Subculture and Community:

Intergenerativity, Social Capital, and Community Resilience in the

Society for Creative Anachronism

by

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ABSTRACT

In an increasingly complex world, intergenerational collaboration[1] is essential to address the problems the world faces with climate change, social inequity, economic change, and rapid technological development (Hibbs 2020). Research has shown that intergenerativity, or the process of adult/youth power, knowledge, and resource sharing for community development can be highly effective for building and maintaining community resilience (Ronan and Johnston 2005). This study offers a case study of the Society for Creative Anachronism (SCA) in the United States and Australia and how this organization has utilized the skills and leadership of people of all ages to build, grow, and maintain the organization's community resilience. While the organization has experienced many disruptions due to external problems (such as COVID-19 pandemic and natural disasters) and internal conflicts (such as bullying, bigotry, and adults seeking power and control over young people), the organization has both maintained and grown its organization membership from 30 people in 1969 to over 60,000 organizational members in 2023 at a national and international level. Some of the community resilience building strategies the SCA utilizes have been shown to be effective with some limitations. These strategies can include developing organizational policy and leadership, offering leadership and decision-making opportunities for diverse people to share their

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[1] Intergenerational collaborations are the fusion of ideas and emotions through conversations and experiences shared between different generations that are beneficial for a community.

perspectives, removing harmful community members, supporting youth leadership, and increasing SCAdian capital both inside and outside the SCA. The SCA increases its members' capital through skills training (human capital), social networks (social capital), and opportunities for employment and business development (economic capital). Moreover, the organization's subcultural values increase the potential for all forms of capital while building a strong resource sharing and emotional support network for its members. This dissertation shows that intergenerativity and social capital are highly useful strategies for building and maintaining community resilience and offers practical strategies for other organizations and governments looking to increased their resilience through intergenerativity.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the incredible people in my life. Jesus, Darryl, my mom, Eric, Neil, Dean, Kayla, Rowyn, and my incredible chosen family in the SCA. I also want to acknowledge Gaku Tsuda for his guidance in applying to grad school and throughout my MA and Ph.D. learning. Alissa Ruth, it was your assistance with funding and mentorship that led me to where I am. Emir Estrada, your passion and inclusive teaching have inspired my academic self to be the best I can be. Thank you all! And before it all, I want to recognize the City of Tempe Mayor's Youth Advisory Commission. Sophia, Jason, Gabriel, Nicholas, Tiffanie, Chris, Safia, Alexis, and so many of you! You were the inspiration for this entire project and I use the skills and insight you all taught me everyday. You are my driving force in this work! Then there is Re:Frame Youth Arts Center. Paula, Ty, and Ashley, you all have been an invaluable teacher for what it means to power share with young people. Because of you, I know how to do this work. Thank you all for your guidance, wisdom, love, and shoulders to cry on as I worked my way through this Doctor of Philosophy process. I would not have been able to do this without you all. Thank you!

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1 THE ORIGINS OF THE SOCIETY FOR CREATIVE ANACHRONISM

Nineteen-year-old Rafael was out driving on a sunny Tempe, Arizona afternoon in September 1969 when he noticed his 21-year-old friend Steve's motorcycle parked outside the Taco Bell. Rafael stopped to chat with Steve, who told him he had recently returned from California. Steve told Rafael about this group he had met at a science fiction convention that fought with swords and sought to recreate medieval history. This group called themselves the Society for Creative Anachronism (SCA). After discussing the potential for an Arizona SCA, Steve and Rafael joked, "Do you think this will even exist here a year from now?" To which Steve replied, "Eh, probably not."

They couldn't have been more mistaken. Over the subsequent decades, the SCA would expand into a 60,000 member global nonprofit that thrives and grows to this day. Around the world, there are 21 chapters called Kingdoms and the U.S. alone is home to 12 Kingdoms. Starting in 1974, the Arizona SCA came to be one of the oldest and largest Kingdoms in the SCA today, called Atenveldt. Moreover, the organization grew to be a multigenerational institution into which people were born and raised. As Rafael said, "I would say today for both [my wife] and me, we have so many good old friends that we grew up together." Many SCAdians (members of the SCA) did indeed grow up together.

Rafael was 19 when he and his friends began planning the group that would eventually grew into the Kingdom of Atenveldt. He was drawn to the romance of King Arthur's court, knights in shining armor, and beautiful damsels in distress. It was his and his friends' love of history and fantasy that inspired the organization of their group. However, the three young men soon learned that event planning and management would be a significant part of building the group if they wanted it to succeed. Rafael explained to me as I interviewed him at his house in 2018:

> At the first event I [Rafael] showed up and Steve, who had planned [the event], became Seneschal [the main event organizer and] said, 'Do you want to be Sheriff?' and I said, 'Sure! What does a Sheriff do?' and he literally handed me a clipboard and he says, 'I dunno! Go be Sheriff!' …so I thought, 'Oh! What can I do?' So, I figured out parking was all screwy where we were so I started organizing where people park so they could get out. So that's the simplest thing in the world, but nobody thought about it. So that developed from, 'I dunno, how do you put on an event?'

It was through these learning experiences and event planning that Rafael, Steve, and the other founders of the SCA learned to better organize and run events to eventually expand the SCA from its origins.

The SCA as a nonprofit organization began in 1966 when a Berkeley University student named Diana Paxson joined the United States Peace Corps. Her friends knew she loved all things fantasy and medieval, so they decided to throw her a medieval-themed farewell party and swordsmanship tournament called "The First Tournament." It was a beautiful day on May 1st, 1966 in Berkeley, California; around 2pm, the guests began to

arrive, dressed in hand-sewn medieval attire. Knights and Ladies proceeded toward the judges who sat on thrones, waiting for the tournament and feasting to begin (Hirsch von Henford 2018).

According to Henrik of Havn [one of my interviewees who attended this first event], there were about 30 people in attendance. Though many were friends and acquaintances, some people, like Henrik, attended the party after seeing a flier for it posted around the University of Berkeley campus. The party was a great success and the group members decided to plan more events. As the group membership grew and various members migrated across the United States and into Africa, Asia, Canada, Europe, and the Middle East, the organization grew as well. The SCA formed Kingdoms, Baronies, and Shires in these places that SCAdians [members of the SCA] came to call "the Known World." By October 1968, the SCA incorporated as a 501 (c)(3) not for profit educational organization (Cramer 2010: 4). The group that Steve, Rafael, and their friends started in Arizona became the Kingdom of Atenveldt in 1974. It was named after the Egyptian sun deity, Aton, and velt, for land, now known as Atenveldt and the name means the "land of the sun (Kingdom of Atenveldt 2023)" Atenveldt became the first Kingdom to form once the SCA became a 501(c)(3).

Since the founders of the SCA were in their early 20s and late teens, they relied entirely on young people for leadership and decision making. To plan, run, and maintain

each SCA gathering and event, everyone needed to help to ensure that each event was planned and managed effectively. This meant teenagers and people in their early 20s were important decision makers and leaders in the organization.

Rafael said the SCA was "boot camp for life" because he and many of the other early SCAdians [members of the SCA] were "socially awkward" or "shy" as young people in the SCA. Through the SCA, Rafael was forced into leadership positions such as Sheriff, Prince, and King where he had to make decisions for the group and accommodate many individual needs to ensure group cohesion:

> When you've been King, everything has happened. I mean, you deal with the emotions [of other people and yourself], you figure out what it is people really want, what their needs are, 'why is this person acting this way?' You find out people have different motivations. I mean, I learned a lot and both of us [my wife and I]…know many others in the SCA have talked about our business life, career life, it's hard to not point out, 'Oh! This guy, this business guy, he's a Laurel, basically.' I mean, that's all you have to do is say, 'Oh! I understand [they are similar to how a lot of Laurels think].'

Rafael explained that the SCA helped him develop social skills, leadership skills, and the ability to work with a wide variety of personalities with different motivations. He learned these skills at 19 and was able to apply them to his life as a high school history teacher and it influences his personal development to this day at the age of 73. Based on these comments, I was interested in how young people are part of the SCA's community development and I wanted to know how SCAdians sustain community resilience in the context of intergenerational partnerships for community development.

As a result, I conducted a pilot studies, one of which became my MA thesis. This dissertation project emerged from this pilot research, when Rafael told me the SCA is "boot camp for life." I asked other young SCAdians how the SCA impacted their mundane [non-SCA] lives and received similar responses with almost all of my pilot research and dissertation interviewees. As a former youth education and development coordinator for the City of Tempe, I was intrigued by the idea of young people being important leaders and decision makers in a large community like the SCA. In my experience, most adults tend to infantilize and marginalize young people with the assumption that they are too immature to be effective leaders and decision makers - a practice also known as adultism (Bell 1995).

Since its origins, the SCA has been youth centered and has valued the involvement and leadership of young members. This dissertation is about how, in the SCA, young people are often seen as important members of the group and are expected to hold leadership roles, volunteer at SCA events, and offer their input for community decisions - a practice also known as youth-adult power sharing (Y-APS) (Libby 2005). More specifically, in this dissertation I address the following three research questions were:

1. How does the SCA maintain community resilience?
2. How do intergenerational partnerships between youth and adults shape SCA community resilience?

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3. How does SCA as a subculture create opportunities for youth to gain skills, knowledge and social resources that affect their lives inside and outside of the SCA context?

Though not all SCAdian adults subscribe to Y-APS and adultism is still common in the SCA, the organization offers a more age-inclusive environment for all its members compared to the "mundane" world (the world outside the SCA). This organizational case study offers an in-depth examination of how a global not-for-profit organization can build and sustain community resilience and thrive as a cohesive community in the face of significant disruptions like the COVID-19 pandemic. I position this study in the context of youth subcultures, intergenerativity, social capital, and multiple theories of both proactive and reactive community resilience. Based on my findings, I hypothesize that SCAdian community resilience is linked to their age-inclusive approach to community building. This hypothesis drove this dissertation research.

This dissertation is about the complexities of SCAdian intergenerativity (intergenerational collaborations for community development), community development, and the organization's ability to sustain a cohesive community in the face of complex disruptions - a phenomenon known as community resilience (Baxter 2019). Throughout my data collection and analysis, several themes emerged. For example, the SCA appears to adapt to both internal and external disruptions through proactive and reactive processes where they will change their organizational policies and develop programs and resource

sharing opportunities for SCAdians in need of social, emotional, economic, and intellectual resources. Moreover, the SCA engages in a variety of effective approaches to including young people as leaders and social equals along with adults. The SCA is a subculture (which I will discuss in more detail below) and its subcultural values related to volunteerism and hospitality increase the SCA's members' wellness, social cohesion, and other forms of capital such as human (education and mental capacity) and economic capital (material wealth and money). All these benefits result in positive emotional and economic outcomes for SCAdians both inside and outside the SCA. I argue that though the SCA today faces a variety of persistent challenges and disruptions, including difficulties with inclusivity around age, race, gender, and ability, the SCA is highly effective at building social capital (social networks that are beneficial emotionally and materially) through its subcultural values (especially regarding resource sharing) and multigenerational engagements, which drive its community resilience in the past and today.

The SCA Today

Based on 2020 SCA census data, the organization maintains a global membership of over 60,000 people who attend events and volunteer to run group websites, and organize and run annual events called "Wars," which can be as large as 12,000 people (Pennsic War Minister 2022). Some members raise their children in the SCA. For some SCAdians, being raised in the SCA meant that their parents took them to SCAdian events

as children. For other SCAdians, it meant they attended the events as young people without their families and/or the SCA became their family, while other SCAdians were born and raised spending most of their free time at SCAdian events and interacting with other SCAdians. Regardless, all the people who were raised in the SCA informed me that they spent most of their free time as youth around other SCAdians and consider the SCA an extension of their family. In total, over 6% of the adults in the SCA today report that they were raised in SCA and maintained strong relationships with other SCAdians throughout their lives. The SCA collects other data on its membership using the organization's own ten-year census surveys.

The SCA is comprised of 84% of people who identify as white, and only 1% of each of the following groups: Black, Asian, American Indian/First Nations, Middle Eastern/North African, Native American/Pacific Islander, Mixed Race, or "Other" (Watson et al. 2020). The SCA's gender and sexuality demographics are slightly more diverse with 35% LGBTQIA+ individuals, 39% cis gender men, 55.9% cis gender women, and 3.2% nonbinary people (transgender, gender fluid, or agender: not identifying with any gender labels) (Watson et al. 2020). As time has gone on and SCAdians have aged, fewer young people have joined the SCA, an issue I discuss in greater detail in chapter two. As a result, SCAdian members' age distribution is mainly between 25–54, with 26.7% of SCAdians over the age of 55 and 2% under the age of 25 (Watson et al. 2020). SCAdians are also largely college educated, with 45.6% of members having a Bachelor's degree or higher and 32.8% having an associate's degree or

Trade Certificate (Watson et al. 2020). Finally, SCAdians' income levels are mostly middle class, with 47% in the $35,000-$104,000 annual income bracket (Watson et al. 2020). On the higher and lower ends of the income spectrum, 21.8% of SCAdians have an income of over $104,000 a year and 18.2% of SCAdians have an annual income below $35,000 (Watson et al. 2020).

