A CASE STUDY OF TEEN LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT WITHIN A 4-H CAMP COUNSELOR EXPERIENCE

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By

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the or dissertation entitled

A CASE STUDY OF TEEN LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT WITHIN A 4-H CAMP COUNSELOR EXPERIENCE

presented by Stephanie Femrite,

a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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Dedication

To Ainsely, Andy, Mom, and Dad. Would not be without you.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my committee for their ongoing support. By no means was this a short process and therefore it is with the deepest appreciation for your patience and encouragement. Dr. Cletzer and Dr. Mott, you have challenged me to broaden my understanding and would not let me settle for mediocrity, for that I cannot thank you enough. You are trusted mentors and experts who give honest and meaningful feedback. I look forward to the opportunity to continue working as peers.

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Academic Abstract

Utilizing teens as camp counselors for overnight camping is common within Missouri 4-H. It is also an experience that is often described as providing teens an opportunity to develop leadership skills.

The purpose of this multi-case study was to describe and uncover the processes and structures that support teen leadership development experiences provided by Missouri 4-H through the camp counselor experience, as perceived by the program directors and participants; to describe how program directors utilized camp counselors training and implementation at camp to develop teen leadership. Through extensive participant interviews, photo elicitation, and document analysis, four themes emerged. Data were analyzed utilizing three frameworks: Hart's Ladder of Participation (Hart, 1992), Leadership Identity Development (LID) model (Komives et al., 2005, 2006, & 2009), and Western's (2019) four discourses of leadership

An overarching understanding developed from this study. While good things are happening at camp, and that counselors look forward to coming back each year, the philosophical intent of program directors to provide an environment to support leadership development is not present in the structure and processes. Findings suggest the following: (a) there is conflation between relationship development and leadership development, (b) the primary role of counselors is to manage camper behavior, (c) tradition is highly prioritized, (d) and evidence that leadership development is supported through the counselor experience is lacking.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Youth development programming has been a part of American communities and culture since the 1800s (Thurber et al., 2007). Over the past century, youth programming began to follow one of two philosophies: a positive assets development model, or a deficit model (Anderson Moore et al., 2004). Programs that incorporate a positive youth development (PYD) model consider youth as resources and strive to influence positive and healthy development through experiences and opportunities that are developmentally appropriate. Comparatively, a deficit model sees youth as a problem to be managed and fixed (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

This paradigm shift from a deficit model to an assets model began during the 1990s and stressed that while youth may not be seen as a problem, they are not fully prepared for adulthood (Anderson Moore et al., 2004; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). As the number of families with two working parents grew, schools faced increased pressures, dangerous substances became more accessible, and the job market was more demanding and ever-changing, it became more important for communities to offer programs for youth during non-school hours (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). With a belief that youth are better off in structured and supervised activities than in unstructured settings, activities were developed, ranging from school-associated extracurricular sports and clubs to community-based programs. With this shift, the phrase “youth development” was coined and has been associated with tens of thousands of programs since (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). One approach to meeting the needs of youth is helping them to see themselves, and be seen by others, as having a value in the present (Rennekamp, 1993) and preparing them for success in adulthood through leadership development programs.

Leadership development programs are a common type of youth development effort, usually organized for teens within schools and communities. These programs include the student council, FFA, Future Business Leaders of America (FBLA), Boy Scouts, 4-H, and other locally organized programs that may focus on civic engagement or the arts (Eccles et al., 2003). Within each of these leadership development programs, adults serve in a variety of roles, including organizer, advisor, and mentor. Organized activities are a place for adolescents to acquire and practice social, physical, and intellectual skills, develop a sense of agency as a member of the community, establish supportive networks of peers and adults, and experience dealing with challenges (Eccles et al., 2003). Adults have a role in understanding how they interact and engage youth in the program, for it will impact the development — leadership or otherwise — of the young person.

Hart's (1992) ladder of participation is a research-based conceptual framework used to describe the degree to which youth are empowered in their interaction with adults while engaged in youth development programs. Within these interactions, youth participation can be categorized on the ladder. The lowest three rungs of the ladder are non-participation stages; they are as follows: (a) manipulation, (b) decoration, and (c) tokenism. In these stages, youth are used to convey a message that they may not understand, the intent is not their own, or they had no part in developing. The next five stages provide varying levels of opportunities for youth to develop agency and autonomy as they participate in roles that are developed by an adult, but youth are informed and agree to the intent. The top three levels have degrees of participation that include the following: (a) adults sharing decision making with youth; (b) youth initiate and direct the

participation; and at the top rung, (c) youth identify and initiate the experience or solution with support from adults. The manner in which youth and teens are provided with the opportunity to participate will play a role in their ability to develop their leadership identity.

Leadership is often talked about as if it has a common definition; it is assumed that we each have the same definition in conversation. Yet, it is something that many do not understand or cannot agree upon (Western, 2019). People who engage in conducting leadership development programs are operating within a leadership discourse, though they may be unaware of it. Western (2019, p. 153) defines discourses as “systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs, and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak." How a leader conceptualizes leadership and the development of leadership in others will impact how they operationalize leadership experiences for others. As teens engage in leadership development they will experience influences from peers, adults, meaningful involvement, and reflective learning. These influences will impact their progression and potential plateau as they develop self, view of self with others, view of leadership, and group influences as it relates to leadership identity (Komives et al., 2005).

This study will focus on teen leadership development through the Missouri 4-H program. Specifically, leadership development through experiences provided to teens that serve as camp counselors for overnight camping programs.

National 4-H Program

There is no single beginning to 4-H. It was a movement that started in response to a concern about the future of rural children and focused on training and educating youth in best practices to be successful in agriculture. The movement wanted to instill a value that farming and rural life was not just a place for those that were not successful in an urban environment, rural life was to be cherished and nurtured (Reck, 1951; Thurber et al., 2007; Wessel & Wessel, 1982).

After modest beginnings around 1900-1910, the idea of 4-H spread in an effort to keep youth connected to agriculture (Reck, 1951). Wessel & Wessel (1982) write that 4-H's formation was a result of a changing economic landscape during the 19th century, which experienced significant growth in cities and the dominance of industry. Cities lured young people with offerings with which farm life could not compete. As a result, rural families began to feel a sense of loss and detachment from their children, who desired to move to the city, as well as a detachment from the land that had sustained them.

Over the next several decades, the seeds that would become 4-H grew and were scattered across the nation. The engagement and excitement that youth showed for agriculture began to excite adults as well. In the early 1900s, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) took notice of the interest in sharing advanced agriculture practices with farmers. At first, farmers were reluctant to adopt new practices based on theories developed at a university. However, after watching a neighbor model and yielding the rewards of new practices, they were more inclined to try new things. This model of learning by doing became a routine practice and began to take a formal

shape as the U.S. Congress worked to develop a system to support applied research for both youth and adults. By 1914, the Cooperative Extension Service was established through a partnership with federal, state, and county agencies with the passing of the Smith-Lever Act. The movement that started as a desire to maintain a way of living, found a permanent home within Extension. However, it would not be until 1920 that 4-H would be officially named and would adopt its symbol of a four-leaf clover (Wessel & Wessel, 1982).

Extension and 4-H made their way through the initial years of existence as World War I began. Wartime demands created a total community effort that expanded 4-H's model from rural communities into urban areas. Over time, as the country evolved and needs changed, so did 4-H. One important example of how local groups took the initiative and influenced national programming was organized camping. Wessel & Wessel (1982) trace camping activities within the 4-H model back to as early as 1907. Camping was seen as a natural way to add an informal component of companionship to experiences such as college tours, fairs, and club work to share ideas and encourage achievement. Over the years, camping continued to evolve. Through the 1960s and 1970s camping was used as a way to introduce new programs and curricula that included food and nutrition education, and bicycle programs (Wessel & Wessel, 1982).

Organized Youth Camping

Organized youth camping in the United States dates back to the 1860s. As populations moved from rural settings, where family served as the primary social unit and it was common for youth to work and play in the outdoors, to more populated areas. As urban areas began to form, cultures began to intermix, social units expanded, and the

authority and responsibility that once lied with the family shifted to schools and city agencies (Ozier, 2010). Camping, once a common practice modeled after Native Americans by early American settlers as they moved west, evolved as a solution to socialize youth. As urban areas continue to form and grow, educators in the second half of the 1800s became nostalgic for a slower-paced, simpler, and seemingly safer time of rural life. Thus, in 1861, Frederick William Gunn, a Connecticut schoolmaster, organized the first known summer camp, Gunnery Camp, for his male students (Eells, 1986 as cited by Thurber et al., 2007).

As American life evolved, fewer youth grew up helping their parents on the farm and schools expanded from a supplemental education for three months in the winter to what we know today as a nine-month calendar that closes in the summer (Pedersen, 2012). Youth that were not engaged in an active farm life began to see their summers unstructured and with limited resources. Educators saw this time as an opportunity to provide intentional learning experiences for young people (Ozier, 2010). Unsatisfied with the physical, mental, and spiritual development provided by urban living settings, educators looked to combine physical movement, mental challenges, social skill development, a pioneer spirit, interest in Native American traditions, and spiritual events that supported a work ethic: that it is one's responsibility to work hard and be financially mindful (Thurber et al., 2007). These motivations were supported by the progressive educational theories that resulted in the creation of the youth camping movement (Thurber et al., 2007). Over the years, youth camping has evolved with the times, emphasizing different foci as times shifted, from the patriotic and military traditions of the 1920s and 1950s (Reck, 1951), to the therapeutic and social work interventions of the

1960s and 1970s, to offer a place for working parents to receive childcare in the early 2000s (Thurber et al., 2007).

The term “camp” was loosely used to describe events and opportunities where youth gathered for any number of reasons. Reck (1951) documents that camps as early as 1915 were used to house participants at state fairs and during college campus events. In 1916, Camp Vail was established to do what we know county fairs to do today: an exhibition of youth club work. The facilities at Camp Vail evolved and became a permanent place to host leadership conferences to the present day. West Virginia, a pioneer of 4-H camping, established a camp for African Americans in 1922 to provide a club camp, an opportunity to strengthen mastery in club work.

In contrast to camps that provided housing, J.V. Shipman of Randolph County, West Virginia hosted 20 boys and girls for a three-day camp in July 1915 where they fished, experimented with camp cooking, and went boating (Reck, 1951). The model of morning classwork, afternoon recreation, and evening campfires was emulated across West Virginia by 1919. That same general schedule can be found in many 4-H camps to this day (Condrasky, 2015; Epley, 2018; Reck, 1951). County camps evolved to serve as a reward for outstanding club work and began to be seen as an opportunity to develop leaders. Unfortunately, there is no information available on the content or focus of the leadership training.

As camping seemed to naturally evolve across the nation, it had a similar development within the 4-H program on the national level and within Missouri 4-H (Thurber et al., 2007). In Missouri, Samuel M. Jordan held the first known camping activities in the summer of 1907 to teach boys agriculture practices in a series of three

camps in Gentry, Bates, and Saline counties. Saline County was the home of the largest camp with 300 boys ranging from 10–20 years old (Duncan, 1970). At the conclusion of the camps, youth were invited to join corn clubs, clubs that focused on introducing and improving agriculture techniques and production. Within the 4-H program, leadership development was often an underlying mission, though often not identified or recognized.

Teens and Camp

Often, teens (14–18 years old) are provided with an opportunity to serve as a camp counselor during organized camps. Teens that serve as camp counselors have the opportunity to practice and develop life skills such as communication, responsibility, independence, and teamwork (Garst & Bruce, 2003). In addition, camp helps to build leadership skills and team building with a peer group that exists outside of the norm of their experiences (Van Horn et al., 1998). Add in the component of caring for another human being, as counselors do, this responsibility becomes even more challenging. Each of these components challenges their thinking, calling to question previous viewpoints and scripts for dealing with similar situations (Van Horn et al., 1998).

In today's 4-H program, 4-H camp serves as one of the largest direct contact experiences that program directors provide positive youth development. A majority of the work that program directors do throughout the year is indirect or short term, single programs, or presentations. However, working with teens who serve as camp counselors often includes multiple hours of contact prior to camp and several immersive days of camp. Therefore, for many program directors, the camp encompasses and exemplifies their philosophy and beliefs on teen and leadership development. While the program

directors are the primary focus of this study, the camp counselor experience will also be explored, and it will triangulate the beliefs and actions of program directors.

Leadership Development

Leadership is often talked about as if it has a common definition. Yet, it is estimated there are 35,000 definitions of leadership within academic literature (Durbin, 2000). It is something that many do not understand or cannot agree upon (Peck et al., 2009; Pye, 2005). Within countless books, articles, training, and conferences, leadership is described in terms of theories, skillsets, traits, behaviors, sets of competencies, sets of best practices, and outcomes for various populations and settings (Komives et al., 2005). Though typically listed under the banner of leadership, when analyzed, many of these practices and theories should be considered simply good management skills, which were developed in the 19th and 20th centuries when the focus was on productivity, efficiency, and a desire to create and control the environment (Rost, 1997; Western, 2010, 2019). Toward the end of the 20th century, American society began to shift toward a global society that is interconnected and knowledge based. This shift led to a view of leadership that includes collaboration, ethics, and morality, and increasingly focused on leaders who can transform their followers into leaders (Komives et al., 2005).

For teens, van Linden and Fertman (1998) state that leadership development is not something that is commonly thought of by young people, as it lacks focus and visibility. For this to change, intentional focus is needed by adults to supports teens in their development. van Linden and Fertman (1998) describe interactions for leadership development happening within four locations: family, community, school, and work.

Within those points of interactions, people, activities, and learning experiences provide opportunities for teens to develop their potential and abilities. A key to each of these points of interaction is a social process. Leadership is learned by observing, imitating, and practicing with others in a social context. Lessons can also be learned by observing public figures when close relationships are not possible. However, where there are opportunities for close relationships, there is a support network of mentors, role models, and peers (van Linden and Fertman, 1998).

Komives et al. (2005, 2006, & 2009) charted the transition of leadership paradigms when conducting their grounded theory study that led to the development of the Leadership Development Identity (LID) model. The researchers behind the development of the grounded theory, LID, linked youth development with a six-stage process of leadership as a means to assist educators as they work with youth to develop leadership (Komives et al., 2006). The theory explores "how youth situate themselves in the construct of leadership over time" (Komives et al., 2005). The LID model identifies the following key characteristics when developing leadership in youth: adult influences, peer influences, meaningful involvement, and reflective learning. It is noteworthy that these characteristics are also found in positive youth development.

According to the LID model, the first stage of leadership identity is "awareness," the recognition that leaders exist. The second stage is "exploration/engagement" when one intentionally becomes involved in experiences and takes on responsibilities. The third stage is described as "leader identified," when participants perceive that groups have positional leaders and a largely dichotomous relationship between leader and follower. The fourth stage, "leadership differentiated," is when the individual can discern between

the concept of leadership as being a positional leader, and the concept that anyone in the group can be a leader. They understand that leadership is an emergent process within the group. “Generativity” is the fifth stage when individuals begin to think beyond themselves and commit to a larger purpose. Individuals are more aware of how they are interconnected and have a responsibility to develop sustainability in the organizations they participate in and the leaders that will sustain the efforts. The final stage is “integration/synthesis,” when leadership is engaged daily and is part of one’s identity. Individuals that reach this stage understand and are confident in their ability to be a positional leader or an active group member. They understand how organizations are complex and practice systemic thinking even when the future is uncertain or unknown (Komives et al., 2009).

The process of developing a leadership identity is influenced by the groups the participants are involved in. The degree to which youth participate in groups will have a significant impact as they develop their leadership identity and progress from adolescence to adulthood. Some may ask why leadership identity or leadership development should matter. Regardless of the path that is taken through adolescence and adulthood, there will be times of opportunity and need for individuals to contribute to roles or tasks. To be adequately prepared for these opportunities, educators need to understand the outcomes and competencies that are needed to be effective in careers and college (Seemiller, 2014). Perhaps more importantly, there is minimal understanding of what takes place in the learning environments that contributes to leadership outcomes, despite the broad scope of leadership literature and research, the outcomes that are shared

through research rarely include program context, characteristics, or methods that lead to the results (Anderson Moore et al., 2004; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

Leadership development claims within organized camping are no different. There is a plethora of research that has found organized camping to have positive impacts on all those involved (e.g., Bird & Subramaniam, 2018; Digby & Ferrari, 2007; Ferrari & McNeeley, 2007; Galloway et al., 2013; Garst et. al., 2020; Garst et. al., 2011; Martin, 2018; Monke, 2015; Thurber et. al., 2006). However, these articles and others do not provide any depth of understanding on program implementation to provide the reader with context and content to be able to know if their situation matches that of the study and if replication is appropriate, or how to go about it. One example is a 2007 study on the role of PYD in camp counseling. Ferrari and McNeely (2007) bring attention to Bronfenbrenner and Morris's 1998 developmental theory that for activities to be effective they need to occur regularly over an extended period and increase in difficulty over time. Representing Ohio 4-H with their study, the authors noted that teens participate in more than 30 hours of training and planning for camp. There is no explanation for the basis for that number of hours; there is no structure provided for how learning is scaffold; it does not specify if it occurs regularly or what period it takes place — is it one weekend, or is it over a few months? Nonetheless, the authors noted that this structure resulted in positive development outcomes.

However, before research can begin to address the issue of whether the perceived impacts are truly happening, we need to understand what is happening at camp. There is a need to understand the characteristics of teen leadership development programs and what efforts to develop leadership occur in those contexts. There is a lack of understanding of

how program directors understand and operationalized teen leadership development in the 4-H camp counselor experience. There is an opportunity to develop lessons learned and inform future research by understanding the camp counselor's leadership development experience at 4-H camp. By understanding how life experiences, both personal and professional, have impacted a program director's understanding of leadership and methods for teen development, as well as understand how leadership is developed through the counselor experience future training can be developed to support or adjust based on organization goals. There are opportunities to inform future research and promising practices through a better understanding of program directors' and camp counselors' conceptualizations of leadership and their means of developing leaders through the teen counselor role in the camp environment.

Statement of the Problem

For the past century, American families and communities have worked to provide youth and teens with supportive and educational environments following an assets model that would not only keep them safe while their parents/guardians are working, but also aid in their overall development, help them be productive members of society, and prepare them for higher education and/or a career (Barber et al., 2014; Scale et al., 2016). While there have been best intentions by educators and youth development professionals to provide teens with developmental experiences, there has been a lack of understanding of what takes place in the learning environments that leads to the outcomes that research claims teens and program staff perceive to be developing (Garst, 2010; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003), such as the following: communication, social skills, and relationships (Martin, 2018; Monke, 2015; Seemiller, 2014; Thurber et al., 2006); responsibility (Bird

& Subramaniam, 2018; Garst et al., 2011); physical and thinking, positive values (Thurber et al., 2006); self-understanding (Martin, 2018; Seemiller, 2014), accepting self and others, goal accomplishment, and skill mastery (Garst et al., 2011). The lack of understanding surrounding what leadership development is occurring in the environment makes it challenging to strengthen or recreate the learning environment. Teen leadership development programs suffer the same problem.

Teen leadership development programs are most often adult-directed and based on a prescribed set of outcomes that prepare youth for adulthood that claim to be research based (Bird & Subramaniam, 2018; Monke, 2015). However, research rarely goes in-depth to provide the context of the program design and implementation methods that lead to the outcomes claimed (Anderson Moore et al., 2004; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Without a clear understanding of the processes that lead to outcomes of youth development programs, programs are prone to providing opportunities that are youth development in name only (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

As stated by Baldwin et al. (2004), it is better to examine 'how' educational programs affect their participants rather than 'what' the effects are. It is common practice to use surveys to gather quantitative data with an occasional open-ended question to capture a quote as evidence from the participants that there is an effect. Yet, common methods used are not sophisticated enough to provide evidence of the effect beyond participant claim. Basic methods are not able to provide evidence that the program was responsible for the effect or which of the experience's component(s) was responsible for the effect (Baldwin et al., 2004). Garst (2010) builds on Baldwin to state that when youth professionals focus on the "what," the information available to make changes to the

program design is limited. It is important to have a better understanding of what is taking place in successful youth development programs youth live and grow through their family, schools, and community. Participating in a single program cannot provide everything that a young person needs. “Our best chance of positively influencing adolescent development through programs lies in increasing the web of options available to all youth in all communities and ensuring that those options take an approach consistent with the youth development framework” (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003, p. 97).

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to describe and uncover the processes and structures that support a teen leadership experience provided by Missouri 4-H through the camp counselor experience as perceived by the program directors and participants; to describe how program directors utilized camp counselors training and implementation at camp to develop teen leadership.

This study aims is to generate a narrative description of each of the participating camps to:

1. Describe the program director’s perception of leadership and the role it plays in program development.
    a. Explore the influences on program directors that shaped their views of teen leadership development.
    b. Describe how program directors conceptualize leadership development in teens.
    c. Describe what program directors do to prepare and support teens as they serve as camp counselors.

d. Explore how program directors operationalize their beliefs about youth development.

2. Describe the camp counselor experience and role from the perception of the teen.

Study Significance

Two problems are occurring, and though they may not be directly related, they are certainly related to each other. First, there are outcomes that teen leadership development programs should be striving to achieve: agency (Martin, 2018), social skills and relationships (Martin, 2018; Monke, 2015; Thurber et al., 2006), responsibility (Bird & Subramaniam, 2018; Garst et al., 2011), physical and thinking, positive values (Thurber et al., 2006) identity (Martin, 2018). These outcomes, among others, include a level of uncertainty of whether there is a true connection between intention and implementation (Henderson et al., 2007; Martin, 2018) and if they are the right impacts to be striving for. In addition, the indicators for those outcomes are not always clear or consistent. Furthermore, previous studies on teen leadership tend to look for evidence of skill development without considering that a lack of developmental evidence or indicators is problematic (Bird & Subramaniam, 2018; Garst et al., 2011; Martin, 2018; Monke, 2015; Thurber et al., 2006).

The second problem is that, even if programs are striving for the right outcomes, there is a lack of understanding as to which structures and processes are impacting those outcomes. Without an understanding of how to provide teens with the appropriate experiences to support their development that impact their present lives and communities, how can it be expected that they are going to be able to succeed as they move into adulthood? With a better understanding of what is occurring in leadership development

experiences, such as serving as a camp counselor, youth development professionals will be better equipped to consistently and with credibility provide high-quality programs and experiences.

Assumptions

1. Teens that serve as camp counselors find the experience challenging.
2. Program directors value teens as contributing members of their community and the camping program.
3. Teens and youth specialists that participate in the study will be able to articulate their experiences prior to, during, and after camp.
4. Overnight camping programs are valuable experiences that support youth development.
5. Positive youth development plays a role in a positive role in the development of youth.
6. Participants are thoughtful and honest in their responses to interview questions.
7. Participants will be able to reflect on experiences that occurred prior to the COVID-19 response and despite it.
8. The immersion experience of serving as a camp counselor has components that can be replicated in other positive youth development experiences for teens.
9. Once the COVID-19 pandemic is controlled and manageable, youth development opportunities will return to a similar level prior to the pandemic.

Limitations

1. This case study focuses on a limited number of cases, within one specific non-for-profit organization and may not be representative of other learners. The findings

are not meant to be generalized beyond the bounds of this particular case study. However, Merriam (2009) states that the use of a multisite case study that includes both similar and contrasting cases, the findings are strengthened, more valid, and more stable does allow for generalization and increased external validity.

2. This study began during the COVID-19 pandemic when almost all non-for-profit organizations were shifting to remote engagement and all overnight experiences were being canceled. Ground has been lost in the continued development of youth that served as counselors in 2019 and had planned to serve again in 2020. An effort will need to be made in 2021 to strengthen if not rebuild various skills and understandings. The impact of the pandemic is still felt through the uncertainty of being able to hold training and events or the ability to continue the overnight experience.
3. Within case studies observations is a standard to work towards. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic overnight camps were not held in 2020 or 2021. This provided a limitation to this study. While overnight camps are planned to occur in 2022, I was not in a place to extend my dissertation work. Conducting observations as part of the replication plan of this research is recommended.
4. It should be noted that I serve as camp director for two camps, neither of which will be involved in this study. Nor will document analysis from youth that have served as camp counselors at the camps I work with be included in the data analysis.

5. The influence of the researcher may affect participants' responses to interview questions and behavior during observations. The research attempts to account for this unintended influence by stating upfront the researcher's subjectivity and positionality and through the use of extensive reflexive journaling to acknowledge this unintended influence.
6. The researcher has been directly involved with 4-H and its overnight camping programs from a young age. There are assumptions that 4-H can and has played role in the positive development of youth and their family.
7. Award forms completed by youth (14-18 years old) have the potential to have been influenced by parents, 4-H volunteers, and/or 4-H faculty/staff. These influences could impact the descriptions of the camping experience and or the lessons learned in order to gain more favorable scoring to progress through the stages of review.

Definition of Terms

- 4-H volunteer: A caring adult (18 years and older) that leads a group of youth or adults. All adults, who serve as 4-H volunteer leaders must annually enroll online and go through a simple screening process by completing the background consent form. Before they become an approved (or recognized) volunteer, they must also participate in a one-time-only 4-H orientation (Missouri 4-H Center for Youth Development, 2019).
- 4-H youth development specialist: a master's level (or higher) salaried individual that is responsible for planning, implementing, and evaluating a comprehensive youth development program in their assigned geographic area. In essence, they

are the “team leader” for community volunteers, professionals, and staff working to create environments in which young people are valued, contributing members of their community (Missouri 4-H Center for Youth Development, 2019).

- Adolescence: the period that spans the second decade of life that includes the “beginning of biology, the advent of pubertal changes, and ending in society, with the historical, culturally, and socially constructed transition to young adulthood and the enactment of role choices forged during adolescence” (Lerner, 2005).
- Experiential learning: This hands-on approach helps youth explore new areas of inquiry, learn new concepts, and develop life skills. The model is based on the concept of “Do, Reflect, Apply.” (Dewey, J., 1933).
- Life skills: a learned ability that assists individuals with the competencies to function well in the environment in which they live (Norman & Jordan, 2006).
- Overnight camp: camping program that is held at minimum over one night where campers, counselors, and youth professionals stay together at a designated facility.
- Youth program associate (YPA): an hourly employee that has at minimum 60 hours of college credit or equivalent experience. Program Associates are links between volunteers and 4-H Youth Specialists. They assist the 4-H Youth Specialist to promote, develop, and implement 4-H opportunities for youth with volunteers in the county (Missouri 4-H Center for Youth Development, 2019).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides a review of topics and theories central to this study. It is divided into four major sections: (a) positive youth development, (b) national 4-H program, (c) organized youth camping, and (d) youth leadership development.

Positive Youth Development

There are many facets to youth development, and the understanding and research continue to grow. For this study, the focus will be on: (a) history of youth development, (b) positive youth development, (c) Hart's Ladder of participation, and (d) youth-adult partnerships.

Youth development programming is guided by a philosophy Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003) describe as "resilience and competency building … to [help] young people navigate adolescence in healthy ways" (p. 94). This philosophy is applied in a process that the National Collaboration for Youth Members defines as "a process which prepares young people to meet the challenges of adolescence and adulthood through a coordinated, progressive series of activities and experiences which help them to become socially, morally, emotionally, physically, and cognitively competent" (National Institute on Out-of-School Time and Forum for Youth Investment, 2002, p 5).

In the late 1990s, a paradigm shift in youth development began to move from problem prevention and management to development and preparation. Initially, programs for youth focused on the critical shortcomings and the negative aspects of youth, leaving for uninspired youth development programming (Anderson Moore et al., 2004). The shift to development and preparation coincided with a growing number of families with two working parents, schools facing increased pressure, more accessible dangerous

substances, and a job market that was more demanding and ever-changing (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Communities, schools, and organizations began to see a greater need to provide structured programming and safe places for youth while they were not in school.

Offerings for youth vary depending on the capacity of the community. Many schools are able to offer sports and other extracurricular activities, such as music, art, student council, National FFA Organization, or Future Business Leaders of America (FBLA). Community organizations offer additional enrichment opportunities ranging from the arts, intramural or competitive sports, 4-H, and other civic engagement organizations.

As youth development programs with an asset focus began to take prominence, the concept of positive youth development (PYD) began to take shape. Positive youth development gave more attention and incorporated concepts from positive psychology framed by Martin Seligman (Lerner, 2005). Seligman (1999) stated that, "No longer do the dominant theories [of psychology] all view the individual as passive; rather individuals are now seen as decision-makers, with choices" (p. 2). He would go on to state that a fundamental mission of psychology is "to make the lives of all people better and nurturing [the internal] 'genius'" (Seligman, 1999, p. 2 para 3). In addition, there is an understanding that through the systematic promotion of competence in individuals, significant health issues, such as depression, substance abuse, and injury can be prevented. By helping individuals develop courage, optimism, interpersonal skill, work ethic, hope, honesty, and perseverance, mental well-being can be bolstered, and many emotional disorders can be prevented (Seligman, 1998).

Positive Youth Development Theoretical Basis

Positive youth development (PYD) is founded on the theoretical work of Urie Bronfenbrenner. His work pioneered the ecological model of development, which notes that interactions occur within social systems: family, peers, school, work, neighbors, and societal structures and norms (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, 1996, 1979, 1975). These interactions, between youth and their environment, do not happen "to" youth; rather, they happen between the environment and youth and are reciprocal. Youth have agency in their interactions and are actively involved in shaping their development.

Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is also foundational to positive youth development (Aanstoos, 2019). Concerned with what individuals need to thrive or do well, Maslow shows that for healthy development to occur, physiological needs (food, water, and shelter) and safety need to be met. If these are not met, humans are focused on survival and unable to direct any efforts towards healthy development. When basic needs are met, humans will seek out a sense of belonging, to feel competent and capable, have self-respect, with efforts toward the final need, self-actualization: when one has realized their potential and has achieved a high level of personal growth and awareness (Aanstoos, 2019). It is important to note that while not all humans will reach the highest level, healthy development can still occur. We have learned through research that when youth do not have their foundational needs met, or that they have not developed a sense of belonging, they are unable to focus on learning or engage in other interactions (Garbarino, 1995; Scales, 2009).

There are three bodies of research that have supported the theoretical foundation and approach to positive youth development: (a) prevention science, (b) resiliency

research, and (c) youth development research. Prevention science identifies risk factors that increase the likelihood of negative outcomes and identifies protective factors that will create a buffer against those negative effects (Catalano et al., 2002). Resiliency research shifts the focus to look at why some young people are able to do well despite the negative environment they live in (Lee et al., 2012).

Youth development, particularly recent research, takes an asset-based approach. The Search Institute has researched positive youth development for more than 25 years to gather an understanding of how young people experience assets that are related to key outcomes in thriving and high-risk behaviors. Through their work, they have identified 40 assets that are building blocks to support youth to thrive: to become successful, productive adults (Search Institute, 1997). These assets are broken into external and internal categories. External assets include support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, and constructive use of time. Internal assets include positive identity, social competencies, positive values, and commitment to learning. The most recent research focuses on tools and resources to stimulate asset-building across the interactions of a young person's life: school, family, organizations, and communities. Within those interactions, strengthening relationships is the primary focus (Roehlkepartain et al., 2017; Scales et al., 2016).

There are five elements of developmental relationships: express care, challenge growth, provide support, share power, and expand possibilities (Roehlkepartain et al., 2017). These elements correlate with the four categories of external assets: support, empowerment, boundaries & expectations, and constructive use of time (Roehlkepartain et al., 2017; Sethi & Scales, 2020). Together, the elements and the assets build an internal

asset and social-emotional strength. The Search Institute has identified that the broad ecology of a young person, all aspects of their community, is needed to support positive youth development and to recognize the strengths that youth have to shape their development. “The developmental relationships focus on the potential of each relationship within and across those contexts to contribute to youth development and thriving” (Search Institute, 2018, para 5).

Richard Lerner (2005) describes the increasing prevalence of positive youth development (PYD) perspective:

> [PYD] has arisen because of interest among developmental scientists in using developmental systems, or dynamic, models of human behavior and development for understanding the plasticity of human development and, as well, the importance of relations between individuals and their real-world ecological settings as the bases of variation in the course of human development. (p. 2)

This perspective was bolstered as community-based youth programs began to act in response to increases in risky behaviors among youth.

PYD “attempts to meet their basic personal and social needs and to build competencies necessary for successful adolescent and adult life” (Politz, 1996 as cited by National Institute on Out-of-School Time and Forum for Youth Investment, 2002, p. 13). Within the PYD framework, educators and youth development professionals have the flexibility to define and determine the criteria that meet their community’s definition of successful and healthy youth. Many programs will use the six C’s to categorize desired outcomes: competence, confidence, connections, caring and compassion, character, and contribution (Lerner et al., 2000; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003).

Hart's Ladder of Participation

Leadership development programs for teens are fairly common within schools and communities. These programs include the student council, FFA, Future Business Leaders of America (FBLA), Boy Scouts, 4-H, and other locally organized programs that may focus on civic engagement or the arts. Each of these programs falls on the ladder of youth participation as defined by Hart (1992). The manner in which youth and teens are provided with the opportunity to participate will play a role in their ability to develop their leadership identity.

