the sauna, the behaviour management program, chores, maintenance, recreation and work. Most informants were quick to emphasize that work and the alternate program should be included in the core.

There were other aspects of the program that were mentioned almost as frequently. It is here that we find confirmation for the inclusion of 'challenge' in the camp's value system and further emphasis on the crucial role as effective staff plays. The most important aspects of the Trapping milieu, according to the key informants, are as follows:

The Most Important Aspects of the Camp Trapping Therapeutic Milieu - Figure A-1.1

| <u>Aspect</u> | <u>Number of informants in agreement</u> |
|---|--|
| The core program including work and the alternate | 9 |
| A dedicated, involved, caring and sincere staff | 8 |
| Challenges for students that lead to tangible successes | 8 |
| The variety of experiences and options | 3 |
| The personal involvement and full participation in life at camp required of the students | 3 |

Within the total milieu there appears to be at least fifteen specific techniques or components. Some of these are what have already been described as subprograms. Some can be said to be contained within the subprograms. The informants were asked to describe the importance and purpose of each of these techniques in an effort to determine why they are included in the Camp Trapping program. All the informants agreed that this list covered Camp Trapping's arsenal of techniques although the 'other' category provides five additional aspects that had already been mentioned earlier in the interview or that were specific aspects of one of the listed 'methods' categories.

As can be seen in Figure A 1.2 below, most informants provided more than one response for each listed method.

Figure A 1.2

Key Informant Comment on the Purpose and Effect of Specific Aspects of the Camp Trapping Program

| <u>Aspect : Isolation from the Community</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Comments: | |
| 1. Removes students from outside temptations and former influences. | 8 |
| 2. Inhibits students' ability to leave the program. | 3 |
| 3. Simplifies a complicated environment and helps the students to focus on the messages camp provides. | 4 |
| 4. Protects the community | 1 |
| 5. Makes town visits a meaningful reward. | 1 |

Aspect: The Wilderness Setting# of Informants AgreeingComments:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Teaches respect, love and enjoyment of nature. | 5 |
| 2. Teaches the necessity of cooperation and participation for survival. | 4 |
| 3. Provides new experiences and challenges. | 2 |
| 4. Teaches that we take society's luxuries for granted. | 1 |
| 5. Provides isolation without bars. | 1 |
| 6. No comment. | 1 |

Aspect: Out-trips# of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Provide personal growth through meeting challenges. | 4 |
| 2. Provide a break from routine. | 3 |
| 3. Teach cooperations. | 3 |
| 4. Appeal to the adventurer and explorer in us all. | 3 |
| 5. Teach survival without amenities. | 2 |
| 6. Teach new leisure activities. | 2 |
| 7. Condense the essence of camp. | 2 |
| 8. Increase the need for self reliance and responsibility. | 2 |
| 9. Channel energy in a positive way. | 1 |

Aspect : The Daily Run# of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Provides the first and most consistent tangible success. | 7 |
| 2. Builds self image. | 5 |
| 3. Provides daily exercise. | 3 |
| 4. Teaches one to persevere through routine (self discipline) | 3 |
| 5. Provides a private time. | 2 |
| 6. Can use it as an example of how 'trying harder' pays off. | 1 |
| 7. If they can't do it, they can't do the camp program. | 1 |
| 8. It is very important, very therapeutic. | 2 |

Aspect: Staff as Models# of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Provides 14 unique but appropriate models for living. | 6 |
| 2. Lets students respect staff because of their participation and lack of hypocrisy. | 5 |
| 3. It is very important. | 5 |

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 4. Teaches negotiating skills. | 2 |
| 5. Shows staff are human. | 1 |

| | | |
|----------------|---|---------------------------------|
| <u>Aspect:</u> | <u>The Charts or Behaviour Management Program</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|----------------|---|---------------------------------|

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Provides immediate tangible feedback that focuses on successful behaviour and shows relationship between actions and consequences. | 7 |
| 2. Establishes routines quickly and effectively. | 4 |
| 3. Is integral and essential. | 2 |
| 4. Can be dangerous if used inappropriately. | 2 |
| 5. Teaches responsibility for self. | 1 |
| 6. Teaches how to share responsibility. | 1 |
| 7. Is a tool students can use later. | 1 |