The SCA is both an in-person community and a virtual community prior to and after the COVID-19 pandemic. The SCAdian founders initially created a newsletter, which they copied on a mimeograph machine and mailed throughout the Known World and was transferred to an emailed newsletter in the mid-1990s (Cramer 2010). As other communication technologies expanded, so did the SCA. They created a website, created social media groups, and have a variety of communication options among members, including Discord, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube channels, and private text and chatting groups on Slack. The organization's ability to incorporate all forms of communication technology into its cultural practices likely influenced the organization's ability to grow to the size it is today. I studied both the in-person and virtual community aspects of the SCA for this dissertation.

The topics of virtual SCA groups ranged from location-specific groups such as Kingdom-level, Barony-level, and smaller SCAdian locales such as Strongholds and Shires, which are online discussion and announcement spaces for SCAdians residing in and/or connected to these locales. Other virtual groups are interest-based, such as calligraphy, pottery, heraldry, SCAdian fencing and hard suit combat, camping tips, and

SCAdian small business promotion such as SCAdian leather crafting and camping equipment for sale. These online groups enabled SCAdians to share resources, opinions, and products for sale to support other SCAdians with similar interests. I utilized these connections to conduct my dissertation research and to understand how it contributes and inhibits SCAdian community resilience.

Community Resilience

Community resilience is the study of how local and environmental contexts positively influence the well-being of community members in response to adversity from within and outside the community setting (Chaskin 2008). Resilient communities adapt to changes by having the social flexibility, diversity of knowledge, and resources to maintain social cohesion. Resilience theory emerged in the field of psychology to understand how individuals who have experienced trauma and multiple adverse experiences, such as parental abuse, are able to recover and even grow from these experiences (Nemeth and Oliver 2017; Ungar 2012). However, this approach to understanding resilience does not effectively describe how individuals, their communities, and the environment interact to create resilience.

Other disciplines have examined resilience in the context of how various communities bounce back from extreme stressors to cultural practices, ecological destruction, and economic downturns, as well as an organization's ability to withstand change, and individual people's physical resilience in the face of extreme shocks and

stressors (Nemeth and Oliver 2017). Contemporary literature on community resilience explores how communities recover and maintain their social and economic systems in the face of disasters (Cutter et al. 2008). Literature on community resilience and disasters cover topics such as Hurricane Katrina (Burton 2015), Indigenous communities' recovery from colonial genocide (Kirmayer et al. 2009), or urban communities' abilities to recover from economic downturn (Pinto et al. 2019). Community resilience is often seen as a reactionary process to external and internal social and environmental shocks.

However, Rodin (2014) calls for a more proactive approach to understanding resilient systems, while Nemeth and Oliver (2017) suggest that resilience should be seen as a holistic interplay of the many aspects of resilience (such as economic, social, ecological, and individual resilience). I seek to address this gap in the literature by augmenting Rodin's (2014) and Nemeth and Oliver's (2017) frameworks of resilience to understand how SCAdians develop and maintain their community through diverse perspectives, subcultural value systems, social capital, human capital, economic capital, and intergenerativity, particularly in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Intergenerativity has the potential to drive community resilience. Young people's community engagement with other generations of people is vital to community health and resilience. For example, Terriquez and Kwon (2015) suggest that young people who engage in activism trigger a "trickle-up" process where the young person's civic involvement informs and drives their parents' civic involvement, thus increasing the

amount of engaged and committed citizens in communities. This is especially true in circumstances related to disaster and community response to its effects.

Young people are important for communicating about natural disaster risk to other community members and to take part in assessment, preparation, and implementation to mitigate the effects of disaster (Mitchell et al. 2008; Peek 2008). Incorporating young people into civic activities, community, and disaster planning can reduce youth vulnerability (Peek 2008), engage new communication and information technologies that young people quickly master (Mitchell et al. 2008), enable greater social equity (Ulturgasheva et al. 2015), and create long-term community member commitment (Barnett and Brennan 2006). By incorporating intergenerativity with all the skills and knowledge that youth have into community decision making, communities are better able to overcome shocks and disruptions.

Considering the value of intergenerativity for community resilience, this dissertation includes the perspectives of youth and adults who have been in the SCA since before they were 21. After speaking with my interviewees, I selected these demographics because many of my interviewees explained that they were/are excluded from adult activities until they turned 21 due to alcohol use restrictions to people over the age of 21 in the SCA. After talking with my interviewees, I learned how the SCA incorporates young people into their community resilience processes in the face of community disruptions and challenges.

I found that the SCA community experiences persistent challenges such as unequal power dynamics, bullying, and instances of bigotry by some SCAdians. However, the strong emotional connections and positive resource sharing within the SCA drives SCAdians to volunteer, pay membership fees, recruit new members, and return to the organization despite its challenges. I therefore argue that age-inclusivity, diversity, equity, and inclusion are important elements of the SCA's capacity to build and maintain community resilience and membership. To maintain community resilience, the SCA employs a variety of strategies including policy changes, banishing harmful members, and community education for cultural change to counteract the negative effects of these challenges. While these challenges are mostly internal for the organization, SCAdians also experience significant disruptions caused by issues arising outside the organization such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the 2020 United States Election, which resulted in a lot of interpersonal conflict between SCAdians.

Youth Subculture for SCAdian Community Development

The SCA's community resilience is partially driven by their subcultural value systems, which were influenced by youth subcultures of the 1960s. Subcultures are cultures nested within dominant cultural systems and beliefs. In the SCA's case, the organization's subculture is nested within the comic book, fantasy, and sci-fi fandom of the mid-20th century, particularly in the United States. Based on ethnographies of youth subcultures in Great Britain and the United States by researchers such as Cohen (1955),

Hall and Jefferson (1976), and Hebdige (1999), it appears that subcultures form through interpretive reproduction in late industrial cultures worldwide. Interpretive reproduction is a process where youth creatively appropriate, reinvent, and reproduce adult cultural routines, artifacts, values, and concerns to construct their own identities and peer cultures (Corsaro 2005). Many of these subcultures are counter-cultural in nature in that they seek to develop value systems and cultural attitudes that might be at odds with the dominant culture. For example, the Free Speech Movement highly emphasized the strength and importance of young people for community building (The Daily Planet Staff 2000). I define the SCA as a subculture rather than a counter-culture because the SCA was not specifically formed in opposition to dominant cultural practices and it was established by young people who were inspired by other youth subcultures in the late 1960s and originated as a hobby organization. For this reason, I define the SCA as a subculture because it was originally a youth subculture that grew into an intergenerational organization.

Youth subcultures, like their dominant cultures, are often organized by age and class, and are expressed in the creation of styles that often include clothing, music, language, and mass communication that creatively appropriate and reinterpret existing dominant cultural expressions (Bennett 2000; Danesi 2003). Youth subcultures have unique values, norms, jargon, lingo, esoteric mass communication, unique styles or fads, a sense of solidarity, social hierarchies, and the ability to gratify needs that the dominant culture cannot provide (Sebald 1975). The SCA embodies a number of these qualities

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with unique dress called "garb" that is inspired by historical and fanciful medieval clothing, unique language such as the concept of the "mundane world" and the "Known World," and a value system that centers resource sharing and volunteerism and valuing the perspectives, knowledge, and skills of young people. As I will show in the chapters to follow, the SCA's history of youth leadership combined with their subcultural values has likely contributed to the growth and wellness of the community. This is a phenomenon that has been well-documented in other institutions and organizations.

Research shows that youth leadership and intergenerativity are important for overall community wellness (Delgado 2006). Youth subculture, coupled with larger-scale activism, has a powerful potential for social change. Clay (2012) explains that young people throughout the 20th and 21st century have incorporated music, fashion, and language with political protest to enact a more equitable world. These acts of resistance have included hip-hop performed as a protest against police surveillance and brutality in 1999 and folk music used to protest the United States War in Vietnam (Clay 2012). Other movements, such as the hippie movement in the United States during the 1960s, which fought for free personal expression for people of all genders and races. For example, they were characterized by hallmarks of the hippie movement such as rock and roll, long hair, and groups of singing protesters (McAdam 1988). Additionally, in the early 2000's, South American youth feminists worked to overcome sexism in the Americas by using events with music to attract larger crowds and to increase awareness about and supporters of feminism (Taft 2011).

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Incorporating music and cultural styles with activism are useful tactics to increase visibility for social movements while offering young people opportunities to construct identities and communities outside of extant oppressive structures. Other movements, such as the DREAMer (young people who were born abroad and raised in the United States without legal papers) utilize innovative techniques like "coming out" as undocumented people (Enriquez and Saguy 2016). These actions disrupt powerful, dominant narratives about undocumented youth by showing the important social roles DREAMers play in the United States culture and economy (Enriquez and Saguy 2016). Moreover, young people's civic engagement efforts affect positive change in their broader communities.

On a national scale, youth activist researchers credit young people's participation in activism with altering political regimes and societal structures. Nikolayenko (2017:13) asserts that when young people work with "collaborative networks composed of local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), members of international democracy assistance community, and participants in earlier electoral revolutions, young people have the ability to lead powerful movements of social change." Political movements created and led by youth in Eastern Europe such as the Serbian Otpor, Zubr in Belarus, and Kmara in the Republic of Georgia, for example, were all successful in influencing elections to provide more democratic regimes (Nikolayenko 2017).

The SCA started as a youth subculture and has exhibited a variety of characteristics in common with youth subcultures in the late 1960s. The original SCA founder, Diana Paxson, is one of the United States' most influential fantasy writers who published books such as the "Sword and Sorceress" and "Wodan's Children" series (Paxson and Wood 2017). Other important founding SCAdians came from science fiction fandoms including Bjo and John Trimble, the founders of the 1966 "Save Star Trek " campaign (StarTrek.com Staff 2011).

Additionally, the SCA was influenced by hippie youth movements like the "Free Speech Movement," which originated at the University of Berkeley during the mid and late 1960s (the same time that the SCA was formed). The Free Speech Movement was a youth-led environmental activist and civil rights movement led by Jack Weinberg, who famously said, "Don't trust anyone over 30" (The Daily Planet Staff 2000). These subcultures embraced youth perspectives, fantasy, and futurism with a desire to build a more inclusive, fun, progressive, and youthful society. As a result, the SCA developed its own ideas of how young people and older people should interact (namely, with more equity toward young people) and a style mainly influenced by fantasy films and books with a medieval focus, especially legends of King Arthur and the Lord of the Rings series by J.R.R. Tolkien. Other value systems SCAdians developed had to do with the intergenerational exchanges that often happen within the organization, called "intergenerativity."

Intergenerativity

As teens, young adults, and older adults joined and interacted in the SCA in the late 1960s and 1970s, SCAdians formed a culture of intergenerativity. Intergenerativity is the "meaningful fusion of ideas and emotions that emerge from conversations and experiences shared between the generations and inspires actions that benefit individual minds, social lives, and the natural world that sustains and connects persons of all generations, past, present, and future" (George et al., 2011: 391). In the case of the SCA, intergenerativity means young people collaborated with older people as leaders, innovators, and community organizers for the SCA as exhibited in Rafael's experience as Sheriff. As these founding members aged and the organization grew, the organization became more intergenerational and young people and older people collaborated to make decisions and build the SCA as a nonprofit and a community. By the 1970s, the organization had a broad range of SCAdian ages from infants to people aged in their 50s and 60s. Over time, the organization had fewer young people and more older people. Some of the present day members are in their 80s and 90s while still having members as young as infancy, elementary school age, high school, college students, and a majority population between the ages of 25 and 55. Some of these SCAdians were raised in the SCA and a very few young people joined the organization prior to them turning age 21. I will discuss how these age demographics impacted the culture of intergenerativity in the SCA in more detail in chapter two. However, the SCA's youth subculture and intergenerativity appear to be significant factors in how the SCA grew and sustained as

an organization. I will discuss the organization's membership and structure in greater detail in chapter two.

My Positionality and Interest in the SCA

I first learned about the SCA in 2014 and later met Rafael after a man at the Arizona Renaissance Festival (not an SCA event) invited my husband and me to an SCA event. Our first SCA event was the Estrella War, a gathering in Queen Creek, Arizona of over 2,000 SCA members and attendees. During the 2014 Estrella War, my husband and I started friendships with at least 20 different individuals who later became our SCA camping group and friends outside of the SCA. We joined a camping group with these friends called "Freiholt." Each year, our house plans to camp together, we develop menus, and pack various kitchen and camping supplies, which we share with our entire house when we camp. We learned from first-hand experience the strong emotional connections SCAdians have and the longevity of this volunteer-based organization. I was intrigued by these strong bonds as well as the fact that the SCA has operated and expanded throughout the world to over 60,000 members. I eventually began research with the SCA for a graduate class I took on globalization and ethnography in 2015. I built strong connections with more SCAdians through this process and soon I knew at least 50 people in the organization, some of whom were part of my MA thesis and pilot research for this dissertation. These experiences informed my dissertation research and my positionality.

As a white, United States born, cisgender, pansexual woman who has been a member of the SCA since 2014, I share similarities and lived experiences both inside and outside the SCA with 14% of my interviewees. These qualities had some advantages and disadvantages in recruiting and building rapport with my research participants. For example, as a member of the SCA, I was able to learn the esoteric language and histories of the SCA through immersion, which likely influenced my research respondents' comfort levels while speaking with me about their experiences.