Hart (1992) developed a model of eight steps to highlight the different ways that youth are involved in different projects and to encourage thinking about how youth are engaged. Hart stated, "children are undoubtedly the most photographed and the least listened to members of society" (1992, p.9).

The lowest three rungs on the ladder are levels of non-participation. The bottom rung of the ladder is "manipulation": youth are consulted but are not given any feedback. The views of youth may be gathered in an unknowing way; the process of analysis is not shared, and the youth are not aware of how their ideas are used. The second rung is "decoration": youth are used to strengthen a cause indirectly. An example is that youth are given shirts related to a cause but have little to no idea about the cause and have no say in organizing the event. The next step up is "tokenism": youth appear to be given a voice, but, in fact, have little or no choice about the subject and little or no choice in forming their own opinions.

With the fourth rung begins degrees of participation. "Assigned but informed" is the first degree of participation. At this stage, youth understand the intention of the

project, they know who is making the decisions, they have a meaningful role, and they volunteered for the project after they were made aware of the opportunity. An example of this stage is a school assembly, organized by teachers and staff, where youth are asked to volunteer to assist in seating guests. The fifth rung is "consulted and informed": the project may be designed and run by adults, yet youth understand the process, and their opinions are valued and treated seriously.

Figure 1

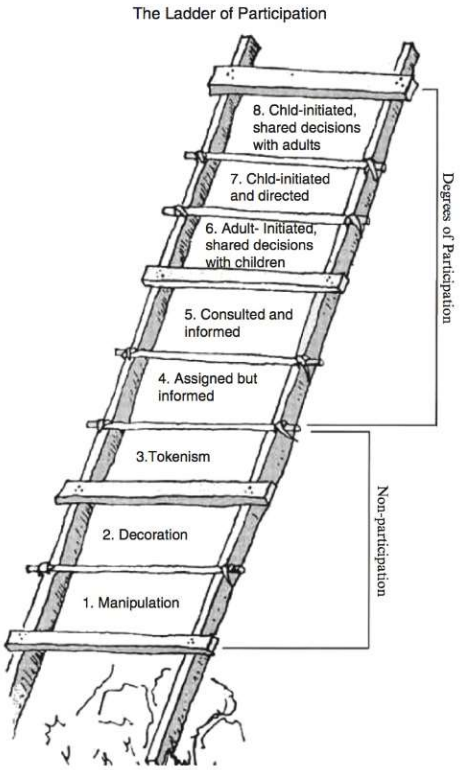

Figure 1:

Hart's (1992) Ladder of Participation

Note: A visual of the rungs on Hart's Ladder of Participation

True participation begins at the sixth degree of participation, "adult initiated, shared decisions with children." Though the project may be initiated by adults, decisions are made in tandem with youth. The next level is "child-initiated and directed": youth

conceive of and carry out complex projects. Examples of this level can be hard to identify because adults are not always open to hearing from youth, or if they do listen, they often interfere or direct. The top rung of the participation ladder is "child, initiated, shared decisions with adults." An example would be youth identifying the need for a basketball court in a community park. They identified the need, shared their plans with city officials, and worked with adults to implement the plan.

Hart (1992) shares that while some may say that allowing youth and communities to play an active role in social and economic development slows progress, the evidence is not there to support the claims. There are important benefits to society that come with encouraging and supporting youth to participate: individuals are enabled to develop competency and confidence, and they improve their community's functioning and organization. The adage comes into play that if you do not provide them with positive ways to gain experience, they will find negative ways to participate.

Youth-Adult Partnerships

Youth-adult partnerships (YAP) play an important role in the development of healthy youth. As noted previously, development does not occur in a vacuum. It occurs through interactions with others. In the context of youth development programming, youth-adult partnership refers to youth and adults working together to make decisions or take action in their program, organization, or community (Akiva & Petrokubi, 2016). Decisions that youth may play a role in can range from program offerings to policy and governance to staffing decisions. Studies have shown that when youth are provided with the opportunity to be involved in the decision making of programs experience benefits in motivation and retention (Akiva et al., 2014; Deschenses et al., 2010), belonging and

improved adult relationships (Mira, 2009; Zeldin, 2014), empowerment (Larson et al., 2005), and leadership efficiency and skills (Akiva et al., 2014; Larson & Angus, 2011; Larson et al., 2005). The programs themselves may also see improved organizational decision-making (Zeldin, 2004).

Though not a specific program model, YAP is a set of principles and practices to be interpreted by practitioners (Akiva & Petrokubi, 2016) as authentic decision making, youth voice mentoring, supportive adult relationship, reciprocal activity, and community connection (Zeldin et al., 2013; Zeldin et al., 2014). Bronfenbrenner (1979) speaks to youth-adult partnerships playing a role throughout an individual's lifespan as progressively more complex reciprocal interactions between two people that have a strong and enduring emotional relationship. Over time, the power will gradually shift toward the developing person and becomes a two-way relationship (Akiva & Petrokubi, 2016).

National 4-H Program

4-H was officially recognized as a national program in 1914 after modest beginnings around 1900-1910 as Midwestern Americans sought to supplement the in-school curriculum with "industrial education," or education that could be applied directly to practical arts of living to keep youth connected to agriculture (Reck, 1951). Wessel & Wessel (1982) describe the formation of 4-H-type programs as a result of a changing economic landscape during the 19th century as cities grew and development began to dominate. Rural life at this time included feelings that schools were not adequate or applicable to farm living. Agricultural colleges and universities desired to pass on new techniques to communities that were hesitant and resistant. There was also a desire to

raise the cultural standards of rural living (Reck, 1951); a desire that was shared and expressed by President Theodore Roosevelt in the 1909 *Report of the Country Life Commission*. Though the report noted that the "general level of country life is high compared with any preceding time or with any other land," it was also noted that "farming does not yield either the profit or the satisfaction that it ought to yield and may be made to yield" (Bailey, 1909). As a result, rural families began to feel a loss and detachment from the land that sustained them and from their children who desired to move to the city that lured them with offerings that farm life could not.

There is no single beginning to 4-H, as described by Reck (1951). It was a movement that started in multiple places in response to concern about the future of rural children and focused on training and educating youth in best practices to be successful in agriculture and homemaking. The movement wanted to instill a value that farming and rural life was not just a place for those that were not successful in an urban environment, rural life was to be cherished and nurtured.

Starting seeds of 4-H can be traced back to 1882 when Delaware College hosted a statewide corn contest for boys. The boys were to grow a quarter acre of corn according to the contest instructions in competition for cash prizes. Efforts such as this were scattered across the country, though they were not very consistent. At the turn of the century, efforts increased in part by progressive educators to use the out-of-school time to provide agriculture and "home culture" programs. County fairs that included products from the home farm, corn, flowers, aprons, bread, etc., were becoming more common from Texas to North Dakota, to Indiana, and elsewhere (Reck, 1951).

Over the next several decades the seeds that would become 4-H scattered and grew across the nation. The engagement and excitement that youth showed for agriculture began to excite adults as well. In the early 1900s, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) took notice of the interest in sharing advanced agriculture practices with farmers. 1903 brought the Mexican boll weevil to Texas where it ravaged cotton fields. The pest had been progressively moving north since it came to the United States in 1890. Hopeless to combat it, farmers abandoned their farms, and families migrated north. The Department of Agriculture had discovered methods that would reduce damage from the weevil, planting earlier varieties of cotton, fall-plowing, in addition to other strategies. Though there were methods to reduce damage, farmers were hesitant to implement them, weary of simple demonstrations. In response, model farms were established to try out the new ideas in real-time. Farmers did not take to this idea well, for they did not feel that it was an accurate representation of the techniques when the government was the one implementing them (Reck, 1951).

Understanding farmers' reluctance, Seaman A. Knapp, an agent in Farmer's Cooperative Demonstration, recruited an upstanding farmer, Walter Porter in Terrell, Texas to back the experimental techniques. Porter implemented the techniques on his farm under the promise that if he lost money with the experiment, he would receive compensation. With neighbors watching on, Porter realized a $700 net gain in income from the previous years with the new practices. From that point on, demonstration work began to spread and became commonplace. In some places where demonstration work had failed, young people had taken over to demonstrate techniques through their club work; strengthening the reach and value that youth played in the acceptance and

application of new scientific techniques. County fairs and contests played a valuable role, not only to provide motivation to youth but also as a means to advertise club work to the community and demonstrate better ways of farming and homemaking. These strategies are still used today in county events, state fairs, and national exhibitions (Reck, 1951).

The Federal Government continued to grapple with the role they might play in supporting youth club work. In 1907, USDA decided to back a corn club led by William Hall Smith in Mississippi. Though Smith's club was not overly different, nor were the fair shows that displayed corn and needle worked products then the clubs that had been held in previous years across the country. What was different is that it had dedicated (paid) support on hand to nurture its efforts (Reck, 1951).

By 1914, the Cooperative Extension Service was established through a partnership with federal, state, and county agencies with the passage of the Smith-Lever Act. The act was named for Senator Hoke Smith, a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and Asbury Francis Lever, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture. Both men had been dedicated to demonstration work, had seen the yields that youth had achieved through their club work. Smith, former governor of Georgia before joining the Senate had promoted club work during his term and had approved funding appropriations for Extension work through the colleges.

Extension began to take shape and developed its structure on a county and content basis. McDowell describes the role of extension as a way for research to "provide scientific insight — and answers — to people's problems on the farms and in the homes. And it created a system to directly distribute this knowledge to non-students via extension" (1988, p. 18). It is common to think that Extension work or research would be

a one-way transfer of information. However, extension organized the transfer of knowledge and technology so that it moved both ways between the research universities and the community (Peters, 2002). Organizing is the essence of what 4-H agents did and do, in an effort to provide youth development — through clubs and experiences (Peters, 2002). In 1940, USDA director of Extension work, M.L. Wilson stated, the "primary job [of an extension agent] is to help the community analyze its problems in light of all available information and so to organize itself that the necessary action can be taken (as cited in Peters, 2002, para 11).

As Extension developed formally, club work continued. Reck (1951) states that "Club work owes much to the overworked, underpaid, idealistic school superintendents who added project programs to their already burdensome duties" (p. 121). As Extension programs expanded in county units across the country, club work gradually was taken under their wing to provide a consistent adult focus and elevate some of the pressure off of schools and local volunteers.

The movement that started as a desire to maintain a way of living, found a permanent home within Extension. The four 'H's' symbolizing head, heart, hands, and health had been in practice since around 1911. Occasionally, 4-H had appeared on canning labels since 1913. It was not until the National Club Leaders' Conference in 1927 that the conversation was brought forward to settle on an official name to use nationally (Duncan, 1970). Reportedly a heated discussion, Reck (1951) shares that some favored the continuance of "4-H Club Work," others wanted "Junior Extension Work." Gertrude Warren, assistant in Boy's and Girl's Club work in Washington D.C., was the first to use 4-H in a federal document. She was also the one that argued that the

simplified title of "4-H" would allow for growing and expanding usage. By 1924, clubs had officially acquired the name of 4-H and would therefore be known as such throughout the world (Reck, 1951; Wessel & Wessel, 1982).

Through 1945, the support of 4-H clubs was provided by local leaders, superintendents, and a small portion of the county Extension agents' time. Following World War II and the immense amount of work and effort that 4-H clubs did to support the war efforts domestically, the importance of youth was fully realized. In testimony to House and Senate committees in 1945, Missouri Extension director J.W. Burch stated that he felt his staff contributed 27% of their time to 4-H work. Extension directors across the country recognized and advocated that enough time and resources were not able to be dedicated to youth at their current funding. On June 6, 1945, the Bankhead-Flannagan bill passed that provided funds that elevated 4-H in Extension work and aided in the expansion of support and efforts. In many states, up to this day, there is staff dedicated to county-level work with the 4-H program.

4-H in Missouri

Missouri's first known club, a corn club, was established in Ironton in Iron County in 1914 by school superintendent B.P. Burnham (Duncan, 1970). Encouraged by information that he had received from the state club leader, R.H. Emberson, Duncan (1970) shares the story of how Burnham went by horseback from school to school to assist in organizing club work to create and support interest in anything that surrounded agriculture.

Columbia, Missouri hosted a flower garden contest for boys and girls that attended public schools in 1900 under Emberson's guidance. Youth were provided

instructional materials for their gardens by Dr. J.C. Whitten, a University of Missouri Extension specialist. A brief note that the administration building for the University of Missouri Extension is housed in Whitten Hall on the University's campus in Columbia. The first year of 4-H in Missouri included studying crops in local communities. The second year of club work focused on livestock breeds and types (Duncan, 1970).

4-H Delivery Methods

There are various ways that 4-H programs are structured; community clubs are the most well-known. In this model, members join a central community club that tends to meet monthly. Then members will divide into smaller groups to focus on project skills and mastery. Before 1938, continuous community clubs were not common. Often, clubs would gather for a short time then dissolve. Duncan (1970) shares that it was common for a community to have three or four different clubs with similar members operating at the same time. By the mid-1940s, community clubs were the prevailing means by which youth participated. In Missouri, by 1950 all clubs were organized as community clubs. Today, community clubs are seen as the traditional — and for some, the preferred — way to participate. However, as the structures of families and communities evolve, and preferences change, Missouri 4-H, and programs across the United States, are looking for innovative ways to reach youth where they are. Missouri 4-H is becoming more visible in schools and through short-term, six- to eight-week project groups called SPIN (short-term interest) clubs.

While Missouri has no official claim to any of the "first" clubs, Duncan (1970) states that the community club structure was developed within Missouri and is a contribution to the overall 4-H program. There are some states, more concentrated in the

south, that continue to offer 4-H through schools. Either as in-school clubs or after-school. Missouri may have also been one of the first states to develop a plan for including junior leaders in leadership positions on both the local and county level. In an effort to support the development and involvement of mature members in the 1920s, junior leadership became a project in 1948. Members engaged as junior leaders focused on "purpose, plans, goal setting, methods, actions, records and achievements in leadership (Duncan, 1910, p. 69).

Another significant contribution that Missouri made to 4-H was the establishment of county-based camping programs. With the support of the Missouri Department of Conservation, the county established camps for members from a single county compared to a single statewide camp. Another significant partnership with 4-H camps is with the Missouri Electrification Council. In 1964, a teaching program was established with the statewide council to support local electric co-ops to provide education during camp that continues to this day.

A strength of the 4-H program is that it allows for programs and experiences to be delivered in ways that match state and local culture and needs. 4-H serves youth in rural, urban, and suburban in every state in America and over 70 countries from Europe to Africa, and Asia (4-h.org, n.d.). While community clubs are one of the most common delivery methods, 4-H is also delivered through after-school clubs, in-school enrichment, camps, contests, short-term interest clubs, and conferences (4-h.org, n.d.). Camping programs, day camps, and overnight camps are just a few ways that immersion experiences are provided for youth to develop, explore, and master skills that will prepare

them for higher education and/or career as they entered adulthood. The 4-H camping program evolved with the influences of the national organized camping movement.

Organized Youth Camping

Organized youth camping in the United States dates back to the 1860s, as populations moved from rural settings — where family served as the primary social unit, and it was common for youth to work and play in the outdoors — to more populated areas. As urban areas began to form, cultures began to intermix, social units expanded, and the authority and responsibility that once lay with the family shifted to schools and city agencies (Ozier, 2010). Camping, once a common practice modeled after Native Americans by early American settlers as they moved west, evolved as a solution to socialize youth. As urban areas continue to form and grow, educators in the second half of the 1800s became nostalgic for a slower-paced, simpler, and seemingly safer time of rural life. Thus, in 1861, Frederick William Gunn, a Connecticut schoolmaster, organized the first known summer camp, Gunnery Camp, for his male students (American Camping Association, 2012; Eells, 1986 as cited by Thurber et al., 2007). The two-week trip was so successful that Gunn continued the tradition for 12 years (ACA, 2012).

As American life evolved, fewer youth grew up helping their parents on the farm, and schools expanded from a supplemental education for three months in the winter to what we know today as a nine-month calendar that closes in the summer. This was also at a time in the late 19th century when the quality of a school was measured by the amount of additional instruction time. (Pedersen, 2012). Youth not engaged in active farm life began to see their summers unstructured and with limited resources. Educators saw this time as an opportunity to provide intentional learning experiences for young people

(Ozier, 2010). Unsatisfied with the physical, mental, and spiritual development provided by urban living, educators looked to combine physical movement, mental challenges, social skill development, a pioneer spirit, interest in Native American traditions, and spiritual events that supported a work ethic. It was the belief that it is one's responsibility to work hard and be financially mindful, and by doing so is a sign of Calvinism faith that one is saved and progressive educational theories supported the creation of the youth camping movement (Thurber et al., 2007). Over the years, the emphases for youth camping has evolved to include the patriotic and military traditions from the 1920s and 1950s, the therapeutic and social work interventions of the 1960s and 1970s, to more recently in the early 2000s as a place for child care to working parents (Thurber et al., 2007).

There is a deep history in camping, with camp being a place to go for youth from all demographics and geographic regions. Ernest Balch established Camp Chocura in 1981 in an effort to develop adolescent boys into responsible, independent, and resourceful youth that could succeed without servants and class distinctions (ACA, 2012). The longest continually operating camp in the United States is a YMCA camp founded in 1881 in Newburgh, New York. The oldest camp to continuously operate on the same site in North America, and also home to the oldest canoe-trip camp, is Keewaydin Camp, founded in 1894 on Lake Temagami in Ontario, Canada (ACA, 2012). As organized camping become more common, the need to model and standardize the influence on the camping experience was recognized by Alan S. Williams in 1910. Williams founded the Camp Directors Association of America (CDAA). The CDAA merged with the National Association of Directors of Girls Camps in 1924 and changed

their name to what they are known as today, the American Camping Association (ACA) (ACA, 2012). Since then, the ACA has worked with camping associations and non-profit organizations across the globe to define camping and youth development standards, host conferences, and conduct research.

There is a plethora of studies that find that camp provides an educational environment to benefit youth by increasing confidence and self-esteem, social skills and making friends, independence and leadership qualities, willingness to try, adventurousness, and spiritual growth; particularly at camps that focused on spirituality (ACA, 2005; Bird & Subramaniam, 2018; Digby & Ferrari, 2007; Garst et al., 2011; Thurber et al., 2006). The same study found that the benefits were realized regardless of the type of camp, day or overnight, or the length of the session (ACA, 2005).

History of 4-H Camp

The history of camping in 4-H is somewhat cloudy and lacks documentation as the term for camping was used for many things that by today's standards we would not consider camp. The term "camp" was loosely used to describe events and opportunities where youth gathered for any number of reasons. One example is the national 4-H camp that was established to reward junior leaders for their club work, acquaint them with the federal government, and provide a meeting for all state leaders. Today, a similar event is called National 4-H Conference. Similar events that had camp in their name were often held on college campuses or in conjunction with state fairs where the only lodging available was in tents, a last – camping (Duncan, 1970; Reck, 1951; Van Horn et al, 1998).

Wessel & Wessel (1982) trace camping activities within the 4-H model back to as early as 1907. One of the first known camping experiences within the club program was with S.M. Jordan of Columbia, Missouri. Jordan hosted young men, in a camp fashion, on his farm while they learned and practiced agriculture methods (Van Horn et al., 1998; Wessel & Wessel, 1982).

Reck (1951) documents that camps as early as 1915 were used to house participants at state fairs and during college campus events. In 1916 Camp Vail was established to do what we know county fairs to do today: an exhibition of youth club work. The facilities at Camp Vail evolved and became a permanent place to host leadership conferences to the present day. West Virginia established a camp for African Americans in 1922 to provide a club camp, an opportunity to strengthen mastery in club work.

Camping was seen as a natural way to add an informal component of companionship to experiences such as college tours, fairs, and club work to share ideas and encourage achievement. In contrast to camps that provided housing, J.V. Shipman of Randolph County, West Virginia hosted 20 boys and girls for a three-day camp in July 1915 where they fished, experimented with camp cooking, and went boating. His model of morning classwork, afternoon recreation, and evening campfires was emulated across West Virginia by 1919 (Reck, 1951). That same general schedule can be found in many 4-H camps to this day. County camps evolved to serve as a reward for outstanding club work and to be seen as an opportunity to develop leaders. Unfortunately, there is no information available on the content or focus of the leadership training. As camping seemed to naturally evolve across the nation, it had a similar development within the 4-H

program on the national level and with Missouri 4-H (Thurber et al., 2007). In Missouri, Samuel M. Jordan held the first known camping activities in the summer of 1907 to teach boys agriculture practices in a series of three camps in Gentry, Bates, and Saline counties. Saline County was the home of the largest camp with 300 boys ranging from 10-to 20 years old (Duncan, 1970). At the conclusion of the camps, youth were invited to join corn clubs, clubs that focused on introducing and improving agriculture techniques and production.

West Virginia led the way in establishing camping as common practice within counties in 1919. By 1921, other states were establishing permanent campsites that would serve for statewide programs. By the 1960s and 1970s, camping was commonly practiced as a way to introduce new programs and curricula that included food and nutrition education, and bicycle programs (Wessel & Wessel, 1982). As those events grew and evolved, they shifted their names away from using camp to reflect what was being offered. For this study, events that may be held with "camp" in their name but have grown into national youth conferences will not be included.

In current times, camp is still seen by many as a social movement and educational organization (Martin, 2018; Thurber et al., 2007). Camps are one delivery method to provide an environment that supports adolescent development, introduces new skills, opportunities to continue development of skills, and a sense of community and family (Martin, 2018).

Camping in Missouri 4-H

Missouri 4-H has no centralized campgrounds to host members from across the state. Each county can choose if they camp. If they do camp, they choose which other

counties to work with, where to camp, and the structure of the camp. In addition, as faculty and staff change and with organization changes, the details of the camp can change. This leads to a lack of documented history, lack of consistency in camping structures, expectations, and understanding of significant impacts. That being so, within Missouri 4-H, camping continues to be a premier experience to this day that many youth, from 5-18 years old, look forward to each year (Missouri 4-H Foundation, 2019).

Camp Counselor Experience. Teens that serve as camp counselors have the opportunity to practice and develop life skills, such as communication, responsibility, independence, and teamwork (Garst & Bruce, 2003). In addition, camp helps to build leadership skills and team building with a peer group that exists outside of the norm of their experiences (Van Horn et al., 1998). Add in the component of caring for another human being, as counselors do, this responsibility becomes even more challenging. Each of these components challenges their thinking, calling to question previous viewpoints and scripts for dealing with similar situations (Van Horn et al., 1998).

Training content and the implementation of camp provide counselors with direct engagement with the educational environment that encompasses camp. It is through engagement that Leff et al. (2015) states that a personal transformation takes place; when a teen has the opportunity to be a role model, show leadership, and develop camp traditions. In addition, the experience has been shown to develop career readiness skills (Whittington & Garst, 2018) and workplace readiness (Wilson & Sibthrop, 2018). When teens are provided with the opportunity to lead a workshop or activity, the experience is even richer (Weybright et al., 2018).

Since the organization of the camp, the development of leadership skills has been a central focus, whether it be an overt or covert attempt. Camp has been noted as a place to "develop leadership skills beyond the club environment by working with youth from different communities and tackling issues, such as motivation, team building, and interpersonal relationships" (Van Horn et al., 1998, para. 8).

Counselor Role. The role and expectations of teens that serve as camp counselors vary from camp to camp. In general, teens who serve in this role have agreed to teach, supervise, and care for younger campers (Garst & Johnson, 2005). Within Missouri 4-H, there are two distinct ends of the spectrum of roles: the transformative leadership model, and the program guide model (Femrite & Flatt, 2016). The transformative leadership model includes an opportunity for teens (14-18 years old) to engage more fully in their camp counselor experience. Their responsibilities include planning and leading workshops, facilitating experiences during campfire programs, and during recreation periods. Most teens will participate in more than 20 hours of training and planning before the start of camp. Other state 4-H programs, including Ohio, Minnesota, and Wisconsin have similar models as they work to provide camp counselors opportunities to "enhance their life skill development" (Leff et al., 2015, p. 2) as a result of their participation in training and overnight camp.

In contrast, the program guide model affords youth a more limited leadership experience. Their camp experience is defined by watching over campers as they engage in staff (college-aged students or adults) led workshops. The program guide counselors, often over only a few hours, are allowed to plan experiences for campfire and evening

recreation but these are done on a more limited basis. Often, after providing input for the activities only a few counselors, or the camp staff, carry out the activities.

Leadership and Camp Counselor. Leadership is a vague term that is frequently used to mean many different things in different contexts to different people. While leadership development may truly be happening in a context and a setting, the term is still often used because it seems like the "right thing to say." Serving as a camp counselor is at times marketed as a fun resume builder and a means to develop leadership skills (University of Missouri Extension Missouri 4-H). Some programs even have a program that is titled "leaders-in-training" (Martin, 2018). If programs were analyzed using Hart's Ladder of Participation, educators may be surprised to find how limiting their program is. Or they may affirm to the extent they are working to provide the teen with the opportunity to develop agency and autonomy.

Youth Leadership Development

Leadership is often talked about as if it has a common definition; it is assumed that we each have the same definition in conversation. Yet, it is something that many do not understand or cannot agree upon (Western, 2019). This section will focus on three main areas: (a) general understanding of leadership; (b) discourses of leadership; and (c) the Leadership Identity Development (LID) model as a means to exploring and understanding leadership development in teens.

Leadership

The understanding of leadership can be challenging. There is a conscious and unconscious desire to be led throughout our lives (Western, 2019). Although we desire to be led, we resist leaders and do not trust them. There is no single set of skills or

competencies, position or role, way of being, or property of an individual that can be defined as leadership. It is an idea that is constantly being reworked, embodied, practiced, and performed (Western, 2019). Yet, there are countless books, articles, training, and conferences that describe leadership theory, behavior, best practices, and outcomes for various populations and settings (Komives et al., 2005). It is estimated that there are 35,000 definitions of leadership within academic literature (Durbin, 2000). If synthesized, many of the practices and theories commonly thought of as leadership are more likely good management skills based on a 19th and 20th century desire to create and control the environment when the focus was on productivity and efficiency (Rost, 1997; Western, 2010).

Western's (2019) definition of leadership is a "psychosocial influencing dynamic" (p. 36). 'Psycho' refers to the psycho-dynamics of leadership. "Leadership stimulates conscious, unconscious, and emotional responses within us, and inter-relational dynamics between us" (Western, 2019, p 36). 'Social' indicates the social construction and social dynamics of leadership. Power and authority determine leadership through social construction and society controls resources — material and symbolic. 'Influencing' signifies agency. Leadership utilizes various resources, including personality and coercion to effect influence. The final category, 'dynamic' indicates that leadership is not static and cannot be reduced to a defined set of skills, competencies, or way of being. Western (2019) states that "leadership is often constructed as an 'idealized' form of human endeavor" (p. 27). Leadership begins with an idea in our minds. As it takes on a social role, we continue to rework, act out, and perform that idea. In all actuality, there is very little research that validates practices. Bolden et al. (2011 as cited by Western, 2019)

state that there is “remarkably little evidence of the impact of leadership or leadership development on organizational performance” (p. 35). Nonetheless, countless hours and resources are dedicated to perpetuating a popular idea of leadership: strategic, charismatic, courageous, authentic, visionary, and integrity (Western, 2019). What is not understood is that leadership is not something to be “fixed,” as it is a social process that moves between people:

> [Leadership is an] idea that we provide meaning, names, structures, and form, attributing formal and informal social roles to leaders and followers. Leadership is performed on us, within us, between us, and all around us. Leadership is not symmetrical and neat…How we experience leadership depends on our personal history, our collective socialization, and the context. (Western, 2019, p. 52)

There is an obsessive culture to audit and measure progress and development for the sake of the individual’s performance and the organization’s. Western (2019) supports leadership formation over the focus of specific skills sets and competencies. By creating space that allows for conflict and tension to arise and be aired as power and leadership are distributed throughout the organization, to allow and accept differences, and manage conflict well to allow for untapped creativity to rise. To create “informal development spaces, combined with formal training, create a culture of leadership innovation and development that becomes self-generating” (Western, 2019, p. 355).

Management and Leadership

The terms management and leadership are often used interchangeably, perhaps due to overlapping skillsets — managers will exhibit leadership skills and leaders will utilize managerial skills (Western, 2019). The conventional wisdom is that managers tend

to be more rational and controlling as they work in structure, stability, and within bureaucracies. Leaders empower through passion, vision, inspiration, creativity, and cooperation (Barker, 1997; Western, 2019) through "voluntary" obedience (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003). For many, the term management, or to be managed, is taken in a negative context, and is often replaced by the more palatable "leadership." "In today's networked society senior managers are renamed as leaders, with the expectation that instead of managing resources, they manage meaning" (Fairhurst, 2007).

In a traditional sense, leadership is used in terms of social and political settings. In recent years, the term leader has been elevated over those that are classified as management. Some would argue it is not justifiable to simply classify management lower than leadership (Western, 2019). The two work in tandem within a person and position as well as within an organization, leadership allows for unconscious efforts as a means to provide hope and answers for the future while managers have a conscious focus on the present (Western, 2019). This paper will not necessarily work to delineate between management and leadership.

Leadership Identity Development

Komives et al. (2005, 2006, & 2009) followed the how the focus of leaders transitioned over time to develop the Leadership Identity Development (LID) model. The researchers behind the development of the leadership identify ground theory linked youth development with the process of leadership to assist educators as they work with youth to develop leadership (Komives et al., 2006). The theory explores "how youth situate themselves in the construct of leadership over time" (Komives et al., 2006, p. 403). The ground theory resulted in the development of the LID model that identifies key

characteristics: adult influences, peer influences, meaningful involvement, and reflective learning. It is noteworthy that these characteristics are also found in positive youth development.

There are six stages. In the helix model of development, stages may be repeatedly experienced, returned to with a deeper and more complex understanding and performance. Environmental and individual readiness and variation will impact the achievement of each stage (King, 1994). Each stage ends with a transition as they begin the next stage. "The transition marked a shift in thinking, a gradual process of letting go of old ways of thinking about leadership to trying new ways. Transitions marked a more reflective than an active period" (Komvies et al., 2006, p. 405). Stages three, "leader identified," and four, "leader differentiated," hold a higher level of complexity. Therefore, they are marked with two phases of movement: emerging and immersion. During the emerging phase, individuals will experiment with the new ways of being and thinking, at times tentatively. The immersion phase is an indicator of greater ease with the stage. It is a time to practice, adopt new ways of exercising leadership, and use new skills. When compared to the industrial leadership paradigm, LID levels one through three correspond with this paradigm of leadership. Alternatively, levels four through six of LID align more with the evolving ecological paradigm (Allen et al., 1999).

Stages of Leadership Identity Model

Awareness. At the onset of leadership, identity is awareness, the recognition that leaders exist. This stage often begins at an early age as children are aware of their parents and/or charismatic leaders on a national or historic level. Individuals recognize others as leaders, somewhere beyond themselves. At the initial stage, individuals are not involved

in groups, and they receive their affirmation from parents, teachers, coaches, and other adults in their life. Parents and family play a critical role in teaching norms, building confidence, and supporting. Adults serve as key models for involvement and leadership. The transition to stage two begins when they see others as leaders, but do not see themselves as one. They have a desire to be part of a group and want to make friends. In addition, as they continue in their cognitive and emotional development, they are observing, watching, and recognizing leaders in their life (Komives et al., 2005 & 2006).

Exploration/Engagement. The second stage is one of intentional involvement in experiences and taking on responsibilities. While there is intentional involvement, at this stage individuals typically are not in a leadership role. Selection and engagement in various groups are often unfocused, willing to learn anything they can by observing adult and peer relationships from sports teams, church groups, and other activities. Through their involvement, individuals will develop personal skills, begin to identify personal strengths and areas for improvement, build self-confidence, and prepare for leadership. Adults continue to play a key role in development, setting high standards and expectations. Adults will provide encouragement to get involved, to consider taking on responsibility and to take on leadership roles. The transition to stage three begins as the individual recognizes that they want to do more than be an active follower or member. They see themselves with the potential to be a leader, have the motivation to change something, their interests begin to narrow, and they begin to assume positional roles.

Leader Identified. Stage three, "leader identified," consists of all participants in a group perceiving that each group is comprised of leaders and followers; leaders are responsible for the outcomes, and for doing "leadership," members are responsible for

getting their tasks completed. The complexity of stage three signals two distinct phases: emerging and immersion. In the emerging phase, individuals look to older peers or group members with more experience on how to accomplish tasks. As they become more comfortable, they will move between a group member and leader roles in different organizations all while still holding the belief that the leader is the one in charge. At this stage, individuals are trying on new roles, identifying skills needed, taking personal responsibilities, and acknowledging that individual accomplishments are important. As a progression of development, interests continue to be narrowed to meaningful experiences compared to anything and everything.

Adults play a very important role at this stage through affirmation and support. Older peers will also play an increasingly important role as groups move through high-risk situations. Adults have the role to help individuals see the importance of being a good group member and to help the leader model, provide direction, and be accountable for outcomes.