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>Aspect:</u> | <u>The Academic Program</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Puts formal education in a better light. | 5 |
| 2. Helps to provide basic literacy. | 3 |
| 3. Helps to build a success identity. | 2 |
| 4. Teaches the benefits of thinking for yourself. | 1 |
| 5. Teaches appropriate behaviour for a school setting. | 1 |
| 6. Is a step towards a vocation. | 1 |
| 7. Unfamiliar with it - no comment. | 1 |
| 8. Not too important or helpful. | 1 |

| | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>Aspect:</u> | <u>The Vocational Program</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Provides valuable practical skills and work habits. | 8 |
| 2. Provides a more positive attitude to learning. | 3 |
| 3. Helps to build a success identity. | 1 |
| 4. Fits with a Northern B.C. mentality (Hard physical work) | 1 |

| | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>Aspect:</u> | <u>Games & Recreation</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Relieves tension and provides fun and time out from routine. | 6 |
| 2. Teaches the value of cooperation and sportsmanship. | 4 |
| 3. Teaches new leisure activities. | 4 |
| 4. Increases students' attention span. | 1 |
| 5. Improves physical condition. | 1 |

Aspect: Intimacy & Intensity of Staff Involvement # of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Students & staff see each other as more complete human beings and share everything. | 6 |
| 2. Very Important. | 5 |
| 3. Shows that counsellors really care for and are committed to the students. | 5 |
| 4. Staff have to deal with issues - can't ignore them. | 4 |
| 5. Decreases the time it takes to form an intimate bond. | 2 |
| 6. Inhibits the development of a strong negative peer culture. | 1 |
| 7. Provides more intense involvement than any other therapeutic setting. | 1 |
| 8. The long shifts are a cost-effective way of running the program. | 1 |

Aspect: The 26 Mile Run to Town at Camp's End : Spring Camp Only # of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Provides student's with their greatest challenge. | 4 |
| 2. Can be dangerous for those who don't make it but it is a great sense of accomplishment for those who do. | 3 |
| 3. 'Caps" former Camp Trapping accomplishments. | 2 |
| 4. Helps students separate from the camp and return to the community. | 2 |
| 5. It's good public relations - impresses the community. | 2 |
| 6. Provides good physical conditioning. | 1 |
| 7. Provides a time to think and reflect. | 1 |
| 8. Proves changes in 'self' to the student. | 1 |
| 9. Physically damaging. | 1 |
| 10. Too competitive. | 1 |

Aspect: The Aftercare Program # of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Focuses on the students' skills and their responsibility to succeed. | 3 |
| 2. Provides some extension of 'caring' after graduation. | 2 |
| 3. Essential for CATS - referring agent liaison. | 2 |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4. Not much to it - no real program. | 2 |
| 5. Puts pressure on referring agents to provide aftercare. | 1 |
| 6. Essential but only now realizing it's potential with the aftercare home. | 1 |
| 7. Unfamiliar with it. | 1 |

Aspect: Reality Therapy# of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Makes tangible and clarifies the relationship between actions and consequences and focuses on individual responsibility. | 7 |
| 2. Helps therapists deal firmly but compassionately. | 2 |
| 3. Provides a consistent approach and philosophy. | 1 |
| 4. Unfamiliar with it. | 2 |

Aspect: Individual Counselling# of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. It is primarily action oriented, non-verbal and spontaneous and 'modelling' based. | 6 |
| 2. Is only valuable when there is a meaningful relationship between counsellor and student. | 2 |
| 3. Listening skills are important. | 1 |
| 4. Key counsellor duties help in building relationships. | 1 |
| 5. Must be supportive but confrontative when necessary. | 1 |
| 6. Chart sessions provide a good time for it. | 1 |
| 7. Too often the worst kids get the most attention. | . |

Aspect: Positive Peer Culture Group Therapy# of Informants Agreeing

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Shows how a group can help individuals and itself and provides a useable model. | 3 |
| 2. Unfamiliar with PPC. | 3 |
| 3. Teaches reciprocity of helping relationships | 1 |
| 4. Very powerful. If used properly the group can solve problems that counsellors can't but it can be dangerous if the group attacks an individual. | 1 |

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 5. It's very hard for students to show caring. | 1 |
| 6. The staff needs more training. | 1 |
| 7. Camp Trapping not using an accurate PPC model and disagree with approach. | 1 |
| <u>Aspect: Other aspects of Camp Trapping that are important.</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
| 1. The alternate program: highlights positive aspects of the main program. | 2 |
| 2. Graduation: celebrates achievements. | 1 |
| 3. Visits from 'outsiders' and families. | 1 |
| 4. A supportive board of directors. | 1 |
| 5. Other types of group counselling if there is a skilled leader. | 1 |

Key Informants on Miscellaneous Camp Trapping Aspects

If Camp Trapping is indeed similar to a rites of passage as Turner describes them, then there should be, by definition, some obvious differences between Camp Trapping and its parent society. There should also be aspects of the camp that tend to create great emotional intensity and involvement for its participants. Key informants were asked to describe what they felt cause the greatest emotional involvement and intensity at the camp and what they thought was the most profound difference between Camp Trapping and its parent society. Their responses are as follows:

Figure A.2-1.