As I collected my data, it seemed that a lot of people wanted to vent about their frustrations with the organization, other SCAdians, and the state of the mundane world, describe deep emotional experiences, and even cry in front of me. I wondered if part of these responses were related to the fact that I am a cisgender white woman, and people occupying this positionality are often expected to engage in free emotional labor for others within the United States and Australian dominant social contexts (Anderson 2020; Cottingham et. al. 2015; Yilmaz et al. 2015). While I cannot confirm what information my respondents withheld while we spoke, I suspect that other respondents may not have trusted that their comments would be fully confidential considering that I am a member of the Atenveldt community and could potentially know the exact people about whom my interviewees talked. Though none of my respondents expressed these concerns to me, other anthropologists have written about how insider anthropology can result in informants who are less likely to share community secrets during research interviews and

it therefore requires consideration when reading this dissertation (Shaffir and Stebbins 1990).

My sexuality as a pansexual woman may have influenced my sample recruitment because I divulged it to many of my interviewees and is an obvious identity on my social media, which my interviewees were allowed to view. This factor is a significant issue to consider because my sample included a large percentage of queer individuals compared to the general SCA population. It is possible that my informants self-selected based upon their knowledge of my queerness on the assumption that I might better understand their experiences due to my own personal experiences. My sample selection was also partially a conscious decision based on my need to expand queer perspectives in my research, while my membership in queer SCAdian groups such as the "Blue Feathers" likely increased the potential for me to connect with other people with queer identities. My sample did not necessarily represent the SCA's membership today, which I will discuss in my methods and recruitment section.

Research Methodology and Recruitment

After obtaining IRB approval, I conducted this dissertation fieldwork from October 2020 to March 2021. My research was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic quarantine, which was an opportunity to see how the SCA responds to a real-time external disruption. I therefore collected data by attending SCAdian virtual events, gatherings, online discussions, and video interviews. For example, the SCA offered

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online diversity, equity, and inclusion classes as well as a virtual collegium- all of which I attended. 90% of my remote interviews and participant observation took place during that time. However, I had already conducted in-person pilot research for my MA thesis during October 2017 until March 2018 and another pilot study from November 2018 to May 2019. During my pilot research, I attended one or two large in-person SCA events each year. I specifically attended the Estrella War every year until 2020, when the events were canceled. From 2014 until 2020, I also joined 38 Facebook groups created by SCAdians for other members. Among the Facebook groups I joined were private groups devoted to SCAdian youth and families, diversity and inclusion, and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual (LGBTQIA) groups. While anyone is allowed to join these groups, they are catered to SCAdians who engage in the group's specific interest topic. I requested access to these groups both prior to and during my research. For the groups I joined because of my research, I posted in the general group chat introducing myself as a SCAdian and a researcher. I was warmly received as both a SCAdian and a researcher, which I will discuss in greater detail below. My presence in these online groups enabled me to effectively engage in both online and in-person research with SCAdians both prior to and during the research for this dissertation.

While my pilot studies involved attending in-person SCA events as well as recruiting and interviewing research participants in-person, my dissertation research (October 2020-March 2021) employed netnography and virtual interviews. Netnography is a digital participant observation method that utilizes archival and online

communications to understand online social interactions (Kozinets 2006). As communication technology has advanced in the 21st century, so has the quality of digital qualitative data (Kozinets 2010). While netnography poses different perspectives than face-to-face interactions, some research has shown that online interactions can be as rich and complex as face-to-face interactions, especially with the addition of video conferencing (Kozinets 2010; McKenna and Seidman 2005).

Netnography was of particular importance while I collected data. I found that netnography yielded rich, nuanced, and regularly updated information on the interactions I observed. During dissertation research, this ethnographic methodology was essential considering that worldwide, people socially distanced and quarantined during the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, the SCA maintains a vast and thriving virtual community through email, social media, and other digital communications such as Zoom, and I would have observed the virtual SCA community even if I was able to conduct fieldwork in person because many of SCAdian interactions outside SCA events occur on their virtual platforms. Throughout the fall of 2020 and into the spring of 2023, I conducted focused participant observations of the interactions SCAdians had online through regular Facebook updates and daily observations for up to 4 hours at a time. Some of my observations were timed for an hour and a half of scrolling through SCAdian Facebook page posts. Other times were brief notifications from SCAdians that were related to my research. For SCAdian online events, I observed, took field notes, and screenshots for the duration of the event, which for training usually lasted for 1-4 hours. I

screenshot some of these interactions based upon the inductive and deductive codes I developed and incorporated them into the analyses in the following chapters. Moreover, I was also able to keep a real-time account of each online event I observed as SCAdians commented on past posts and post updates on issues that arose throughout the pandemic and thereafter. Some of that data is incorporated throughout this dissertation.

In addition to increased online communication during COVID-19 induced quarantine, netnography was helpful in assisting me with archiving data and recruiting research participants. I recruited many of my research participants for remote interviews online. For example, I attended virtual trainings offered by the SCA's Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion office as well as trainings and "collegium," (an SCA skills sharing event) which were hosted online due to the quarantine. These trainings are available for the general public and all SCAdians, are posted on the SCAdian website calendars, and advertised through their social media sites. It was therefore easy for me to plan out my participant observations as much as three months in advance by checking the SCAdian activity calendars on their websites and Facebook pages. After attending these events, I recruited a number of individuals to participate in interviews. All the interviews for this dissertation research were conducted over Zoom and auto transcribed using Zoom's transcription feature. This transcription method was imperfect and required spot-checking, which I did in conjunction with an undergraduate research assistant Victoria Sullivan. In an effort to offer a more complex perspective on the SCA using both in-person pilot research and my online research, this dissertation combines data from the

two pilot studies with the dissertation research data I collected during the 2020-2021 COVID-19 pandemic. I found that my transcribed interview data in some circumstances yielded richer data than in-person interviews could have, which other researchers have also noted (Lobe et al. 2020). Moreover, conducting this research study during the COVID-19 pandemic offered a great opportunity to study SCA community resilience in response to external disruptions.

Research Sample

My interview sample is a mix of purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling is useful for critical case studies (similar to this research) where the researcher seeks out informants based upon the specific perspectives they need to expand the study (Bernard 2011). Snowball sampling is a convenience sampling process where the researcher chooses "seed informants" who can connect the researcher with other people like them (Bernard 2011). To address my research questions, I needed to gather youth experiences from both adults who had been youth in the SCA and current youth in the SCA. My purposive sampling was defined based on the need for adult and youth perspectives over time. I therefore recruited people who have been in the SCA since before they were 21. I chose these parameters based on the fact that most SCAdians are excluded from some adult activities (such as events involving alcohol) until they are 21.

I first contacted some of the acquaintances I met during my pilot research requesting they refer me to SCAdians who were in the SCA before they were 21. After

recruiting and interviewing some young people under the age of 21 and adults who had been raised in the SCA, I recruited through virtual SCAdian groups. With permission from the SCAdian Facebook administrator and each Facebook page administrator, I posted my recruitment script on the Kingdom of Atenveldt (Arizona) Facebook page because this study was originally designed only for this Kingdom. Within hours of my post, my email and Facebook messenger inbox was filled with over 30 SCAdians who had been raised in the SCA.

The majority of my respondents at that time were white and heterosexual. To diversify the perspectives in my sample, I focused on recruiting (through purposive sampling) SCAdians of color as well as those who are gender and sexual minorities. I achieved this by attending virtual trainings and events hosted by the SCA's Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion office and reaching out to queer members of the SCA I knew from LGBTQIA SCAdian Facebook groups. Not all of my interviews in that sample had been raised in the SCA, but they provided valuable insight into how the SCA approaches diversity, equity, and inclusion. In total, I interviewed 67 SCAdians between October 2020 and March 2021 for this dissertation research.

My research was originally designed to study the Kingdom of Atenveldt, which comprises the U.S. state of Arizona. However, I quickly learned that many SCAdians have moved and traveled between Kingdoms. Additionally, when I relied on snowball sampling, some of my interviewees recommended individuals who lived in other U.S. states as well as Australia. Moreover, many of the individuals with whom I spoke had

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lived in and had strong connections with the past and present populace of the Kingdom of Atenveldt. My seed informants explained that the perspectives and stories of SCAdians outside of Atenveldt would offer valuable insights about the SCA as an organization overall. Based on these recommendations, I decided to expand my sample outside of Atenveldt to include these recommended informants. After amending my IRB protocol, I contacted and interviewed these recommended SCAdians across the United States and Australia. The following are the Kingdoms represented in my interview sample (Table 1) compared to a map of the SCA Kingdoms (Figure 1), which SCAdians call "The Known World":

Table 1: Kingdoms represented and the number of participants from within each Kingdom. As previously noted some individuals held strong connections to past as well as present Kingdoms, resulting in the multiple affiliations demonstrated.

Table 1 SCA Kingdoms in my sample

Kingdoms	Interview sample	Kingdoms	Interview sample
An Tir (Oregon, Washington, the northern tip of Idaho; British Columbia, Yukon and Northwest Territories)	n=2	Calontier (Kansas, Missouri, most of Iowa, Nebraska, Northern Arkansas)	n=1
Ansteorra (Oklahoma, and Texas east of the Mountain time zone)	n=1	East Kingdom (Eastern Pennsylvania, eastern New York, Delaware, New Jersey, Connecticut,	n=1

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		Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine; Quebec, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Newfoundland)	
Atenveldt (Arizona)	n=39	Glean Abhn (Mississippi, Louisiana, most of Arkansas, and the far western side of Tennessee)	n=1
Atenveldt / An Tir	n=2	Lochac(Australia and New Zealand; parts of Antarctica)	n=5
Atlantia (Maryland, District of Columbia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Augusta, Georgia)	n=1	Middle Kingdom (Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, most of Kentucky, and some of Iowa (Scott County, eastern Muscatine County, most of Clinton County; Essex County and Windsor in Ontario)	n=1
Caid (Southern California, Greater Las Vegas Area, and Hawaii)	n=10	West Kingdom / Lochac	n=1
Caid / Atlantia	n=1	West / An Tir / Atenveldt	n=1

Figure 1The Known World SCA Kingdoms

My research sample of 67 SCAdians was not fully reflective of the overall SCA demographics, in part due to my need to gain diverse racial and ethnic perspectives on the SCA. I therefore actively recruited as many people of color and sexual and gender queer individuals as I could. The percentage of my interviewees' self-identified racial identities were: 77% white, 1% Hispanic/Mexican Descent, 5% mixed race Black and white, 1% Native American, 1% Polynesian, 2% mixed race Asian and white, 2% mixed race Native American and white, and 5% of my interviewees chose not to respond. Moreover, my sample was 41% LGBTQIA, with 4% of my interviewees preferring not to share their sexual and gender identities. Over 49% of my interviewees identified as cisgender women, 28% identified as cisgender men, and 16% of my interviewees identified as transgender, gender nonbinary, intersex, or gender nonconforming. I also had a significantly higher percentage of youth in my sample because this research was largely focused on youth perspectives of life in the SCA. Therefore, 25% of my interviewees

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were under the age of 25, while 75% were over the age of 25 and were in the SCA prior to the age of 21 with the majority of respondents aged between 36-54. In total, 48 of my interviewees were over the age of 21 and 15 participants were between the ages of 14 and 20. I obtained written and verbal consent from both the youth and their guardians for all of my youth interviews and written and verbal consent from all of my adult interviewees. My interviewees also had a slightly higher education level than the general SCAdian populace, with 50% of them having an Associates, Trade Certificate, or higher degree and 10% of them choosing not to respond. Finally, my interviewees had slightly higher income levels than the general SCA populace, with 62% of them having an annual household income of $31,000 or more, 25% of my interviewees having an income of $61,000 or higher, and 17% having incomes below $30,000. Given my sample demographics and size, my ability to generalize my research findings across the entire SCA community is limited. However, given the in-depth interviews and participant observation I conducted, this study offers a nuanced story of the 67 SCAdians with whom I interacted. The following is a table (Table 2) with my interviewee's demographic information. This table excludes 26 individuals' data that were part of my pilot data collection and I did not ask those individuals their demographic information.