As individuals spend time in stage three, they begin to develop and take on more complex views of leadership. As challenges arise and are solved, individuals begin to recognize that as one person, they cannot do everything on their own; it takes the talents and skills of the group to be successful. This realization signals a key transition to the next stage. Others have signaled their transition by acknowledging and preferring shared leadership roles, co-chair, co-captain, as these roles help individuals to learn how to collaborate. As individuals develop reflective learning, they begin to identify and understand their beliefs and practices. Their experience in this stage helps them to

understand and leave behind the belief that only those in a positional leadership role practice leadership.

Leadership Differentiated. A key characteristic of this stage is that individuals discern between a positional leader and that anyone in the group can be a leader. They understand that leadership is a process within the group. At times, there is an understanding and acceptance that the process of leadership is more important than the outcome. It may be the role of the leader to serve as a facilitator and community builder within the group.

The emerging phase of this stage is understanding that leadership can come from anywhere within the group. However, this can cause more questioning about what leadership means. If the leader does not have to be in the front of the room telling the group what to do, what is leadership? As individuals move into the immersion phase, they practice developing a community with the group compared to finding a community in a group. They will also practice solidifying their commitment to the group and being a good group member. Stage four carries with it the internalization of leadership identity. "They do not have to be the leader to acknowledge that 'I am a leader'" (Komives et al., 2006, p. 410). Furthermore, adults and older peers continue to serve as mentors and help to define meaning. Adults serve as sounding boards to process experiences and to develop deeper understandings.

Transitioning out of stage four begins with a growing awareness that the individual is willing to the committee and contribute their time and energy to a larger purpose. They also begin to consider and plan for succession; they are beginning to develop and coach younger peers in the leadership development process.

Generativity. As individuals reach stage five, they are able to look beyond themselves express their passion and commitments, and care for others (Erickson, 1968 as cited by Komives et al., 2006). Interests that were shown and developed in stage three of LID now influence choices and develop into commitments, a personal philosophy, and transcend purpose. As individuals develop personally and through their experience, they evolve from looking up to their older peers, to being the peers that are looked to for guidance and support. This maturity is supported by the individual's concern with the sustainability of their groups and community. Relationships continue to develop and deepen with adults as they are looked to for new openness and feedback and significant reflection to incorporate feedback.

As individuals are able to reflect, they are able to identify and articulate their beliefs, values, passions, causes, desires for change, and long-term personal goals. With deeper reflection comes a deeper understanding of the interdependence of groups. In addition to knowing that leadership is not positional, individuals at this stage understand that leadership is a process and responsibility of each member of the group.

Individuals that are transitioning out of stage five begin to reflect and identify which aspects of their development are essential and portable. They are open to new ideas and value learning from others, they reflect on personal value and the role of personal integrity.

Integration/Synthesis. It is important to understand that not everyone will reach stage six, and that is OK. Those that do develop to this stage have "integrated their view of themselves as effective in working with others and had confidence they could do that in almost any context" (Komives et al., 2006, p. 412). Positional leadership is not

important to know that they are a leader, they can work from any place within a group or an organization. There is an acknowledgment that there is a great deal to learn from others and that self-development is a continual process. As new contexts arise, they will find their fit and role within it and seek to find a way to contribute. In new contexts, there will be a desire to seek out environments and peers that share values. Stage six is a time of continual, active engagement with leadership, it becomes part of one's identity as one develops confidence and strives for congruence and integrity.

Leadership Development Stages Summary

The process of developing a leadership identity is influenced by the groups the participant is involved in. Whether youth participate in groups, or not, will have a significant impact as they develop their leadership identity as they progress from adolescence and into adulthood. Some may ask why leadership identity or development should matter. Regardless of the path that is taken through adolescence and adulthood, there will be times of opportunity and need for individuals to contribute to roles or tasks. To be adequately prepared for these opportunities, educators need to understand the outcomes and competencies that are needed to be effective in careers and college (Seemiller, 2014). Therefore, it is important to understand how leadership develops the characteristics of teen leadership development programs and their impact on outcomes. Youth professionals often state that they are "doing leadership development," trying to guide youth as they move stages. However, the context within which that is happening is often missing or misunderstood.

LID and PYD: Adult and Peer Influences

As noted earlier, youth-adult partnership is a set of principles and practices to be interpreted by practitioners (Akiva & Petrokubi, 2016), such as authentic decision making, youth voice mentoring, supportive adult relationship, reciprocal activity, and community connection (Zeldin et al., 2013; Zeldin et al., 2014). YAP plays a role throughout an individual's life, gradually shifting toward the developing person and becoming a two-way relationship (Akiva & Petrokubi, 2016). The Search Institute has put significant effort to explore and understand the role and impact of development relationships: adult and peer relationships (Roehlkepartain et al., 2017). While it has been known for decades that high-quality relationships are essential to support the growth, learning, and thriving of youth, there is growing research that suggests that the strategic and systematic investment in building developmental relationships can catalyze youth and their families (Roehlkepartain et al., 2017). Through their study, they found that "meaningful relationships are characterized by a dynamic give and take" that involves a mixture of five elements (Roehlkepartain et al., 2017, p. 3). The Developmental Relationship framework includes expressing care, challenging the growth, providing support, sharing power, and expanding possibilities. It should be restated that development relationships are not only with adults (Roehlkepartain et al., 2017). Different relationships, whether it be a parent, sibling, friend, teacher, or program leader, contribute different strengths. This reiterates the principle that youth are engaged in a web of networks and interactions that build and support each other.

Meaningful Involvement. Komives (2005) defines meaningful learning as experiences that help an individual clarify their values and interest, experience diverse

peers, learn about self, and develop new skills. Modern biology shows humans to fundamentally be emotional and social beings (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007). Emotions and feelings affect learning and performance in addition to basic overall wellbeing. Until the 1980s, the understanding of the brain systems included a top-down approach to process learning, language, and reasoning. Emotions were not ignored, rather, they were overlooked in their role in governing behavior and rational thought. Emotions were seen as a "toddler in a china shop, interfering with the orderly rows of stemware on the shelves" (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007, p. 4.). As research progressed it came to be understood that emotions are not like the lost toddler in the store, they are actually "the shelves underlying the glassware; without them, cognition has less support" (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007, p. 5). Emotions help individuals decide when and how to apply lessons learned and they may help provide the connection in how culture shapes learning, thought, and behavior.

> One could argue that the chief purpose of education is to cultivate children's building of repertoires of cognitive and behavioral strategies and options, helping them to recognize the complexity of situations and to respond in increasingly flexible, sophisticated, and creative ways. (p. 7)

Reflective Learning. "Structured opportunities for critical reflection" (Komives, 2005, p. 598). Reflection is a key piece to integrated course design and the experiential model. Reflection is making meaning out of the information or experience. How youth reflect can be done in a multitude of ways: journals, conversations, pictures or props, etc. John Dewey (1933) states that reflective thinking "emancipates us from merely impulsive and merely routine activity...thinking enables us to direct our activities with foresight and

to plan according to ends-in-view, or purposes of which we are" (p. 17). Thought and reflection allow us to develop and arrange signs to remind us in advance of consequences to expand understanding for ourselves and to share with others. When time and effort are taken to reflect on learning or an experience, to compare as it was before and what it is after, a level of intellectual mastery is achieved (Dewey, 1933 pp. 18-20). This mastery allows something that may be seen as a simple family garden to develop an interest in horticulture that carries through high school, into an academic focus in college, and a career as a commercial horticulturist.

Discourses of Leadership

Though they may be unaware, people who engage in conducting leadership development programs are operating within a leadership discourse. Western (2019) utilizes Foucault's discourse definition, as summarized by Lessa: "systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs, and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak" (p. 153) In the realm of leadership development, where would we be without differing views on the definition of a discourse? They are a social construct that is subject to historical changes in how individuals interact with each other. In comparison, Western (2010) sees discourse as something that unless understood, we are "trapped" in, taken for granted, and cannot easily think or act outside of (p. 37). Leadership actors are called upon to use critical theory "to identify normative discourses, so that once revealed they can be critiqued." Once the norms are identified "we can 'untrap' ourselves" and be able to change what was taken for granted and explore new and different ways (Western, 2010, p. 37).

Discourses are related to power. They are related to a means to control and normalize ways of thinking and being (Western, 2019). The dominant discourse of an organization defines what can and cannot be said or done — affecting who gets to be the leaders and followers, how they will behave, and how work will unfold (Western, 2019). When time is taken to acknowledge and name the dominant discourse, it will bring to light and into question beliefs and practices. “Once a discourse is revealed it can be adopted, subverted, resisted, shaped, or simply lose some of its power over us” (Western, 2019, p. 156).

To be able to understand the broader context of leadership, to look outside of our assumptions and see how we, teams, and organizations are performing, it is important to explore and understand the various discourses that contrast conceptions of what leadership represents (Maybe, 2013; Western, 2010). For the purpose of this study, I will be focusing on the four discourses of leadership that Western (2019) has synthesized that have dominated in the past century and today: controller, therapist, messiah, and Eco-leader. These discourses go beyond leadership organizational theory. They reflect economic, social, political, technological, and historical factors.

Controller Discourse

At the turn of the 20th century, industrial factories, new ways of working, and new forms of leadership were evolving due to the Industrial Revolution. Leadership was synonymous with scientific management used to control humans to achieve optimal efficiency (Western, 2010, 2019). Studies of time and motion, division of labor, and increased efficiency showed the dehumanizing side of these efforts; work was rationalized to improve performance and productivity; employees were replaceable cogs

in the machine. This discourse continued through World War II, led to significant social and economic benefits until society began to question and understand the connections between progress, science, and rationality. The controller discourse may not seem to be as prevalent in today's time, however, it still thrives and can be seen differently: leading by numbers.

The 21st century has seen a revival under the guise of audits, metrics, measurements, targets, and numbers (Western, 2019). Rose (1991) stated, "numbers have an unmistakable power in modern culture…they achieve a privileged status…by purporting to act as automatic technical mechanisms for making judgments, prioritizing problems, and allocating scarce resources" (pp. 673-674). Numbers are presented as though they are free from social-political contexts, an independent truth. However, numbers are not free from ideology, politics, inaccuracy, abuse, or morality (Western, 2019). Leadership that emphasizes quantification often are selective in their choice and uses them to achieve their ends and as a form of control.

There is still an underpinning within today's workforce for rationality, efficiency, and growth — this supports Controller Leadership to thrive. Although it needs to be balanced out with other discourses, Controllers will be vital in managing limited resources, waste management, and environmental control. The mass production that Controller Leadership has contributed cannot be overlooked. Bolstered by science, Controllers have created opportunities for cheap and available goods, that can be used to raise standards, improve safety and quality, support the monitoring of climate change, and reduce waste (Western, 2019). Caution is given that if this discourse dominates an

organization without balance, it will result in dehumanization and limit leaders to be agile in the rapidly changing world.

Controller Leaders. Controller leadership is efficient, productive, focused, and utilitarian. Controller leaders operate in a fashion like a machine. These leaders are not described as today's leaders would be. They are not charismatic, innovative, dynamic, passionate, or creative. There are clearly defined roles and task that drives efficiency within a structure of governance and control. Within this discourse positional power is to be respected and employees are to know their place. Those that conform and follow the rules are more likely to be promoted within the system. In contemporary times, leaders use networks to deliver new business and harness the power of the digital world. Today's Controller leader defines and drives success through data, worker surveillance, and performance measures.

Therapist Discourse

As a more democratic society was sought and desired after World War II, the controller discourse was no longer fitting for those that returned from war (Western, 2010, 2019). Those that returned from service had confidence and higher expectations, they were no longer willing to contend with the social and class division and dire working conditions (Western, 2019). Under fear that poor worker treatment would lead to right-wing dictatorship and socialist reactions, politicians and employers worked towards providing a more democratic society (Western, 2010).

The Therapist Leadership discourse focuses on human relations, with a focus on motivation within the individual and the team. Therapist Leadership discourse brought the "human approach to the workplace" (Western, 2019, p. 221). The workplace became

a place for community and to develop relationships, self-esteem, and identity. No longer willing to just be cogs in a machine, people wanted to develop a sense of self within their work, have a better quality of life, financial rewards, and better working conditions (Western, 2019).

The principle of "happy workers are more productive workers" (Western, 2010, p.39) contributed to years of success, production, and personal satisfaction. Employees were more vested in their work, their work was part of their identity, and they are more than cogs in the machine. Personnel departments were established to encourage and motivate workers to achieve self-actualization through their work. Therapist leaders "aimed to raise morale, motivate, democratize, and encourage autonomy, cooperation, and teamwork with the intention to create happier and more engaged individuals and teams" (Western, 2019, p. 221).

The late 1960s saw increased use of therapy as the stigma that there was a psychological problem waned. This shift resulted in the definition of "illnesses" expanding to include post-traumatic stress disorder and attention deficit disorder which are syndromes, not illnesses. An individual's life was prone to concern from their self-esteem, to relationships, to their children.

For better and worse, depression became much more common and recognized as an illness. All of which became accessible to the high cost of diagnostics and interventions (Western, 2019). Pharmaceuticals were encouraged (and the industry grew) to treat what may have been previously considered grief or misery. Conversely, the larger acceptance to seek therapeutic help may have lent itself to an increase of fear and vulnerability, which contributed to a rise in counselors, therapists, and self-help books.

"Therapy culture…became 'a way of thinking rather than a way of curing psychic disorder'" (Furedi, 2003, p. 22).

There is a continuation of the more preferred components of the Controller discourse within the Therapist discourse, which uses instruments of assessment and measure an individual's psychological engagement, team relationships, and emotional intelligence. With its focus on the individual, compared to the collective, Therapist Leaders' approach toward motivation and caring can run the risk of being experienced by the employee as manipulative strategies to shape an induvial to fit organizational norms (Western, 2019).

In the late 1970s, the Therapist discourse began to lose effect despite America's dominance culturally and economically that positioned the country as a leader in management thinking and practice (Western, 2019). The global economy was becoming increasingly competitive and robust and America was beginning to fall behind. The individual and internal focus of Therapist Leadership failed to acknowledge and keep up with social and technological changes, develop company vision, be agile and strategic, and be able to address complex questions of sustainability and corporate responsibility.

Organizations and corporations require more than leaders who have good people skills. As companies expanded globally work patterns required more flexibility and temporary project teams compared to the Therapist leader that preferred stable teams and departments. Flexibility and disruptive workplaces increased anxiety in employees and increased the need for more Therapist leaders. However, to prevent an economic downfall, a new leadership approach was required as we entered the 1980s (Western, 2019). The 80s experienced new technology and focused on knowledge in fast-changing

environments. Asian economies were rapidly growing, and leaders needed to be able to use culture as a means to control and influence while also inspiring employees. Thus the rise of Messiah Leadership.

The therapist discourse continues to be common in organizations that are focused on people and is embedded in our social structure (Western, 2019). Leaders are expected to behave humanely and rationally work with employees.

Therapist Leaders. Therapist leaders listen, care, and encourage, tend to be liked and admired for their understanding, praise, and support. When absent, these leaders are often missed due to the subtle therapeutic environment that they have created. Though they are not charismatic, they lead through caring, finding time to be with team members, spending time on the big picture, and less on strategy. Note they are considered team members and not employees. Therapist leaders are devotees to development, advocates for feedback and processing sessions, staying up to date on the latest literature and fads on leadership development, coaching, and organizational and positive psychology. For this discourse, a common weakness is the amount of time they turn their focus inward on relationships and teams. This results in less focus on systematic and strategic thinking.

Messiah Discourse

Following an economic downturn in the late 1970s and early 1980s and an increased economic pressure to perform against a rapidly growing Asian economy, the messiah discourse began to develop in an attempt to re-organize the workplace (Western, 2010, 2019). Messiah Leadership quickly became a dominant discourse. Leaders were described as “charismatic, visionary, and able to transform followers and organizational cultures to produce outstanding company success” (Western, 2019, p. 227).

This discourse shifted away from bureaucratic and managerial control and reduced therapeutic governance. The knowledge economy employee needed to work independently and manage their work, teams were fluid, temporary, and international — direct supervision was a challenge. Employees were hired and trained to have technical expertise; therefore, they had more knowledge than their supervisors, and so had to gain trust and obtain loyalty and commitment in new and different ways. Messiah leaders were responsible for developing a "culture control" that would engage employees in shared values and vision that would result in them working long hours, fully committing themselves to their work, and working without supervision (Western, 2019, p. 227).

Leadership returned to front and center in the early 1980s. "On every company's wish-list was to find a transformational leader, a CEO with charismatic qualities to renew, restructure, reform, and transform the company" (Western, 2019, p. 247). The foundation of Messiah leadership is for a savior to rescue us, to provide hope, someone who will care for us, a hero we can identify with, to inspire us, and be the hero we imagine and believe in (Western, 2019). In many cases, psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion describes the problem as hope that is never fulfilled. Hope is the desire, the leader is replaceable, in some cases a fantasy figure (Western, 2019, p. 247).

Messiah leaders cultivated the transformational leader. Dvir et al., (2002) state that "transformational leaders exhibit charismatic behaviors, arouse inspirational motivation, provide intellectual stimulation and treat followers with individual consideration. These behaviors transform their followers helping them reach their potential and generate the highest level of performance" (p. 736). It was felt that transformational leaders provided alignment with the greater societal trends that elevated

freedom and choice and rejected hierarchy. A Messiah leader creates a culture of conformity as they offer a vision, passion, and inspiration to their loyal and committed workforce. This can lead to a lack of critical reflection and intolerance for differences among would-be transformational leaders, for seeking devotion from employees the transformational leader aims to engineer the culture and create designer employees (Western, 2010, 2019).

Until 2000, the Messiah discourse dominated both public and private sectors until it was realized by employees and they became fed up with vision statements that did not align with the company experience and overpaid CEOs that did not deliver (Western, 2010). The downfall of the Messiah discourse is connected with the 2009 economic crisis within the United States. It is thought that many charismatic leaders if they do truly exist, leave organizations after making changes that result in toxic organizational environments (Maccoby, 2000). Entering uncertain times with limited free-market capitalism, rising economic power in China, there was less god-like power and excessive confidence which were the foundations of this discourse.

Messiah leadership still exists to this day, particularly in politics, though not at the same level as in the 1980s. Talented leaders with charisma and vision that lead to positive change and impact are not bad things, organizations need good leaders. At times it can be a matter of controlling big egos and talents to do good things within the organization and for society ethically, the less desirable personality traits can be looked past (Western, 2019). However, a new discourse was required to ethically address global challenges, shift ideas, and seeking leadership away from the center, and understand how humans are interconnected with the environment.

Messiah Leaders. Messiah leaders tend to be extroverts, they are noticed when they walk into a room. They often create polarizing opinions, inspire devotion and loyalty by some and inspire dislike from others. Happiest in front of an audience, they preach about their passions showing their ego and narcissistic tendencies. They demand loyalty and commitment. When dissent is detected, those individuals do not tend to remain with the organization. A leader's confidence in themselves will lead to their rise and their fall. Messiah leaders are part fiction and part reality. They are in part required to make headlines and create noise, fed by their success and adoration from their followers. However, these hubris characteristics are often shunned for excellent leaders who are not overly attached to their egos and acknowledge that leadership is a team effort that comes in many forms.

Eco-leader Discourse

The 21st century brought with it radical new technology, an economic crash, a growing population, the realization of finite natural resources, and shifting power economically and internationally (Western, 2019). The advancements in technology alone have caused disruptions to other organizations requiring leaders to deliver quickly in ever-changing environments. As there came to be an understanding that we are connected and interdependent, Eco-leadership redistributes power and leadership from the center out to the edges. On the micro and macro-global level, there is a connection socially, politically, and through natural resources.

Eco-leadership does not focus solely on environmental and societal issues. The 'eco' prefix refers to the organization's ecosystems and networks as well as the growing number of external ecosystems that organizations engage with (Western, 2019, p. 256).

Eco-leaders "more than ever [have to focus] to deliver on purpose and success, as disruptive change…is always close at hand (Western, 2019, p. 257). Power for change within this discourse does not lie in the hands of a CEO, rather leadership understands that change happens through pockets within the network, an effort is made to connect groups of people who will initiate change that spreads across the whole ecosystem (Western, 2019). It should not be misunderstood that within Eco-leadership there is no central power or control, centralization still exists. However, the focus is no longer on a central leader, the focus is on leadership — "in an attempt to harness the energy and creativity of the whole system" (Western, 2010, p. 44).

There are four key qualities of Eco-leadership: (a) connectivity and interdependence; (b) systemic ethics, (c) leadership spirit, and (d) organizational belonging. Connectivity and interdependence acknowledge the impact of networks (social, natural, and the non-human world) that are interconnected in ways similar to a rainforest or coral reef (Western, 2019). Leadership works with a network of other actors and agents within a hybrid ecosystem of humans, technology, and nature. Some Eco-leaders will focus on external possibilities and connections. Those that are more progressive will focus internally to develop workgroups and clusters of networked activity that "unleashes and unlocks talent, motivation, and creativity that lead to both improved employee engagement and unexpected gains that could not be foreseen by a top-down approach" (Western, 2019, p. 273).

Eco-leadership is concerned about systemic ethics, going beyond company values and individual morality to act ethically on behalf of both humans and nature (Western, 2019). Prior leadership discourse held the belief that their ethical duty was to the values

of their company in terms of financial gain with no regard to the damage that may be caused to the natural environment, (e.g., carbon energy, waste disposal, effects of climate change, human and social cost of unemployment spurred by organizational efficiencies) (Western, 2019). It will take creativity to respond ethically to significant social and environmental challenges and opportunities, for organizations to rethink their values and how growth is defined.

A leadership spirit extends beyond a material gain to include the human spirit — pays attention to the community, friendship, spirituality, creativity, and imagination. It draws on human relationships and the relationship between humanity and nature. When used in the right way, the spirit of a leader is intended to inspire and awaken the capacity of individuals as they work for the 'good of society (Western, 2019, p. 278).

The final quality of an Eco-leader is organizational belonging: a philosophical, ethical, and practical task to be part of the whole. Organizations are part of a community's social makeup and cannot be separated from it, "it is to participate in the joys and challenges faced by communities" (Western, 2019, p. 271). Often organizations think of themselves as separate from the community in which they are located. However, organizations often choose to locate in a place to draw on the workforce, and are, therefore, embedded in the community. As chain stores developed and multinational companies grew, there was a level of separation, accountability, and loyalties to distant stakeholders that added a layer of separation between the community and the organization's engagement and sustainability (Western, 2019). Eco-leaders recognize the connection they have with the community and work to become part of the community and to work to better the community. They respect and commit themselves to place and

space. Place refers to being transparent with the local community about efforts of getting rid of waste and pollution and helping the community grow. Space refers to belonging, engaging the external ecosystems to work towards the best social and business practices, and developing sustainability (Western, 2019).

An Eco-leader is a "generative leader," one that creates and supports spaces out to the edges of an organization for leadership to develop and create change (Western, 2019, p. 302). "Eco-leaders think spatially and connectedly. They think like organizational architects, artists, sociologists, and biologists; connecting people, technology, and nature; thinking systemically, seeing patterns emerge and creating networks of engagement" (Western, 2019, p. 302).

Eco Leaders. An Eco-leader creates organizational spaces to allow leadership to flourish. They connect people, technology, and nature; think systemically, see patterns, create engagement networks. They encourage work to occur in nods that trigger activities and small changes that result in ecosystem changes. Passionate about ethics, sustainability, local engagement, and protecting the environment, Eco-leaders are progressive thinkers and interested in current affairs. Some lead quietly from the side, others draw on Messiah leadership and serve as visionaries with a missionary belief in their work. Successful Eco-leaders encourage dialogue and dissent and approaches in participatory and autonomist leadership. They internalize the notion that everything is connected and interdependent.

Leadership Discourse Summary

Western (2019) states that practitioners often draw on assumptions that they take for granted. The value of exploring and understanding the discourses allows for active

reflection, to choose the approaches that are needed and desired, and understand why they are trapped within some and not others. Each discourse has its strengths and limitations, there is no right or wrong one.

Leadership and Teens

For teens, van Linden and Fertman (1998) state that leadership development is not something that is commonly thought of by young people as it lacks focus and visibility. For this to change, the intentional focus is needed by the adults supporting youth in their development as well as with the teens. van Linden and Fertman (1998) describe interactions for leadership development happening within four locations: family, community, school, and work, and within those points of interactions, people, activities, and learning experiences provide opportunities to develop potential and abilities within teens (p. 47). A key to each of these points of interaction is a social process.

Leadership is learned by observing, imitating, and practicing with others. Lessons can also be learned by observing public figures when close relationships are not possible. However, where there are opportunities for close relationships, there is a support network of mentors, role models, and peers (van Linden and Fertman, 1998).

This chapter has provided a brief introduction to positive youth development, including the theoretical basis that underpins positive youth development. An overview of the national 4-H program, organized youth camping, and youth leadership development help to provide a frame for the 4-H camp counselor experience.

Framework Comparison

This study utilized a combination of frameworks to analyze evidence through multiple lenses. As a study that is focused on leadership development, the Leadership

Identity Development (LID) model could be enough to make a meaningful assessment of counselors' level of leadership development. By adding Hart's Ladder of Participation, it is understandable that it may appear to muddy the water. On the contrary, the combination of the two frameworks provides a deeper understanding of the cases. The LID model focuses on the individual youth's progression through leadership development. What it does not do is take into consideration are theories of youth development, nor does LID give recommendations on how an individual might developed through the stages by youth development professionals. Hart's Ladder considers how youth professionals might work with youth in any setting. By applying both frameworks within this study data we can analyze data from both the perspective of the teen and the program director as we gain an understanding of how program directors conceptualize and operationalize leadership development.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to describe and uncover the processes and structures that support a teen leadership experience provided by Missouri 4-H through the camp counselor experience as perceived by the program directors and participants; to describe how program directors utilized camp counselors training and implementation at camp to develop teen leadership.

1. Describe the program director's perception of leadership and the role it plays in program development.
    a. Explore the influences on program directors that shaped their views of teen leadership development.
    b. Describe how program directors conceptualize leadership development in teens
    c. Describe what program directors do to prepare and support teens as they serve as camp counselors.
    d. Explore how program directors operationalize their beliefs about youth development.
2. Describe the camp counselor experience and role from the perception of the teen.

Research Design

Qualitative research derives from anthropology, sociology, humanities, and evaluation, and it has become more visible since the 1990s (Creswell, 2013). Since then, there has been an expansion of focus on the number and types of approaches to conducting qualitative research. In general, qualitative methods are used when the goal is

to understand emerging methods, ask open-ended questions, use data gathered from interviews, observations, documents, and audiovisual sources, and from that identify themes, patterns, and interpret (Creswell, 2013).

Case Study Approach

Similar to other qualitative methods, case studies share the desire to "search for meaning and understanding" to provide a rich description through inductive investigation (Merriam, 2009). Yin (2018) adds to the discussion that case studies can be used when "the boundaries between the phenomenon and context may not be evident" (p. 15) As it may not always be clear how the lived experience and the phenomenon are related, or to be able to separate the context from the phenomenon, case studies are able to focus on providing a holistic description (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2018). Case studies offer a way to "investigate complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon" (Merriam, 2009, p. 50).

Merriam further describes characteristics of a case study which include particularistic, the importance of what it reveals about the phenomenon. By focusing on specificity, this method is useful in addressing practical problems. Case studies are also descriptive, providing a thick description of the phenomenon. Stemming from anthropology, complete and literal descriptions of as many variables as possible provide a clear picture of the researcher's understanding. The final special feature of case studies is that they are heuristic, they illuminate an understanding for the reader. Case studies can provide not only an understanding but also provide new meaning to extend the reader's experience or confirm what they know (Merriam, 2009).

Unlike other methods, case studies do not subscribe to a particular data collection method. They are concrete and contextual by resonating to known experiences and rooted in the context of the case versus relating to the abstract and formal knowledge. The reader provides their interpretation that allows the study to be more developed and lend itself to adding new knowledge to old and allowing for generalization when appropriate (Merriam, 2009).

Merriam's (2009) approach for case study design and analysis was used in this study. Merriam defines a qualitative case study as an "intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single entity, phenomenon, or social unit" (Yazan, 2015, p.139). This study provides an understanding of the teen immersion experience as a camp counselor while maintaining a holistic and meaningful narrative of events and experiences. Through this method, I describe the program leader's perception of leadership and the role it plays in program development. By including more than one camp there is a greater variation (Merriam, 2009) that will allow for a better understanding of what is occurring at camp that may lead to perceived outcomes. This is not to state that there is an effort to replicate each camp but to gather findings that may be similar (literal replication) or different across camps (theoretical replication).

For this study, a multicase design is used in an effort to enhance validity and generalize findings (Merriam, 2009). Compared to other methods, case studies allow for a holistic representation, as well as a real-life perspective. In line with other qualitative research methods, case studies aim to determine meaning and understanding with the researcher as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis to provide a rich description (Merriam, 2009). Compared to other types of qualitative research, the case, or

unit of analysis, defines the study compared to the focus. Not to be defined by its data source, this study includes interviews and artifacts. The use of multiple data sources will add to understanding difficult-to-measure components such as results of higher responsibility in counselors.

Case Study Positionality

This study follows Merriam's perspective on a case study. There are three primary perspectives on the case study: Yin, Stake, and Merriam (Yazan, 2015). Stake focuses on the orientations of the case study (naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, or biographic), Yin focuses on design, and Merriam focuses on the views and usage of the method in qualitative research (Yazan, 2015). Sharing in the construction of knowledge between the researcher and the reader, within the confines of the study, Merriam believes that knowledge and reality are most important (Yazan, 2015). Stake shares in Merriam's belief of multiple realities compared to Yin who focuses heavily on the conditions of validity and reliability.

I share and appreciate Merriam's flexibility to define a case study by the boundaries that reflect a specific phenomenon, as opposed to Yin's strict definitions that theory needs to back the study's boundaries. Stake on the other hand appears to be too flexible, ranging from the lack of defining what a case study is to not being able to articulate when data should be collected (Yazan, 2015).

As an educator, I feel strongly about cognitive reality, believing that each learner, whether adult or youth, develops their knowledge and meaning. In the informal learning environment that I work, this is an asset that allows youth to choose the experiences they want to partake in based on their interests, goals, and needs; parents to help guide youth

towards opportunities to develop necessary life skills, and for volunteers to seek the resources and guidance they need for their development and to assist youth in theirs. In social sciences, through a lived experience, there is room to develop your truth. Truth, knowledge, and meaning are relative and constructed by the individual and culture. Merriam supports a constructivist orientation; she shows this throughout her methodology process and through data analysis. She provides support for and caution for a variety of data analysis techniques. In the constructivist framework, she defines data analysis as "consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read – it is a process of making meaning" (Yazan, 2015, p. 145). Yin's perspective comes from a traditional, quantitative view, of validity and reliability, a means to generalize and replicate a study's design. A case study does not provide a narrative of static life experiences. Therefore, as a methodology, it will be challenging to try and replicate the design and generalize the findings.

Therefore, I prefer Merriam's approach to conduct the study in a trustworthy and ethical manner, triangulate data in an effort to establish credibility, explain assumptions and underlying theories, and provide detailed descriptions on how the study was conducted to improve reliability. As well as provide enough description of findings and conclusion to allow the reader to decide if the implications apply in their context to transfer knowledge.

Epistemology

This study aligns with a constructivist epistemological stance. Our reality and knowledge are bound in context. Neither objective nor subjective, meaning is not discovered, it is created by engaging with the experience. Each experience brings with it

pre-existing objects and a "world" that aid in the development of meaning. What may be seen as an ordinary tree, that will be there whether we acknowledge it or not, comes with it a history of being and associations that our culture has already defined. However, that does not mean that we cannot call into question the meaning or interpretation of what a tree is or does (Crotty, 1998). Lived experiences bring with them the opportunity for multiple realities that are bound in context. An experience such as participating in training can have profoundly different meanings and impacts depending on the participant's prior lived experiences. Therefore, this study will use a constructivist reality lens to develop knowledge and understanding.

This epistemology aligns well with the case study because at the method's core is the intent to describe, understand, and interpret multiple perspectives within the bounded context. Constructivism believes that there is no true or valid interpretation (Crotty, 1998). As with case studies the reader brings with them their interpretation that allows the study to be more developed and lend itself to adding new knowledge to old and allowing for generalization when appropriate (Merriam, 2009).

Theoretical Perspective

This study utilizes a pragmatic framework (Creswell, 2009; Crotty, 1998) to focus on developing an understanding of what is occurring during the camp counselor experience, to "capturing their [youth professionals and teens] voice and experience…it is a living philosophy with deep intellectual heritage" (Shields, 1998, p 196). While there are components of this study that will look at conditions that prepared youth development professionals and camp counselors for this experience, the ultimate understanding will

come from learning the "what" and the "how" of teen leadership development planning for and implementation during the experience.

While it is understood and valued to explore theory and existing conditions, how theory and conditions translate into practical application is also important. Pragmatism allows for the freedom of choice to choose the methods, techniques, and procedures to fit the needs and purpose. "Truth" is what works at the time (Creswell, 2009), is useful, and is practical (Creswell, 2013) as research provides new information and there are changes in human conditions and family conditions, what worked five years ago may no longer work well today. Shields (1998) describes pragmatism as a philosophy of common sense, a "community of inquirers" is included and is not an individual effort. Positive youth development of practice and profession is innately a community effort built on the relationship development between peers and adults.