Key Informant Responses

| <u>Parent Society / Trapping: differences</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. A much more intense feeling and expression of caring at the camp. | 6 |
| 2. A much more controlled, structured and understandable environment at the camp. | 4 |
| 3. The predominantly male culture at the camp. | 1 |
| 4. Greater physical demands at Camp Trapping. | 1 |
| 5. No comment. | 1 |

Figure A.2-2

| <u>What Aspects of Camp Trapping Elicit the Greatest and Most Intense Emotional Response from it's Students</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. The morning run. | 7 |
| 2. The sauna routine. | 5 |
| 3. Evening Sessions | 5 |
| 4. The staff and the caring, personal relationships they develop. | 5 |
| 5. Facing and overcoming new challenges. | 5 |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 6. Any major personal achievements. | 4 |
| 7. The out-trips. | 3 |
| 8. Students having to be responsible for their own actions. | 2 |
| 9. The physical demands. | 2 |

Towards the end of each interview the informants were asked to comment on any shortcomings or problems they saw in the camp program. All the informants felt that the program provided a valuable service and many believed it to be on if not the best program for juvenile offenders in the province. One informant felt that the same or better quality of life skills education could be provided in a non-residential setting. None of the informants failed to notice flaws in the program however. Most of these flaws centered around the transitional problems around and after graduation time. Some felt that the standard and rigid program length was unfair and forced some students to leave before they were ready and others to stay too long. Other informants believed that the program does not adequately prepare its students for a return to the real world while others felt that the 'real world' was not adequately prepared to reincorporate the graduate. Every informant referred to at least one of these transitional problems. Figure A.2-3 below outlines the informants responses to this question.

Figure A.2-3

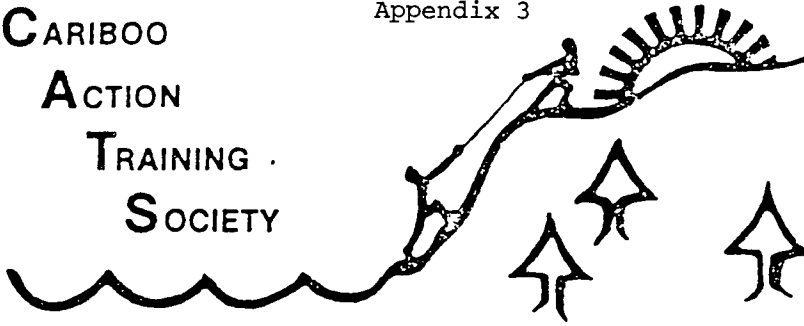
| <u>Are there problems with the Camp Trapping Program and if so, what are they?</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. The lack of strong involved models in the community who could continue to support the graduates and reinforce what they have learned. | 5 |
| 2. Many students need more time in the program to learn the appropriate behaviours. | 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. The program gets its students very enthusiastic and positive and then shoves them into a void. | 3 |
| 4. Most students don't want to leave. | 3 |
| 5. There is a lack of staff training. | 2 |
| 6. The quality of some counsellors is poor at times. | 2 |
| 7. Occasional interstaff conflict. | 1 |
| 8. Unrealistic referring agent expectations. | 1 |
| 9. Not enough communication between referring agents and staff. | 1 |
| 10. Lack of referring agent support. | 1 |
| 11. Rapid staff turnover. | 1 |
| 12. A more accurate way of selecting appropriate students is needed. | 1 |

Figure A.2-4 provides further informant comment on the transitional problems that appear to occur at Camp Trapping. There is a consensus that the environment to which the student returns is a crucial variable.

Figure A.2-4

| <u>Is it difficult for a Student to transpose the values and behaviours he has learned at Camp Trapping into his situation after Graduation?</u> | <u># of Informants Agreeing</u> |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. It is very difficult if there is no supportive environment. | 5 |
| 2. There is a full range from very difficult to not difficult depending on the student and the environment to which he returns. | 2 |
| 3. It's usually not difficult at first but can become difficult as time goes on. | 2 |



"Helping one another to help oneself"

The purpose of this study is to examine the various program components at Cariboo Action Training Society's wilderness rehabilitation program for adolescent males who are in conflict with the law.