Table 2 My Sample Demographics

Age	Gender	Race	Ethnicity	Nationality	Education	Income	Religion	Kingdom	sexu	Born in

					Level				al orientation	SCA
40	male	white	white mutt	American	associates	40,000	none	Atenveldt	hetero	
40	female	white	Australian	Australian	bachelors		spiritual but not religious	Lochac	hetero	
22	Trans/Nonbinary/Man	white	white mutt	American	some college	0	none	Atenveldt	queer	yes
38	female	white	english	American	bachelors	70,000	none	Caid	hetero	
15	female	human	Australian	Australian	home school (year 9)	4-year degrees	none	Lochac	hetero	yes
47	female	white	English	American	some college	30,000	none	Caid	hetero	

36	male	white	white/caucasion	American	bachelors	85,000	none	Atenveldt	hetero	
41	male	white/ native american	American	American	bachelors	38,000	wiccan	Atenveldt	gay	
49	female	white/ native american	white	American	PhD candiate	30,000	agnostic	Caid	hetero	
16	male	caucasian/Asian	German/Thai	American	junior in high school	master's degree/some college	none	Atenveldt	hetero	yes
50	female	white	Scotts/Irish	Australian	master's	40,000	wiccan	Lochac	pansexual	
29	female	white	english	Australian	master's	60,000	none	Lochac	heteroflexible	
54	male	white	Hungarian	American	bachelors	48,000	wiccan	Caid	heter	

									o	
24	male	Hispanic	Mexican	Mexican/DACA	trade school	50,000	none	Aten veldt	hetero	
28	female	white	Jewish	American	some college	50,000	Jewish	Aten veldt	hetero	
38	male	white	Irish/Zuni	American	some college	36,000	agnostic/buddhist	Aten veldt	heteroflexible	
40	female	white	Irish/American Indian	American	bachelors	200,000	nondenominational christian	Astoria	hetero	yes
53	female	white	Australian	Australian	master's	15,000	none	Lachac	hetero	
19	male	white	German	American	high school	12/hr	Christian/Masionic Jew	Aten veldt	hetero	yes
40	male	white	Scotts/Irish	American	master's	200,000	none	Aten veldt/An Tir	hetero	

50	female	white	Scotts/ Irish	American	.75 college	100,000	casually protestant	Atendveldt	hetero	
50	male	white	caucasion	American	4 years of college	0-45,000	diest	Atlantia	hetero	
19	female	white/ African American	African American	American	some college	12,000	none	Aten venldt	queer	
36	female	white	white	American	some college	39,000	wiccan	Aten veldt	pansexual	
34	female	white	white	American	trade school	2,000	Norse Pagan	Caid	hetero	
14	gender neutral	Black/ White	Black/ White	American	Freshman in high school	mom bachelor's	none	Aten veldt	pansexual	
20	male	white	white	American	Junior college	20,000	none	Atendveldt	hetero	independent

53	female	white	white	American	bachelors	60,000	none	West /Lachac	pansexual	
30	female	Afro-Latino /White	white	American	bachelors	80,000	none	Middle	bisexual	
36	female	white	Scottish/Chactaw	American	some college and trade certifications	50,000	none	Caid/Atlandia	pansexual	yes
49	female	white	Irish	American	bachelors	40,000	Former Catholic	West /An Tir/A tenveldt	pansexual	
30	Trans/Nonbinary	white	white	American	master's	165,000	athiest	Palantier	pansexual/lesbian	

19	female	white	white	American	high school	0	pagan	Caid	pansexual	yes
29	male	white	white	American	bachelors	100,000	athiest	Atenveldt	hetero	
36	transgender/woman	white	Dutch/Finnish	American	some college	48,000	spiritual but not religious	An Tir	pansexual	yes
50	Intersex male	Native American	Cherokee-Southeast Woodlands	American	master's +	77,000	Catholic	An Tir	queer	
20	female	white	white	American	some college	24,000	Christian	Atenveldt	hetero	
15	female	white	white	American	high school	parents with PhD.	none	Caid	hetero	yes
40	female	mixed black and Germa	mixed Black and white	American	PhD candiate	70,000	none	East	bisexual	

		n								
20	nonbinary	white	white	American	some college	0	none	Atenveldt	queer	
15	transgender/male	white	German/Welsh	American	9th grade	parents with PhD	none	Atendveldt	pansexual	yes

Data Analysis

Considering that I have strong emotional and social ties to the SCA in addition to my racial, gender, and sexual orientation, this research offers a potentially biased perspective. Inter-rater reliability has been found to be a successful tool for solidifying research findings and reducing researcher bias (Marques and McCall, 2005). In an attempt to examine my assumptions and biases in my analysis of my data, I relied on an undergraduate research assistant named Victoria Sullivan to spot-check Zoom's computer transcriptions and conduct an inter-rater reliability test (IRR test) using Cohen's Kappa for the qualitative data themes and code definitions I developed. Sullivan is a white, cis gender, heterosexual woman who is a first generation undergraduate college student. While she and I share some identities, I hoped that her outsider status in the SCA could

assist in some of my biases as a member. This test revealed some of the assumptions I made while coding. For example, Sullivan and I did not fully agree on the code definitions I developed during the first IRR test. The first test yielded a Kappa of .27, a fair agreement in our analyses. After discussing the codes and analysis further with Victoria, I learned that my codes were oversimplified and used some SCAdian esoteric concepts. Based on our discussion, I redefined the codes and we ran a new IRR test, which yielded a 1, which is an almost perfect agreement (Landis and Koch 1977). I then used these analyses to recode all my interviews for this dissertation.

I analyzed my field notes, interview transcripts, and textual information from Facebook using the qualitative software MaxQDA. The codebook was a mix of deductive and inductive themes. For the initial deductive codes, I utilized existing literature about community resilience, diversity, equity, inclusion, implicit bias, social capital, subculture, and youth-adult power sharing (Y-APS). After examining these codes in my interviews and participant observation data, inductive codes emerged such as COVID-19, virtual SCA, and the 2020 Election. I organized these themes into code trees in order to understand my data in the context of my theory while focusing on some of the most common themes my research participants addressed (Bernard 2011). I analyzed all of my data with these themes to develop the following chapters.

Chapter Summaries

In the next chapter (Chapter 2), I will offer context on the SCA's structures, history, and functioning to help establish the reader's understanding of the organization and its basic cultural past and present.

In Chapter 3 I discuss my interviewees' conceptions of youth and intergenerativity in the SCA over time. In general, my interviewees see young people under the age of 21 as more capable and valuable members of their communities and the young people with whom I spoke stated they felt more valued in the SCA and young people than they do in the mundane world. However, over time, the SCA has become less inclusive to young people due to an increasingly aging SCAdian population, violent and dominating acts by adults (such as physical and sexual assault), and less age-inclusive policies the organization developed in response to those violent acts. However, the young people I interviewed and the adults with whom I spoke who were raised as youth in the SCA still assert that they feel/felt generally more respected and valued as equals in the SCA compared to how they were/are treated by adults in their mundane (non-SCA) lives. Holding more power and influence in the SCA yielded positive outcomes for the SCAdian youth I interviewed as they grew into adulthood, which translated to leadership skills, life skills, and effective intergenerational collaborations in their mundane work, school, family, and social lives. Given these positive outcomes, I suggest options to expand the SCA's ability to engage in intergenerativity more effectively for community resilience.

In the fourth chapter, I discuss how the SCA leverages their strong social networks, subcultural values for service and hospitality, and intergenerativity to benefit individual SCAdian's social, human, and economic capital, both inside and outside the organization. My theoretical framework shows how social capital is a catalyst for SCAdians of all ages to obtain other forms of capital for successful lives both inside and outside the SCA. The ways in which SCAdian social capital impacts my interviewees' lives include better social and communication skills, assistance with migration and travel, emotional support in difficult life stages, disaster relief, and training and financial support to start small businesses and careers. I additionally examine how these factors contribute to SCAdian community resilience. SCAdian social networks are not without their problems. Within the SCA, my interviewees discussed how community ties can sour and fragment, resulting in less community resilience and less social cohesion for the organization due to the loss of organizational membership. Nonetheless, I show that many SCAdians continue to maintain social ties with other SCAdians even if they no longer attend SCAdian events or pay membership fees, which still contributes to their social capital and positive outcomes in their mundane lives. I argue that overall, the SCA's social capital is a driving factor in the organization's community resilience.

In the fifth chapter, I discuss important factors for SCAdian community resilience, such as intergenerativity, communication, power dynamics, and diversity, and how the SCA maintains community resilience in the face of disruptions such as natural

disasters, overt bigotry among SCAdian leaders during an infamous occurrence called "Trimgate," and adult sexual misconduct with minors. Using a framework of persistent challenges that can lead to significant disruptions in the SCA's community resilience, I examine how my interviewees describe how the SCA employs policy change, mediation, leadership role creation, and community education to both react and proactively prevent significant SCAdian community disruptions and challenges. I argue that the SCA is likely resilient both proactively and reactively to persistent challenges and disruptions considering the organization's continued success and growth despite significant past challenges and disruptions.

The sixth chapter is an analysis of my interviewees' perceptions of SCAdian community resilience in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and political disruptions during the United States' 2020 election, which are two significant disruptions that are linked to persistent challenges the SCA community has faced in both in-person and virtual communications. After months and years of social distancing during the COVID-19 pandemic, SCAdians built up their existing virtual community in ways that have been resilient and have also reduced social cohesion. The virtual SCA has reduced community resilience because of online political arguments, issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion, and loss of membership and event revenue from a lack of in-person activities. Though these challenges have been disruptive and resulted in many SCAdians leaving the organization and some large events being permanently canceled, SCAdians have built up other events and hybridized their communities to be both virtual and in-person. These

resiliency building efforts have benefited SCAdians with chronic illnesses, disabilities, and financial insecurity. It appears that despite disruptions and challenges, the SCA may remain resilient in the years to come.

In the concluding chapter, I examine the value of this ethnographic work and its application for community development among other nonprofits and municipalities. SCAdian intergenerativity, policy actions, and educational approaches to community development can inspire other organizations to utilize these strategies for greater inclusivity and community resilience. In the face of significant cultural, economic, and political change worldwide, this work can support extant efforts to build youth-led community resilience efforts among local governments, communities, and nonprofits.

2 The SCA HISTORY AND STRUCTURE

Phase 1: Parties and The First Kingdoms

The history of the SCA is often shared in oral traditions and is documented on the SCA's webpages. Moreover, some SCAdians have also written books on the SCA. This brief history of the SCA is a compilation of some of the oral and written histories some of my interviewees and fellow SCA researchers developed. I have cited books and documents where applicable. Otherwise, the following information has been curated over the years that I have been in the SCA.

The process of transitioning from a going-away party in 1966 to incorporating as a 501(c)(3) in 1968 happened quite quickly. The Last Tournament was such a triumph for its attendees that the group planned two more tournaments in 1966 on Midsummer's Eve and in the fall of that year. While reserving a local park for the second tournament, Paxson filled out a form asking what their group's name was. Paxson made up the name on the spot and "The Society for Creative Anachronism" was born. They continued to plan and host tournaments and parties thereafter.

Some of the parties and tournaments in 1966-1968 were based on historical events while others were fanciful re-enactments from Tolkien's fantasy series "The Lord of the Rings." As the group continued to plan and host parties, they started to organize the group further. Three pivotal events in 1968 sparked the SCA to incorporate as a 501 (c)(3): a) the SCA attended the World Conference of Science Fiction and Fantasy; b)

Paxson's friend Bradley formed The Kingdom of the East (in New York); and the SCA developed its orders of peerage (which I will explain in more detail below).

During the 1968 World Conference of Science Fiction and Fantasy, the members of the SCA created "A Handbook for the (Current) Middle Ages." This guide was developed to both recruit new members and teach new SCAdians how to establish their own groups. The SCA to this day is regularly recruiting new members and has "Chatelains" who are recruiters and greeters for all new members. Chatelains greet passers-by at in-person SCA events, actively recruit members, and all SCAdians tend to recruit through word-of-mouth, by inviting people to online groups, and offering orientations to new members. According to my interviewees and the oral traditions of the SCA, everyone has always been welcome to join the SCA and based on some of my interviewees' comments, the SCA was known to be more inclusive to LGBTQIA+ individuals and had a more racially and ethnically diverse group in comparison to other Sci-fi and fantasy groups in the 1960s and 1970s. This meant people who lived and moved outside of California and other people who attended the conference and met the SCA founders, began joining and establishing more SCA groups. This is when Bradley formed the Kingdom of the East, which sparked the order of peerage.

In the SCA, peerage means different awards, offices, and volunteer recognitions for SCAdians who are dedicated and highly contributing society members. The following are descriptions of the organizational peerages from the SCA's website:

A. The Bestowed Peerage of the SCA consists of the members of the Order of Chivalry, the Order of the Laurel, the Order of Pelican and the Order of Defense. These awards are Society-wide, and are recognized throughout all the kingdoms. In many kingdoms, the Order of the Rose is also a Peerage-level award, and it is likewise recognized across the kingdoms of the SCA. Roses are those who served their kingdom by ruling as Queen or Consort.
In each kingdom, the Crown consults with their kingdom's members of the Order before creating a new Peer.

B. The Order of Chivalry consists of the Knights and the Masters of Arms. Members are recognized for their great skill at arms in combat, as well as for qualities of courtesy and grace. Knights swear fealty to the Crown during the knighting ceremony. They are entitled to wear a white belt, and a gold chain as a symbol of their fealty. Knights are addressed as "Sir" (name), or for some female knights, "Dame" (name). Masters of Arms are equal in rank to knights. They may choose not to swear fealty, and wear a white baldric (diagonally from shoulder to hip). They are addressed as "Master" (name) or "Mistress" (name).

C. Members of the Order of the Laurel are recognized for their great skill in the Arts or Sciences, for their willingness to teach others, and for using their abilities to benefit their kingdom. They are addressed as "Master" (name) or "Mistress" (name). Their insignia is a laurel wreath, usually colored green on a gold background.

D. Members of the Order of the Pelican are recognized for great service to their kingdom or to the Society as a whole, usually for many years and without thought of reward. They are chosen by the Crown in consultation with the Order. They are addressed as "Master" (name) or "Mistress" (name). Their insignia is a "pelican in her piety," a pelican piercing her breast to feed her young with her own blood.