This study, as with pragmatism, creates vocabulary and descriptions that are useful in critiquing and developing practices (Kivinen & Ristela, 2003). This is my aim as a researcher and, ultimately, as a practitioner. While Merriam does not explicitly suggest a framework for case studies, her perspective includes pragmatic components. She states that the priority of a case study should be given to generating inductive reasoning and interpretation over hypothesis testing, and case studies are an inquiry into the context of a real-life phenomenon and for what they can reveal about the topic of interest. The case then needs to be made on how important the topic may be and what contribution it will make to the world (Merriam, 2002). She states that in applied fields that include education "research is often undertaken for the expressed purpose of improving practice" (Merriam, 2002, p. 19). Following the methodology of a case study,

by providing rich, thick descriptions that allow the reader to determine (the pragmatics of the findings) how closely their situation matches with the study, and whether findings can be transferred.

In the same vein, Merriam is also a constructivist — a pragmatic one. It is assumed "that reality is constructed intersubjectively through meaning and understandings develop socially and experientially" (Harrison et al., 2017). It is important to utilize the process of research, a case study, to "help interpret, sort, and manage information…that adapt findings to convey clarity and applicability to the results" (Harrison et al., 2017). Through this approach, Merriam highlights a pragmatic constructivist approach to inquiry. One could argue the pragmatics of a constructivist view. As focused on by Piaget (Davis, 2004), individuals make ongoing efforts to revise their understandings of the world as they move through various experiences and circumstances. Piaget believed that "bodily experience is the basis of all-knowing" (Davis, 2004, p. 119). While the world around you and the experiences you have are developing your understanding, revisions are likely also being made based on what is practical for that setting, or similar experiences. "If a personal interpretation allowed the individual to maintain her or his coherence in a given situation, it would persist. If it threatened coherence, it had to be revised – or the person had to revise the situation" (Davis, 2004, p. 119). Individuals are not free to construct the world of their choosing. They are constrained to the realities, the pragmatics, of physical experiences, associations with language. Reality must fit with the context or circumstance.

It is a hope that future research may be able to build off the understanding of this study on how various leadership paradigms within youth professionals impact teen

leadership development. Therefore, the outcome of this study is focused on describing and uncovering the processes and structures that support a teen leadership experience so that it may lead to future research to understand the consequences and practical application of various teen leadership development styles and structures (Creswell, 2014).

Establishing the Case

Overnight camping programs within Missouri 4-H typically occur over three to four days and two or three nights at a variety of locations, including church campgrounds and state parks. These facilities provide sleeping cabins and flexible areas to support programming. Typically held in June, campers will range from 8-14 years old, with camp counselors being 14-18 years old. At each camp, University of Missouri Extension Missouri 4-H youth development faculty and staff play a key role in the development and implementation of the camp.

County 4-H programs do not have a pre-determined location or assigned counties to form a camping group with. The decisions on where a county program camps and with which counties is a decision primarily left to the program director. Along with no prescribed structure or location, there is no prescribed counselor training or implementation directions set by the leadership of Missouri 4-H. Aside from general safety policies that arch over the 4-H program, each camping program has the discretion to design and implement its program in its way, including the decision to not have a overnight camp if decided by the program director.

This study looks at three different camping groups within Missouri 4-H. Each camp represents a different geographical area of the state and includes various structures of 4-H youth specialist (program director), YPA, volunteer, and camp counselor

involvement in the design to implementation. The three cases chosen each have at least one program director that has been directly involved with the camping program for 15 or more years. It is a hope that by including cases that have a strong history with a single, or pair, of youth professionals the evolution of the camping design and implementation will provide an environment for rich description.

Camp counselors (14-18 years old) participate in at least one training that will last from four to eight hours. Some counselors within Missouri 4-H will participate in close to 20 hours of training and planning over several months before the first camper arrives at camp. The purpose of this study is to describe and uncover the processes and structures that support a teen leadership experience provided by Missouri 4-H through the camp counselor experience as perceived by the program directors and participants; to describe how program directors utilized camp counselors training and implementation at camp to develop teen leadership.

Sample

As of 2019, in Missouri 4-H, 12 different camping groups were offering overnight camps. Within those camping groups, there may be multiple camps offered. Due to time and resource limitations, this study recruited three overnight camps. Program directors selected are heavily involved in the planning and implementation of the camp. As anticipated, they were able to provide a deeper understanding of the experience.

Camps were recruited to take part in this study using criterion-based selection (Merriam, 2009) for both MU Extension 4-H program directors and camp counselors. This method was used to define the necessary attributes to develop an information-rich

case study. Based on the defined attributes, individuals identified matched the criteria (Merriam, 2009).

The following criteria used to create a sample of MU Extension 4-H faculty.

- MU Extension 4-H youth specialists (program directors) who have been in their current position for four or more years.
- Have an active role in the design and implementation of camp and camp counselor experience.

The current makeup of 4-H program directors is predominantly female. However, effort was made to equally recruit male program directors that meet the criteria. These criteria were used to provide a richer narrative as to how the program director developed their philosophy and the impact that it has on their development of a learning environment. Furthermore, using the general belief that professionals that have been in their current position for more than a short time have had an opportunity to understand the climate they work in and the changes they can make. Program directors that have been in their role for several years were the focus of recruitment.

Although program directors are the focus of this study, camp counselors were recruited as a source to triangulate data and experiences. Program directors were asked to recommend three or four teens that they would recommend for interviewing. In recruiting camp counselors (youth 14-18 years old) I looked for participants who:

- Were able to contribute additional knowledge to further inform the study (Creswell, 2003; Merriam, 2009).
- Served for at least two years at the same 4-H camp.

Data Collection

Within each of the camps in this study, there are two components of data collection: interviews and document analysis.

Interviews

Interviews play an important role in case studies as the questions provide a connection to the study's end product (Merriam, 2009). 4-H program directors who serve as directors of the participating camps were asked to participate in one-on-one interviews to explore their philosophy, objectives, and expectations of camp counselors. Interviews allow for topics to be explored in more depth, particularly if the content cannot be directly observed. Limitations of an interview include that the participant can filter information through their lens, responses may be biased by the researcher's presence, and the interview taking place in a designated area as opposed to a natural setting. Furthermore, there is a change for an inequity among the interviewees in the ability to articulate and perceive knowledge and understanding that could affect the results of the interview.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with program directors and camp counselors to provide a deep and rich narrative and to triangulate the data gathered and document analysis. Interviews consisted of open-ended questions that invite stories about experiences and opinions (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003). A method outlined by Seidman (1991) was used to structure interviews into three parts: life history, experience, and reflection on meaning. It also happens that this same method was used by Komives et al (2005) in the development of the LID model. Utilizing this interview structure assisted participants to given meaning to behavior in a place of context (Seidman, 1991). By

separating the interviews into three parts it provided an opportunity for the interviewer to develop a relationship with the participants with the hope that participants will be more comfortable sharing their experiences and meanings.

Due to the pandemic most interviews were conducted by Zoom, audio-recorded, and later transcribed by the researcher. Member checking was conducted to verify the accuracy of the transcripts and confirmed for each participant that the story was told as intended (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003). Participants were instructed to contact the researcher to make necessary corrections or changes. The triangulation of the data occurred through the use of rich, thick descriptions provided from the interviews from program directors, counselors, and document analysis (Creswell, 2003; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003; Merriam, 1998).

Prior to the interview, program directors were asked to reflect and potentially note their philosophy and beliefs as it comes to working with teens and their leadership development. This step will be taken to provide participants the opportunity to reflect prior to the interview and have a deeper conversation regarding something they may not have considered specifically or very deeply before.

Camp counselors were conducted as individual interviews. While the questions asked of teens were not necessarily sensitive and it was information that they may talk about with each other, but do not; the access to resources that would allow focus groups to be comprised of participants that do not know each other would be a significant challenge (Merriam, 2009).

Document Analysis

Training agendas, outlines of plans developed by camp counselors, end of program survey results, other materials used to prepare and plan for camp, and any historical camp materials were used for document analysis. Artifact analyses provide an opportunity to examine documents in their original language and wording given to participants and/or stakeholders, analysis was completed throughout the study and was not obtrusive. However, documents were not equally available or provided across cases or may be incomplete or inaccurate (Creswell, 2014).

Documents could have included a broad range of written, visual, and physical materials that are relevant to the researcher's study (Merriam, 2009). Documents for this study may either be in a physical (printed) or electronic format or both. A variety of documentation will be gathered for this study and are outlined below:

- Counselor application
- Training agenda
- Camp evaluations
- Year-end award applications are written by counselors
- Scholarship applications are written by counselors
- Award applications relating to camping written by the program director

Photo Elicitation

Photo elicitation is based on the idea of including a photograph in a research interview (Harper, 2002). Utilizing images and text compared to words evokes a deeper part of the human brain that does not use words. Utilizing photos can help to reduce power imbalances, perceived or actual, between the participant and the interviewer. A

power shift provides the participant the opportunity to become the 'expert' in the subject matter (Leonard & McKnight, 2015). Photos provide an opportunity to generate new insight into an experience, beliefs, values, or feelings beyond questions that the researcher may consider asking.

Participants were prompted to bring a photograph, or a series of photographs or other visual items, with them to their interview based on the general theme of that interview session. The photography may be one that they have taken themselves, images they have selected, or photos taken by someone else. By allowing the participant to choose their images they have an opportunity to choose what is included and what is not, and they will interpret the significance of the image, capturing what might have been intended or imagined (Leonard & McKnight, 2015). In addition, as the researcher, I may introduce other images as prompts to understand social and cultural norms or values of an experience or particular camp. Prompts may simply be, "Tell me about your pictures (or items)," or "What does this image (or item) represent to you?" The discussion of the meaning of a photograph (or item) between the participant and the research promotes and inspires collaboration as they work together to figure something out (Harper, 2002).

Data Analysis

Once all materials were gathered and interviews have been transcribed, materials were edited for redundancies, pieces fitted together, and organized chronologically and/or topically. The next step, within each case, was to open code, make notes, comments, and observations (Merriam, 2009). Once each case is analyzed, then the cases were compared for themes. "A qualitative, inductive, multicase study seeks to build abstractions across cases" (Merriam, 2009, pg. 204).

Cross-case synthesis is used as a method of analysis for case studies that include two or more cases. Compared to typical approaches that focus more on the variable, a cross-case method focuses on the holistic approach of a case (Merriam, 2009). Focusing on a case-based method, the goal is to maintain the integrity of the case and identify patterns across the cases. Within this method, the attempt is to identify more of the "how" and "why," such as how lessons are scaffold that impacts content retention, as opposed to focusing on the learner's age, grade level, years of experience, etc.

Once broad categories, or themes, were defined, documents were reread within the category looking for shifts of tone that may express the category differently (Wertz, 2011). Yin (2018) stresses the importance of examining and describing the cases in detail to provide sufficient detail to support common findings as well as the difference between them. Compared to other methods such as pattern matching, or frequency analysis, a cross-case synthesis is up for interpretation and not reduced to tallies. Therefore, it will be important to make fair, supported arguments for the data (Yin, 2018).

After data was interpreted (Creswell, 2013), descriptive narratives on the basic level of each camp were developed. Followed by describing the phenomena which build on the development of theory and models (Merriam, 2009). On the basic level, narratives can be cross-checked with the program director to confirm understanding (Creswell, 2013).

Trustworthiness and Rigor

Qualitative work describes real-life experiences in enough detail to show the author's thought process and that conclusions are accurate. The researcher utilized Merriam's (2009) framework to establish trustworthiness and rigor.

Credibility

Multiple data sources were used as a means of triangulation adds strength to the credibility of a study. Information gathered through an interview with a program director was checked against the outline for counselor training and checked against the interview with the camp counselor. The design of the study lends itself to the rigor of the findings. Another strategy used to verify understanding is member checks. By sharing the findings from interviews with the participants it is a way to gain feedback and confirm understanding. Critical reflection on biases and assumptions to find alternative explanations and provide clarity to ensure credibility. Furthermore, the added benefit of a dissertation is the built-in committee review that will accompany this process to provide feedback.

Consistency

The essence of reliability is to be able to replicate a study which is challenging in social sciences as humans are not static and there is no one single reality. Add in the challenge of this study that includes adolescents that by their very nature are maturing and developing through every experience, it would be hard to replicate every component of this study. Merriam (2009) emphasizes that it is less about replication and more about "whether the results are consistent with the data collected" (pp. 221). It is the goal of the researcher to make sure that data and findings make sense. Triangulation can again be used to ensure consistency.

Transferability

Case studies are not meant to be generalized or transferable. By the nature of design to focus on a single phenomenon the amount that can be learned from the study

and applied elsewhere is under question. When provided with a rich description that paints a clear image of the experience it is up to the reader to decide if the context applies to them or not.

The purpose of this study is to describe and uncover the processes and structures that support a teen leadership experience provided by Missouri 4-H through the camp counselor experience, as perceived by the program directors and participants; also, to describe how program directors utilized camp counselors training and implementation at camp to develop teen leadership.

Ethics

Within all efforts to establish credibility and rigor is the need for a study to be conducted ethically. Within this study, there are a few ethical concerns. One concern is participant bias. Anyone participating in the research may adjust what they normally would do/say if they were not part of the study, to attempt the "right answers."

The researcher is conducting this study within the organization they currently work. The fellow program director may have prior knowledge of the researcher's beliefs and expectations of working with youth that could impact their behavior within the study or if they choose to participate. There is also an ethical concern about disseminating the study within the organization. Though anonymity is important in all studies, when the study is centralized on a single organization, there is more pressure to make sure not to provide direct evidence of any negative findings that lead back to a program or program director to maintain professional relationships and integrity.

Positionality

Lived Experience

Since 2007, I have worked for Extension as a youth development professional through 4-H, in both Missouri and Indiana. My path to working in Extension started with being a fourth-generation 4-H member and the daughter of an Extension professional. During my time as a 4-H member, I served as a camp counselor for four years at an overnight camp. Serving as a camp counselor had a large impact on my self-understanding and self-confidence because my peers and I were given full agency for the experience. We were provided with a safe and supportive environment to fail and to learn from those mistakes. Not all youth are provided with that opportunity. That was one of many experiences as a 4-H member that inspired me to want to provide similar experiences and opportunities to other youth.

When I began to look for undergraduate programs, I wanted a program that would provide me with the foundation to support youth in their development, regardless of the content or context. For many that set out to work in Extension, a common route is agriculture education. I wanted to be able to understand how youth develop and how communities support youth and their families in whichever path they choose to follow. Or whichever community I ended up working in, whether it be a rural community that has a strong agriculture presence or a metro or urban community that does not have the same historical or economic connection to agriculture.

Therefore, I chose to earn a bachelor's degree in human development with a focus on youth development. I went on to earn my master's degree in youth development.

Professional Experience

From the beginning of being a youth development professional, I have held a significant role in the development and implementation of the camping program in the respective county and camping group that I was part of. This experience is what has led me to want to better understand what is taking place in the overnight camping environment. I feel strongly that serving as a camp counselor can help youth in their self-discovery and overall development. Over the years it has become more apparent, and important to understand, that serving as a camp counselor is a niche, it is not for everyone. However, all youth should have the opportunity to develop similarly in a context that matches their interest. That is why I want to provide a rich description of what is occurring during camp counselor training and camp and how that aligns with various leadership frameworks to allow the reader to come away from this study with their understanding that may develop their knowledge or challenges prior assumptions.

Limitations

With any method, there are limitations. Efforts were made to strengthen the design by clearly defining the research problem, none the less were will be limitations. One weakness of the design of this study is the variables of learning and constructionism were not known prior to the study, and it was not known if they were inexplicably linked with leadership development within the camp phenomenon. Another limitation was the ongoing pandemic that prevented overnight camps from being held in 2021. This prevented observations from taking place and provide additional understanding of structures and processes taking place at camp.

There may be a lack of generalization depending on how close this study compares to other situations. However, the strength that is a rich description provides the reader with the ability to apply information gained to their context (Merriam, 2009, 2002). General knowledge without any specifics or understanding of the context is one of the problems that this study is working to address.

Philosophical Assumptions

1. Teens that serve as camp counselors find the experience challenging. Therefore, youth experience growth in the experience and do not see it primarily as a way to socialize with friends and to just have fun.
2. Overnight camping programs are valuable experiences that support youth development.
3. Group work that includes opportunities to plan, design, and implement content is one way to develop leadership.
4. Youth professionals provide teens with agency and control of the experience.
5. Teens and program director that participate in the study will be able to articulate their experiences prior to, during, and after camp. With the lack of camping in 2020 and lack of overnight camping in 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic participants may be relying on memories that occurred in 2019, or before, compared to more recent ones that may be more thoughtful and honest.
6. Positive youth development plays a positive role in the development of youth.
7. The immersion experience of serving as a camp counselor has components that can be replicated in other positive youth development experiences for teens.

8. Once the COVID-19 pandemic is controlled and manageable, youth development opportunities will return to a similar level prior to the pandemic.

Chapter 4: Findings

Purpose and Central Question

The purpose of this study is to describe and uncover the processes and structures that support a teen leadership experience provided by Missouri 4-H through the camp counselor experience, as perceived by the program directors and participants; and to describe how program directors utilized camp counselors training and implementation at camp to develop teen leadership.

Outline of Findings

This study used a multi-case design with three bounded cases to enhance validity and generalize findings (Merriam, 2009). Initially, it was believed that there was a fourth case; however, it was later found that the case did not include teens as counselors. So, it was removed from the study. This chapter provides a descriptive report of each case derived from numerous interviews and document analysis. While there are many perspectives described within this study, the program directors share similar perceptions of leadership, and they conceptualize and operationalize leadership in similar ways. Each case has its own rich narrative and will be presented individually to highlight some of the structures and processes that are used. At the conclusion of the case reports, a cross-case analysis will provide emerging themes.

Interviews are the primary data source in this study and participant quotes will be presented with minimal interpretation. Data will be analyzed utilizing multiple theoretical frameworks in a broader context and discussion in Chapter Five.

Case Reports

Case 1: Camp Maplewood

Participant Overview

Each case includes several participants that provided data through extensive interviews. Their quotes will be shared throughout the narrative. An overview table is provided to help track participants and their role at camp.

Table 1

Camp Maplewood Participant Overview

Name	Role at camp	Name	Role at camp
Shannon Green	program director	Ethan Brown	counselor
David	former specialist	Mia White	counselor
Eric Redman	counselor		

Case 1 Overview

Camp Maplewood has a long history of being a large camping association serving many counties. As the University of Missouri (MU) Extension evolves, administration lines are drawn, faculty come and go, the camping group shifts. Even as this report is being written, the number of counties that are part of the Maplewood camping group is shifting.

Camp Maplewood camps at a state park facility in early June. Youth 8 –13 years old attend as campers and teens (14-18 years old) serve as counselors. Counselors are on the grounds with camp staff for about 24 hours before campers arrive. This same structure is repeated for a second week, with a new set of counselors and a new group of

campers. Even with all the shifts in personnel, not very much has changed structurally at Camp Maplewood over the years. Shannon, the current program director has been one of the most consistent and longest-standing MU faculty members with the camp group.

Participant Background

Program Director

Shannon has been with the University of Missouri Extension for more than 16 years. Before serving in Extension, Shannon was a school teacher. As with many other 4-H youth specialists, the county where Shannon is based has stayed the same; however, her additional coverage area has changed over the years. Not growing up in 4-H, Shannon had a crash course in 4-H camp when she began her career as a 4-H youth specialist. Within a week of finishing the school year as a teacher, Shannon moved and started her new job with MU Extension.

Though Shannon took that first summer to observe, "I spent a lot of that time just kind of figuring out who people were, figuring out personalities, and who the leaders were" (SG interview 305-306), she wasted no time that fall becoming active in the camping group.

> I'm going to have something to do with this camp because there were things that I saw wrong…But the first thing that I saw wrong — and I've always been the Clover police — even before I came to this job. When I interviewed by went to the 4-H website, and I looked up 4-H, and I wanted to know everything I could know because I'm a learner, and that's I guess that's my other philosophy of life is that I'm a lifelong learner, so I'm always willing to learn whatever it is, and but I wanted to know about 4-H. Well, I learned about how the 4-H Clover was

> supposed to be used… David (former program director) was like, 'Okay so we'll do this for shirts.' I said, I would like to take care of shirts this year, and David was like, 'okay,' and I said, there are some rules that we're going to have to follow…He's like, 'okay, you take care of that. Well, thank you, I will (SG interview, 1 311-324).

Since then, Shannon has played an active role in the camping group. Shannon entered the role as the camp program director role about 11 years, "Unofficially, I took over" (SG interview, 1 347). Over time, as new 4-H youth specialists came on board, or left, there was tension amongst the group on who was to be the program director. Though it was challenging at times, Shannon, in the public eye, stepped back from being the program director. However, behind the scenes, she continued to serve in many of the same ways.

Program Director Camp Philosophy

Shannon feels that her philosophy has stayed consistent over the years. "It's hard for me, it's hard for me to, I was recently told to back off and let others lead the way. But it's hard for not for me not to be a champion for youth" (SG interview, 136-138). When it comes to organized overnight camping, Shannon sees camp in this way:

> I say it often, camp is positive youth development on steroids anymore. And I feel like it's a place where we know that absolutely kids are getting positive youth development. Everything we do is geared towards that. And maybe it's because that's my expectation.
>
> …Not just making crafts to be making crafts. There's, there's a lesson behind it, there's a life skill behind it, it's not just, Oh let's go paint daisies. No, we don't just

> go paint daisies and we don't just weave baskets, we do it with a purpose (SG interview, 2 2-8).

Camp Counselors

Teens (14-18 years old) have the opportunity to serve as a camp counselor at Camp Maplewood. The counselors that participated in this study, Eric and Ethan, each served as counselors for four years. Mia is a current camp counselor. She has served for the past four years and is planning to serve again this coming summer. Each of the counselors had been active in 4-H for at least 10 years through the club, county, and state level, and they were also highly active in their high schools.

Eric

Eric was a 4-H member for 11 years and has served the past three years as a 4-H volunteer. In the beginning, being a 4-H member was a struggle, “I really didn't like it all that much because a lot of it's like arts and crafts” (ER interview, 1 32). As he got older and was able to choose his 4-H projects, to “find out what my passions were,” he started enjoying the experience. “And I think a lot of it was the friends I made” (ER interview, 1 36). It was those friendships not only within his county 4-H program but also across the region. Those friendships across the region first began at 4-H camp and were the primary motive for him to keep returning to camp.

> Whenever you go to camp and you meet all these kids…you really like start to make all these new friends and experience things you are not really used to. So then, when you go back every summer and see those same campers over and over again and just grow with them through 4-H, I believe that's kind of what kept me through it (KY interview, 1 39-42).

The relationships that Eric first developed as a camper transferred into him being a camp counselor and experiencing other state and national 4-H trips and opportunities. Those experiences also motivated him to become a 4-H volunteer when he began college. Through the various experiences he has had, “It has made me understand how much 4-H has done for me, and how it turned me into the person I am today” (ER interview, 1 43-44).

Eric served as a camp counselor for four years at five different camp sessions: including two sessions within the same year. Though he has not been at 4-H camp for five years, what still stands out most to him is:

> How much the kids remember you… I had so many kids run up to me, behind me and give me a giant hug but like, ‘I haven't seen you since last summer.’ That's the one of the biggest things that I remember, and also just the great friendships you made with all the other counselors, and I still keep in touch with at least 80% of all the counselors I was with during those four years, I keep in touch with all them still and still hang out with them every now and then. (ER interview, 1 140-152).

Eric was interested in becoming a camp counselor because of his experience as a camper. He remembers his first year at camp, “I was like the kid that sat in the corner, I didn’t want to do anything” (ER interview, 1 156). That same year, there was a tornado warning at camp and many campers went home early. However, that did not degrade Eric’s experience or memories of that first year:

> I think it was the counselors that they just made that experience, easy to get through, and also getting me out of the corner and hanging out with everybody.

> So, just how they influenced me made me want to influence other kids (ER interview, 1 158-160).

Eric was not accepted as a counselor his first year; however, he applied again the next year and was accepted.

> I just wanted to do the same thing and I made sure if there were kids over in the corner that weren't really hanging out with anybody to go talk to them like, even though I wanted to be out there on the dance floor dancing. I would sit down and talk with the kid, and just get to know them, and then I had one of those kids that eventually, I talked about like I'd sit down with them and talk with him. He eventually turned out to be a camp counselor like me so I thought that was really neat (ER interview, 1 163-168).

Ethan

Ethan is a young man that grew from 4-H in a different way than other study participants. A soft-spoken young adult who understands hard work, from his family farm to working a trade, 4-H was an opportunity for him to meet new people and make friends outside of his family. Ethan was a 12-year 4-H member; active in the showing hogs and rabbits and dabbled in other projects along the way. The most meaningful part of his 4-H career was becoming comfortable with talking to people, “I became more comfortable with talking to people and made me more sociable as a person because I didn't use to be such a sociable person (EB interview, 1 30-31).

He did not, however, go to 4-H camp as a camper. After a less than stellar experience at church camp where Ethan became homesick — “I absolutely dreaded it, it was awful” (EB interview, 1 66) — he had no desire to go to 4-H camp. However, when

he became a teenager and had the opportunity to apply to be a camp counselor, he took the chance.

> I thought, maybe helping kids have a better enjoyment at camp, and especially like the younger ones because I know some of those kids going to camp at 8 years old… You know I just. I've been in that position as a kid like I know how it cannot be very fun. And also, because I found to be a new experience and it would be fun and I was right. It was fun (EB interview, 1 66-72).

Mia

Mia is getting ready to start her 10th year of 4-H. Similar to Eric's path, Mia joined because of her family. Within 4-H, Mia has stayed active and engaged on the state level. Mia enjoyed attending camp as a camper. She found it to be a welcoming environment where she made new friends outside of her community club.

> I always remember at camp I'd be able to go in and the counselors were always welcoming, and I could always meet new friends and not be afraid to just be myself and not have to just try to fit in (MW interview, 1 53-55).

These experiences as a camper are what lead Mia to apply to be a camp counselor when she was old enough. She wanted to provide a similar experience to younger members as the one she had.

> …my counselors had always been awesome. I had loved camp, every single year I went…they just made me feel so welcomed and I want it to be able to do that for younger kids…and I want it to be one of those people that when they got there, they remembered your face and they would be able to enjoy camp and have the best time (MW interview, 1 57-62).

Camp Counselor Experience

At Camp Maplewood, the role of a counselor, as described by the program director and counselors is to care for campers, serve as a positive role model, and make sure that campers have a good time while they are learning. Mia described expectations from her view:

> [the role of a counselor is] being in charge of a group of kids for about four days where they stay overnight and you're in charge of getting them to have fun and have a great experience, while also being able to learn things from them, and being able to take those back and apply them in your life (MW interview, 1 319-322).

Counselor Expectations

Many of the counselor expectations centralized around helping campers as they moved throughout their day at camp, being a surrogate parent, helping campers complete various tasks, such as raising and lowering the flags, and having fun during meals by singing songs.

From the camp counselor's perspective, these expectations were either not clearly explained or written down. Eric understood his primary role was to care for campers.

> The staff pretty much took care of everything. Like when we had our stations, we had to get through during the day different workshops to make your kids be here to here, and then be here and here and don't be late. So, I just would gather up all the kids and get them to their next workshop…I tried to like do some things to push them in the right direction, and make sure they weren't going to focus on

> doing dumb stuff. That's where I feel like more of a leadership came in, but it's pretty much a babysitting scenario (ER interview, 1 231-241).

At times, Mia found a conflict between what camp staff would say the role of the counselor is and how she saw her role. What worked on paper or in theory, did not always line up when working with younger youth.

> Sometimes it is a little different than I would describe my role because the staff expects us to be responsible and follow all the rules where sometimes at camp there's situations where you can't follow the rules. Like getting kids asleep and lights are to be out, if they're scared of the dark. And sometimes that's a hard decision to make. When you have a homesick camper and the staff expects your lights to be out and you still have kids showering, you have a kid in tears that they want to go home. And I think sometimes that my role is to watch out for the kids and to be there for them. When the staff expects the rules to be followed. In situations like that where you're having to decide between lights out you know at a certain time or taking care of the campers (MW interview, 1 106-11).

At times when counselors did not have lights out at the exact time, camp staff was passive-aggressive about it. It does not seem like they asked about the situation or if there was anything they could do to help. Instead, staff would make passive statements to the counselor.

> We will get something said to us that 'oh your lights weren't out' and you kind of just have to take it with a grain of salt because, in your mind, you have to understand that you were helping kids and that that was going to make a bigger

> difference than getting something said to you from a staff member (SG interview, 1 115-118).

In 2018, other counselors also found conflict with camp staff. Comments in the 2018 Counselor Reflections, it is unknown the role of the adult(s) that are being referenced. “Adults that are too controlling or hover, and the swimwear dress code,” “The adults hovering over and being rude” (counselor reflections, 2018, document analysis, p. 11).

Other decisions and responsibilities that other counselors had included setting rules and guidelines for cabin behavior, cabin activities such as shower routines, camp songs, and flag ceremonies. “I lay down [rules] in the cabin. I mean, there's the general rules that the staff applies, but then you have some freedom in your cabin of rules to make” (ER interview, 1 197-198). Eric’s rules included sharing snacks, making sure everyone showered at least once a day, and the application of personal body spray. “If you're going to spray any cologne, go outside, we don’t want the whole cabin smelling like that” (ER interview, 1 203-204).

Other opportunities for counselors to make decisions included camp songs and flag ceremonies, raising in the morning and lowering in the evening. Cabins were assigned at least one ceremony to lead.

> Other general things we have free liberty of, would be camp songs to sing during the campfire and after dinner. And then each cabin always had a turn of raising and lowering the flag poles. So, I would choose which kids would be handling the American flag, which kids would be handling the 4-H flag. So, I always made sure to choose the more mature kids to handle the American flag and then I get

> the younger kids to handle the 4-H flag and fold those up (ER interview, 1 206-209).

Counselors were also provided with a workshop block where they could do what they wanted. Eric shared that mostly team building activities took place during that time.

> Currently our counselors may or may not lead a session or likely not, then do if they lead a session, it's probably going to be dance, it's probably going to be some team building that they can do. But it's not the deep and heavy sessions that that faculty and staff will teach (SG interview 3, 262-265).

Leadership opportunities at camp were sometimes structured and sometimes, as Shannon described it, arose organically. The following is a description of what Shannon sees as leadership during camp. During the photo elicitation activity, Shannon shared one example:

> For me there's leadership going on there, two places. So, the young man…he's helping those kids he's helping to show those kids how to fold the 4-H flag. You've got an older young man over there, taking the flag down but they are, they are helping the kids. They're not just sitting here looking at us this is how you do it, they're helping them to do it. And I will tell you by the end of the week, the campers are doing it…by the end of the week, those kids are standing back the counselors are standing back and just letting the boys do it (SG photo elicitation, 1 530-544).

Another example would be pairing experienced counselors with new counselors in the cabin or within a group. This provides an opportunity for informal and indirect mentoring. This example was not provided by Shannon; however, Eric reflected on it

through photo elicitation. Though he may not have seen it the same way as the program director:

> For some reason, the staff did this on purpose, but uh, they always paired me with the new counselor. I never got my buddy. So, always just me being a trainer for the young and incoming counselor or if it was them realize like man if we put [Eric] with one buddy, things might get a little bit crazy in there (ER photo elicitation, 1 194-198).

Camp Maplewood does not have a handbook or training manual. Expectations are not written down anywhere for Camp Maplewood. The expectations for counselors are subjective and yet still come back around to camper management, Shannon, program director described a former counselor: “She's gonna be the one that's going to connect for us and she did” (SG interview, 1 428-429).

In areas that could have more objective expectations and outcomes, such as planning and leading a workshop or activity, Shannon shared:

> We have not in the past, placed a lot of expectation that the counselors will teach… I'll just say we've been selfish, we don't get to spend a lot. We don't get to spend enough time with the kids in our jobs. And camp is one place where we've gotten to spend time with the kids. However, the expectation has always been, is that the counselors, need to be helping with those sessions, in the sense of, if, if I'm teaching a session on underwater basket weaving. They shouldn't be doing basket weaving they should be helping their campers, to be successful. And if I need them to go get something they can get, if you see kids struggling help them.

> That's your job as a counselor to help those kids that are struggling or to praise those kids that are doing great things. (SG interview, 1 430-439).

Shannon has mixed feelings about the lack of opportunity for camp counselors to teach. Initially, it was perceived that Shannon had started reflecting and preparing to implement a structural change in the camp program between her first and second interviews. However, upon reviewing documents, this change has been considered since at least 2016. Through an end-of-camp reflection, counselors were surveyed 2016, 2017, and 2018 counselors were asked, “What are your thoughts about expanding the role of counselors to leading/teaching some programs if given an opportunity to help with planning?” (Counselor reflection, 2016, 2017, 2018, document analysis). During that time frame, a total of 60 responses (85%) stated “yes” or “maybe” to the question if they would like to be more directly involved with camp planning and programming decisions.