I, _____, as a student of the Spring 1982 CATS program, am aware of the study Bruce Northey is conducting and I am willing to participate in it. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time and that this withdrawal will not prejudice further treatment, medical care, or influence my class standing in this program.

Signed

Student, CATS, Camp Trapping, Spring '82.

Appendix 5-i : "Key Informant Interview Guildeline Questions"

MSW THESIS RESEARCH - PHASE II

CAMP TRAPPING INTERVIEWS - SCHEULDE I

Occupation _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Relationship to Camp Trapping: _____

Length of time involved with Camp Trapping: _____

This interview focuses on three aspects of Camp Trapping; it's purposes (goals, objectives), it's value system and it's methods. I am seeking your opinion on these aspects. The information will be aggregated and analyzied to help me focus on specific elements of the program during the next phase of this research process. The information you give will be compiled in a fashion that will protect your anonymity.

SCHEDULE I-1; Purposes of Camp Trapping

1. Does the idea of Camp Trapping appeal to you? Why?
2. What do you think Camp Trapping is supposed to be doing?
3. Is there any difference between '2' and what it is doing?
4. What do you think are the most important Camp Trapping objectives as far as each of the following groups are concerned:

| | | |
|---------|------------------------------|-------|
| Society | Referring & funding agencies | Staff |
|---------|------------------------------|-------|
5. What are the actual benefits Camp Trapping creates for: Society
 Referring & funding agents, the students, other.
 - b. Who do you think benefits the most?

Appendix 5 - Page 2

Do you believe Camp Trapping's goals have changed over time? If so,
in what way?

Appendix 5 - Page 3SCHEDULE I-2, Values and Behaviours

Camp Trapping has been described as both a rehabilitation and a therapeutic program, both terms implying that it's students have ineffective values and behaviours which inhibit them from participating in society in an accepted and successful fashion. The following section focuses on what you think are the key values and behaviours at Camp Trapping.

1. Does Camp Trapping focus on changing values, behaviours or both?
2. Can they be separated?
3. What are the student behaviours that Camp Trapping wants to change?
4. What are the student behaviours that Camp Trapping wants to promote?
5. What are the student values Camp Trapping wishes to change?
6. What are the values Camp Trapping wishes to promote?
7. Do these values (6) express society's values?
8. Are there any values Camp Trapping does not but should promote?
9. Are there any Camp Trapping values at odds with society's value system?
10. Describe how a successfully rehabilitated student should act.
11. What values should be hold?
12. Do you believe Camp Trapping provides a ideal or a practical model for living.
13. Do you believe Camp Trapping addresses the apparent need people have for meaning or a purpose or place in life?

Appendix 5 - Page 4SCHEDULE I-3; Process

The Camp Trapping could be divided into seven sub-programs: i) the work program, ii) out-trips, iii) the aftercare program, iv) the school, v) vocational training, vi) the core program, i.e. the run, chores, charts, maintainance fuctions, vii) the alternate program.

1. Could Camp Trapping achieve it's goals and uphold it's values if any of these components were excluded? Which ones and why?
2. Which components would be absolutely essential and why?
- 2.b What are the specific goals and values these essential Camp Trapping components promote?
- 2.c Give an example of how they promote them.
3. Are there other important components of Camp Trapping that have not been mentioned?
4. In your opinion what is it about Camp Trapping which makes it work?
5. What makes Camp Trapping different from other resources for the same clientele?
6. The following is a list of specific program components. What do you believe is their specific therapeutic value and how do they transmit the values you have outlined.
 1. An isolated community.
 2. The wilderness setting.
 3. The out-trips.
 4. The daily run.
 5. The staff as models.
 6. The chart system

7. The academic program.
 8. The vocational program.
 9. Games/recreation.
 10. Staff and students sharing the same sleeping quarters.
 11. The staff's seven day, twenty-four hour a day shift.
 12. The run to town at camp end.
 13. The aftercare program.
 14. Reality therapy.
 15. Individual counselling.
 16. Others.
-
7. What program components do you think ellicit the greatest emotional involvement from the students - positive and negative.
 8. What do you think students will remember most about the program upon graduation?
 9. What do you think is the greatest weakness of the Camp Trapping program?
 10. What do you think is the most profound difference between the camp milieu and society at large?
 11. How difficult do you think it is for a graduate to translate the values and behaviours they've learned at Camp Trapping into their daily lives after graduation? What would be some of the factors inhibiting this process?

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