E. Members of the Order of Defense are recognized for their great skill at rapier and/or cut-and-thrust combat, as well as for qualities of courtesy and grace, for their willingness to teach others, and for service to the kingdom. They are addressed as "Master" (name) or "Mistress" (name), and are entitled to wear a white livery collar and to bear the badge: Three rapiers in pall inverted tips crossed. (SCA Inc. 2022)

For Bradley, peerages also meant that he and his East Kingdom friends planned and conducted a tournament to crown a King of the East. From then on, the group in California was called the Kingdom of the West while the group in New York was the Kingdom of the East. Each group decided that the King and Queen of each Kingdom

were granted full autocratic control of their respective Kingdoms and these peers were only established by winning a crown tournament. However, The Kingdom of the West felt the Kingdom of the East needed guidance. Though they did not consult with the members of the Kingdom of the East, Paxson's husband filled out IRS tax forms to incorporate as the Society for Creative Anachronism. This unilateral decision created some animosity between the Board of Directors and the two Kingdoms. This animosity exists to this day- some of which emerged during some of my interviews for this research, which I will discuss in greater detail in the sixth chapter. Regardless, Paxson, her husband, and one of their friends sat on the Board of Directors for the SCA for three years and directed all of the organizational activities from that point forward, which has not always been accepted by the Kings and Queens of other SCAdian Kingdoms.

The official IRS documents for the SCA state that it is "a non-profit educational organization dedicated to the study of the Middle Ages and Renaissance." The SCA founders created "The Corpora and By-Laws of the SCA" and included "The Handbook for the (Current) Middle Ages" as guides to establish other groups and this approach worked.

Phase 2: New Kingdoms

The next Kingdom to form was the Middle Kingdom or "Middlerealm" in Chicago, Illinois. The founders of this Kingdom also attended the 1968 World Conference of Science Fiction and Fantasy and used the "Handbook for the (Current)

Middle Ages" to establish their new Kingdom in 1969. Shortly thereafter, the Barony of Atenveldt was established. Baronies are smaller than Kingdoms and have less influence on the Board of Directors in the SCA. As a result, the founders of Atenveldt wanted to form a Kingdom to have greater influence on the Board. It took until 1974 before Atenveldt became a Kingdom because they had to gain the Board's approval to incorporate by proving it had a large enough populace and support to be a Kingdom.

Throughout the 1970s, more Kingdoms, Principalities, Baronies, Shires, and Strongholds formed in the United States. As these branches of the SCA were established, the SCA developed a more bureaucratic structure. They created regional presidents called Seneschals who are appointed by the King and Queen. Seneschals sign legal documents and consult with the King and Queen of the region to plan and execute SCA events. The King and the Queen are essentially "regional co-chairs" with the Seneschal in their decision making processes. Other peerages expand upon this hierarchical structure.

The next peers are Princes, Princesses, Barons and Baronesses. They rule over Principalities Baronies, which are nested within Kingdoms. Knights, another type of peer, fight in tournaments for entertainment and in support of the King, Queen, Prince, Princess, Baron, and/or Baroness. Knights also have the opportunity to fight in tournaments to gain crowns for King, Queen, Baron, Baroness, Prince, and Princess.

After the rulers of the land are hobby/speciality-based peerages. For example, Laurels are peers who have received many awards for excellence in the SCA's Arts and Sciences. These arts and sciences can include embroidery, calligraphy, poetry,

songwriting, brewing, blacksmithing, leather working, ceramics, and many other skills and crafts from the Middle Ages.

For the SCA's combat arts, youth and adults aged 15 and up can squire (or appreciate) to knights in archery, hard suit fighting, jousting, and rapier (fencing). Squires, like all peers in the SCA, have recognition ceremonies at SCA court meetings. Most court meetings occur monthly for each Barony or Principalities. The Kingdom Wide Court meetings occur at large SCA events and annual gatherings.

All peers in the SCA are tasked with upholding and exemplifying the SCA's code of Chivalry that is detailed in "The Corpora and By-Laws of the SCA." These values include:

- Act in accordance with the chivalric virtues of honor and service in all interactions with SCA members and participants;
- Be a responsible steward of SCA resources;
- Deal fairly with others, and value and respect the worth and dignity of all individuals,
- Practice inclusiveness and respect diversity;
- Promote a safe and respectful environment for all SCA members and participants;
- Act with transparency, fairness, integrity, and honesty;
- Maintain a harassment-free environment in SCA spaces; and,
- Avoid behavior that reflects adversely on the SCA or other SCA members and participants. (SCA Inc. 2022)

These values gradually became subcultural value systems, which I will discuss in more detail in chapter four.

Phase 3: Large Wars

As more SCA groups formed and incorporated, they held parties, tournaments, and group camping events. However, the weather was not always favorable for outdoor

tournaments and camping events so by 1969, the SCA incorporated feasts as important SCA events. SCAdians also held weekly fighter practices in local parks where other SCAdians could watch the fighters, work on their arts and sciences, and socialize with other SCAdians.

In the 1970s, SCAdians began combining all of these activities into very large camping events called "Wars," the largest of which being the Pennsic War in Pennsylvania. Attendance at this event rose from 150 attendees in 1972 to 12,000 attendees in 2006. Attendance at this event has remained at approximately 10,000-12,000 attendees since that time. SCAdians camp in groups of people called "Houses" at these Wars. These Houses are usually friend and family groups who spend time together both at SCA events and outside of the SCA. These groups are very close and are often called "chosen families" by SCAdians. The SCA is organized into a hierarchy starting with the populace (members of the SCA), then Households, then Officers and Peers, then the Board of Directors who oversee the entire Corporate SCA.

Membership in the SCA

SCA membership is paid, but not all attendees at events are paying members. Memberships are annual and cost $25 while attendance fees at Wars and large events rang from $30-$200- depending on the War- for example the Estrella War's entrance fee in 2019 was $80 for the full weekend (Thursday-Sunday) of camping. The SCA depends on these fees to pay for rentals for events such as portable showers, portable toilets,

venue fees, and website domain fees. While the SCA has been able to withstand many threats to the size of the organization, the following chapters will discuss the strong social cohesion and community resilience the organization has built using the aforementioned structures and subcultural values.

3 INTERGENERATIVITY IN THE SCA

Introduction

"[The SCA's] best strength is community, camaraderie, happiness, peace, love harmony, you know, whatever positive adjectives you want to throw in there. That's what its best strength is…" ~Anthony, 19 years old.

I had been on the telephone with Anthony, a 19-year-old high school senior and life-long SCAdian [meaning his parents are SCAdians and he was born and raised in the organization] for over two hours. Despite the fact that Anthony and I had never met prior to this interview and his father recommended he talk with me, he seemed very excited to chat. His boundless enthusiasm for history and the SCA community was infectious. My interviews with other SCAdian youths were similar to my discussion with Anthony. Based on my experience talking with young SCAdians, many SCAdian youth seem precocious and quite clever. When I interviewed them, rapport was instant and their willingness to share their experiences was contrary to research about interviewing youth, which finds that young people are difficult to interview due to age-related power dynamics (Corsaro 2005). Based on my experience, SCAdians of all ages are gregarious and fun people, which also reflects the deeply embedded, youth-inclusive culture in the SCA. For me, these interviews were a shot of positivity during the grim days of quarantine during the COVID-19 pandemic.

This chapter examines intergenerational interactions in the SCA and how those interactions changed over time and resulted in SCAdian community development. People both young and old worked together to develop the SCA into what it is today. I refer to these interactions as "intergenerativity," which is the collaboration between people of different generations and their knowledge and skills to influence community development and change (George et al. 2011). In the context of this research, I focus on youth who are between the ages of 14-20 [10% of my interviewees] and adults who are over the age of 21 who were in the SCA prior to the age of 21 [85% of my interviewees]. SCAdian childhood appears to end around the age of 13 because SCAdians aged 13 and under are sequestered into playgrounds and art activities called "kid's corner" at SCAdian events. Additionally, several of my interviewees explained that by the time they were 14 or 15, they had joined adult activities such as arts, crafts, archery, and sword fighting. Based on this research, it appears that such incorporation of youth into adult activities supports the emotional and social skill development among precocious SCAdian youth such as Anthony.

As the following data will show, young people and adults who were raised in the SCA (meaning they were under the age of 21 when they joined the SCA) feel more valued and important as members of the SCA community- more so than in the mundane world (non-SCA settings). Moreover, SCAdian youth have been important for creating and shaping the SCA into the 56-year-old, 60,000 member, global nonprofit organization

that it is today. However, over time, these intergenerational interactions have changed from SCAdian people as young as 9 and 19 holding important leadership positions, such as Princesses and Kings, to fewer opportunities for young people to lead and make decisions today. Currently, increased youth marginalization in the SCA and sometimes violent acts (including sexual and physical assault) added to a culture of adult domination against SCAdian youth.

While these very serious issues have occurred and been addressed using law enforcement authorities outside of the SCA and resulted in lawsuits against the organization, the "moral panic," or fear of a threat to the organizational values (Cohen 1980) that emerged among SCAdians to protect youth may have reduced the opportunities for SCAdian youth to be leaders, decision makers, and community assets in the SCA as an organization. For example, these circumstances led to strict policies separating youth from adults, requiring intensive background checks for any SCADian adult who wants to work with SCAdian youth, and requiring youth under the age of 16 to be within arm's distance of their parents at all SCA events. These circumstances have altered the organizational policies around youth and created a larger divide between SCAdian youth and adults than ever before where fewer youth join and stay in the SCA and fewer SCAdian adults seek to work with and mentor younger people.

Nonetheless, all of the SCAdian youth with whom I spoke said that they are treated with more respect and they are more valued as community members in the SCA

than in the mundane world. For example, Caspian, a 20-year-old, white, gender

nonconforming SCAdian who was raised in the SCA from the time they were born said:

> I feel like they're [young people in the SCA] are treated more respectfully…
> they're treated more like people than kids, if that makes sense…. For example, it
> is not uncommon for people to give kids messages to run and I feel like in the
> mundane world, that's not really something that's done anymore [giving young
> people important responsibilities and letting them run off alone to do it].

Paulo, a 24-year-old SCAdian who has been in the SCA since the age of 20 said that

SCAdian adults interact more with young people and converse with them in a more

inclusive and respectful way than in the mundane world:

> Very much in the mundane world, it's like you're lacking experience and they're
> [adults] always talking down to you or trying to give you words of advice, even if
> you're not asking for it… The older people [in the SCA] tend to listen more often,
> even if it's just briefly, they will fully listen and actually take other people's
> opinions into account when they're talking.

Paulo said he generally felt more respected and his perspectives are generally more

valued by people older than him in the SCA. Additionally, Tiara, a 15-year-old SCAdian

who is a second generation SCAdian. This means that Tiara's mother was in the SCA

from the time she was 12 and raised her daughter from birth in the SCA. Tiara explained

that the SCA helped her to feel welcome and comfortable to speak her opinions: "I used

to be a lot more shy, but now I'm more outspoken usually it [the SCA] helps you grow

out of your own bubble and feel safe and welcomed while doing so." These young

people's comments suggest a more age-inclusive community where young people's

perspectives and opinions are more valued than in the mundane world.

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Based on these young peoples' perspectives in addition to the adults with whom I spoke, SCAdian intergenerativity has therefore yielded both positive and negative outcomes for SCAdians and the organization as a whole. Some of the positive changes included young people learning leadership skills, building confidence, communication skills, younger people and older people collaborating to develop SCAdian programs for people of all ages, and intergenerational knowledge and skill sharing, which sometimes can be described as youth-adult power sharing (Y-APS). Some negative results from SCAdian intergenerativity also include adults dominating young people, harming them, stereotyping them, and marginalizing them within the SCA community. These actions against young people are also known as adultism. I argue that it is the combination of both positive and negative intergenerational interactions that has helped to sculpt the SCA into the community it is today. The community marginalizes young people in some ways while also valuing and including them in leadership and community development activities more than in the mundane world. For example, each SCA community has different rules for how young people can engage with the SCA. Marie, a 15-year-old, white, Australian life-long SCAdian (her parents are SCAdians and she was born into the organization) said:

> So one of the differences between SCA Australia and the US is that our rules can be slightly different for combat and at this point in time, we don't really have youth combat and youth heavy [fighting in heavy armor]..They're [people under the age of 15] not really technically involved. So yeah, we're not on the field.

However, in the United States, other SCAdian youth have had positive experiences being

mentored in the arts and sciences, such as Bart, who is 21 and was raised in the SCA

from the time he was born. Bart is a leather worker who learned from adult SCAdian

mentors:

> I just kind of learned them from watching people over the years, and on the
> internet. Just go [up to another SCAdian who is working with leather] and, "How
> do I make this?" Cool, sweet, and I make it.

However, Bart also has had negative experiences in the SCA working with adults. When

I asked him how young people are treated in the SCA compared to the mundane world he

said:

> I feel the mundane world doesn't really respect anyone under 18, under 21,
> because they're very ... You know, 'You're still a child, shut up. The adults are
> talking. Blah, blah, blah.' The SCA, it's been rare to run into that. It doesn't matter
> how old you are, your opinion is valid. You're not just shoved off to the side
> because of your age. It does happen from time to time, but it is very rare… A
> great one that I can actually remember really well, we were on a battlefield, and I
> was like, 'Hey, we need help over there. They're outnumbering us by a lot.' And
> they're like, 'Whatever. You're a kid, of course they're outnumbering you guys.'
> And it was just one of those, 'I'm not the only one over there, I am not just a kid
> over there either.'

While young people like Bart and Marie have had mixed experiences in the SCA, both

young people stated that the SCA is generally more inclusive to them than in the

mundane world. However, as I will show in the following chapter, there is quite a bit of

youth inclusion in the SCA while adultism and adult domination happen frequently

enough to impact the SCA's culture and ability to recruit and retain young people.