In Shannon’s interview, you could hear in her voice and words that she is nervous about change, though it has been under consideration for three years. As program director, she claims that she is interested in making some changes in the role that counselors have at camp. However, she has yet to put the steps in motion to change the structure and processes. Shannon was asked to unpack that more:

> In the past, our training has been terrible with counselors. You bring them in and it's, Oh what are you going to do if the kid pees the bed? Okay, that's not everything that they need for skills to be counselors and bless their hearts they truly have slightly broader set of skills with them. And maybe we didn't really know they had [a skill, or skill set], thought they kind of had but we really didn't know that they had [assumed]. And by the time you get to the second day can't be

> like, oh, we're glad you've got that skill because you're going to need that skill [even though we did not train or prepare you] (SG interview, 2 40-44).

In Shannon's tenure with the camp, that structure has not changed. However, recently there has been a shift in 4-H youth specialists that may be the catalyst to expand the opportunities for counselors. While Shannon is open to counselors leading workshops, she is still nervous about it:

> So, my past colleagues that are no longer with us [the organization] have said oh that's not necessary [to allow counselors teach workshops]. Yes, it's very necessary. So, coming up, we're going to be moving into that place to where we can train them to do the workshops during camp. I'm not comfortable just going there and letting them fly free. No, they need to sculpt that a little bit, lets refine it, we need to give some guidance they need support. Yes, I want them to decide what those workshops are going to be, but they still need us as the professionals to do (SG interview 2, 34-38).

Until recently, there appears that a substantial personality difference and philosophical difference created a barrier for change within Camp Maplewood. With the continued shifts and reduction of staff, the opportunity for change may be on the horizon.

Counselor Training

Teens that are interested in serving as a camp counselor submit an application in January. After teens apply, they participate in a spring training, or a selection day, as Shannon sometimes calls it, or an early interview as Ethan referred to it.

There was a consensus among most of the case participants that the selection day or spring training was not an effective use of anyone's time. Eric and Mia remember that

the day was primarily a collection of games aimed at seeing how the teens worked together and a time to socialize with those that you may not have seen for a while. There was little to no training on how to prepare for their role as a camp counselor. Eric recalls that it was:

> Kind of interesting…they'd want to do name games to start, which is really awful for me when I already know everybody's name of the circle. So, it was like, I just kinda [sic] like maybe not focused at all (ER interview, 1 171-173).

Mia described the training as:

> Usually, we are just getting to know each other, we play a lot of games at the training in the spring… it's less of preparing for the kids and more of preparing for getting to know your other counselor friends, and just getting comfortable with them so that you know if you have, are having a problem with the counselor or camper that you can go to another counselor and see if they know them better or what they would do in that situation (MW interview, 1 65-66;70-73).

Mia would prefer to spend less time on games and more time on preparing for various situations they may face at camp. A few years ago, a camper fell and hit her head and had a seizure. Shannon recalled the situation and she felt that the counselors handled it well. Mia on the other hand, who witnessed the incident, did not feel prepared:

> [training was] little bit too much game oriented, and that the, that it's led more by the staff. Whereas counselors, we need to be able to step up and be leaders, and sometimes it's a little bit too much of them explaining the game to us and then we play the game, and then we move on, and then we play another game… we were

> never really prepare for that [serious situations] we were just prepare for the game part in the fun part of camp (MW interview, 1 77-80; 83-84).

Eric would have preferred more activities to support creative thinking and problem solving.

> Oh man, I believe more like thinking on your feet sort of things, because as a camp counselor, there are so many times when the most unexpected thing comes up, and you have to react that and now there's no, there's no like, I'll get back to you on this, or let me go find a staff to talk to. It's more, this has to be dealt with now and get this taken care of. So, I feel like more of those kinds of scenarios done it done in trains would help out a lot with future camps (ER interview, 1 184-188).

Reflections from the counselor survey provided a range of suggestions on how to "add to counselor training to help counselors have a positive experience." Responses included CPR training, dance, "find something where we can get to know each other better and teach us some things we do at camp," homesick training, "deal with leadership and maturity," "more teambuilding with other counselors" (counselor reflections, 2016, 2017, 2018, document analysis). One counselor even mentioned the lack of preparation to work with peers in their Missouri 4-H Foundation scholarship form:

> It can be a challenge when I'm a cabin counselor and color group leader with other 4-H members who I do not know very well. I have had to learn to work with my partner to build a sense of cabin unity with other young campers as well as keeping our young campers safe & enjoying their experience (Derks, document review, 2018).

From the time that counselors are selected in the spring, they do not interact with camp staff until they arrive the evening before camp. “We didn’t do anything with them until the day before camp opens,” Shannon stated. Eric felt a similar way about the training:

> The training was just too easy, it was more of the staff wanting to see who work together the best. And with me I was just pretty much hanging out with friends the whole day. And there wasn't really too much training, I believe it’s just who works together the best and who’s mature enough to handle 24 kids in a cabin. So, I believe that's pretty much what the counselor training was (ER interview, 1 174-178).

When counselors arrive at camp the evening before campers, they spent quite a bit of time helping to set up camp, moving supplies and equipment to their necessary locations. They also participated in some training; Shannon explained:

> And we would do some basic trainings with them. Okay so we do the kids are homesick, kind of training we do some basic first aid training with a very basic, because…we've always hired RN’s to be on staff…You know when we have them with, you know, how to deal with bullying and leading the campfire. Leading the dancing and that kind of stuff but nothing. I don't wanna say nothing of any merits but (long pause) nothing of any merit (SG interview 2, 71-73;79-81).

While Eric appreciated the basic first aid training, he felt that more was needed to help him, and other counselors are successful.

> And then also, I think they try to teach us some first aid stuff, but I believe like if we do like a whole like crash course on first aid that help out a bunch…(ER interview, 1 188-190).

Of the counselors in this study, Mia has the most recent participation. She served in 2021 with day camps, as well in 2019 and 2018. As she reflected on counselor training, what stood out the most in her mind were the number of games that were played. While they were helpful for the downtime between sessions, they did not prepare her for other aspects of the role:

> After training, I feel more prepared to play games with kids. And I know a few new games because we play a lot of the games during the trainings that I feel that training is preparing me to deal with kids and situations if there's downtime (MW interview, 1 171-173).

Neither Eric nor Mia recalled, but Ethan remembered that time was spent to help teens understand what bullying is, the signs of bullying, and what to do if they think they are observing bullying. Ethan recalls an extensive amount of time seemed to be spent on that topic as part of the counselor training. Shannon expressed regret that more has not been done to expand the limited role that counselors have, “And again, I hate that, that's all we've done, hate it because I know as an adult... There's a whole lot more that they need and what we've given them” (SG interview 1, 90-92).

Summary

Camp Maplewood has the camper front and center in the design and implementation of their camp. The program director sits at the top of the pyramid of decision makers at camp with other MU faculty and staff below them. At the bottom of

the decision, pyramid are counselors. Their primary role is to aid in the transition of campers from one location to another and support their engagement in activities. Much of what takes place at camp is rooted in the traditions that were in place when Shannon started in her position with MU Extension. Shannon sees counselors having an opportunity to develop leadership skills, however much of what is taking place according to the Leadership Identity Development (LID) model is relationship development. Counselors have been asked for several years if they would like to have an expanded role and camp, which they do. However, the program director and other adults involved are choosing not to incorporate their feedback.

Case 2: Camp Pinewood

Participant Overview

Each case includes several participants that provided data through extensive interviews. Their quotes will be shared throughout the narrative. An overview table is being provided to help keep track of the various participants and their roles at camp at a quick glance.

Table 2

Camp Pinewood Participants

Participant	Role	Participant	Role
Elizabeth Jones	program director	Olivia Smith	counselor
Jessica Miller	specialist	Madison Lewis	counselor
Heather Anderson	specialist	Jacob Moore	counselor
Sandra Wilson	YPA		

Case 2 Overview

Camp Pinewood is for campers 8–12 years old, supported by counselors who range from 13–18 years old. Compared to the other camps in this study, Pinewood is a day shorter, held over three days and two nights. Very little at Pinewood has changed over the past couple of decades. Camp counselor Olivia shared that "the schedule has been the same since I was 7 years old and has not changed. Even this year…I'm pretty sure the schedules won't change. Still the same at 21 years old" (OS interview, 1 457-458). The schedule goes beyond some traditional activities, such as a morning polar plunge in the swimming area or a hike through an older part of camp. It includes having,

according to program [camp] director Elizabeth, “All of those things that are expected things from camp, there is not a lot of flexibility” (EJ interview, 2 227-228). Even as camping groups are beginning to think about overnight camps for 2022, there is little interest in changing the schedule or how things are done. Olivia shared that, “Some of them [camp staff] have been there for so long it may be hard to get them out of the idea of we may need to see some changes” (OS interview, 1 469-470).

Over the past four years, Jessica, a 4-H youth specialist has been providing counselor training. At the time that Jessica started with Missouri 4-H, there was only two Extension personnel that had any experience, Elizabeth was one of them. A fellow 4-H youth specialist, Heather, has served as the program director for the past few years. She is responsible for planning the camp program and schedule, as well as creating and organizing programs, skits, campfire programs, and workshops. She lines up program presenters, delegates any teaching responsibilities (primarily a craft), manages mealtime announcements, and manages meal responsibilities and procedures. This camp position is also responsible for name tags, cabin assignments, and schedules in a miniature format that is provided to counselors and campers. In addition to teen camp counselors, this camp has adult counselors. The adult counselors report directly to the camp manager. These adults are approved Missouri 4-H volunteers whose primary role is to support counselors and campers in the cabin. The adult counselors are also responsible for helping to build the campfire, serve meals, and attend and assist with programs as assigned.

Participant Background

Program director

Elizabeth has worked for MU Extension and Missouri 4-H for more than 20 years. She has an additional seven years with the Extension organization in another state. Elizabeth grew up in 4-H, though not Missouri 4-H. After college, Elizabeth struggled to find a professional job that fit well with her business degree and interests. After interviewing with many companies within the private industry, she accepted an internship at the National 4-H Center to assist with state groups that came to various conferences. It was through that experience that she found a professional role with the Cooperative Extension organization and 4-H and began her career.

Program Director Camp Philosophy

Elizabeth was introduced to camp in Missouri in a very logistical manner. "When I first came, they moved from [one campground] because it had issues before I got here, but there was [three experienced female specialists], they knew the ropes of what camp needed to be" (EJ interview 1, 199-201). When asked to elaborate on what she meant when the previous program directors knew how camp needed to be, Elizabeth focused on knowing what staff needed to be hired, how to divide campers within cabins, and the programming format.

Camp counselors and their role within the camping program were also considered part of the "nuts and bolts" (EJ interview, 1 258) of what needed to be done. Camp Pinewood was deemed a successful structure and model to Elizabeth based on the number of campers that were participating and did not need much revamping, "…just

continue what was going on and making it a little bit better that you can, but I'm just kind of making sure that those things still happen" (EJ interview, 1 213-215).

In contrast to Camp Pinewood, Elizabeth provides teens with broader roles outside of overnight camp. The local 4-H council is youth led. They run the business meeting; they manage finances: "They do pretty much all that we have" (EJ interview, 2 351). This group plans multiple events throughout the year including a fundraiser and a family event day. They also plan and carry out a day camp for 4-H members 5–8 years old. Elizabeth describes the role of the 4-H Council and Clover Kids Day (for youth 5-7 years old):

> We're just there to put out big fires if there happens to be one. So, we allow them to look at those components and not that we totally let them go way off, left field. We provide them a little bit of a structure, but for the most part they put together the Clover Kid Day camp (EJ interview, 356-359)…They divvy it up, amongst themselves one person does the crafts, one does the games…they kind of divvy up who's going to teach what parts and we just we just sit there and watch and observe and we take pictures and we get the food ready for lunch and just all the behind the scenes (EJ interview, 402-405).

When pressed if she has ever considered incorporating a similar model to overnight camp, Elizabeth blamed the timing of the counselor training for not providing the opportunity to allow counselors to plan and have a higher level of responsibility. At the time of the interview, there was no consideration of adjusting the timeline of counselor selection and training to allow for more planning and training to take place. She did share

that a neighboring camp she was covering in the interim was “testing the water” in allowing teens to have more input on the schedule (EJ interview, 2 417).

Camp Counselors

Camp Pinewood provides the opportunity for teens 14-18 years old to apply to be a camp counselor. The counselors that participated in this study, Madison, Olivia, and Jacob are former 4-H members. They were active in 4-H through their club and county as well as highly active in their high schools. All three of the counselors that participated in this study were 10-year 4-H members. However, not all attended camp from an early age through their years as a counselor. Madison did not attend 4-H camp as a camper because it “didn’t fit…I was so busy with other things” (AB interview, 1 84). Madison was even reluctant to apply to be a camp counselor: “My mom and my sister made me do it… but then as soon as I got there, like [sic] I just fell in love, and I applied every year after that because it was just such a good experience” (AB interview, 1 88-89).

Madison

Madison is currently a college sophomore after completing 10 years of 4-H. Her experience in 4-H was based in agriculture. She followed in her sister’s footsteps of being a 4-H member, even though at first she was not very excited about it. When Mia was younger, she did not attend 4-H camp. Her family was busy in the summer and attending camp in early June did not fit the family schedule. Camp may not have appealed to her: “It just didn't fit to be in camp because I'm so busy with other things (ML interview, 1 68). However, when she was old enough to apply to be a camp counselor, she did so, begrudgingly. Though she was not happy about applying, Madison did and was gratefully for the nudge of encouragement:

> I actually didn't want to be a camp counselor. So, my mom and my sister made me do it…So, I was not happy with the situation but then as soon as I got there, like I just fell in love, and I applied every year after that because it was just such a good experience and everybody was just so fun and so nice and I regretted not going as a camper (ML interview, 1 71-73).

The relationships developed at camp, in the fun and active environment were the reason that Madison continued to come back to camp each year as a counselor:

> Just honestly the people like, I just I love the people that I got to be a camp counselor with. I love the kids. I just love the atmosphere of camp; this is all always so fun active and just. And so it wasn't like an escape but it was a nice escape (ML interview, 1 161-163).

Olivia

Olivia was born into 4-H. At the time of her birth, her mother was active in 4-H as a volunteer. Although she did not have a choice to be in 4-H when she joined as a Clover Kid at age 5, she enjoyed the experience and had no desire to step away. Olivia's formal camp experience began at age 7. Though she was officially too young to be a camper, because her mom was a camp volunteer, she was able to attend early. She would continue to attend camp for the next 11 years:

> I really enjoyed the campfire and singing the songs and the games all the time. Just the culture of the atmosphere being an extrovert I really enjoyed all of it, the campfire is one thing that I always remembered and enjoyed (OS interview, 1 76-78).

At the age of 13, Olivia was able to attend camp as a counselor in training (CIT). Although CITs have a different title, they had the same experiences and expectations as all of the other counselors:

> You get treated the exact same with a staff though as a counselor, there's not a distinction between you as a CIT and an experienced counselor. They just, you know, pair you with an experienced counselor, but otherwise all the duties are the same. So there's not too big of an actual responsibility difference there (OS interview, 1 112-115).

The CIT experience made Olivia nervous. Primarily because there was little to no age difference between her and the campers she was accountable for:

> I was really nervous at first because I had a lot of friends who were just a year younger than me who were campers and my sister being only four years younger than me, I had a lot of kids her age. As a CIT, they saw me as like a big sister. So I was really nervous about how that relationship was going to work is they're going to respect me and listen to me (OS interview, 1 102-106).

Through the camp experience, Olivia learned that she enjoyed working with younger youth. That led her on a path to pursue a career working with youth.

Jacob

Similar to the other counselors, in this case, Jacob was a longtime 4-H member. He joined at an early age and followed in the footsteps of his older sisters through the program. Throughout Jacob's 4-H experience he developed many friendships and relationships through his local club and program, in addition to various statewide experiences that he participated in. Jacob attended camp "every year that I could" (JM

interview, 1 20). Attending 4-H camp was one of his first opportunities to participate outside of his county. “It was a, an eye-opening experience; it was kind of daunting to begin with as an 8-year-old because I didn't really know anybody else” (JM interview, 2 57-58). When he aged out of being able to attend camp as a camper, it was a natural transition for him to apply to be a camp counselor. Jacob’s older siblings had served as camp counselors so he had some knowledge of what would be expected of him. He did not see being a camp counselor as a very significant role. Mainly it was a way, at least at 13 years old, to keep hanging out with his friends:

> The opportunity to continue going to camp, it was a big part of, at 13 you transitioned into being too old for camp unless you came back on staff as camp counselor, but to I knew a lot of my friends were also going to be camp counselors, and I really enjoyed hanging out with them and that was an excuse to hang with them for four days, five days without too much effort (JM interview, 1 71-74).

After the first year as a counselor, he understood that there was more to the role than just hanging out with your friends — there was a level of responsibility:

> And then finally, I kind of felt a sense of responsibility that I had some pretty great camp counselors whenever I was first coming in and as a camper. And I kind of felt like I owed it back to the camp and a time of need that they need its counselors, especially male counselors, and I could absolutely fill that position and be pretty good at it to that as well as have some fun at the same time (JM interview, 1 74-78).

Through the five years that Jacob served as a camp counselor, the challenges were limited. “Most of it was pretty easy,” he said (JM interview, 1 196). He fulfilled a role when the program needed male counselors the most and to give back to the program that he enjoyed. “I felt the responsibility and the opportunities to do that same thing for kids in the program that I could make it fun and hopefully inspire them” (JM interview, 1 161-163).

Camp Counselor Experience

The camp counselor experience is open to 4-H members that are 13–18 years old. Teens that are interested in being a camp counselor apply and plan to participate in a day-long training in the spring. Madison described the camp counselor experience as: “You get to make friends, and you get to just learn so many new things, and you get to be a role model to so many kids that and you don't even know it” (ML interview, 1 213-215). Jacob describes the role as:

> A camp counselor is someone who facilitates a safe and informative camping experience for the three days, the weeklong, whatever it is. So first and foremost, my role was to maintain and provide for the safety of my camp counselor or for my campers and any campers on the campgrounds at the same time, but right behind that was to make sure that they were having a fun week and that they were being educated about something as well as that so usually we had a theme for our camp. (JM interview, 1 120-124).

The camp handbook outlines the duties of the camp counselor as the following:

- Work under the direction of the Counselor coordinator

- Review each camp schedule — talk to Program Director to verify program responsibilities
- Have one hour of canned indoor games prepared for rainy days
- Have one hour of canned outdoor games prepared
- Stay with assigned camper group
- Be prepared for singing & games
- Beginning of camp string three clothes lines at each cabin. Take down at end of camp.
- Complete other duties as assigned to you
- Incident Reports

The camp manager [program director], Elizabeth, is in the lead position at Camp Pinewood. She is responsible for securing the camp rental agreement, managing the camp sign-in book, delegating all jobs and tasks, bookkeeping, purchasing. Most recently the counselor coordinator has been Sandra, a YPA (youth program associate) for Camp Pinewood. Sandra is responsible for providing leadership at camp counselor training. Working directly with the program director to determine the needs and expectations of the counselors, communicating with counselors prior to camp, serving as the primary contact at camp for counselors, assembling/updating backpacks that have downtime activities and suggestions in them, and signing them out.

From the perspective of the camp counselors, the counselor coordinator did not impact all of the counselors, only some counselors interacted with the coordinator to focus on camper behavior. Madison, camp counselor, shared her experience:

> Usually, after lunch, one counselor from each of the cabin would stay back and just have a conversation with them [the counselor coordinator] …We talk about, if there's a kid that has an attitude or if there's a kid that was homesick. Just making sure that everything was okay and sometimes we'd have questions about what the next activity was going to be. But it was nothing major. Just a quick little like, Are you doing okay, Anything we need to be aware of? I'm here if you need me (ML interview, 1 153-156).

Jacob, a camp counselor, shared the same reflection as Olivia and Madison. As the question was posed to him, it was clear that he did not feel that there was a need to meet based on their role expectations.

> Very rarely, I would say; we all had a pretty good idea of what was going on and when it was going on as far as camp was concerned with that there were, at times, a cabin may have a question or a group of people might have a question that obviously the advisors, the adults were there to answer, but very rarely I would say (JM interview, 1 134-137).

Part of the separation between the camp coordinator role engaging with all of the counselors may be that the individual in that role has fluctuated over the years. In addition, the individual that has served in that role the past few years served in that role only at camp. Prior to camp and through the training, initiatives were led by the program director, or another youth specialist brought in to only conduct the training.

Counselor Expectations

Camp Pinewood does not have defined outcomes for counselors. They have a list of tasks they are expected to carry out. These expectations have been in place for

over 20 years. Those expectations were set prior to Elizabeth being on staff in Missouri and have not been reviewed or evaluated for relevancy or effectiveness in the time she has been with the organization. Elizabeth describes counselor expectations:

> We [camp staff] set the stage for that and I'm assuming staff did that probably 20 years ago, probably before then, before my career, there was, there was a standard, these are the expectations of those campers knew that was the expectation so then they became counselors. It was a natural evolution (EJ interview, 3 63-35).

At one time, the expectations were included in a handout that was distributed during training. That is not happening anymore. Jessica, youth specialist, stopped providing the written job description when she took the lead on counselor training. She allows counselors to define their role setting general parameters that safety and positivity need to be included in the camp environment:

> That [job description] was included in their counseling, training, and I have stopped providing that piece of paper and, instead, we look at it as What is camp supposed to be and what are we supposed to get out of camp? And if those are true what is your job in order to make those happen… But the conversation comes out of them recognizing well if we need camp to be a safe experience what's on our responsibility list, if we need camp to be positive what's on our responsibility list, so that they're establishing their own jobs, according to what needs to happen. (JM interview, 1 188-191).

Though it appears that counselors have a more active part in defining their role at camp, they are still developing a task list that involves keeping campers safe, managing behavior, and maintaining a positive and fun camp environment.

Camp counselors are responsible for camper behavior management in the cabins, to and from activities, and during activities. Elizabeth describes their duties:

> [Counselors are] responsible for their kids in the cabin, making sure that they're in bed on time, that they're dressed, they're where they're supposed to be with their small groups that they're watching out for the those that could be homesick, and trying to keep them engaged and involved and not thinking about that part of it, and they are basically, they are our eyes and ears for what's happening within their cabins. (EJ interview, 1 3 235-239).

In a later interview, Elizabeth expanded on expectations:

> Our number one priority is obviously the safety of our campers and making sure that there's nothing there that's going to injure them or put them in a situation where they're not going to be safe. And so that's our very top priority. Our second priority is making sure that they're interacting and feeling a part of the group…And so that's probably the biggest thing that we try to incorporate so you don't want kids wandering off or not feeling good and our goal and objective is to have as little homesickness as possible because that usually means that they're not having a good time and doing things (EJ interview, 2 162-173)…Then they're caring adults for those kids, you know, they're not adults yet but yet they are. We're putting them in roles that allow them to become better adults and make an impact (EJ interview, 2 178-179).

Counselors understood their role, though they found it limiting. Olivia provides a description:

> We are expected to go play with them. We can't cluster and group, is one thing that they really go hard at training is you can't group together as counselors. You should always be with a group of campers. So, it's expected that you play with them… just the basic expectations that there must be a counselor with any camper who needs to go to the bathroom or to the nurse needs to go back to the cabin… And then sometimes we are expected to help different programs. If they only have one person coming from their organization, you may go help with archery. Sometimes our camp program directors will tell that you know we need two counselors over there with them and so we have to go over there and then other counselors have to help fill in, you know, our original spots. But otherwise, there's not too many other expectations it is just kind of help out where needed. Use some common sense in essence (OS interview, 1 175-199).

Though Olivia does not directly say it, you could hear in her voice, as upbeat as she was in describing the counselor role, she understood her role as a counselor and participated willingly. When she stated that there weren't too many expectations, you could hear a tone in her voice that anyone could fill the role and she would have liked to have had the opportunity to learn more or do more.

Counselors are provided with minimal opportunities to plan or make decisions beyond camper behavior management. Counselors have very few decisions or responsibilities to follow through on. Although Elizabeth states that things are turned over to counselors, and it is up to them, "We don't come in and tell them what they need

to do on those. That's kind of up to them" (EJ interview, 2 269-270). Singing songs is another area that is a counselor's responsibility. As groups walked back and forth from the cabins, counselors are allowed to choose which songs are sung during those transition times. Choice of songs prior to mealtimes, as the meal preparation is getting finalized, is also a counselor's responsibility.

Camp counselors do not have any responsibilities for assisting with programming during camp. Programming, the educational workshop rotations that occur during camp are often provided by outside organizations and partners. The goal of this is to allow the counselors to focus on camper behavior management and for camp staff to work behind the scenes on logistics. This is part of the hierarchy of camp, at the top are the youth specialists, followed by YPA's (youth program associates), adult volunteers that serve as cooks, lifeguards, and nurses, and at the bottom are the camp counselors:

> We try to get some outside people to come in and do [activities and workshop sessions] so that we can, the counselors can focus on the kids and keeping them engaged, and then we have staff can make sure that everything behind the scenes is flowing like it needs to and taking pictures and doing some of those marketing, things like that. I'm sorry, I you know you look at you hate the hierarchy, but that's kind of what it is, it's us as specialists and YPA. Then we have our adult volunteer staff that are there are cooks are lifeguards are nurses, and then our camp counselors are right there next in line for the authority of what's happening with the program (EJ interview, 1 240-246).

A minimal role of planning and responsibility is provided with campfire and flag raising and lowering ceremonies. However, according to Elizabeth, there are parameters that

need to be met. Campfires must be purposeful and partially scripted:

> We made it purposeful they had them come up with what they're going to talk about what songs they're going to do so it's not just flying off the seat of your pants on what's going to happen (EJ interview, 2 281-283).

Flag ceremonies must include singing a couple of songs, and counselors need to share with the program director how everyone in a cabin is going to be involved in the process. “Those are some things that we allow them to do, the major components of those parts” (EJ interview, 2 290-291). Other opportunities to plan only come if the program director feels they are too short on camp staff to lead. If that is the case, then an experienced counselor may be asked to lead the activity or session. Although, the activity or session will be planned by a camp staff member, not the counselor.

As all of the pieces of the camp counselor experience came together at Camp Pinewood, one thing that stood out is that Elizabeth could not describe how teens are encouraged to develop skills and grow through camp. At the initial asking of the question, she could not answer the question. I came back to it at the end of the interview. She was a little quicker to respond at the second asking. However, it was a limited understanding. Elizabeth felt that skill development and growth were nurtured through the senior counselors having the focus of the final campfire: “That's like a privilege, the last campfire they coordinate” (EJ interview, 3 250). They get to share whatever they chose about their camp experiences. Elizabeth concludes the campfire ceremony because she is probably the only one that has been with them the whole camping career. This opportunity was described by Elizabeth as an “added leadership thing that they have at the very end of camping experience” (EJ interview, 3 254). There

were no other examples of skill development that the Pinewood camping program is working toward.

Within the environment at Camp Pinewood, there does not appear that there is a consistently open opportunity for feedback. Camp staff does not appear to be open to feedback from counselors, or campers, to provide honest thoughts about different components of camp or make any changes to the camp structure. Olivia shared her experience:

> As a camper you never really did [have the opportunity to provide feedback], the surveys that we got was, you know, strongly agree or disagree. You know Likert scale and stuff like that so you never really had time, a place for comments. As a counselor I believe we got space to write actual comments. But we always got the surveys at the very end. On the last day of camp. So sometimes you felt kind of rushed, and that you just wanted to get it done because you had other things you needed to be doing (OS interview, 1 432-436).

Counselors did not have an opportunity prior to camp or leading up to counselor training, to provide any other input into the camp structure or activities. There also does not appear to be an environment during camp where if something is not going well, or there may be an opportunity to expand on a successful activity, counselors would be able to provide feedback to the camp director or program director. The camp staff made all the plans and all the arrangements based on their own beliefs and opinions of what campers and counselors want and hope to get out of camp. Yet, at the same time statements are made by Elizabeth that there is a great list of expectations: “There aren't many slots to fill because when you do the swimming and you do that, all those things that are, are

expected things from camp, there's not a lot of flexibility" (EJ interview, 2 266-268). Olivia provided her perspective as a former counselor and current youth professional:

> The specialist and YPA kind of had, everything already planned, they created the theme, and they've already been asking people to come in to do the program so all that's pretty much set already because our trainings in April and camp is in June. So of course, everything is already practically done it's already set so I'm not sure if they ever really asked us at training for the following year, What we would like to see or do? It was always just kind of, they did it and you either like it or you don't but you're going to do it anyway kind of thing (OS interview, 446-451).

Similar to Olivia, Jacob did not question the role expectations of a counselor. However, if provided the opportunity to do more, he was excited about the possibility: "I absolutely would have if I was asked to step up and to fill a role and to make decisions, pertaining to that event or whatever happy. I absolutely would have" (JM interview, 1 113-114). This is a missed opportunity for the program director and all camp staff to challenge growth within the counselors and within themselves.

Counselor Training

All counselor applicants are expected to attend spring training. While applicants are expected to participate in the training, their attendance does not guarantee that they will be selected to serve as a counselor at camp. Components of the training include get-to-know-you and team building activities. They also participate in large group sessions that are structured around the current "hot topics" Jessica thinks are important for camp counselors. These sessions have ranged from understanding the stages of youth development, building a community quickly, essential elements of youth development,

and what it is to be an ideal camp counselor. Jessica has been known to regularly attend professional development conferences and "shares with us the new hot topics that are coming out and the new things that are there" (EJ interview 2, 199-200). The youth will also participate in small group sessions to focus on camp songs, skits, and games. These sessions at times are led by returning camp counselors.

During the training, camp staff are not only teaching and engaging with the counselors, they are also observing how they interact with each other and with camp staff. These observations are taken into consideration as final counselor selections are made for camp. However, camp counselor applicants are "rarely cut…because we don't have that many of them, but we have done it in the past" (KM interview, 2 101). In rare years, teens are not selected because of a pure lack of space to accept them all. Other times though, the teen may not have the capacity or necessary behavior that can be molded that would allow them to grow through the experience. Elizabeth explained, "We have done it [not accepted an application] in the past because there are some of them that just don't, they're going to be more of a hassle for us than they are going to be a benefit" (EJ interview, 2 101-103). It is with the hope that if a teen applicant is not accepted that they continue to grow and mature over the next year and apply again. At times, those that are not accepted the first time turn out to be "the best camp counselor we've had. So that's a catch 22" (EJ interview, 2 105-106).

The current structure of spring camp counselor training is directed and planned by Jessica, a 4-H youth specialist that has little responsibility or expectation of follow-through at camp. Jessica described her role:

> I take leadership for the camp counselor training portion of preparing our teen leaders for camp, which means that I organize the counselor training that typically occurs in April…and then I attend the Monday of a typical camp year, which is our counselor set up and the remainder of our counselor training portion. So, I am all-hands-on-deck in regards to counselors, but I do not oversee the remainder of the camps since I serve two different camping associations (JM interview, 1 19-25).

When Jessica first started with the organization, she was responsible for the counselor training and the daily check-ins with campers. Under current conditions "Sandra or Elizabeth have taken over the counselor daily check-ins after I've provided the training (JM interview, 1 32-33).

When Elizabeth was asked to share more about how training needs are decided it was shared that there was some motivation is continuing to allow Jessica to continue planning and identifying needs for counselors due to "she's been attending the national [4-H] meeting a little bit more than I have it, that's kind of her focus and where her passion is" (EJ interview, 2 198-199). Jessica had experience working with teens prior to her role in Extension. In conversation with her, she never indicated that her decisions were necessarily impacted by the national 4-H meeting for your professionals. That was Elizabeth's perspective.

The "hot topics" (EJ interview, 2 96), combined with observed needs that occurred the previous year are considered when setting the agenda. As Jessica has increasingly stepped away from Camp Pinewood, she is developing and providing the training then handing off the counselors to another faculty and/or staff member to carry

through intentions and expectations camp. There is some concern that the intentions and expectations expressed and demonstrated through the training may not be aligned with the implementation of camp. Increasingly over the years, Jessica has seen a shift in the number of youth from her county program decrease at Camp Pinewood. To date, her 4-H members predominately camp at another location, with another group. However, Jessica has continued to provide the counselor training, or developed the agenda, even though she may not be at camp or at training. As Jessica continues to see a shift in her county participation it is unknown how long she will continue to work with Camp Pinewood.

However, Jessica appears to have a better grasp on the outcomes that she wants teens to have as a result of the training, albeit the outcomes are focused on relationship building and interpersonal skills. Jessica describes her intended outcomes for counselor training:

> For me, I think that as a counselor, I want them to, leadership is such a cliché word really, I want them to gain leadership because that means so many different things. I want them to understand the importance of their role, and how they can impact other people, you know, we talk about it I mean, any human can impact another human but we talk a lot about the big-kid-little-kid relationship, and their behavior and their actions, and their enthusiasm, their engagement there, directly influences every 8-, 9-, 10-, and 11-year-old around (JM interview, 1 93-98)…For me when I think about the leadership within counseling specifically, it's really from a relationship point of view and how much you can influence and impact others with your own choices (JM interview, 1 109-110).

By her words, the outcomes have not been reviewed and approved by the group. She has set her own outcomes and structured the training around them. “I would say those are my personal beliefs, from my various experiences with counselors and team leadership, and that's what I've come to, like, achieve, and plan I think that in terms of the [camp] group as a whole” (JM interview, 1 113-115).