Intergenerativity, Adultism, and Youth-Adult Power Sharing

Intergenerativity is the fusion of ideas and emotions that emerge from interactions between different generations and inspires actions that affect individuals and communities both local and global (George et al. 2011). Through intergenerativity, people of all ages collaborate in many ways to affect both positive and negative change in their communities. However, intergenerativity does not always address the complexities of youth-adult power dynamics.

In cases when intergenerativity yields negative outcomes, adults oftentimes exert power over young people due to their larger size and age (Corsaro 2005) and because of social structures that favor adults over young people, which is also known as adultism (Bell 1995). Some of these social structures include laws to protect children such as the United States' Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act while other laws exclude children from adult spaces such as only allowing people over the age of 16 to drive or only allowing people over the age of 21 to drink alcohol. Adultism is the belief that young people should be excluded from leadership and decision-making roles based on erroneous assumptions that they have less emotional control and lower intellectual capacities than adults (Bell 1995). These beliefs develop into larger societal structures where young people are seen as innocent, needing protection, support, discipline, and guidance. These views are reflected in much of the developmental psychology literature describing youth (Hall 1916; Erikson 1985; Blakemore 2018; Wolf 2002). This process of mapping adult assumptions onto young people is also called "the adult gaze" where

many youth under the age of 21 are seen as limited in their ability to engage in economic activities, important community leadership roles, and decision-making (Emiljano 2015; Lancy 2008; Zelizer 1981). With some notable exceptions such as (Estrada 2019; Orellana 2001; Thorne 1993).

Many societies worldwide see young people through an adultist lens, resulting in dominant legal and social structures that marginalize and isolate young people from adult life (Deschenes et al. 2008; Lancy 2008). Youth are relegated to age-specific schools and excluded from adult spaces such as jobs and bars. In the case of the United States, these structures are developed into a neontocracy. In a neontocracy, young people are seen as entirely dependent upon adults and have little power to engage in decision-making or paid work (Lancy 2008). However, the United States has not always been a neontocracy. As the United States entered into the 20th century, cultural conceptions of childhood changed (Zelizer 1981). From the Industrial Revolution in the late 1800s until the 2000's, children went from being valued for their work and economic contribution to being seen as priceless and in need of protection (Hall and Jefferson 1975; Zelizer 1981). As a result, countries in Europe and the United States developed child labor laws, the international rights of the child, and increased the time in which children attend schools (Hall and Jefferson 1975). As children's economic earning potential decreased, adults perceived young people as less responsible and capable than adults and therefore needing protection and intensive parenting (Ehrensaft 1999).

Not all people in the United States subscribe to a neontocracy. Extant literature on intergenerativity and family economic stability suggests that young people in economically disadvantaged households in the United States often must work in order to ensure the family's survival (Estrada 2019). They might also be employed in the nonprofit and educational sectors to inspire social change (Delgado and Zhou 2008; Steinberg and Ibrahim 2016). Many of these organizations attempt to overcome adultism while working with young people of all ages by using youth-adult power sharing (Y-APS) (Libby 2005).

Y-APS differs from intergenerativity in that it acknowledges the power imbalances between young people and adults and tries to counteract them through adults ceding power to uplift young people's voices and skills (Anyon et al, 2018). In order to address these power imbalances, adults occupy support roles and allow young people to lead (Libby et al. 2005). When engaging in Y-APS adults must understand that youth are: a) experts about their own experiences, b) recognize them as important community members with unique perspectives and a right to share them, and c) see that young people are energetic and innovative resources for each other and their communities overall (Libby et al., 2005). Within intergenerational spaces, Libby et al. argue that engaging with Y-APS is highly effective for reducing harm adults may cause by dominating young people while highlighting the talent and knowledge of young people.

In the SCA, intergenerativity is complex and is not always effective at overcoming youth-adult power dynamics. Oftentimes both Y-APS and adultism can co-occur during intergenerational interactions yielding both positive and negative community outcomes. In the SCA, adultism can manifest as adults dominating young people. However, SCAdian adultism is not always detrimental to young people under the age of 21 and SCAdian intergenerational community development because some of the interactions between youth and adults yields positive resource sharing for the individuals involved as well as positive community development. For example, some SCAdian adults do not share power with young people, but they will provide supportive spaces for them to interact with their peers and adults. One such example is the Tea House at the Estrella War, which I will describe in more detail below. Moreover, not all SCAdian adults subscribe to adultism and many of the adult SCAdians with whom I spoke gave examples of how they effectively power share with youth. For example, youth have been important event planners throughout the organization's existence. SCAdian youth teach SCAdian adults both formally and informally about important cultural changes such as gender inclusivity and I have observed SCAdian youth assist adults at SCA events by offering golf cart transport for intoxicated and injured SCAdian adults at SCAdian events.

My research findings are important given that the majority of the literature on intergenerativity focuses on engaging aging adults with young people to counteract age-related diseases such as Alzheimer's (Reitmaier et al. 2014) while imparting wisdom to young people (Harris 2017; Whitehouse and Steele Flippin 2017). Therefore, extant

literature on intergenerativity often focuses on the one-way, top-down benefits to younger people while reducing the "bottom-up" approach that highlights important skills and knowledge young people can share with older people and communities overall. Moreover, much of the literature on Y-APS only addresses small-scale nonprofits and local government and does not examine the benefits and limitations of intergenerativity in communities as large as the SCA (Delgado and Staples 2008; Delgado and Zhou 2008; Ozer et al. 2013; Teixeira and Gardner 2017). Additionally, many psychologists and family researchers have normalized the assumption that youth asymmetrically receive different forms of capital from adults (Erikson 1985; Hall 1916; Wolf 2002). However, substantial research exists on how youth in immigrant families support their parents as well with English language skills, supporting family businesses, and cultural capital acquisition (Canizales 2022; Estrada 2019; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2011). We know significantly less information on how mostly white, non-immigrant youth and families can challenge these youth/adult power dynamics. The SCA is a community that offers insights into how predominantly white, economically privileged youth are assets to their families and communities through volunteerism, sharing modernized cultural capital such as information about LGBTQIA+ individuals, and supporting SCA event planning, implementation, and oversight. This data can augment the literature to expand beyond socioeconomically disadvantaged families to show that youth in all sociodemographics can be assets to their families and communities.

Moreover, the SCA's intergenerativity is a mix of a youth-led subculture and some of the SCA's dominant neontocratic beliefs systems that limit the SCA's intergenerative efficacy. The SCA therefore exhibits Y-APS and adultism through regular intergenerational collaborations and conflicts, which the following analysis will describe. This research seeks to reduce gaps in the literature by offering a case study of intergenerativity in a large-scale, global organization to counteract the effects of adultism in society and scholarship.

Intergenerativity in the SCA

The SCA's subculture was developed and maintained for 56 years through many intergenerational interactions. First, the SCA was initially established by teenagers as young as 12 and people in their early 20s (Cramer 2010). Those teens and young adults then grew older and had children who were raised in the SCA, who had their own children. There are now three generations of SCAdians with 6% of whom under the age of 25 as well as newcomer adults and youth who interact through the organization on a regular basis. Given that the SCA was established by young people, the founding culture appeared to be more age-inclusive to young people than in the mundane world. I discussed intergenerativity with SCAdians from all three SCAdian generations- founders, newcomers, and returning generations alike- and a common theme throughout the interviews is that they generally felt more valued in the SCA than they did in the mundane world.

All but four of my 15 youth interviewees stated that in comparison to the

mundane world, they felt more respected, accepted, included, and supported by adults.

Additionally, ten of my 67 youth and adult interviewees said they were treated as equals

among SCAdian adults as opposed to the mundane world. Bethany, a 36-year-old woman

who was born and raised in the SCA, felt equal to adults in the SCA as a youth- a far

different reality than her position as a youth in the mundane world:

> As a kid, it was so hard to go from the weekend [in the SCA] being treated as an
> equal with adults and then go to school and be like subservient, you know? To
> your teacher and principal and it was quite a frustrating experience.

Bethany's experiences were similar to many of my interviewees' responses on the

topic of how adults treated them within and outside the SCA. For example, 15-year-old,

lifelong SCAdian, Marsha said in the SCA: "I feel more welcomed and comfortable in it

[than the mundane world] because I'm so used to doing SCA stuff. It's like a really large

group of extended family." Additionally, Jordan, a 19 year-old, nonbinary, mixed race

Black SCAdian said:

> It's a different scenario for kids in the SCA than like kids in normal circumstances
> [the mundane world]...you get a lot more respect and you get a lot more freedom
> in the SCA as a child, than in a normal society [mundane] club… So like in
> normal life, I wasn't allowed to walk home in the dark because I was 13 and that's
> not cool and you know that's it's not a safe place to be. But if I'm like at Estrella
> [A large War in Arizona, for example].. most of the time, I like just walk from
> camp to camp with my friends, and that'd be it [my parents were ok with me being
> without adult supervision].

These quotes illustrate that SCAdian youth have more freedom and a sense of respect in the SCA than in their mundane lives and oftentimes, SCAdian youth have the opportunity to be included in adult activities during which they are seen and treated with the same respect as SCAdian adults. For example, young people with whom I spoke and through historical SCAdian documents, have been Royalty in the SCA. Being royalty in the SCA means that they have been important leaders and decision-makers in the organization such as event planning and making difficult decisions about organizational governance. Other SCAdian youth have been pivotal for the implementation of activities such as youth fighter programs (i.e. archery and sword fighting) where the reigning youth combat champion organizes each youth combat tournament and coordinates with the adult combat champions to determine tournament themes, field layouts, and the set-up process.

Other young people have been Heralds, who make announcements during SCA events and coordinate the historical accuracy research for SCAdian heraldic symbols and registering House and individual heraldic symbols in the official SCA registry. Less formalized positions include event volunteers where young people (aged 11-20) take tickets at event entrances, transport event-goers in golf carts, help set-up tents and event activities, and offer childcare for younger children (aged 10 and under). During these leadership and collaborative roles, young people offer their knowledge and skills, which can augment the adult's efforts to ensure the events and community are well-organized, safe, and inclusive to diverse people, such as nonbinary people. This intergenerativity

yields a culture of youth-adult power sharing (Y-APS) in the organization that oftentimes can be highly effective for the youth, adults, and organization alike.

Krysta, a 35-year-old lifelong SCAdian who is also raising her children in the SCA by bringing them to SCA events, bringing her children around her family who is also part of the SCA, and engaging in crafts and SCA activities with her children-discussed how youth are perceived in the organization:

> As teenagers we were treated like mini adults. You weren't under lock and key as much [as in the mundane world]. More was expected of you. Especially because you were bigger, stronger, so you could help do things like help stake tents down whereas as little kids you were more likely to get crushed. As teens, we were given a lot of free reign. In fact, things I wouldn't let my own children do. I think that when you grow up in that kind of culture where you're expected to be responsible from the beginning so kids have to help in any way they can- and we did. ..we would still get up the next day and do what was asked of us. I think it is a thing that our society in general is lacking. Kids are not expected to do very much- there are a lot of helicopter moms who step in for them when they shouldn't. There is research showing that kids aren't doing enough and they don't have complex verbal speaking skills....this is physically and mentally detrimental to kids because when they go to college, they don't know how to do laundry. There is a big difference between the SCA and the mundane world... A lot of people haven't seen what kids are capable of.

Krysta's statement emphasizes the SCA's ability to include young people while encouraging them to be responsible and important members of the society. Not only do SCAdian adults expect young SCAdians to contribute to SCA activities, but it also shows that many mundane, neotocratic practices in regular society disregard the abilities and resources that youth can provide to adults and communities (Delgado 2008). With the SCA's ability to include young people in event implementation, SCAdian youth have the

opportunity to build a work ethic, social skills, and a sense of self-worth through their accomplishments that they might not otherwise have in their mundane lives.

Other SCAdians who joined as youth agreed that in the SCA they felt more accepted by both adults and their peers. As Kayla, a 28-year-old lifelong SCAdian said: "I was treated like trash in the mundane world by my peers. I was bullied. I was also bullied by adults." Due to the SCA's Y-APS and intergenerativity, Kayla felt more included and valued as a person than she did in the mundane world. The SCA provided a supportive environment for her to build confidence and community that she would not otherwise have. For example, Kayla informed me that through the SCA, she met Sally Ride and entered into a junior astronaut program. It guided her toward her still future plans of being an engineer and/or astronaut. The SCAdian community was supportive of her goals and she felt validated by the positive feedback she received from her fellow SCAdians.

Youth-Adult Power Sharing in the SCA

When the SCA was founded, some teenagers (13 and 15 years old) and children (9 and 11 years old) were able to hold positions of Royalty until the 1980s. To be Royalty in the SCA means that the individuals in the positions must a) make decisions on organizational rules and guidelines, b) determine the recipients of and distribution process of awards, c) make decisions about banishing SCAdians from the organization, and d) sign legal documents for the organizations (SCA Inc. 2021). Members of Royalty

therefore have significant power over how the organization is run, who can and cannot be in the organization, and who is recognized in the organization as artists, craftspeople, volunteers, and fighters (archery and sword fighting). Moreover, SCAdian members must defer to Royalty for decision-making, regardless of their age. Several of my interviewees discussed the impacts of having young people in these leadership roles.

For example, the Kingdom of Atenveldt had a 19-year-old King within the first two years of its existence. When I spoke with this man, Rafael, who is now 70, he informed me that to this day, other SCAdians will approach him and thank him for his exceptional guidance and leadership when we was 19. Other SCAdian Royalty were children. In the Principality (smaller than a Kingdom) of Caid (Southern California), there was a nine-year-old Princess in 1977 named Lorissa du Griffin (SCA nickname).

In order to be crowned King, Queen, Prince, or Princess in the SCA, a knight must fight at the local tournament, which often involves a husband or boyfriend fighting and winning the tournament. The knight's partner then becomes their King, Queen, Prince, or Princess. However, Lorissa's family was close with a 21-year-old Knight named Balin of Tor (SCA nickname). Lorissa gave him a small "favor" or an embroidered symbol of her house as a gift that resulted in both people being crowned. As Balin of Tor said:

> I thought it would be a nice piece of gallantry if I continued to wear her [Lorissa's] favor in the up-coming Caid Coronet Tourney. Why not? I didn't have a girlfriend at the time, and with no expectation of winning, who would it harm if by doing so I could bring a little joy into a little girl's life?

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Everyone was surprised when Balin won the tournament and after Lorissa's parents discussed the implications of her becoming Princess with both she and Balin, she was crowned the highest feminine leadership role in the Principality of Caid. In the early days of the SCA, Royalty was rarely as young as nine with some Princesses aged 13 or 16. However, Lorissa was quite famous for her poise and maturity. I spoke with Balin, her parents, and three other SCAdians who knew her during that time and they all agreed that she was a very precocious child and skilled leader. For instance, Balin wrote about Lorissa:

> Let me take a moment to say that though only ten [sic], Lorissa du Griffen [sic] was a credit to us as a "couple." To the principality we served, and to the parents that raised her. She was a precocious child, wise (and willful) beyond her years. While I spent much of our reign having an amazingly good time as one of the youngest monarchs in the Known World [the SCA] and an up-and-coming star on the tourney field, Lora [Lorissa] (and her trusted advisers) ran the principality. While I was always "in the loop" and my position respected, wiser heads governed Caid. Which is how it should be. But who would have guessed that one of those wiser heads belonged to my ten [sic] year old consort!?

While Balin expressed surprise at the young Lorissa's wisdom, the position she held was one of great power and she wielded her power respectfully and with much maturity. Not many SCAdian youth held these positions of power, but the SCA boasts about its ability to sustain young people in these roles as a central organizational value.

Evidence of the SCA's age-inclusivity was supported by other SCAdians with whom I spoke who agreed with Balin, but dominant legal systems outside of the SCA

influenced whether or not young people would hold positions of royalty again. As Ron, a 38-year-old SCAdian who has been in the SCA since the age of 18 said:

> The real world laws [mundane world] have also changed to and in the 50 years. So there's more restrictions of what is not allowed to do so, we had we as an organization, also have to adjust to those different roles that have come in.

These restrictions definitely reduced youth leadership opportunities in the SCA. As a Princess, Lorissa was required to make community decisions and sign legal documents for the SCA. Given that she was a minor, this was not legally viable, which created added work for her parents and other adult Royalty. Whenever Lorissa had to sign a document, a person over the age of 18 would have to be present to co-sign. In response to these complications, the SCA Inc. altered their policies about SCAdian leadership, requiring that all Royalty and Seneschals [event coordinators] be at least 18 years old to streamline the legal document signing process.

A few of my interviewees confirmed these facts. Such as Thomas, age 41, who said that after the SCA had several Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses who were under the age of 18, they learned that it was too difficult logistically to have to rely on an extra adult to sign legal documents for the underage leader. Though young people continue to check tickets at SCA events and might assist at cash registers, adults must also be present so that, "if anything goes wrong, [they are] the one ultimately responsible for it and not the person who's underage."

The decision to exclude youth and children under the age of 18 from these leadership roles because of legal complications and SCAdian adultist perspectives meant that teens and children no longer held these highly powerful positions and reduced the number of opportunities for Y-APS in the context of SCAdian intergenerativity. This was unfortunate given that many of my interviewees discussed how successful the young Royals were in their positions. While SCAdians generally continue to perceive young people as valuable and capable community members, their adultist perspectives have always influenced how much power and leadership opportunities are available to young people.

Dominant cultural and legal systems outside of SCA society prohibited SCAdians from allowing people under the age of 18 to hold official positions requiring signatures and money handling, which SCAdian adults did not contest. These factors might have contributed to the presence of fewer young leaders in the SCA over time, less opportunity for intergenerativity, fewer instances of Y-APS, and more opportunities for adultism in the SCA. Though the SCA is more inclusive and respectful to young people in comparison to the mundane world, the dominant adultist legal and cultural systems in the United States have slowly chipped away at the SCA's age-inclusive culture.

Although the SCA has become less age-inclusive with fewer formalized leadership roles for young people and even fewer youth-led spaces (both virtual and physical) at SCAdian events and gatherings, the SCA today still retains some youth leadership roles. For example, Steven, a 16-year-old who was born and raised in the

SCA, explained that he is the kingdom youth archery champion, meaning that he won several archery tournaments and became an event organizer and leader for all youth archery activities. As the youth archery champion, he collaborated with his father and other adults to coordinate both the youth and adult archery tournaments in his kingdom of Atenveldt. On the topic of this collaboration Steven said: "Like for example, making archery. Older people and younger people like collaborating to make archery targets for the youth stuff, that kind of thing." Steven and other youth champions are the decision makers and leaders for their SCAdian martial arts (i.e. archery, sword fighting, fencing, etc.), which often requires them to collaborate and plan with adult champions to develop tournaments. However, as youth champions, their power only extends to other youth and children who take part in SCAdian martial arts. They can offer perspectives and options to their adult counterparts, but they have little power to decide how the SCA community functions as a whole, showing that young people are valued as community assets and decision-makers in the SCA community while also being dominated by adults.

Intergenerational Collaborations and Youth Inclusion in the SCA

After discussing how generations interact in the SCA with my interviewees, I learned that SCAdian youth are essential to achieving organizational goals, developing new programs, and ensuring that SCAdian events are successful. SCAdians adults often collaborate with SCAdian youth during these activities to ensure that the organizational goals are met. However, adults seldom forfeit their leadership roles as I observed during

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my online observations. Adults always run online groups and do not defer to young people for decision-making at court gathering. All of which is despite the fact that the young people with whom I spoke appeared to be highly responsible and mature, which indicates that SCAdian intergenerativity does not always include Y-APS. Nonetheless, it can still have positive outcomes for youth and adults.

My research participants described a variety of examples where young people and older people collaborated to build a stronger SCA community. Among the positive outcomes for both SCA and SCAdian youth was a youth rapier (fencing) program. Felicia, a 36-year-old transgender woman who was born and raised in the SCA, developed a youth rapier program after learning to fence and fight with her father when she was 10 years old. She collaborated with her father as a young person to develop the youth program and as an adult, she expanded the program as a youth rapier Marshall:

> I am the first youth Kingdom rapier Marshall [referee for SCA fencing tournaments] that helped write the rules so that we could have youth rapier fighters under the age of 14 all the way down to six. I think I made them [the youth rapier rules when I was 14].

It was Felicia's intergenerational interactions with her father and other adult rapier fighters that drove her to develop the program further as an adult. Because of these positive experiences, she has made it her mission in the SCA to include and mentor as many young rapier fighters in the SCA as possible. She knows that the SCA needs youth fighters to sustain the community while youth rapier fighters who are as many as 20

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youth in each Kingdom have many opportunities for personal development, such as leadership skills when engaging with SCAdian martial arts.

Other children and youth assumed important responsibilities in the SCA, even when they could not engage in adult activities due to legal restrictions. Many of the SCAdian volunteers were very young as evidenced by Rachel, a 19-year-old who began volunteering in the SCA when she was 11:

> And so we started up being really active in day events and in the barony we live in. And that's when I, as a person in the SCA, started because that's when I started actively as a conscious human being, volunteering. So yeah, I would help set up. I would help take down [camp], I would be a card runner or a Herald [a person who makes announcements at SCAdian events and ensures that tournament fighters are called to fight in the correct order].

Rachel showed her autonomous decisions to volunteer and contribute to the organization and she was bolstered by the SCA's values supporting volunteerism and service. These young people with whom I spoke contributed to the SCA by ensuring efficient communication between adult SCAdian decision makers and the populace (members of the SCA) as well as helping to build the tents and campgrounds for large SCAdian events. While through the years I have been a member of the SCA, I was not able to systematically observe these processes due to the events and social distancing during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Other SCAdian youth served as Heralds who researched historical names and devices so that other SCAdians would have historically accurate personas and symbols. Mary, a 47-year-old woman who had been in the SCA since she was 10, was able to

occupy several of these leadership roles in the SCA out of the necessity for more volunteers. At the age of 12 she was collaborating with SCAdian adults to make decisions for event planning, hosting, and implementation, do research in libraries, online, and among SCAdian archives that are often owned by older SCAdians who collect historical documents and books on SCAdian Heraldry, and through these collaborations, she developed a page system with an adult officer. The page system functions to ensure an easy flow of information between Royals, the SCAdian event attendees, and the fighters competing in tournaments. Pages are enlisted youth and adults who help to communicate between the Royal people, event organizers, and tournament participants by carrying notes and messages between them:

> And then the other thing is that [my adult mentor] was the Mistress of The List and we didn't have at the time a lot of kids. We didn't have a page system to run cards from lists to the Heralds; they had to keep going back and forth. So I started working with her because she was my Pelican [mentor teaching her how to be an effective volunteer in the SCA]. So I was working with her and we started the page system that they still use. As far as I know that runs the cards back and forth from the Royals to the list table [a list of names of fighters at tournaments]. So that was pretty impressive. That's when I got my dolphin for my Service Award [a youth award for volunteerism in the SCA].

These young people ensured that the SCA streamlined processes at SCAdian events and tournaments by increasing communication between the Heralds and Royalty. It was through intergenerativity that the SCA grew as an organization and effectively recognized its volunteers. Not only did this page system benefit the society and Heralds, but the young people were offered decision making and leadership opportunities for

running events. Intergenerativity such as this have enabled SCAdian events to function

well today, creating positive experiences for all event attendees and encouraging them to

return with a population of at least 6% SCAdians under the age of 25.

Other SCAdian youth discussed less formalized leadership roles where they felt

included and important in their SCA community by working with SCAdian adults in

kitchens at feasts. Annie, a 15-year-old who was born and raised in the SCA said:

> I think I've been in the Pin camper feast for the last four or five years in a row
> now. They all know me and my little sister as the people that will do usually
> anything to give to help in the kitchen. Yes anything. We will peel potatoes. If
> that's what it takes. Just let us do it.

Without young people helping in these feasts, SCA events would not be logistically

possible showing that young people are essential to the SCA achieving its goals.

Many SCAdian youth also served their community by providing childcare for

other SCAdian families. At many SCAdian events, there are "kid's corners" where

SCAdian children and youth spend much of their time. These spaces often include

playgrounds and SCA-themed coloring books. Though these activities are geared for

younger children (under the age of 13), many SCAdian teens will also entertain and

supervise the younger children at kid's corner. For example, Annie, aged 15 said that one

of her skills is engaging young children: "I can talk to little kids and I can hang out with

them and play games with them." Offering childcare is a family-inclusive practice so that

families can stay together, feel safe, and enjoy events together without age segregation.

Having family-inclusive practices ensures that SCAdian parents and children enjoy their

time at SCAdian events. Moreover, childcare requires complex interpersonal skill sets such as emotional management for the youth caregiver and child, which are important for effective day-to-day interpersonal interactions (Andrew and Newman 2012). By incorporating teens into childcare processes, SCAdians ensure that young people feel valued and included in SCAdian activities while they gain important interpersonal skills-outcomes that SCAdian youth spearhead showing how SCAdian intergenerativity contributes to the wellness of the community.

Large SCAdian events such as Wars often include parties and alcohol consumption- activities from which youth under the age of 21 are excluded. However, SCAdian youth are still included in managing these events. Many SCAdian youth volunteer for overnight positions to oversee the entrance gate (what SCAdians call "troll"), the event exit gate, or to drive intoxicated or injured SCAdians back to their camps or cars in golf carts. Daniel, aged 20 and a lifelong SCAdian, discussed how he contributed to SCA events through volunteerism from the time he was 14 years old:

> At big wars, I would do a lot of volunteer stuff just because I didn't really hang around with a lot of the kids, just because I kind of aged out, and kind of matured out before I aged out. So I did a lot of, 'You're acting very childish, and that kind of makes me uncomfortable.' So I would go to do guard shifts, guarding Baronesses, Baron. Or I would go and take a watch shift for the big war, Estrella, and we need to do a front gate, back gate, or I would do a roving watch. I really don't have any big volunteer things I do other than just helping people when they need it.

Daniel and other SCAdian youth's work ensured that SCAdian events were safe, that all event newcomers were greeted and offered directions to camp sites, and site fees were

collected- all of which are essential to maintaining and growing society membership, yet another example of effective SCAdian intergenerativity for community wellness and development.