Jessica’s efforts to change the culture began after her first year at 4-H camp. She went to camp after starting in her position just a few months prior her main role was to show up and take pictures. “One of the things that I noticed was that I didn't feel like the youth, counselors, saw opportunities outside of what was directly told to them.” (JM interview, 1 158-159). Jessica observed counselors fulfilling their expectations at the time:

> …to bring your groups from A to B, to obviously establish a relationship with your groups to make sure that your youth are safe from A to B whenever you're traveling and their cabins etc. (JM interview, 1 165-167) …What I didn't see as much where opportunities taken at mealtimes when they sit outside of their groups, and if you establish a relationship with someone at your mealtime are you reaching out to them… Or if there's downtime, do they automatically start an activity or create a conversation or find a game or do they sit and wait for an adult to say hey this is what happened and this is the change in our schedule (JM interview, 1 169-174) …You know, if we had a session that they were asked to help with, and it wasn't going well, did they keep doing it or did they change it and if they were asking, they were helping with a session that we brought in a

> guest speaker, and it wasn't going well you know what were they doing to keep their youth engaged (JM interview, 1 178-180).

Counselors were doing a good job at following the task list they were assigned. However, Jessica felt that it was important for counselors to be able to adapt to changing conditions:

> For me it was getting them off paper, which they were doing a good job of following their, you know their, their given to do list and seeing them act a little bit more spontaneously and their leadership, so that they were adapting to the situations around them (JM interview, 1 174-177).

She saw missed opportunities for counselors to connect, to develop relationships with campers, to adjust efforts if plans were not going the way they had hoped. “So those are the expectations that I've tried to add over the last three or four years, where it feels more of a two-way conversation, we can improve things with your feedback” (JM interview 1, 182-183).

It is clear that what Jessica had in mind for the overarching goal for counselor training did not align with Elizabeth’s. Outside of what Jessica saw the priorities to be, Elizabeth saw needs in the smaller, logistical, details.

> Sometimes it's even just as basic as our campfires were awful. So, we need to spend an hour's worth of time at training coming up with some really awesome campfires because that's a huge component of what camp is, and it's something that kids remember (EJ interview, 203-206).

Olivia’s reflection on the campfire was different than Elizabeth’s, she did not recall that there were expectations other than traditions for what campfire was to include. While it

has been a few years since Olivia served as a camp counselor, as a youth professional today that works with camp and has helped with counselor training, she still does not recall that counselors have ever been given a template or parameters for what campfire or flag ceremonies should include, it was more based on traditions. Olivia explained:

> For campfire they kind of had a few expectations you know, you usually lead in with a song or two and then we always exit the very last night, the very last campfire we exit with the friend song. That's always been a tradition…We know that they're supposed to probably be one or two songs to lead for campfire. The only other game that we need to play, which I think is kind of going away because there are a lot of new counselors that don't know the traditions (OS interview, 1 153-161).

While campers may remember the campfire for a year or two, there is hesitation to think that a camper chose not to return to camp the following year because the campfire program was not good.

A seemingly awful campfire may have been a result of poor planning. Planning is a component of counselor training that was widely missing from this experience. Some counselors may be asked to provide input for a t-shirt design, a theme, or choose between one of two workshop topics, but all these items were initially chosen by staff and staff made the final decision. Past training focused more on singing songs and leading games, Olivia shared, “We also practiced leading them in song because there's a lot of counselors that aren't extroverted and have sometimes have trouble being confident and being loud on teaching the game or song. So we practice that” (OS interview, 1 124-126). While there was a lot of focus on the smaller pieces of the camp, there was at least one

important area that was frequently overlooked, flag folding. It was a concern of Olivia's when she was a counselor and is a concern that may still be unaddressed. From Olivia's view:

> I do wish that we learned how to fold the flag whenever we were in training because you get to flag lowering and a lot of people know how to do [fold] the American flag, and that a lot of people don't know how to fold the 4-H flag, and that was always kind of embarrassing (OS interview, 1 128-130).

In a review of 2019, 2020, and 2021 camp counselor training agendas, other than flag lowering being an agenda item, it is not clear if time is spent teaching counselors how to fold flags properly. During camp, if camp staff observed counselors struggling with flag ceremonies, whether it was folding the flags correctly or managing campers, they provided little support. Flag ceremonies at camp can be challenging for everyone. They are an important piece of teaching civic engagement, they are low energy, and often are hands-on only for the few that are assisting with folding the flags. For youth 8–12 years old, and even for some teenagers, it is tough to stand still and stand quiet through the ceremonies. Through photo elicitation, Olivia shared a picture of a counselor who was struggling:

> As you can see, I feel like there's a little bit of confusion on how to fold the flag, even the basic American flag. One of our experienced counselors is helping with a flag right now so she wasn't able to always help get kids involved with flag raising or lowering the ones are kind of in the back. But that's something that counselor should be doing…counselors didn't always know what to do or how to handle the situations that happened because you're trying to be quiet and be

> respectful, but at the same time trying to get campers involved and keeping them focused is also a struggle with some camp counselors (KT photo elicitation, 510-518).

Situations like this are a key opportunity to engage not only the counselor that was trying to lead the ceremony but also the peer counselors and camp staff on how they could support whoever is leading. Pinewood camp staff may have a step forward to help with campers not paying attention; however, they did not take advantage of that learning opportunity with the counselors.

> It's definitely kind of been a figure it out on your own for as long as I was a counselor. I feel like if they saw us struggle with camp raising and lowering and they never really thought the next year maybe we should go over it a little more. It's just always kind of been left in the dust a lot. But with a situation of kids not paying attention, and counselors don't know what to do, a lot of times the adults or the staff will come around and help gather the kids and help them focus. So, they kind of take on that role, but the actual raising and lowering. That's always kind of been left in the dust (OS photo elicitation, 1 522-527).

Camp traditions appear to play a large role with Pinewood. From the schedule to the songs that are sung at flags and campfires, to the general understanding of what is expected by counselors at camp, the current day structure and expectations, traditions that were established 20 years ago are in place. For Olivia, who had grown up going to camp, saw it from the side as a camper and as the daughter of another program director, there is a lot that teens are just expected to know but are never told. For counselors that did not attend camp as a camper and serving as a counselor was their first experience for camp,

“Whether because they started 4-H later, or they weren’t interested in camp when they were younger” (OS interview, 1 138-139), they may not have been as well prepared for camp. Without prior experience, counselors may not have known or understood their expectations because they are not explained well and/or they are not prepared well. Camp staff may have made too many assumptions that all teens had attended as campers and had paid attention to counselors close enough to understand what the expectations were of them. Olivia shares her perspective:

> Personally, I feel like they covered everything pretty well [at training]. But I think a lot of it was because I was a camper, so I knew how camp was, I knew how the days where [understood the schedule], I knew the expectations…A lot of times we're given, just like free range like figure it out. While some camp counselors do really well other counselors don't because they didn’t, they weren't a camper so they're not sure how to exactly go about it. Otherwise, I think training was really helpful but again, I think it was because I was a camper. So, I kind of knew what I was going into (OS interview, 1 140-146).

While some free range and autonomy are good, too much leaves teens or adults without direction or belief that they can fulfill a role. Olivia continued to share about more intention being behind team building and getting-acquainted activities.

> I do wish they did a few more [activities], that we got to know each other a little bit better, because sometimes I feel like I went to camp as a counselor, and I didn't always know. I knew of my counselors. I knew their name and I recognized her face, but I didn't know them as a person (OS interview, 1 380-383).

With a better understanding of the person, you are working with, the better you will be able to work towards a common goal and support each other.

The final selection of counselor's report to camp the afternoon prior to campers arriving. During that time, counselors and camp staff will review the schedule, finish unloading and setting up camp, participate in a basic first-aid session with the nurse, and review the logistics of camper arrival: name tags, schedules, and assign duties of helping with luggage and activities while campers wait for others to arrive. Following dinner, counselors will spend about an hour in skill stations, where counselors will, according to Elizabeth:

> …try out each of the activities the day before, so they are prepared to help campers during camp. We also have one of our nurses go over some basic first aid and what to do/when to take to the nurses. Sometimes there is a follow up to the training back in April but that depends on the topics covered during training (EJ personal communication, September 7, 2021).

Throughout camp, a counselor in training (CIT) program is used as one method to teach new counselors about their role and to develop confidence. Newer and younger counselors will be paired with a returning counselor. Elizabeth explains that the returning counselors will help:

> …pull them along, so not only are the counselors being counselors with the kids, but they are teaching incoming counselors about what those expectations are. And those expectations were set by previous counselors with the kids, but they're teaching incoming counselors about what those expectations are and they expect others to step up and do that (EJ interview, 3 81-84).

It does not appear that the program director or other camp staff either verbalize or provide a written document of CIT expectations. Expectations are supposed to be inherently known. CITs participate in the same training as older and returning counselors. They are paired with an older counselor who had prior experience who will serve as a guide through camp. The older counselor was not provided with any guidance or additional training on how to support the CIT that they would be working with.

Summary

Camp Pinewood is focused more on continuing long standing tradition than examining its structure and components for effectiveness. While it is clear that the camper is the main focus of this camp, there are no developmental outcomes identified for either the campers or the counselors. Therefore, the evaluation efforts that are made hold no meaning when there are no objectives or goals to be working towards. Although many counselors enjoyed their time at camp and looked forward to returning year after year, it is not the learning environment that the program directors believe it to be. There is no group work that would aid in leadership development. Teens work parallel to each other to accomplish individual goals that include leading games and songs and managing camper behavior.

Case 3: Camp Silver Maple

Participant Overview

Each case includes several participants that provided data through extensive interviews. Their quotes will be shared throughout the narrative. An overview table is provided to help track various participants and their roles at camp.

Table 3

Camp Silver Maple Participants

Participant	Role	Participant	Role
Jackie Allen	program director	Lauren Ray	counselor
Ray Jackson	program director	Kelsey Scott	counselor
Edward James	former specialist	Sydney Cameron	counselor
Jeffery Anderson	former specialist		

Case 3 Overview

Camp Silver Maple is a group campsite that is part of the Missouri State Park and has been home to the region's only overnight 4-H camp since the 1950s. Camp is structured into three different camps. Camp one is Clover Kids Camp for youth 5–7 years old. Camp two (member camp) is for youth 8–13 and is offered over two sessions. Camp three is teen camp for youth 14–18 years old.

Over the years, the number of specialists that cover the region has ebbed and flowed, as have the number of specialists that play an active role in camp. In recent years, program directors Jackie and Ray have served in the most consistent role in the region when it comes to supporting the camp. At the beginning of this study, it was believed that Ray led a camp that was a bounded case in and of itself. However, as data collection

progressed, an understanding was developed that there are no youth counselors at teen camp — the camp Ray is the camp director for. Therefore, because Ray works closely with Jackie, he provides supporting data for the single case: member camp at Camp Silver Maple.

Over the years, new things have been tried by the adults such as different workshop topics or holding counselor training at a different location. Some things continue on, other things did not work out very well. However, by and large, the camp has not changed much in the past 25 years, according to Jackie and Ray. Program director Jackie shared, “We've [the adults] tried to as much as possible keep some of those things that the kids really enjoy and then also try some new things along the way” (JA interview, 2 93-94). By and large, though, structures and processes at member camp “have been the same since the beginning of time” (RJ interview, 1 249-250), shared Ray, supporting program director.

Participant Background

Program Directors

Camp Silver Maple is led by Jackie and Ray. Jackie serves as the camp director for the member camp and Clover Kid Camp. Ray is the program director for the teen camp. While Jackie is the lead director for the member camp, Ray has played a consistent supporting role with her for the past 17 years.

Jackie

Jackie has been a 4-H youth specialist in Sanders County for 25 years. Over the years, Jackie has had responsibilities for other 4-H programs ranging from urban to very rural counties. However, Sanders County has remained the base of her programmatic

responsibilities. Jackie grew up in Missouri 4-H. While in 4-H, “of course I was a camp counselor. And I was also, you know, pretty much all the offices in our club. Though, I never did anything beyond the club level in 4-H,” Jackie says (JA interview, 1 97-98). Her whole 4-H camping experience has been at Camp Silver Maple. She camped there as a child and continues to camp there as a professional. “Very same place, very same cabins, lots, lots of memories there” (JA interview, 1 120).

As Jackie began her role as a 4-H youth specialist, there were two fellow youth specialists, Jeffery, and Edward, that “were probably the two main youth mentors that I had at least in the region” (JA interview, 1 319-320). The first year that Jackie was a 4-H youth specialist she was able to attend all of the camps. Jackie described how she progressed at camp:

> I could just go kind of absorb it all. I really found my home for clover kids camp…Edward was the director, so the first year I just came along as a staff member the second year we co-directed, the third year I took it over. I took over member camp my second year (JA interview, 1 393-396).

Jeffery and Edward had very different views when it came to camping. Edward described Jeffery to Jackie as “Jeffery manages his camp through the schedule. I [Edward] manage my camp through my counselors” (JA interview, 1 328-329). Having this description verbalized made a lot of sense to Jackie and the “assessment helped me kind of look at both of their systems and, you know, Jeffery is one of these people that's a very, you know, by the book, we're going to do this, this and this. There's a list. There's a schedule” (JA interview, 1 329-331). Managing through the counselors is “more about the camper

experience" (JA interview, 3 77). Jackie prefers to manage through the counselors. She describes the schedule as:

> just guidelines… And so, if, if the counselors, see something or hear something or pick up on something that they bring to me, then we might change the schedule we might tweak it or we might completely do away with an activity and bring it in different activity based on the feedback that we get, the immediate feedback that we get from campers and, you know, if I see games going on, and I see a group that's really, I mean the campers are really engaged and they're having fun I might let that go longer than, you know, if they weren't quite as engaged or things weren't flowing (JA interview, 3 80-86).

It should be noted that when Jackie states that "I might let it go longer," she is making the decisions — not the counselors. Jackie states that she prefers to manage through the counselor and is implying that there is a focus on the counselor's development, the evidence of this case does not necessarily support that.

Program Director Camp Philosophy. When it comes to working with teens, Jackie does not necessarily approach their development much differently than she would when it comes to supervising employees. Jackie explains:

> My philosophy, working with teenagers is a lot like my philosophy when it comes to supervising and employing. I learned that lesson really early in my extension career. I was the supervisor for…education assistants…So, when I hire someone, I try to hire the best person I can regardless of how long I think they may or may not stay with me. Get out of the way and let them do their job and be there if they need me. I'm not a micromanager, I never have been. And I don't have time for

> that. If I had time to micromanage you. I have time to do the job myself (JA interview, 1 337-344).

When it comes to working with teens who serve as camp counselors. Jackie shared the following about the experience:

> Obviously, you're asking them to practice leadership skills through their group management…they lead various activities throughout camp so you're asking them to practice and improve their leadership skills. You may think, and I've even had, counselors have told me this in the past, well I thought if I tried this with this group of kids it would work, but it didn't work. And so now I'm going to try this so it's that trial and error to find out what works with different kids, different personalities, different group dynamics. And that allows them to really develop confidence in their skills and that confidence carries over into other activities so they, they learn how to lead a group they learn, decision making. They learned, problem solving, because in our case when we have a camper that's a problem and that might be a homesick child or a child that isn't engaging in activities or a child that has some inner personal issues. Then we talk about that as a group and we try to troubleshoot that situation. So, they learn problem solving skills (JA interview, 2 14-25).

What Jackie considers leadership is more on the lines of relationship building and behavior management. She is not asking counselors to practice stepping in and out of leadership roles, she is asking them to manage a group. Even when she mentions problem solving as a skill developed and practiced, counselors are using those skills primarily to manage camper behavior versus working towards accomplishing a group task.

Ray

Ray has served as a 4-H youth specialist for 17 years. Like most others, has had various county responsibilities with the shifts and changes within the organization. Ray grew up in a northern Missouri 4-H as well. Ray had some familiarity with the University of Missouri Extension before he began to work for the organization; he served on the local Extension Council while he was teaching. During his tenure with the council, he served as the secretary and the chairman. "And so, I thought I knew a lot about Extension, but I found out that that was just the tip of the iceberg" (RJ interview, 1 77-78).

Program Director Camp Philosophy. Ray started his role with 4-H in January: "I got immersed in 4-H camp almost immediately" (RJ interview, 1 110-111). Similar to Jackie, Ray went to camp his first year and observed. Ray was told by both Edward and Jeffery to:

> Come and observe and see where you will fit in. That was a good thing about Jeffery and Edward, they didn't give you a role until you are comfortable with fulfilling it. And you kind of got to pick and choose and if you would go off to the side and ask them, you know, I can help you do this, this, and this. They said, Good. That sounds like a good place for you. So that was my first introduction (RJ interview, 1 113-118).

As he came to 4-H camp his mentors, the other program directors, allowed him "to find out what you want to do and see how you fit in and will let you do what you feel comfortable doing" (RJ interview, 1 151-152). He had a similar conversation with

Edward as Jackie did. Ray received the same bit of information regarding the difference between how Jeffery and Edward thought of camp:

> Jeffery controlled his camp by the schedule that you know the schedule was paramount. Edward controlled his camp by customer service and caring for the kids. And lo and behold, you know, they both disagreed with me whenever I told them this that and they probably still disagree with me to this day, that the kids had the same experience. That was my, you know the kids at both had a good time. And that was what was important (RJ interview, 1 120-124).

Ray's sentiment is true to an extent – when the focus of the camp experience is the development of campers, a strict hold on the schedule or not is not going to necessarily change the outcomes. Ray continues to uphold the same outcomes as Jeffery and Edward, making sure that the kids have a good time with less concern about skill development.

Camp Counselors

Lauren

Lauren became a 4-H member when she was in eighth grade. Prior to 4-H camp, the only organized overnight camping she was familiar with was church camp. Her experience with church camp is what she had in mind when her club leader shared the opportunity to sign up for camp. While she had fun at church camp, "I just don't remember anything specifically about that camp that was like wow" (LR interview, 1 107).

Lauren's first year in 4-H was also the first year that she was age eligible to apply to be a camp counselor. Jackie and Ray willingly accepted Lauren's application to be a counselor that first year, even though they did know her very well and knew that she had

not been to camp before. That first year, Lauren was a counselor for Clover Kids Camp and member's camp. Lauren reflected on the experience:

> To take a chance on me that first year because I had never been to camp. A lot of people don't necessarily get accepted to be a counselor the first year that you go to camp, but she [Jackie] accepted my application, and I got to counsel that year, and they [Jackie and Ray] were very good role models and counselor trainers (LR interview, 1 82-85).

Though the first year of being a counselor had its challenges, learning a new environment, being in a new role, and trying to be a role model while holding a certain level of authority with campers that were the same age as you, Lauren really enjoyed her experience and wanted to come back each year.

Kelsey

Kelsey felt that she joined 4-H at the age of 3 when her mom began to serve as a project leader. She officially joined 4-H when she turned 5 and did not look back, "4-H, it definitely is like a big chunk of my heart" (KS interview, 1 33). Even though she is currently in college, she looks for opportunities to continue to be involved in her home program. Through the various experiences that Kelsey had, the relationships she developed were the most meaningful and one of the main reasons she continued to be involved. For her, the relationships were a means for interests to be sparked within herself and to spark interests in others. Kelsey has seen sparks of interest, passion for a topic, develop as young as 5–7 years old.

Kelsey also saw this influence in members who participated in livestock projects as well. There were members who had older siblings that showed hogs but the member

was not interested in showing until another member shared with them what they enjoyed and learned from the project. The power of influence and impact on another person's life motivated Kelsey to become a camp counselor. "I knew that I wanted to impact the lives of the kids positively like my camp counselors had" (KS interview, 1 120-121).

Sydney

It is by chance that Sydney represents a group of youth that were in 4-H primarily so that they could attend 4-H camp. Sydney does not recall when she joined 4-H, but she remembers that she joined because of a couple of friends that she had that were involved in the program. She was involved in a few projects, including cake decorating, arts and crafts, and dogs. Sydney described how as her focus changed withing 4-H, the role her family played also changed:

> But then as it became, like, more apparent that I was involved in for each for camp. My dad stopped and my mom started driving me and then it was just eventually was just me driving. But they were supportive they paid my dues and all that every year (SC interview, 1 38-41).

For Sydney 4-H was a meaningful experience, "I just remember it was very fun all the time like I was always tired, I was like excited to be tired (SC interview 1, 59-60). As she got older, becoming a counselor seemed like the next logical step "it meant I could … be at camp for longer (SC interview, 1 158).

Camp Counselor Experience

Counselors at Camp Silver Maple range from 13-18 years old. They can serve at Clover Kid Camp (5 to 8 years old) and/or Member's Camp (8 to 14 years old). For member's camp, there are at least 16 counselors — eight girls and eight boys. Based on

conversations with counselors and program directors, the primary responsibilities of counselors are to keep campers safe, manage camper behavior, and inspire the next generation of counselors. A role that is described to counselors as a leadership role, however, lacks many components. Lauren described her role as a camp counselor:

> My role was to be the person that provided mentorship for younger members, it was a leadership role… I'm a person who is there to guide them and to help them be the best that they can, um, the role of the counselor is to make the camp experience be the best that it can for the kids so I'm there to guide them, to tell them, you know, where they need to go to help them figure things out… I'm there to be a good role model (LR interview, 1 227-235) …A big, big part of being a counselor is that you can't just tell the kids what to do and then be a hypocrite (LR interview, 1 254-255).

Kelsey described the role as a camp counselor in a similar way:

> [We are] there to counsel those kids and I know that that's kind of cliche but like, make sure they're safe, make sure they're doing what they're supposed to be doing, be in charge of those kids. Make sure you know where they're at all times like, we're there to ensure that they are safe and like they're doing what they're supposed to… And just being there to talk to them and stuff if they have questions, I don't know, it's kind of like an all-encompassing like honestly, I feel like you kind of step in as the older brother, older sister (KS interview, 1 259-262; 276-276)

Sydney described the role like Kelsey, “I would say the job is just to be an older brother or sister to this group of kids” (SC interview, 1 109-110). Sydney described the relationship between the camper and the counselor as one of dependence:

> They don’t have anyone or anything, so they just like they find someone to attach to and that's like a very, I think enough, but it's more important for anybody else, but I think at that point your most important job would be to make sure that they're okay and make sure that camp is a fun time for them (SC interview, 1 106-109).

At the root of the counselor experience, in Sydney’s words, counselors are “we are just like line leaders” (SC interview, 1 101).

Counselors play a very small role in the development of camp. Jackie stated that “we don't involve our kids as much in the planning as I would like to” (JA interview, 1 422). Some of this has to do with the structure that includes the limited time between training and when camp starts. Another factor is that many of the same activities and workshops are offered year after year, and they require no input from the counselors. It is only if there are more counselors than are needed that teens will have the opportunity to work closely with a workshop that is not game related. Jackie describes times when counselors have played a broader role:

> I've had extra counselors at times. I've asked for people to serve as actual session facilitator. So I might have somebody that I know is really good at arts and crafts and I will ask them if they would prefer to be, you know, stay with arts and crafts rotation in the morning rather than being with a group and from time to time we've had that on different sessions (JA interview, 144-147).

When pressed if there has been a consideration in adjusting the structure of camp to allow more time for counselors to play a broader role in camp planning and implementation, Jackie expanded on the barriers she sees are in place that prevents camp counselors from being more involved. Jackie expanded on her understanding:

> [I] really would like to have them more involved in the beginning stages of when we're putting camp together. Um, I mean we asked them at the previous camp during evaluation. What kind of a camp theme they'd like to see…The gap to me in the way we do it is then, that planning really is taken over by staff until we get right up until taking counselor applications. I would like to see us involve kids more in planning the actual activities that we're going to conduct at camp. I would like to see them more involved in the planning of those activities and I know a lot of [other 4-H camps] do that. I think the biggest barrier for us is the fact that we do camp regionally. And so, it's very, very difficult to get a significant group together at a standalone function like a camp planning or counselor training event from 10 counties because that's typically kind of the size of where our campers come from. And that's, that's the downside of camping regionally, is the fact that it's difficult to get that group together (JA interview, 2 170-181).

Within Jackie's words you can see that even though she may say she is open to input from counselors, it is limited to input "involved in the beginning stages of when we're putting camp together" (JA interview, 2, 170). She has not considered or is not open to teens expanding their roles that might lead to an increased leadership identity development.

Some of the strategies that Camp Silver Maple has tried to gather information and input include surveys and virtual meetings. These efforts were not well attended by the teens. Jackie describes:

> And I hesitate to make things like that mandatory. You know, and I see the pressure that kids are under time wise and some of that they bring on themselves because of all the activities that they want to do, but there's just so much more involvement in school and extracurricular activities around school now than there was when I was a kid. And it's hard for them to balance. It's very, very difficult for them to balance. And it's difficult for their parents to balance. I've parents making choices…so this [4-H, being a camp counselor] is what's going to go because it's not connected to school…But that's, you know, that's the kind of pressures that they deal with and so that's my, my wish would be that we could figure out a really effective way to get more input from the kids and in choosing and deciding the activities that we do (JA interview, 2 183-194).

While Jackie makes good observations, she is also taking the choice away from teens, and their families, to have a broader and deeper role in camp.

There is also some contradiction in her views to making certain aspects mandatory. Teens that serve as counselors are required to attend teen camp. A camp that currently is held at the end of the camping week. At one time Jackie explained that teen camp was used as a training ground for upcoming and current counselors and was held at the beginning of all the camps. At that time, it made more sense for teens that had not been to camp before being required to come and gain some experience and exposure prior to being a counselor. For at least the past 15 years, teen camp is the last camp to be held

and, therefore, is not used to train counselors. However, all counselors are required to attend teen camp with very few exceptions. Ray described the change: “teen camp at the end and it's kind of a celebration or, you know, a gift to them that for a job well done and it's been quite well received” (RA interview, 1 140-141). While Jackie is hesitant to require participation in training that may be spaced out over a few months she has no hesitation to require counselors to return to camp for an additional five days after they have already been at camp for four.

Teens that are interested in serving as a camp counselor submit an application that is reviewed by a committee that includes the camp directors and other camp staff. Ray describes the process:

> We have a screening process through an application process and each director sits down…because that way we can help them talk about, you know, the positive points and the negative points about that teen, how they get along with other people in that group that they're trying to do, and even, the, whether they can get along with the director or not (RJ interview, 2 52-58).

Sometimes there is an interview involved in the process based on the number of applicants and the experience level of the teens applying. Jackie explained when interviews are used, or not:

> Part of what dictates it for me [whether to have interviews or not] is number of applicants we have and experience level of the applicants we have. If I have a very experienced group, and they’re kids that I've worked with previously, I don't necessarily have to do interviews in order to gauge where they need to be. But like this next go round (in 2022), since we haven't actually camped for two years

> now. I'm going to be nervous; I'll probably do interviews (JA interview, 3 235-238).

The application process is fairly short. Reviewing the 2019 counselor applications, applications were due May 1 and camp is held within the first couple of weeks of June.

Counselor Expectations

The expectations of the counselors are not written down. Expectations are verbalized and implied, “I think both of those are spoken and unspoken,” said Lauren (LR interview, 1 259). At one time, though Jackie does not remember when there were expectations or a contract that was part of the counselor application. Counselors are expected to get campers where they need to be on time safely, they are expected to be “vigilant about watching camper behavior” (JA interview, 2 138), which includes watching for bullying and homesickness, and keeping campers engaged in workshops and activities. Lauren describes her understanding of counselor expectations:

> You're [the counselor] not there to go to camp, like this is not your camp experience you get to go to teen camp. This [member camp] is their camp experience so you're, you're there to make it a good experience for them. That was the number one expectation, was to do our jobs. The second one was that being a good example. The other thing was to be a good mentor and to use discretion and critical thinking to understand when you needed to do what. (LR interview, 1 266-271).

Jackie stated, “we want to give you the tools to manage it, if you don't think you can manage it then you find somebody to help you or come and get me” (JA interview, 2 141-142). Counselors are also expected to be pseudo parents, make sure kids have on

sunscreen, watch for sunburn, and "help your kids in the cabin and things like that," said Jackie. (JA interview, 2 146). Ray describes counselors as "flight attendants," responsible for the care and management of campers:

> They're flight attendants, that, you know, they're supposed to figure out what they need, and they [counselors] have been past campers before, they need to know or need to think about what their, their experience was is as campers and what they like best about it. And the counselors that they have seen over the years that, that interacted with them and how can we make sure that the campers so are going to have a good experience…to the campers (RJ interview, 2 70-72).

Counselors have few opportunities to make decisions and provide input to camp. Through an end-of-camp survey, campers and counselors have the opportunity to provide input on the theme for the following year. Then a group of teens chose the theme for camp even though they may or may not be attending camp as a camper or as a camp counselor. Jackie shared about the process:

> Every year, at the end of camp, we asked for suggestions for camp themes in our camper's survey. And then we take that back to our regional teen council, and we, you know, we'll choose the, the top, however many, and that varies depending on how many themes emerge and then we let them decide on them (JA interview, 131-133).

The theme is chosen early in the year to allow time for the program directors to plan. Later in the spring, teens that apply to be a camp counselor have the opportunity to suggest activities that fit the theme. "In the counselor application we asked them for suggestions of activities that go along with whatever the theme is that was selected,"

Jackie said. (JA interview, 135-136). Lauren also shared about her experience being part of the regional council and providing input:

> The regional teen council does have a meeting in, at least one meeting in January, sometimes two. And they [program directors] show them [regional council] what the theme is for the year and they get to rattle off list of crafts, you could do games you could do so on so forth and all those kids are camp counselors but not all of them (LR interview, 2 204-207).

While counselors may have the opportunity to provide suggestions, they have no responsibility for following through on any of the plans.

The decisions that counselors are responsible for making are motivated by camper engagement, behavior management, and group management. They were allowed to decide if campers could go and do certain things, or not. Lauren explains the types of decisions she was able to make:

> If it wasn't it was something that like wasn't against the rules, it was like a judgment call like, Oh Are we allowed to go here and do this and we'd say Oh, take a particular counselor with you. Or we were responsible for making decisions that could impact the morale of the group (LR interview, 1 191-194).
>
> They also had the expectation to fill down-time between activities with games "engaged so there's no idle minds, idle hands getting into shenanigans" (LR interview, 1 195).

Jackie's perception of counselors is that they are at camp to serve the campers. The needs of the campers are the top priority and counselors need to identify those needs and address them. Jackie tries to role model this behavior, in her words, through servant

leadership. Jackie uses the term servant leadership, however, the behavior that she tries to model does not reach the full extent of the concept defined by Greenleaf (Mazzei, 2020).

> I try to model what I want to see in my counselors, and that is more of a servant leadership style. Like when we come in for counselor training and teen camp, you know, I make sure that at mealtime, I'm helping serve drinks because I talked to every camper when they come through. And part of that is so I make sure that I know their names, I want to, I want to be able to call them by their name. When I see them, I want to be able to recognize them, I want them to know I see them, which gives them an opportunity to ask me questions or to, you know, mention any concerns to me at that point. And so I do that at counselor training and I do that, at teen camp and I start doing that at member camp (JA interview 2 147-154).

Jackie continues to explain:

> I want them to really see themselves in a certain, more of a servant leadership role with their campers and develop those friendships and relationships, and you'll have, especially, you know, 8-to-12-year-old boys there, they come in and they're, they're talking about the counselor they have in their group and what a cool guy he is and, that's really important to me to see those generational, if you want to call that relationships as they develop so that's what I look for, I look for, you know, them making connections with their campers (JA interview, 2 160-165).

While counselors will emulate Jackie's behavior, "my counselors come and say, we've got this, and then they take over that role (JA interview 2, 155-156), Jackie is modeling skills, service to campers as she serves drinks, and she is making an effort to build a

community so that she is available to heal and she is taking some stewardship responsibilities – those traits are not being transferred to counselors. Counselors are there to manage behavior and inspire the next generation.

At Camp Silver Maple, similar to other cases in this study, counselors engaged in very little group work that contributed to a group goal. The group planning that is done lends itself to a large portion of what the camp directors define as leadership during camp. Ray describes what planning opportunities counselors have:

> We have assigned time where they meet in their groups and they work out what they need to do with their groups, the games they need to play, the songs they need to sing. They also work with the staff member that's in charge of the crafts to do, to show at least the exploratory part of what is all involved in in the craft and that's so they don't get to camp with a group of kids and they don't know what's going. (RJ interview, 2 74-78).

Lauren reflected on the planning time a little differently than Ray. While there was structured time, about 30 minutes, to plan filler games, it appears that choices were limited by a staff member or an experienced counselor. Lauren explains:

> There'd be set times during training where it's like, that would kind of be the time where either a staff member, or some of the more experienced counselors would be like let's play [this game and this game], on so forth and so they, between the staff and the more experienced counselors, they'd be like, okay, new counselors, here's the ones you want to keep in your, in your tool belt here's the ones the kids like, here's the ones that you maybe want to limit because the kids don't keep engaged very long, and then if there's any free time at counselor training, then you

> go play games again. The counselors would already be broken into their groups for the, the camps and so they would get together and then see like say like okay here's some games that we like here's some activities that we like, here's the direction we want to go as a group (LR interview, 1 368-379).

By experienced counselors and staff limiting choices and dictating the games that could be played, it does not allow for youth to experience true group work that is aimed at a group goal. Furthermore, the opportunity to choose games is not the most meaningful role in decision making. They are being told what to do, this is disconnected from what Jackie aims for:

> I want my counselors, especially my experienced counselors to take on a lot of that leadership. I don't want to be the one standing up there telling them what to do, I want to say okay this block of time we have reserved for this. So, what do you have planned, you know, group planning, recreation planning things like that and so I'm there to make sure that we keep kids safe. You know I'm there to make sure that we're following all of our, our camp guidelines as an organization (JA interview, 2 46-51).

Jackie was later asked to explain what the camp guidelines are, which, in reality, there are none. At one time there was a code of ethics, which she could not find, as well as an agreement that was included on the application. The agreement has long been taken off the application and she could not find that either.

It is common in youth development experiences that include both older youth and younger youth, to have a role modeling component — whether it is intended or not.

Camp is no different. Counselors are expected to serve as role models and inspire the next generation of camp counselors. Jackie describes the counselors as:

> Not just the on-the-ground managers, but they will become mentors for those younger kids, and many of them have told us that the reason that they became a camp counselor, and it's a question that we asked on our counselor application, was because of a counselor that they had when they were a camper (JA interview, 1 425-428).

While helping to encourage the next generation of counselors could be considered a change in leadership view, teens are not coming by that naturally – it is being drilled into their heads as a component of their role as it is reflected in many of the previous statements from counselors.

Counselor Training

Teens that serve as counselors for Camp Silver Maple receive limited training from the program directors and the camping group. The only direct training they receive from the program director occurs the day prior to campers arriving at camp. After the training, some of the counselors will stay for the first camp, which is often Clover Kids Camp. Others will return home until the morning of their assigned member's camp. Jackie talks about the training focus:

> We don't have to have a session with the camp medic but we choose to include that every time because it's a camp safety issue. And so we really have some of the core things that are nuts and bolts oriented. We also think it's really important to do ages and stages of child development, so that they understand where their campers are on that spectrum, camper behavior management what behavior might

> be occurring. So those are really core things that we do with every single counselor training. The other thing that we try to do is we try to make sure that, especially for those that have not been counselors before that they know how to lead the team building games that we do (JA interview, *2* 199-205).

Training agendas for camp counselors were reviewed within the document analysis. Agendas from 2017 and 2019 were included in the review. Counselors participated in 30-minute sessions both years on bullying, stages of youth development, and camper behavior management. The remainder of the 11 hours were dedicated to training were camp routines. Counselors worked through camp craft, meal clean-up process, and minimal team building games. The agenda for 2017 did not expressively include a time for small group planning for games and songs. Though, as previously mentioned, Lauren recalled this component, as did Kelsey.

Summary

Camp Silver Maple does appear to be a supportive environment for teens who serve in the role of a camp counselor. However, they are not the focus of the camp. Camp at Silver Maple is focused on campers having a good time while staying safe. The traditions at Silver Maple run back to the 1950s. Traditions are so important to the program director that she has expressed concern that, with the loss of overnight camp in 2020 and 2021, traditions will be lost; she is not necessarily interested in new traditions being developed (JA personal communication, 11/18/21). The traditions far extend from singing the good songs before mealtimes, the structure and training of counselors have also become a tradition. Tradition that comes from a place of a strong belief that the

structures and processes are providing the intended outcomes with no consideration that what is being evaluated is not appropriate for what is trying to be shown.

Themes

Previous sections of this chapter describe three organized overnight camping experiences within Missouri 4-H. They describe the program director's perception of leadership and the role it plays in the implementation of leadership development — especially, within the experience of teens serving as camp counselors. Themes that emerged across cases are the following: (a) program directors are conflating relationship development and leadership development; (b) managing behavior is the primary role of camp counselors, and; (c) continuing traditions is a leading factor behind many of the structures and processes of camp. While these themes will be discussed independently, they intertwine and do not stand alone.

Theme 1: Conflating Relationship Development and Leadership Development

Each of the program directors that participated in this study felt that organized overnight camping is one of the premier experiences Missouri 4-H provides. They described overnight camping as an "immersive experience" (JA interview, 2 31), an environment that is "positive youth development on steroids" (SG interview, 2 2), or an "educational tool" (EJ interview, 2 26). These statements from program directors are followed by claims that teens who serve as camp counselors are developing leadership skills based on their experience. However, all the program directors included in this case study are conflating relationship development with leadership development. Relationship development is not to be confused with developmental relationships, a component of positive youth development. Developmental relationships include five elements: express

care, challenge growth, provide support, share power, and expand possibilities (Roehlkepartain, et al., 2017; Sethi & Scales, 2020). However, what is taking place at camp is better described as relationship development, interpersonal skills development, and role modeling — as means of quality and behavior control. Program directors see camp counselors as a means to ensure that campers have fun, that campers are where they need to be when they need to be, and that they are engaged in the activity. For example, Shannon describes her expectations of counselors at Maplewood:

> If I'm teaching a session on underwater basket weaving. They shouldn't be doing underwater basket weaving they should be helping their campers, to be successful. And if I need them to go get something they can get, if you see kids struggling help them. That's your job as a counselor to help those kids that are struggling or to praise those kids that are doing great things. (SG interview, 1 434-439).

Elizabeth shared the expectations for Camp Pinewood:

> Camp counselors are for the most part are responsible for their kids in the cabin, making sure that they're in bed on time, that they're dressed, they're where they're supposed to be with their small groups, that they're watching out for the those that could be homesick, and trying to keep them engaged and involved and not thinking about that part of it, and they are basically they're, they are our eyes and ears for what's happening within their cabins (EJ interview, 1 272-276).

Being a pseudo parent was a common analogy used by all the program directors to describe the role of counselors. Counselors are expected to make sure kids have on sunscreen, watch for sunburn, and Jackie stated the counselors are to "help your kids in

the cabin and things like that" (JA interview, 2 146). Shannon also described counselor expectations as:

> They are moms or dads to those kids while they're here. I mean, truly, but they are mentors to those kids and we expect them to be mentors, and we hold them to a high standard (SG interview, 1 409-412).

Shannon shared an example of "organic" leadership opportunities that are created at camp.

> We were in the leather shop; we spend a couple of days [workshops] in the leather shop. He [camper] was trying to do something and [another counselor] he just sat down beside him and helped him to learn how to do whatever he was trying to do and he showed him the difference between how, what the leather should be and how, when it shouldn't be. He [counselor] was repeating what Brad [YPA] had already said, just get, just a little more help, and to me, that's the leadership (SG interview, 2 107-110).

It is an example of providing a positive youth development environment: expressing care, providing support – it is not an interaction that is providing Sean with an opportunity to develop his leadership identity. Ray, the supporting camp director shared his expectations for counselors and their role in ensuring a good time was had:

> We're [counselors and camp staff] flight attendants, that, you know, we're supposed to figure out what they need, and they [counselors] have been past campers before, they need to know or need to think about what their, their experience as campers and what they like best about it. And the counselors that they have seen over the years that, that interacted with them and how can we

> make sure that the campers so are going to have a good experience…to the campers (RJ interview, 2 70-72).

Elizabeth explains how she sees camp providing a community in addition to being a powerful educational opportunity:

> Camp is the single best educational tool that we do…provides us a perfect opportunity to truly practice what we preach… it's the whole providing that community and allowing those kids to have a community of their own. And then, us being able to do the whole perspective of youth development within that (EJ interview, 2 26-36).

While having a sense of community, role modeling, and interpersonal skills are important and are a piece of developing a leadership identity – the processes behind those components are supporting relationship development not developing leadership.

Lacking Leadership Identity Development

The structures and processes that are in place at camps support primarily relationship development between the camp and the counselor. This is not a bad thing and is appropriate within the overnight camping environment. However, relationship development is not what the program directors describe as their philosophy for why they work to provide teens the opportunity to serve as a camp counselor. Program directors describe the role of being a camp counselor as a leadership role. However, there is very little leadership identity development taking place within these cases. What little is occurring is likely not as a result of the structures and processes that are in place. Through interviews and review of documents, counselors are generally not provided with any formal leadership development. There are no structures in place to provide

counselors an opportunity for group work, a truly meaningful role, or reflection on their own development. What leadership development for counselors that does occur at camp is likely a result of self-discovery and/or application of skill or knowledge from other experiences. Kelsey with Camp Silver Maple recognized her role changing over her years as a counselor:

> Towards my last years of counseling, obviously, you are that role model figure not only to the younger kids, and even when you're younger, you're that role model figure. But as you're older, you're also that role model figure for that new and upcoming counselor trying to figure out what they're supposed to do, how they're supposed to interact with kids how they're supposed to be a counselor, whatever they're trying to figure out that they don't already know (KS interview, 1 242-248).

While Olivia at Camp Pinewood felt that camp provided her an opportunity to step in and out of leadership roles, they were not intentional lessons:

> …learning the different leadership roles to be a leader, versus when to be a follower… instead of being the leader in that position I knew that I needed to step back and encourage them and help them in any way that I needed to … (OS interview, 1 287-292) I'd say definitely probably learned it more on my own, … but being in a leadership position, and how to handle those situations within the own counselors. I feel like it's something that we all kind of had to learn on our own (OS interview, 1 301-305).

Mia gives more credit to camp than others in helping her learn to step in and out of roles, understanding her personal influence, and the value of teamwork. Yet, she learned these

skills and had some leadership development through camper behavior management. Mia explains:

> Camp kind of showed me that being a leader, sometimes isn't always speaking up and telling people things, but rather than showing them. Because sometimes kids aren't going to listen to that counselor that's like, You need to do this, and you need to do this and let's do this. But instead, the one that's doing it with them and going to play the game and they just watch you and they play the game. Similarly, because they saw you do it instead of you just explaining it to them (MW interview, 1 229-233).

There were no other indications from counselors that they saw the camp as a place to develop their leadership. Instead, it was repeatedly shared that the counselor's role at the camp was about managing behavior.

Theme 2: Managing Behavior is the Counselor Experience

The 4-H camps in this study focus more on what they think will impact the camper experience than develop the counselors. Managing behavior is the resounding expectation of teens that serve in camps across this study as stated by both program adults and teens. Teens are a method to managing behavior while the program directors and other adults provide workshops and activities. The role of adults at camp, as Shannon stated, is to make sure "that learning is happening" (SG interview, 2 12). Adults are deemed by all the program directors the only ones qualified to provide educational programming. Counselors are relegated to eyeing the time to make sure campers are where they need to be and managing behavior to ensure everyone is engaged in the adult-

led sessions and activities. As Sydney, Silver Maple counselor, stated, “We are just like line leaders” (SD interview 1, 101).

The lack of understanding of leadership development extends to camper behavior management. Jackie made the statement: “Obviously, you're asking them to practice leadership skills through their group management…” (JA interview, 2 14). Authority as defined by Merriam-Webster is “the power to give orders or make decisions: the power or right to direct or control someone or something” (Merriam-Webster, 2021). Counselors are exerting authority through group management, not leadership. Leadership is a social role, a role that works towards “voluntary” obedience through empowerment and cooperation (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003; Barker, 1997; Western, 2019). Counselors are at camp to care for campers. In the words of Shannon, program director:

> we're giving you the opportunity to care for these kids. You've got to care for them emotionally, physically, it's your job, but there's also somebody higher than you [camp staff], they can say no you can't do that (SG interview, 1 416-419).

Elizabeth at Pinewood has very similar expectations for her counselors, care for the campers:

> [Counselors are] responsible for their kids in the cabin, making sure that they're in bed on time, that they're dressed, they're where they're supposed to be with their small groups that they're watching out for the those that could be homesick and trying to keep them engaged and involved and not thinking about that part of it, and they are basically, they are our eyes and ears for what's happening within their cabins. (EJ interview, 1 3 235-239).

Ray with Silver Maple finds evidence through their evaluation that caring for your own items is an important responsibility for counselors, “We found out that not only when they were there helping kids take care of themselves, they take care of their stuff better” (RJ interview, 2 198-201). Counselors are not provided with high expectations and counselors do not provide campers with high expectations. In Sydney’s words, “I had this like leadership role, and I enjoyed that, but it was so small that I didn't have anything like real or dangerous or stuff like that that would, that could hurt anyone if it went wrong” (SC interview, 1 171-173). In contrast, Eric, a counselor with Maplewood described his role as “I would believe it'd be described as; this probably would be a bad term to use but I'd almost say a babysitter, but more of like in a leader position” (ER interview, 1 226-227.

While safety for campers, and all that are involved, is important and is not to be taken lightly — the expectation to keep campers safe was the second most common expectation shared by both program directors and counselors. Someone less familiar with overnight camp might think that camp was a generally unsafe place that required lots of training to prevent injury. Mia shared her understanding of her role as a counselor:

> I would describe [the counselor role] as being able to keep the kids there and having fun, but also keeping them safe and feeling welcome that they are able to have fun and be themselves and not be afraid that they need to act a certain way just to make friends, that they can just be themselves and have fun and make friends (MW interview, 1 96-99).

Safety was even shared in a scholarship application form: “I have had to learn to work with my partner to build a sense of cabin unity with other young campers as well as

keeping our young campers safe & enjoying their experience" (Derks, document review, 2018). Jacob describes Pinewood, "A camp counselor is someone who facilitates a safe and informative camping experience" (JM interview, 1 120). Kelsey, from Silver Maple, also emphasized that safety was one of her main responsibilities:

> …make sure they're safe, make sure they're doing what they're supposed to be doing, be in charge of those kids. Make sure you know where they're at all times like, we're there to ensure that they are safe and like they're doing what they're supposed to (KS interview, 1 259-262.

Theme 3: Prioritizing Tradition

Traditions are valuable and add special meaning and memories to experiences and locations. Traditions within the context of these cases, however, have created a barrier preventing program directors from taking a deeper look at the structures and processes that are included at camp. Many of the traditions were put in place well before the program directors began their professional roles. Shannon provides one example from Camp Maplewood:

> I hate that we haven't given them a lot of opportunities to teach. I hate that. As I look back on it, I hate that. But I know I guess we've all, we all have a different philosophy what camp looks like. Sure, you know, and that's what camp had been when I arrived. When I got there that, that first summer, that's what happened (SG interview 1, 440-443).

Olivia, Camp Pinewood counselor, shared, "the schedule has been the same since I was 7 years old and has not changed. Even this year…I'm pretty sure the schedule won't change. Still the same…" (OS interview, 1 457-458). Pinewood has expectations that

preceded Elizabeth, and it does not appear that she has questioned them or considered how to improve on them:

> We [camp staff] set the stage for that and I'm assuming staff did that probably 20 years ago, probably before then, before my career, there was, there was a standard, these are the expectations of those campers knew that was the expectation so then they became counselors. It was a natural evolution (EJ interview, 3 63-35).

Elizabeth has committed so much to the schedule that she believes it is locked because there are "all of those things that are expected things from camp, there is not a lot of flexibility" (EJ interview, 2 227-228). There are certain traditions that youth will look forward to, such as a polar swim one morning or gathering at a certain location during free time. Camp Silver Maple has similar conditions, by and large, structures and processes at member camp "have been the same since the beginning of time" (RJ interview, 1 249-250) shared Ray, supporting program director.

The program directors in this study do not question the traditions that are in place, even though some traditions that are in place — such as always singing a specific song at the campfire — have come and gone from camp without notice or care. Olivia shared how some traditions at Pinewood have evolved "that's kind of just been a tradition that's not always told to the new counselors that that's kind of what we've done" (OS interview, 1 166-167). Those traditions meant something to the counselors at the time. However, those traditions do not appear to have meant enough to the campers who experienced them for they faded away when they grew up to be counselors. For Jackie at least they mean more to her than the campers. The mere thought of some traditions being lost the

past two summers (2020-2021) when overnight camps were not held made her cringe (JA personal communication, 11/18/21).

Theme 4: Lacking evidence of leadership development

Throughout this study program directors frequently referred to the camp counselor experience as an opportunity to develop leadership. However, what was described by both the program directors and the camp counselors would be described as behavior management, relationship development, and the development of a community. There were a few examples provided by camp counselors that would constitute leadership development however they were not intentional on the part of program directors, they happened by accident.

Across the cases, the expectations of the counselors were generally the same. As previously discussed, counselors were expected to manage camper behavior in a mentally and physically safe environment. Broadly, how counselors were trained to serve in their role was implemented similarly, including similar training topics. Two camps held training in the months leading up to camp, one held training hours just prior to camper arrival. Each camp covered the developmental stages of youth, teambuilding, and learned and practiced camp songs and games. Counselors also practiced or walked through, the general tasks that campers are expected to complete at camp, such as cleaning up after meals. None of the camps had defined or written outcomes for camp counselors. Program directors have a list of tasks that teens are expected to carry out. Elizabeth shared that she wants to provide a sense of community and utilize counselors as a marketing tool:

> I want them to feel like it's there for them. I want them to feel that vested interest. I want them to be the ones that can sell camp that can promote camp that they feel

> like they have made a difference. And I think that's one of the big goals and objectives I have for our camp counselors, and I also want to keep them involved, and I think by providing those leadership opportunities (EJ interview, 2 297-301).

Another program director feels that counselors learn to be selfless. Shannon describes what she feels counselors learn:

> I think they learn selflessness. Within the first day, I would say even within the first few hours of being a camp. They get it. And I will tell you we probably harp on it a little bit during counselor training and counselor selection. We say, 'Hey it's not about you, it's about the kids.' And I think it takes that first kid of being terrified that they're at camp by themselves away from mom and dad and the counseling — 'oh that kid's my responsibility' — to learn how to be selfless, it's not about me, it's not about me hanging out with my friends, it's about, 'I got 15 kids to help take care of and, and that's what I have to do…' in that time frame of what we have camp, you either learn it or you're never going to learn it (SG interview, 3 85-90; 91-92).

At Silver Maple, the outcomes for counselors focus on behavior management, though they are framed as leadership skills, Jackie explains:

> Obviously, you're asking them to practice leadership skills through their, their group management is…it's that trial and error to find out what works with different kids, different personalities, different group dynamics. And that allows them to really develop confidence in their skills, and that confidence carries over into other activities so they, they learn how to lead a group they learn, decision making. They learned, problem solving, because in our case when we have a

> camper. That's a problem and that might be a homesick child or a child that isn't engaging in activities or a child that has some inner personal issues. Then we talk about that, as a group, and we try to troubleshoot that situation. So, they learn problem solving skills, um, you know when we have our debrief every night, we talk about what went well and what didn't go well and how they responded to that (JA interview, 2 14-26).

What Jackie considers leadership is more on the lines of relationship building and behavior management. She is not asking counselors to practice stepping in and out of leadership roles; she is asking them to manage a group as they move to and between activities. Western's (2019) definition of leadership is utilized in this study. He defines leadership as a "psychosocial influencing dynamic" (p. 36). 'Psycho' refers to the psycho-dynamics of leadership. "Leadership stimulates conscious, unconscious, and emotional responses within us, and inter-relational dynamics between us" (Western, 2019, p 36). 'Social' indicates the social construction and social dynamics of leadership. Power and authority determine leadership through social construction and society controls resources — material and symbolic. 'Influencing' signifies agency. What Jackie is describing is developing and practicing problem solving skills, counselors are using those skills primarily to manage camper behavior versus working towards accomplishing a group task.

While leadership skills were not being developed, counselors generally found the camp environment to be supportive and came away with some skill development. Lauren, a camp counselor, described what she learned, "Counseling taught me people management, teamwork, and [activity planning] all those things with like kind of like the

grace to fail and learning opportunity" (LR interview, 2 182-183). Other lessons learned from the camp counselor's perspective, Eric expressed that he learned to think quickly and adjust to the situation. Eric said:

> I learned how to think on my feet, quickly, and then also how to interact with various different age groups, because at camp you have you have the young kids you got kids your age, you've got younger staff that have just started then you got your veteran staff there so it's all those different age groups of people there that being a counselor helps you learn to interact with those different age groups (ER interview, 2 125-129).

Other counselors learned that they are modeling for newer counselors, beginning to step out of leadership roles, and leading from the crowd. Kelsey describes her transition:

> Towards my last years of counseling and obviously, you are that role model figure not only to the younger kids and even when you're younger, but you're also that role model figure. But as you're older, you're also that role model figure for that new and upcoming counselor trying to figure out what they're supposed to do, how they're supposed to interact with kids how they're supposed to be a counselor, whatever they're trying to figure out that they don't already know. And that's, I want to say it's kind of like nerve-wracking but it's really not like those kids I counseled so like, we already have that really positive relationship. So having them come in as a counselor, they can ask me whatever they know they can ask me whatever under the sun. And I'll tell them you know, very blunt truth about whatever they asked. Um, so it kind of changes as you go through it (KS interview, 1 242-252).

While Kelsey could verbalize this leadership identity development transition, if other participants also experienced this transition, they could not verbalize or describe it.

Although Kelsey experienced leadership development, it was not intentional on the part of program directors. Mia developed her understanding of teamwork and leadership as she learned to work with her peers and youth younger than her and across different age groups. She better understands that you may not always know the person you are working with as well, or you may not get along:

> One of the biggest ones is probably that you have to be able to interact differently with different kids like there's different ways that you need to speak with a more outgoing kid, then more shy kid. And there's going to be different tactics to get them involved because they all want to be there to have fun, but sometimes not everyone. You can't get them all to have fun, the same way (MW interview, 1 197-201).

Olivia, a camp counselor, found camp to be a valuable experience. However, the lessons and skills that she felt that she learned, were self-taught. She did not feel they were intentional components of camp. Olivia explained:

> Um, I'd say definitely probably learned it more on my own, there was other things that were directly taught to us at counselor training and such as you know, when a kid is homesick, what should you do when a kid is being disrespectful, what should you do, but being in a leadership position, and how to handle those situations within the own counselors. I feel like it's something that we all kind of had to learn on our own (OS interview, 1 301-305).

Counselors were not provided with direct support or resources on how to work with each other — their peers. Their peers, with whom they would be working closely, are expected to work together to monitor and manage camper behavior in the cabin, between activities, and during activities.

The camp counselor experience provides a learning environment, although it is not structured or supportive of intentional leadership development. Program directors were focused on the outcomes of campers and that showed in counselors being responsible for behavior management. These cases lack the structure to support a higher level of leadership identity development and a higher level of participation due to the role that counselors are seen as capable or allowed to provide during camp.

Summary

This study presented three bounded cases that represented organized overnight camps within Missouri 4-H: Maplewood, Pinewood, and Silver Maple. Based on our analysis, four themes were found: (a) conflating relationship development with leadership development; (b) the counselor experience is managing camper behavior, (c) traditions are more important than impact, and (d) lacking evidence of leadership development. In Chapter 5, the findings will be analyzed using the three theoretical frameworks described earlier: (a) Hart's Ladder of Participation; (b) Leadership Identify Development Model; and (c) leadership discourses. Implications for promising practices and future research will also be discussed.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to describe and uncover the processes and structures that support a teen leadership experience provided by Missouri 4-H through the camp counselor experience as perceived by the program directors and participants; to describe how program directors utilized camp counselors training and implementation at camp to develop teen leadership. The data that has been collected within these cases has developed a picture of leadership development for teens through the camp counselor experience and provided a better understanding of a program that many consider a premier experience in leadership development. However, it is important to consider this information within the broader context of teen leadership development and academic literature surrounding youth development and leadership development. Data have been analyzed utilizing three frameworks: Hart's Ladder of Participation (Hart, 1992), Leadership Identity Development (LID) model (Komives et al., 2005, 2006, & 2009), and Western's (2019) four discourses of leadership. I will address findings considering these three conceptual frameworks, as well as provide an overarching analysis of the findings. Lastly, I conclude by offering recommendations for practice and future research.

Hart's Ladder of Participation

Hart (1992) developed a model of eight steps to assess the ways that youth are involved in projects and to encourage thinking about how youth are engaged. In the context of youth development programming, youth-adult partnership refers to youth and adults working together to make decisions or act in their program, organization, or community (Akiva & Petrokubi, 2016).This model was originally designed to look at youth in the public domain: school, community groups, and other organizations or

informal groups (Hart, 1992). This model utilizes the term ‘participation’ as it refers to sharing in decisions that affect youth’s lives and the life of their community. Camp can be considered a type of community — a community that creates a feeling of fellowship with others, as a result of sharing common attitudes, interests, and goals (Oxford Languages, 2022).

The lowest three rungs on Hart’s (1992) ladder are levels of non-participation. The bottom rung of the ladder is “manipulation”: youth are consulted but are not given any feedback. The third rung is “tokenism”: youth appear to be given a voice, but in fact have little or no choice about the subject, and little or no choice in forming their own opinions. The fourth rung begins degrees of participation. “Assigned but informed” is the first degree of participation. At this stage youth understand the intention of the project, they know who is making the decisions, they have a meaningful role, and they volunteered for the project after they were made aware of the opportunity.
Through these cases counselors shared that they volunteered to serve in the role, applied for the opportunity, and felt that it was a meaningful experience. Although counselors volunteered for the role, they did not always feel that they have a voice, a choice on the subject, or were able to form their opinions. This are consistent with the fourth rung of Hart’s Ladder: “assigned but informed”.

Counselors shared that they had no opportunity to share their opinion. For the few who felt that there might be an opportunity to share their opinion, they were unsure if they would be listened to, for adults were likely going to do what they wanted to do anyway. One counselor expressed that they felt that if they did share their thoughts and

feedback there would be retaliation against the counselor or towards other camp staff. Camp counselor Olivia shared:

> I'm not sure if they ever really asked us at training for the following year, What we would like to see or do? It was always just kind of, they did it and you either like it or you don't but you're going to do it anyway kind of thing (OS interview, 1 449-451).

One counselor shared an observation that they had about night routines and a way that they felt it could be a smoother transition to prepare campers for bed. When asked if it was an observation that they felt comfortable sharing with staff, it was a mixed response. Mia shared:

> Yeah, I do. With some of the staff. Honestly, I think that some of them would take it and they put it into action. But then others are not going to agree and they're going to have some almost backlash towards it and not agree with that (MW interview 1, 270-272)

Some teens are interested in serving as a counselor because they believe it is a leadership experience — an experience that will help them later in life. However, at some camps in this study, counselors are described at “token” level, a show that teens are engaged and learning, and yet the role of the counselors is to run and get supplies as needed or simply manage behavior of campers for the benefit of the adult leading the session. In one example, program director Shannon says:

> the expectation has always been, is that the counselors, need to be helping with those sessions, in the sense of, if, if I'm teaching a session on basket weaving. They shouldn't be doing underwater basket weaving they should be helping their

> campers, to be successful. And if I need them to go get something they can get it… (SG interview, 433-437).

That being said, by and large, the data suggests that camps are operating at the fourth rung "assigned but informed." Teens understand their role and understand who is responsible for making decisions — adults. Many of the situations that program directors cite as leadership experiences are only prestige-based differentiation. For example, senior counselors being able to lead the final campfire, or experienced counselors finalizing the list of songs or games for downtime. These opportunities provide a public-facing role for counselors, but they require little more than performing a highly scripted role dictated to the counselor by the adult. The structures or processes currently in place do not meet the working definition of leadership that this study is using "psychol-social influencing dynamic". To meet this definition there would need to be opportunities for counselors to influence their peers as they construct their learning and the camping environment to establish roles and goals, opportunities are needed to realize the resources of each other as well as the resources provided by adults at camp – how those resources can be utilized to make decisions and reach goals.

The low youth participation level that is taking place is also limiting the degree to which youth-adult partnerships (YAP) are successful. As youth are not challenged or supported to design their projects or efforts during camp, their opinions are valued and treated seriously only to an extent, there are barriers from camps moving to level five on Hart's Ladder: "consulted and informed." If camps were to engage counselors on this level, the project may be designed and run by adults, but youth would understand the

process, and their opinions would be valued and treated seriously. Across all cases, programming would be decided, planned, and implemented by the adult camp staff.

A characteristic of a rich learning environment and knowledge development is engaging in experiences that are both personally meaningful and intellectually challenging. “Students learn best when they are engaged in authentic activities and are collaborating and working with peers to deepen their understanding and transfer knowledge to new problems and settings” (SoLD Alliance, 2021). However, this does not appear to occur broadly within the camps of this study. Counselors involved in this study all seem to have enjoyed their experiences, and there was meaning to them. However, none of the participants indicated that they were intellectually challenged, “We are just like line leaders,” one counselor stated (SC interview, 1 101).

Leadership Identity Development (LID)

The researchers behind the development of the leadership identity development grounded theory linked youth development with the process of youth developing their own leadership identity to assist educators as they engage in youth leadership development efforts (Komives et al., 2006). The theory explores “how youth situate themselves in the construct of leadership over time” (Komives et al., 2006, p. 403). There are six stages. In a helix model of development, stages may be repeatedly experienced and returned to with a deeper and more complex understanding and performance. Each stage ends with a transition as they begin the next stage. “The transition marked a shift in thinking, a gradual process of letting go of old ways of thinking about leadership to trying new ways. Transitions marked a more reflective than active period” (Komvies et al., 2006, p. 405).

Stage one, “awareness,” is the onset of leadership, recognizing that leaders exist. In the initial stage, would-be leaders are not yet involved in groups. Stage two, “exploration/engagement,” is one of intentional involvement in experiences and taking on responsibilities. Youth who apply to serve as camp counselors are likely already at stage two. They are wanting to be involved, wanting to do more. Based on the findings of this study, , camps are supporting youth leadership development at stage three of the LID model. Stage three, “leader identified,” consists of participants in a group perceiving the following: (a) each group is comprised of leaders and followers in dichotomous roles; (b) leaders are responsible for the outcomes and for doing “leadership,” and (c) members are responsible for getting their tasks completed (Komives et al., 2006). At this stage, individuals are trying on new roles, identifying skills needed, taking personal responsibilities, and acknowledging that individual accomplishments are important. Adults play a very important role at this stage through affirmation and support. Older peers will also play increasingly important roles as groups move through high-risk situations. Adults have the role of helping individuals see the importance of being a good group member and helping the leader model, provide direction, and be accountable for outcomes (Komives et al., 2006).

Motivations to serve as a counselor were a mix of continuing to attend camp, giving back, passing on the experience, or serving in a leadership role. While there were mixed reasons each camp counselor participant expressed that they felt they were in a leadership role. Common to all explanations, they sought a role with higher expectations while they were at camp.

> …I kind of felt a sense of responsibility that I had some pretty great camp counselors whenever I was first coming in and as a camper. And I kind of felt like I owed it back to the camp and a time of need that they need it's counselors, especially male counselors and I could absolutely fill that position and be pretty good at it to that as well as have some fun at the same time (JM interview, 1 74-78).

Although counselors felt that they had a higher responsibility, when one considers this study's chosen definition of leadership, "a psycho-social influencing dynamic," it's questionable if managing camper behavior and being primarily responsible for relationship development would be considered leadership (Western, 2019, p. 36). As one counselor described the experience: "I would believe it'd be described as; this probably would be a bad term to use, but I'd almost say a babysitter, but more of like in a leader position" (ER interview, 1 226-227). Another counselor describes their experience as "We are just like line leaders" (SD interview 1, 101).

The general leadership of camp is driven by program directors and other adults on the planning team. From the application through the end of camp, all decisions and activities were initiated and decided by adults. "In the counselor application we asked them for suggestions of activities that go along with whatever the theme is that was selected," Jackie, program director, said. While counselors may have the opportunity to provide suggestions, they have no responsibility for following through on any of the plans. Across this study, camps are structured top-down from program directors to camp counselors. Hierarchies are directly acknowledged by one program director, with some embarrassment "you know you look at, you hate the hierarchy, but that's kind of what it

is, it's us as [program directors] and YPA" (EJ interview 1, 243-244), to other camps that lack awareness and attribute the hierarchy to teens' inability to provide a broader role. Program director Shannon stated, "…You've [the counselors] got to care for them [campers] emotionally, physically, it's your job, but you also know there's also somebody higher than you [camp staff], they can say 'no you can't do that'" (SG interview, 1 416-419). A key transitional component of LID level 3 to level 4 is meaningfully engaging with others, looking to the group for resources, and learning to value the talent and abilities of others (Komives et al., 2009). Through the cases in this study, with adult driven decisions, there are limited structures and processes currently in place to provide teens an opportunity to practice LID level 4 leadership with peers or with adults.

Counselors are generally working independently to accomplish specific tasks and goals. Leadership, in and of itself, is not an individual role or experience. It is a "psychosocial influencing dynamic" (Western, 2019 p. 36). The lack of group work taking place is one barrier allowing counselors to develop to a higher LID level. Through group work, there will be discovery and influence in how individuals engage in groups, as well as opportunities to learn from and support membership continuity and see groups as entities to be developed (Komives et al., 2005).

Leadership Discourses

Though they may be unaware, people who engage in conducting leadership development programs are operating within a leadership discourse. A discourse is a "system[s] of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs, and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak" (Western, 2010, p. 37). Because discourses are often unconscious, taken-for-granted

assumptions about what is normal, they have the power to limit people's thinking on a subject. To be able to understand the broader context of leadership, to look outside of our own assumptions and see how we, teams, and organizations, are performing, it is important to explore and understand the various discourses that contrast conceptions of what leadership represents (Maybe, 2013; Western, 2010).

This study utilizes the four discourses of leadership that Western (2019) has synthesized, which have dominated the past century and continue today: controller, therapist, messiah, and Eco-leader. Controller leadership is efficient, productive, focused, and utilitarian. As the first discourse of the twentieth century, controller leaders emerged with the application of a scientific method that works to minimize variants and applies rationalism to maintain control of employees and outputs. There are clearly defined roles and tasks that drive efficiency within a structure of governance and control. Within this discourse positional power is to be respected and employees are to know their place to maximize efficiency. When applied to a youth camping environment these are not necessarily desirable characteristics. In a camping environment that promotes positive youth development being focused on maximum productivity and considering humans (adults and or teens) as parts of the machine (Western, 2019) does not necessarily support a positive learning environment as would a therapist discourse that is more focused the human aspects of the program.

Emerging in the post-war era, therapist leaders listen, care, and encourage, tend to be liked and admired for their understanding, praise, and support. They are close-by caring leaders, finding time to be with team members, spending time on the big picture and development of team members, and less on strategy. Therapist leaders are often

considered team members and not employees. Therapist leaders use motivation, personal growth, and teamwork as methods to increase productivity (Western, 2019).

During the era of globalization beginning in the mid 1970s, messiah leaders emerged, creating strong organizational cultures and gathering loyal followers to support their vision for success. Messiah leaders are part fiction and part reality. They are in part required to make headlines and create noise, fed by their success and adoration from their followers. Targeting the soul of their employees', messiah leaders work to align followers with a cause greater than themselves. Usually, that cause is the company or organization (Western, 2019).

As a result of our increasingly interdependent and interconnected world, the 21st century saw the emergence of the Eco-leader, a leader who creates organizational spaces to allow leadership to flourish. They think and lead by facilitating the whole system internally and externally, recognizing interdependence with and beyond the organization. They see patterns and create engagement networks. Eco-leaders make space for people to connect with the network, for systematic self-regulation to be developed through communication feedback loops (Western, 2019).

Each discourse has its strengths and limitations, there is no right or wrong one, they exist as a social phenomenon. It is common for individuals to utilize components of different discourses to fit their needs (Western, 2019). Evidence from this study suggests that there is a common understanding of controller and therapist discourses.

As program directors described their philosophy towards camp, they described being champions for youth, finding the right person to fit the role, and expecting teens to apply lessons and skills learned by giving back to the organization. Camp plays a role in

providing a welcoming environment, a place where youth feel they are valued for who they are, and counselors are to serve as pseudo parents. These are indicators of the therapist discourse. Program directors are focused on the psyche and emotions to motivate the counselors, and by doing so, the counselors will perform well. Counselors are focused on the campers, making sure that campers have a sense of belonging and ensuring that campers are engaged and learning. These components are appropriate to the experience. However, the methods that are used by program directors to achieve these components lean away from a therapist discourse and toward a leader as a controller. As I entered this study, I assumed that camp provided teens with a challenging experience.

Within this study, camps are organized and maintained as though they are a machine by controller leaders. (The well-oiled machine is the dominant organizational metaphor of the controller discourse, while therapist has the psych clinic, messiah has the community of believers, and the Eco-leader has the eco-system.) There is a list of inputs required, and everyone has their assigned role to achieve the outputs. The output within these cases is happy campers. Program directors have a tight rein on what takes place at camp, including camp schedules and activities that rarely change. Program directors expect camp counselors to be efficient in delivering campers to and from activities on time. There are distinct roles for each adult and teen, and the limited training provided is to fulfill those task-based roles. Elizabeth, program director shares the expectations of counselors at Pinewood:

> camp counselors are the most part are responsible for their kids in the cabin, making sure that they're in bed on time, that they're dressed they're where they're supposed to be with their small groups… they are basically there is there, they are

> our eyes and ears for what's happening within their cabins (EJ interview 1, 235-239).

Program directors claim that part of their camping philosophy is to provide teens with an opportunity to learn, to grow, to provide a safe place to try new things and make mistakes. When asked how she holds counselors accountable, Jackie shared

> we discuss things during our evening debriefs, you know, usually on the first day camp, first day camp when everybody is just trying to figure out what's going on and especially if you have several first time, counselors, just trying to figure it all out. And that's when we try to talk about some of those things and I don't know if that that part is so much accountability as it is just trying to help them. You know, find their, their rhythm with being a counselor versus a camper (JA interview 3, 109-113

However, contrary to what program directors say, there are no structures in place to support this growth outside of behavior management. For example, program leaders claim that counselors play a role in developing camp. Counselors may play a role in providing ideas for workshops or themes. However, they do not have the responsibility to follow through on the development of workshop or activities. Jackie explained:

> Really would like to have them more involved in the beginning stages of when we're putting camp together Um, I mean we asked them at the previous camp during evaluation, what kind of a camp theme they'd like to see… and the way we do it is then that planning really is taken over by staff until we get right up until taking counselor applications (JA interview 2, 170-175).

Counselors are asked to sing songs and play games to keep campers "engaged so there's no idle minds, idle hands getting into shenanigans" (LR interview, 1 195). Counselors are asked to manage behavior to prevent any unwanted behavior.

If an overall goal of parents, educators, and communities is to provide development opportunities for teens that aid in their overall development, help them be productive members of society, and prepare them for higher education and/or a career (Barber et al., 2014; Scale et al., 2016), in theory, a controller leader is the not most effective approach because it focuses on strict rules, tasks, and productivity measurements (Western, 2019). However, program directors appear to be more focused on the development of campers than they are counselors. Therefore, any development that counselors may experience is a by-product of program directors training them to control the behavior of campers.

Today, a common goal for educators and youth development professionals is to develop teens with competencies to be productive in the 21st century. These competencies include analytic skills, critical thinking, decision making, interpersonal skills, communication, collaboration, leadership, ability to execute, self-direction, productivity, information processing, literacy in information and media, digital citizenship, capacity for change, creativity, adaptive learning, and flexibility (Crawford, & Fink, 2020; Finegold & Notabartolo, 2010). The nature of controllers is to use scientific rationalism to identify inputs needed for desired outputs. This, in and of itself, will not allow teens an opportunity for critical thinking, self-direction, or flexibility. Program directors in this study understand the opportunity that the overnight camping environment provides as a learning environment. Unfortunately, the skills that program directors feel counselors are

learning are not evident across this study. For teen leadership development to align conceptually and operationally further examination of current structures and processes is needed.

Framework Comparison

This study utilizes a combination of frameworks to analyze evidence through multiple lenses. As a study that is focused on leadership development, the Leadership Identity Development (LID) model could be enough to make a meaningful assessment of counselors' level of leadership development. By adding Hart's Ladder of Participation, it is understandable that it may appear to muddy the water. On the contrary, the combination of the two frameworks provides a deeper understanding of the cases. The LID model focuses on the individual youth's progression through leadership development. What it does not do is take into consideration are theories of youth development or give recommendations on how an individual might develop through the stages. Hart's Ladder considers how youth professionals might work with youth in any setting. By applying both frameworks within this study data we can analyze data from both the perspective of the teen and the program director as we gain an understanding of how program directors conceptualize and operationalize leadership development.

If only the LID model had been used, a large gap in knowledge would have been missed. The LID model would have only shown evidence of teens broadly being at stage three, "leader identified," during their counselor experience. There would not have been an understanding that teens were likely at that stage because of the way there were being engaged by adults in the experience. Hart's Ladder provided the framework to understand that because teens were primarily managing behavior, they were not being supported in

their leadership development. Adding in the discourses of leadership we can go even deeper into understanding how program directors conceptualize and operationalize leadership development. By understanding that program directors use components of the therapist and controller discourse, provides additional knowledge of the structures and processes in place. Program leaders tend to conceptualize leadership through the therapist discourse. They see their role as developing young people into better community members and better leaders that give back. However, they operationalize leadership as a controller. Camp counselors are being added to the bottom (worker) tier of the organizational pyramid, allowing teens to submit input and make decisions, as minimal as they are, controller program directors may believe that they are engaging teens in leadership. Yet, when viewing this phenomenon through the lens of the LID model, what is occurring is not leadership and all behavior and expectations lead back to managing camper behavior.

Conclusions

Program directors are doing good work within the camping environment. Youth of all ages enjoy going to camp and look forward to it each year. Teens, even though they may not feel it is the most educational environment of their adolescence, still enjoyed their experiences and chose to continue their participation. Unfortunately, based on this study's findings there is evidence of a significant disconnect between what the program directors say is the intent behind the experience and the structures that are in place. The program directors and camps within this study were identified based on their tenure with the organization and their camping group. They were chosen precisely because they represented longstanding, successful camping programs in Missouri 4-H. And yet, the

level of youth engagement and leadership development observed in this case study appears to be out of line with the assertion that the 4-H camp counselor experience is a premier leadership experience. Furthermore, as there are gaps in the academic literature that clarify structures and processes that lead to identified outcomes, what is taking place within Missouri 4-H may also be taking place within other 4-H teen camp counselor experiences or counselor experiences in other contexts.

By providing a narrative of what is occurring in Missouri 4-H overnight camps, we have been able to uncover and describe the structures and processes that are occurring at camps that include how program directors conceptualize and operationalize teen leadership. Four themes stand alone and yet are tightly intertwined. First, program directors do not have a clear understanding of leadership development. They conceptualize leadership development to be the same as relationship development. Second, leadership development is seen as managing others by managing behavior. While relationship development and managing others are small pieces of leadership, program directors use relationships and behavior management as a means to control campers and in a way to control counselors. The third theme that holds many of the structures and processes in place is tradition. Traditions are prioritized by many of the program directors more than the teens. The adults hold on to the traditions so closely that it has prevented them to see areas where they can provide a deeper and richer learning environment for teens. The final theme is that there is a lack of structure and process that supports leadership development. In contrast, the environment has been structured to support camper behavior management, relationship development, and the development of a community.

This study provides a foundational understanding of what is taking place within the camp counselor experience at overnight camps in Missouri 4-H. By understanding what is taking place through the experience we will be in a better place for future research.

Recommendations For Practice

Findings from this study lead to the following recommendations for improving leadership development in teens that serve as camp counselors at overnight camps.

Increase Teen Participation

There are many opportunities at camp to adjust structures and processes that would allow teens to provide meaningful input, plan, and implement camp related efforts. As suggested with Hart's Ladder of participation, one way that teens could be provided with opportunities at camp is to experience broader group work. Providing teens with an opportunity for a broader group goal, such as planning and implementing a workshop or large group activity, would provide additional opportunities for youth to share in tasks, learn group processing skills where they form, storm — struggle with trust and delegation, and normalize — understand strengths in each other, have trust, and understand a larger picture (i.e., lead a team). It will be important that all youth are provided with the opportunity to engage in meaningful group work.

Camp counselors could also be provided with the opportunity to design, plan, and implement any number of experiences, from workshops to evening activities, to campfire ceremonies, to the lunch menu. While adults will be there in a supportive role to help teens understand how youth at different ages learn and how to develop a good workshop, the teens can choose the topic and develop the content. This will expand and strengthen

the teen's understanding of the content as they organize their thoughts and plan an order for information and activities. Providing counselors a broader role, with a higher level of responsibility, also aligns with many different aspects of positive youth development: growth is challenged, the agency in the development, building competencies, and increasing academic achievement. Teaching someone else is one of the best ways to master knowledge and skills. If the teens are well prepared, campers will learn and have fun in turn. Even if teens are not well prepared, there is an opportunity to learn from that as well. Particularly with support from adults and peers who are caring and support growth and skill development.

Program Director Leadership Identity Development Level

It is recommended that program directors engage in professional development to assess their stage of leadership development identity. A deeper understanding of where they find themselves in LID would bring the perspective of how teen leadership development is conceptualized during overnight camp. Regardless of your tenure in an organization, professional development may be needed to advance understanding and, therefore, the ability to implement higher-level leadership experiences. For one cannot develop others beyond their own understanding and capacity.

Missouri 4-H should also bring together all program directors to discuss and review programming practices. Camps operate in isolation from each other, which contributes to a lack of collaboration and perpetuates practices that date back to the 1950s.

Recommendation for Research

With this in-depth understanding of what is taking place within Missouri 4-H overnight camps' counselor experience, additional research can now be conducted. The basic premise of this study should be replicated across other experiences within Missouri 4-H, and other youth organizations, to understand how other program directors operationalize and conceptualize teen leadership development experiences.

Additional research also needs to be conducted to address two problems, and though they may not be directly related, they are certainly related to each other. First, there are perceived outcomes that teen leadership development programs should be striving: agency (Martin, 2018), social skills and relationships (Martin, 2018; Monke, 2015; Thurber, et al., 2006), responsibility (Bird & Subramaniam, 2018; Garst, et al., 2011), physical and thinking, positive values (Thurber, et al., 2006), and identity (Martin, 2018). These outcomes, among some others, include a level of uncertainty of whether there is a true connection between intention and implementation (Henderson, et al., 2007; Martin, 2018) and if they are the right impacts to be striving for. In addition, the indicators for those outcomes are not always clear or consistent. Furthermore, previous studies on teen leadership tend to look at evidence of skill development without examining evidence that problematic indicators are missing (Bird & Subramaniam, 2018; Garst et al., 2011; Martin, 2018; Monke, 2015; Thurber, et al., 2006).

The second problem is that even if programs are striving for the right outcomes, there is a lack of understanding as to which structures and processes are working to reach those outcomes (Anderson Moore, et al., 2004; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). Without an understanding of how to provide teens with the appropriate experiences that support their

development to be impactful in their present lives and communities, how can it be expected that they are going to be able to succeed as they move into adulthood?

With a better understanding of what is occurring in leadership development experiences, such as serving as a camp counselor, a better understanding that intention and implementation are, or are not, resulting in perceived outcomes, youth development professionals will be better equipped to consistently and with credibility provide high-quality programs and experiences.

It is a hope that future research may be able to build off the understanding of this study on how various leadership discourses held by youth professionals impact teen leadership development. Therefore, the outcome of this study is focused on understanding what is occurring during the leadership development experience so that it may lead to future research to understand the consequences and practical application of various teen leadership development styles and structures (Creswell, 2014).

Summary

The purpose of this case study was to provide a narrative description each of the participating camps, to describe, understand multiple perspectives within a bounded context. It is important to remember that the theoretical perspective of this study is pragmatism. This study aimed to be useful and practical to develop an understanding of what is occurring during the camp counselor experience, to "capture their [youth professionals and teens] voice and experience…it is a living philosophy with deep intellectual heritage" (Shields, 1998). This study utilizes a pragmatic framework and aims to create vocabulary and descriptions that are useful in critiquing and developing practices (Kivinen & Ristela, 2003).

The themes that arose in this research will help inform and advance professional development surrounding teen leadership development. This study also adds to the body of research on how teen leadership development experiences are provided in formal and non-formal settings.

Appendix A: Recruitment Email

Hello,
My name is Stephanie Femrite, I'm conducting a research project to understand what takes place at 4-H camp counselor training and camp. Like you, I spent my childhood involved in 4-H camp and served as a camp counselor. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project since you are a 14-18 years old and have served as a camp counselor for at least two years at the same 4-H camp. This project will include individual interviews, observations of you at counselor training and at camp, and an activity called photo elicitation. If you decide you would like to participate in my research project, here is what I will ask you to do.

1. In this study, your child will be asked to participate in photo elicitation activity. I will ask you to show me some pictures that will help me understand your 4-H camp counselor experience. If you have other items you would like to show me that might help me understand, that's okay too. I will invite them to tell me about their pictures.
2. I will schedule meet with you two to three times for 60-90 minutes each to interview you about your experience growing up in 4-H and serving as a camp counselor.
3. Finally, I will observe you during camp counselor training and during 4-H camp. I will mostly be observing you from a distance but will also be available if you think of anything else you would like to tell me to help me understand your experience. I will plan to observe you at the training between three to four hours and at camp between six to eight hours.

If you decide to participate in this project, please complete the assent form attached to this email along with the photo/audio release form. Please also ask your parent to sign the consent form. You may send all of these forms back to me at femrites@missouri.edu Your participation is greatly needed and may benefit others who will apply and serve as a 4-H camp counselor in the future. Also, participating in this research project will allow you to tell about your experiences as a long-standing 4-H member. You will have an opportunity to help people understand what it is like to be a camp counselor within 4-H. Thank you in advance for your consideration of this special research project. I will look forward to hearing from you soon.

Appendix B: Consent and Assent

Parent Consent

What is this about?
I am conducting a research project with the University of Missouri to develop a better understanding of what takes place at 4-H camp counselor training and at 4-H camp. The title of the study is: Teen Immersion Experience: 4-H Camp Counselor

Description of the research
Your child is invited to participate in this study because they meet the following criteria: 14-18 years old and have served as a camp counselor for at least two years at the same 4-H camp.

Procedures of the study
1. Photo elicitation (participant will be invited to share photos of their experience with growing up in 4-H and at 4-H camp). Scans will be made of the photographs. Interview will be audio recorded.
2. In-depth interview with member. Interview will be audio recorded.

How long will the study last?
This study will take place during the months of February-August of 2021. It will be expected that your involvement will be between 3 to 5 hours total. Your child can stop participating at any time without penalty.

What are the benefits of the research?
Narratives from youth specialist (camp program director) and tends involved in this experience will be valuable in helping those who have not had experiences at camp or as a camp counselor enhance our understanding what it is that makes this phenomenon meaningful. It will also provide a deeper understanding of how camp program directors conceptualize their view of working with teens. Information uncovered in this study may be useful for the evaluation of current non-formal educational practices surrounding teen leadership development. Finally, it may help to refine the 4-H program for the future and to provide meaningful experiences for teens that may increase the numbers and quality of programs.

Are there any risks?
There are very few risks in this voluntary study. Your child might feel uneasy talking about their participation with the program. The interviewer has worked with youth.

Participation is voluntary
Participation in this research study is voluntary. You child may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time. You will not be penalized in any way if you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

What will happen to the information that is shared?
We will do our best to make sure that your answers to these questions are kept private. Information produced by this study will be stored in the investigator's file and identified by a code number only. The code key connecting your name to specific information about you will be kept in a separate, secure location. Information contained in your records may not be given to anyone unaffiliated with the study in a form that could identify you without your written consent, except as required by law. The interviews will be audio recorded. The audio files will be kept on a password protected computer. You will be given the opportunity to view the photographs and listen to the audio tapes before you give your permission for their use if you request.

Payment for participation
There is no payment for being part of this study.

What if I have questions?
If you or child has any questions, please contact Stephanie Femrite at femrites@missouri.edu or 573-581-3231. You may contact the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board (which is a group of people who review the research studies to protect participants' rights) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant and/or concerns about the study, or if you feel under any pressure to enroll or to continue to participate in this study. The IRB can be reached directly by telephone at (573)882-3181 or e-mail irb@missouri.edu

Participant's Permission
__ I agree for my child to participate in the focus group for this study.

I have read this Informed Consent Form and understand:
(Initial each one below)
____ the benefits and risks of my child being part of this study
____ my right and my child's right to ask questions and be given answers
____ that I will receive a copy of this form
____ that my child can stop being part of this study at any time without penalty

I give my voluntary consent for my child

Name of Child for Consent: _____

Parent Consent Signature: _____

Youth Assent Form

What is this about?
I am conducting a research project with the University of Missouri to develop a better understanding of what takes place at 4-H camp counselor training and at 4-H camp. The title of the study is: Case Study: 4-H Camp Counselor Experience

Description of the research
You are invited to participate in this study because you meet the following criteria: 14-18 years old and have served as a camp counselor for at least two years at the same 4-H camp.

Procedures of the study
1. Photo elicitation (participant will be invited to share photos of their experience with growing up in 4-H and at 4-H camp). Scans will be made of the photographs. Interview will be audio recorded.
2. In-depth interview with member. Interview will be audio recorded.

How long will the study last?
This study will take place during the months of February-August of 2021. It will be expected that your involvement will be between 3 to 5 hours total. You can stop participating at any time without penalty.

What are the benefits of the research?
Narratives from youth specialist (camp program director) teens involved in this experience will be valuable in helping those who have not had experiences at camp or as a camp counselor enhance our understanding what it is that makes this phenomenon meaningful. It will also provide a deeper understanding of how camp program directors conceptualize their view of working with teens. Information uncovered in this study may be useful for the evaluation of current non-formal educational practices surrounding teen leadership development. Finally, it may help to refine the 4-H program for the future and to provide meaningful experiences for teens that may increase the numbers and quality of programs.

Are there any risks?
There are very few risks in this voluntary study. You might feel uneasy talking about your participation with the program. The interviewer has worked with youth.

Participation is voluntary
Participation in this research study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time. You will not be penalized in any way if you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

What will happen to the information that is shared?
We will do our best to make sure that your answers to these questions are kept private. Information produced by this study will be stored in the investigator's file and identified by a code number only. The code key connecting your name to specific information

about you will be kept in a separate, secure location. Information contained in your records may not be given to anyone unaffiliated with the study in a form that could identify you without your written consent, except as required by law. The interviews will be audio recorded. The audio files will be kept on a password protected computer. You will be given the opportunity to view the photographs and listen to the audio tapes before you give your permission for their use if you request.

What if I have questions?
If you or your parent has any questions, please contact Stephanie Femrite at femrites@missouri.edu or 573-581-3231. You may contact the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board (which is a group of people who review the research studies to protect participants' rights) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant and/or concerns about the study, or if you feel under any pressure to enroll or to continue to participate in this study. The IRB can be reached directly by telephone at (573)882-3181 or e-mail irb@missouri.edu

Consent
I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I consent to participate in this study. I understand that participation is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. You will be informed of any significant new findings discovered during the course of this study that might influence your health, welfare, or willingness to continue participation in this study.

Youth Signature:
_____Date: _____
You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep for your records.

Program Director Consent Form

What is this about?
I am conducting a research project with the University of Missouri to develop a better understanding of what takes place at 4-H camp counselor training and at 4-H camp. The title of the study is: Teen Immersion Experience: 4-H Camp Counselor

Description of the research
You are invited to participate in this study because you meet the following criteria: have been a youth specialist (camp program director) in your current position for four or more years and have an active role in the design and implementation of camp and camp counselor experience.

Procedures of the study
1. Photo elicitation (participant will be invited to share photos of their experience with working with teens and 4-H camp). Scans will be made of the photographs. Interview will be audio recorded.
2. In-depth interview with youth specialist (camp program director). Interview will be audio recorded.
3. Observations/field notes of youth specialist (camp program director) in action at camp counselor training and at camp

How long will the study last?
This study will take place during the months of February-August of 2021. It will be expected that your involvement will be between 3 to 5 hours total. You can stop participating at any time without penalty.

What are the benefits of the research?
Narratives from youth specialist (camp program director) and teens involved in this experience will be valuable in helping those who have not had experiences at camp or as a camp counselor enhance our understanding what it is that makes this phenomenon meaningful. It will also provide a deeper understanding of how camp program directors conceptualize their view of working with teens. Information uncovered in this study may be useful for the evaluation of current non-formal educational practices surrounding teen leadership development. Finally, it may help to refine the 4-H program for the future and to provide meaningful experiences for teens that may increase the numbers and quality of programs.

Are there any risks?
There are very few risks in this voluntary study. You might feel uneasy talking about your participation with the program. The interviewer has worked with youth.

Participation is voluntary
Participation in this research study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time. You will not be penalized in any way if you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

What will happen to the information that is shared?
We will do our best to make sure that your answers to these questions are kept private. Information produced by this study will be stored in the investigator's file and identified by a code number only. The code key connecting your name to specific information about you will be kept in a separate, secure location. Information contained in your records may not be given to anyone unaffiliated with the study in a form that could identify you without your written consent, except as required by law. The interviews will be audio recorded. The audio files will be kept on a password protected computer. You will be given the opportunity to view the photographs and listen to the audio tapes before you give your permission for their use if you request.

What if I have questions?
If you have any questions, please contact Stephanie Femrite at femrites@missouri.edu or 573-581-3231. You may contact the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board (which is a group of people who review the research studies to protect participants' rights) if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant and/or concerns about the study, or if you feel under any pressure to enroll or to continue to participate in this study. The IRB can be reached directly by telephone at (573)882-3181 or e-mail irb@missouri.edu

Consent
I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I consent to participate in this study. I understand that participation is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. You will be informed of any significant new findings discovered during the course of this study that might influence your health, welfare, or willingness to continue participation in this study.
Your Signature:
_____Date: _____

You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep for your records.

Appendix C: Interview Protocol
Case Study: 4-H Camp Counselor Experience

Hello! My name is Stephanie Femrite, I am a PhD student at University of Missouri and a 4-H Youth Specialist. I am here to learn about your experience as a 4-H camp counselor. Thank you for being willing to talk with me. These interviews will be divided into three parts. I am interested in learning about your experiences and activities through 4-H and with your family, your experience as a 4-H camp counselor, and your understanding of being a camp counselor and the meaning that it has for you. The questions will ask you to think about past experiences and decisions, current experiences, and meaning. If you do not feel that a question applies to you, please let me know.

There are no right or wrong answers, please be as honest as you can to help me understand your experiences. I hope you will feel comfortable saying what you really think and feel. If it is okay with you, I will record our conversation so that I can focus on our conversation and not have to worry about writing everything down. Remember that the information is confidential and will be used only for research about the immersions experience of teens serving as 4-H camp counselors.

Introductory Question:

1. Please share your name, how many years you have been in 4-H, how many years you have served as a 4-H camp counselor.

Life History (First Interview)

2. Why did you join 4-H?
3. What has kept you in the program?
4. What projects or activities do you currently participate in, in 4-H? Past activities?
5. What role does your family play in your 4-H projects and activities?
6. What other extracurricular activities do you participate in?
7. Do you have a mentor(s)?
    a. What role did they play in your life?
8. What do you remember the most about being a 4-H camper?
9. What experiences led you to apply to be a camp counselor?

Experience (Second Interview)

1. What do you remember about counselors training?
    a. What would have made it more valuable training?
2. What decisions were you responsible for making for the coming camp year?
    a. Who was responsible for making sure those decisions happened?
        i. What happened if they didn't follow through?
3. Please describe your role at camp.
    a. Are there different roles for other teens?
4. What was expected of you?
5. What takes place in the few hours (or day) prior to campers arriving?
6. Please describe a full day at camp
    a. What are your duties during camp?

   b. Describe a time you worked with an adult to solve a problem (4-H staff, camp staff, volunteer, etc.)
   c. Describe a time you worked as a team.
7. Describe a conflict you had
      i. With a camper
      ii. With a co-counselor
      iii. With an adult (4-H staff, camp staff, volunteer)
   b. Was the conflict resolved? If so, how?
8. If a decision needed to be made, who made it?
9. As a full counselor team, do you meet with 4-H staff during camp?
   a. What did you talk about?
   b. How often did you meet?
10. What was the role of 4-H staff during camp?
   a. Camp staff, if there were any
   b. Volunteers
11. Tell me about your relationship with (in and outside of camp)
   a. Co-counselors
   b. Campers
   c. 4-H faculty/staff
   d. Camp staff
   e. Camp volunteers
12. Who do you look up at camp as being a leader?

Reflection on Meaning (Third Interview)

1. What does it mean to you to be a 4-H camp counselor?
2. Why did you want to be a 4-H camp counselor?
3. How did training affect your understanding of your role at camp?
4. What change did you make, if any, in your behavior as a result of counselor training?
5. What was the most challenging part about being a counselor?
6. What was the most rewarding part about being a counselor?
7. What do you feel you learned from being a camp counselor?
8. What skills do you feel you utilized the most as a camp counselor?
9. Has being a camp counselor affected your plans for after high school?
10. How did being a camp counselor training affect your understanding of
   a. Communication
   b. Responsibility
   c. Independence
   d. Teamwork
   e. Leadership
11. How have you applied any of the skills you learned from being a counselor to other experiences? (home, work, school, etc.).
12. What skills do you think you have learned from being a camp counselor that you could not learn elsewhere?
13. Why do you return to being a counselor each year?

14. What considerations do you have to make when deciding to be apply to be a counselor?
    a. What do you have to give up in order attend training and/or camp?

15. If you could change one thing about camp, what would it be?
16. In a couple of sentences, how would you describe being a camp counselor?
17. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me about camp or experience?

4-H Camp Program Directors

Introductory Question:

1. Please share your name and how many years you have been in your current position.

Life History (First Interview)

1. Were you a 4-H member as a youth?
    a. What projects and/or activities did you participate in?
    b. What role did your family play in your participation in 4-H?
2. What extracurricular activities were you involved in growing up?
    a. What role did your family play in those activities?
3. What experiences did you have in leadership roles as a youth?
4. Tell me about a mentor you had in your life.
5. What was your path that led you to be a youth specialist?
6. Who were your mentors when you first started in your position as a youth specialist?
    a. What lessons did you learn from them?
7. How would you describe your philosophy of working with youth? With teens?
    a. Has that changed over time?

8. When you first started in your role as a youth specialist, how were you introduced to your professional role with 4-H camp?
    a. What were your first impressions?
9. Have you worked with any other camps, 4-H or other, then the one you are currently working with in your role as a youth specialist?
10. With your current 4-H camp,
    a. What do you know of its' history?
        i. What are the expectations of camp counselors?
        ii. If there is camp staff, what are their expectations?
        iii. Expectations of MU Extension faculty, staff, volunteers?
        iv. How was the location chosen?
        v. If a camping group, how did the counties come together?

Experience (Second Interview)

1. What is your philosophy regarding the camp program?
2. What changes, if any, have you made to the camping program since you started working with it?

3. Why do you continue to provide the camping program?
    a. Camp counselor experience?
4. How are counselors chosen?
5. What are your expectations of camp counselors?
6. Counselor training
    a. How are training needs decided?
    b. Who presents the content?
    c. What resources are used in developing content?
    d. Are there multiple trainings?
        i. If yes, how is content divided over the trainings?
    e. If part of a camping group, does each camp "week" have their own training?
        i. What training is provided consistently across all groups?
    f. How do counselors plan during training?
        i. What do they plan?
        ii. Who is responsible for carrying those plans through?
    g. How do counselors reflect during training?
7. What are the expectations for counselors from the time they are selected to serve in the role to the time they arrive at camp?
8. What is your role from counselor selection and first day of camp?
9. What is your role during camp?
    a. Role of Youth Program Associates (YPA's)
    b. Role of camp staff (if any)
    c. Role of volunteers
10. If a decision needs to be made, who makes it?
11. Tell me about a conflict you have had with:
        i. With a camper
        ii. With a peer
        iii. With an adult (camp staff, volunteer)
    b. How as the conflict resolved?
12. What are your outcomes for:
    a. For counselors?
    b. For campers?
    c. For camp staff (if there are any)?
13. How do you define outcomes from camp?
    a. For counselors?
    b. For campers?
14. Do you meet with counselors as a group at any point during camp?
    a. When? How often?
    b. What do you talk about?
15. What are some things that you want to make sure counselors always do?

Reflection on Meaning (Third Interview)

1. What does camp mean to you?
2. What skills do you think teens learn from being a camp counselor that they could not learn elsewhere?

3. Tell me about the relationships that teens develop at camp.
4. How do you express and demonstrate your expectations for counselors?
5. How do you hold counselors accountable?
6. How do you build self-confidence in counselors?
7. Are there opportunities available for them to take the lead?
8. How do you share your thoughts and beliefs with them?
9. How do you encourage skill and growth development?
10. How do you provide support to counselors through the experience?
11. How do you feel about sharing power (decision making) with counselors?
12. How has your view leadership changed from the beginning of your career and to now?
13. If you could change one thing about camp, what would it be?
14. Is there anything else that you would like to share with me about camp or experience?

Appendix D: Photo Elicitation Activity Protocol

Photo Elicitation Questions:

1. Tell me about this picture.

2. What else do you remember?

- Follow up questions/prompts will follow in the direction the participant leads the conversation.

Conclusion:

_____, would it be okay if I scan these photographs so that I can refer back to them and

remember our conversation as I work on my research project?

Great, _____, thank you for talking with me today.

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Vita

Stephanie is a second generation Extension 4-H youth specialist and third generation 4-H alum. She was raised in northeast Missouri where she raised and showed sheep with her brother. Stephanie attended the University of Missouri-Columbia and received a Bachelor's degree in Human Development and Family Studies, with an emphasis on youth studies. Following graduation, she began her career with the University of Missouri Extension as a 4-H youth educator. Having the long-term goal of becoming a 4-H youth specialist, Stephanie pursued her Master's degree in Youth Development. After graduation, Stephanie began to broaden her understanding of 4-H and Extension and worked for a brief time for Purdue Extension and Indiana 4-H.

In 2013, Stephanie returned home to Missouri to continue her career and passion as a 4-H youth specialist. During her time as a youth specialist, her work focused on teen development, volunteer development, and diversifying program delivery. Currently, Stephanie is serving as the interim assistant director of Missouri 4-H. Her primary duties include the oversight and direction of off campus operations.

Stephanie and her husband Andy continue to live in northeast Missouri where they enjoy daily explorations and wonders through the eyes of their young daughter, Ainsley.