Another 34-year-old man named Hans, who was born in the SCA, discussed how even when he and his friends played in the SCA as youth, they contributed to adults' comfort and fun at SCAdian events. For example, they would build forts out of hay that would became an integral part of adult activities, which made him feel proud and included:

> We would go build forts out of hay bales. So probably, even up til 15, we did some variation of that. As we got older, we probably built crazier-looking things out of hay bales, and then later on when the War would happen, the [adult] fighters would use what we'd built all the time and we would be so proud of it, because we would build something, thinking about that they could use it.

Hans and his friends' contributions enhanced the adult SCAdians' experiences and the young people felt valued in the process. Such impromptu intergenerativity ensures a fulfilling experience for both SCAdian adults and youth, which helps to maintain SCAdian organizational membership.

SCAdian intergenerativity yielded many organizational benefits. Moreover, whenever SCAdian adults and youth collaborate, SCAdian adults often learn from young people just as young people learn from adults, showing that some people in the SCA see young people as having important contributors to SCAdian community knowledge.

Young people not only contribute their labor to the organization, but offer their knowledge and wisdom. For example, based on my interviews, young people have been instrumental in ensuring that SCAdian adults are up-to-date with cultural shifts through regular intergenerational communications and interactions, including issues related to inclusivity. This is a significant contribution given that at least 31% of SCAdians identify as sexual and gender minorities (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and/or asexual) and 16% of SCAdians identify as racial and/or ethnic minorities (Watson et al. 2020). With the majority of SCAdians identifying as white, cis gender, heterosexuals, increasing education about the experiences of sexual, gender, ethnic and racial minorities is essential to ensuring that all SCAdians feel welcomed within the community.

In the case of gender nonbinary people, some people prefer to use "they" or "them" instead of "she/her" or "he/him." Using gender affirming language can help with gender nonbinary people's mental health (Fontanari et al. 2020), so learning to use them/them pronouns is highly important for developing a gender inclusive SCAdian community. In the case of Marsha, age 54, young people were the key to her learning these important lessons in diversity and inclusion:

> The first introduction that I had as an older female to different pronouns was at the SCA and it was for teenagers … we had a young person who went by 'They' and that was really hard for me because I've never experienced that before…All I knew was we had a young person in need of help, …the SCA teenagers were very protective of the person [by ensuring that Marsha used their correct pronouns when trying to solve the young person's problem], they [the SCAdian youth who were friends with the nonbinary person] were very much there for them [the

nonbinary youth], and I think that teenagers have so much to offer in the SCA that we as adults could learn from.

Through these intergenerational interactions, young people were able to provide a more gender inclusive environment in the SCA and expand Marsha's ability to interact with gender nonbinary individuals both inside and outside the SCA. Intergenerative knowledge sharing creates opportunities for the SCA to be a more diverse and inclusive community.

Though SCAdian youth have been increasingly more marginalized in the SCA over time, some SCAdian adults actively try to share power with young people. Marsha's experience shows that SCAdian intergenerativity can include effective Y-APS. She saw that young SCAdians are indeed important community members and experts in their own experiences. Marsha's comments showed that she engages with at least two of the tenants of Y-APS by seeing young people as experts in their own experiences and recognizing them as important community members with unique perspectives and a right to share them (Libby et al. 2005). Other SCAdian adults have also learned how to engage with Y-APS in SCAdian intergenerational spaces.

For example, whenever the SCA is located near universities and community colleges, student SCA clubs often arise. All of the Arizona state universities have SCA student clubs housed within them and are usually intergenerational collaborations to keep them running. Oftentimes, older adults who work for the universities and colleges will be

mentors and administrators for the student SCA clubs, which leads to more examples of SCAdian intergenerativity and sometimes Y-APS.

One of the most active student SCA clubs is at University of Arizona, which in the SCA is called "The College of St. Felix." When I spoke with three members of the College of St. Felix (University of Arizona), many acknowledged the guidance and freedom they were afforded by their mentor, Marty.

Marty is a man in his 50s who has been a lifelong SCAdian. He works as an administrator for the University of Arizona and encouraged the SCA to expand its College of St. Felix by recruiting more college students as members. He additionally planned to create a hub for SCA activities on the University of Arizona campus and felt that as a paid university employee, he could effectively support the longevity of the College of St. Felix. However, working as a mentor to the expanding membership of the College of St. Felix took time and learning. He explained that learning to be an effective adult mentor who did not dominate the youth in the College of St. Felix was a learning process for him. Marty first dominated and directed the young SCAdians in the College of St. Felix, however, he quickly learned that he would lose the young members if he did not provide supportive and hands-off adult mentoring to them:

> I actually had to learn that the hard way. When I first started, I was like, 'you will do this, you will do this.' And you get kicked back, the horse throws you [young people rejected his guidance]. So you gotta figure out how to hold on... and you need to be able to give them [young people] the tools they need to build the space [they want for themselves in the SCA]. And then back the hell off.

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Marty described a process that other SCAdian officers and leaders should follow if they want to expand the amount of participating SCAdian youth using Y-APS where he needs to provide support, but cannot be directive with young people. It was the collaboration between young people and older people at the College of St. Felix that enabled the virtual and in-person experience of having a youth-led SCAdian club. The College of St. Felix is a unique example of SCAdian intergenerativity using Y-APS given that most of the Arizona university SCA clubs are either completely dominated by adults, or appear to have few members based on the fact that some of the SCA University club Facebook pages are either inactive or run by adults. Most other intergenerative SCAdian spaces do not exhibit Y-APS, but rather show adultism and adult domination, which have offered some positive outcomes.

SCAdian Intergenerativity and Adultism with Positive Outcomes

SCAdian intergenerativity is complex because of the various circumstances in which young people and adults interact and yield opportunities for Y-APS as Marsha and Marty exhibited. However, some SCAdian adults subscribe to adultist beliefs by seeking to protect young people from adults, dominating virtual and physical SCAdian spaces, and failing to defer to young people about topics that affect them such as youth combat Facebook pages, and marginalizing them in youth and child-designated areas. Nonetheless, some SCAdian adults who do not engage with Y-APS are still able to create positive spaces for young people.

For example, there are a few virtual youth-led SCAdian spaces. The only youth-led Facebook page I saw for the SCA was for The College of St. Felix. This page's leadership structure was not surprising given that Marty made a point of sharing power with young people at the College of St. Felix. Moreover, it appears that the intergenerativity that Marty and his young accomplices at the College of St. Felix exhibit has been successful in maintaining and building membership within the College of St. Felix because it was one of the only highly active Facebook pages I saw structured for youth, by youth. Moreover, it was highly active in contrast to the other Arizona university SCA club Facebook pages that were either deleted or inactive. Additionally, SCAdian adults appear to have dominated more of the SCAdian Facebook pages. Though many of my youth interviewees had their own Facebook pages, they were not active on the pages and the majority of the youth with whom I spoke I recruited through their parents.

When I asked my youth participants why there were so few youth-led pages, they often said that they did not use social media and preferred face-to-face interactions with other people. As Steven said: "I don't use social media much, I use Discord [a gaming chat application] just for my friends, but that's about it." SCAdian adults have clearly dominated most SCAdian virtual spaces.

Additionally, in non-virtual, in-person SCA spaces, there are few youth-dedicated spaces and are adult-led with some opportunities for intergenerational collaboration. Adults mostly dominate all SCAdian event spaces with a small playground space at each

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event dedicated to children under 12 called "Kid's Corner," marginalizing young people away from most adult activities. There are even fewer spaces for teens causing many SCAdian youth aged 14-20 to either interact with adults, or develop their own spaces.

One of the few spaces at the Estrella War where youth were included and congregated was the Tea House. The Tea House was created by two adult SCAdians in the early 2000s to offer a gathering space without alcohol and is always at the large events such as The Estrella War in Arizona. The Tea House offers a selection of snacks, tea, coffee, water, books, and board games inside a large tent. The owners of the Tea House first developed the space in order to have a gathering space that was not focused on alcohol. The Tea House originally mostly attracted adult women and many of the patrons would spend most of their days at the Estrella War inside the Tea House.

In the last few years, youth have become the main patrons making the Tea House an example of SCAdian intergenerativity. After discussing the Tea House with both the regular youth who congregate at the Tea House and the adults who own the space, some SCAdian intergenerational spaces do not utilize Y-APS, but are a positive space for young people and older people to talk and collaborate. The Tea House is not an example of Y-APS, but shows that SCAdian intergenerativity without Y-APS can be a positive for young people because youth are part of developing and running the Tea House.

For example, the young Tea House patrons have a place to be themselves with positive adult interactions that offer shelter from potentially harmful adult activities such as alcohol-driven parties. As Steven said: "My friends in the SCA you basically just go to

the Tea House and drink tea or we go out and play like Dungeons and Dragons, or just

walk around and do stuff." The Tea House is a focal point for SCAdian intergenerativity

at the Estrella War and Peggy, the 55-year-old owner of the Tea House, has worked to

include young people in running and developing the Tea House while still maintaining

ownership and control over the space. For example, Peggy said:

> It's become such a teen hangout there's a lot of parents that are really
> appreciative that it is someplace that they know. There's not going to be
> somebody slipping alcohol to their teenage daughter. You know, teenagers are
> crazy and they have a wild time but it's not an unsafe wild time. That's the big
> one, I mean we've got kind of our friends and our regulars that come that always
> appreciate taking a little breather from the parties. We get a lot of it from parents
> that drop their 13, 14 year, 15 year old kids off. And then stop in in the course of
> their wandering and come back and they're still there and they're still doing good.

The Tea House is an impromptu teen center that both protects them from being

exposed to alcohol and other adult domination while offering a safe space for them to

socialize and have fun at the War. They also take ownership of the space, but it is

intergenerativity without Y-APS because the adults ultimately are in charge of the space.

For example, Peggy explained that while in the Tea House, young people help her run the

establishment and take ownership of the space:

> Oh, sometimes we put them to work doing dishes [because] they offer [to
> do it]. [They will offer to] get a couple people that are always willing to go take a
> wagon and water jugs because we've got the big like five gallon jugs [to make tea
> and coffee]. That's always good. There's kids that will just come in and start
> straightening out [the Tea House tent and tables], but it's almost like they can't not
> straighten things up if they see something out of place that's like their mission in
> life to do- straighten up the games or straighten up the books or whatever and
> that's great, it's fantastic. I've got a couple kids that have been around a long time
> that will just jump in when somebody new walks in, they start doing the spiel

[explaining how to use the Tea House] and telling people where everything is. They will show them how to get started, and you know where the cups are and where the sweeteners are, and you know if they need to get a glass of water they'll take them to fill their water and it's just it's cool because it's like it they kind of own it too.

The tea house is an important place for young people to relax with their peers, interact with adults, and show their commitment to the community by supporting Peggy and other Tea House patrons of all ages. It is intergenerative, but given that Peggy and the parents of many of the teens seek out the space in order to separate youth from adult spaces to protect them from alcohol and adult domination while also maintaining control and ownership of the Tea House, it is an example of SCAdian adultism with positive outcomes. However, not all SCAdian intergenerativities yield positive outcomes for SCAdian individuals and the organization. Sometimes SCAdian adults dominate and harm youth in the process of intergenerational interactions.

Adult Domination

SCAdian adults and youth often want to collaborate within the SCA. However, sometimes adult collaboration with youth can result in adult domination and violence against youth. Though many of my interviewees demonstrated how the SCA community engages in positive intergenerativity and Y-APs, they also showed that the SCA still maintains regular adult domination. I define adult domination as adults infantilizing youth, adult leadership excluding youth from decision making or leadership

roles, violence toward, sexualization of, or marginalization of youth, and adults bullying and/or stereotyping youth.

One of the most extreme examples of adult domination in the SCA related to sexual misconduct with minors. In 2003, a youth combat instructor had been using his access to youth as an opportunity to molest youth combat members. The man was arrested and sent to prison for his crimes, but the cascading harm this man caused both the children and the SCA community resulted in a larger overhaul of the SCA's youth/adult interactions (The Morning Call Staff 2003). Adult attitudes towards youth ignite strong feelings of fear, anxiety, and a desire for control, a concept that can be called "a moral panic" (Cohen 1980). However, this desire to control out of fear for young people and the well-being of a society's values can drive adults to choose the right for a child's protection over a child's right for autonomy (Collier 2023). Similarly, the SCA as an organization reacted very strongly to this "moral panic" and it resulted in very strict rules separating youth from adults and limiting the activities where young people can have autonomy and leadership.

New rules were written requiring that youth under the age of 18 must be within arm's reach of their parents at all times at SCA events, meaning that children, youth, and their accompanying parents/guardians must be very close at all times. While many youth over the age of 13 tend to join youth arts and science programs such as the fighter groups, this meant that many adults must remain in the "kid's corner" while their children under the age of 13 play. Though the teen caregivers may offer some respite for parents at

SCAdian events, some of the parents I interviewed complained about this requirement

because parents did not want to supervise their children at SCAdian events.

For example, Katrina, a 53-year-old woman said that her experience as a teen in

the SCA was much better than her 16-year-old daughter's:

> It didn't matter that I was 16. I could still do fighting and that's without the adults [being within 6 feet of her]. I didn't need my mommy to watch me and be one arm's length away [part of the current SCA policies]. I think it was a lot easier then because there wasn't as much regimen around what [youth] can and can't do.

The SCA's desire to protect SCAdian youth from adult predators appears to have stifled

many SCAdian youths' opportunities for intergenerativity and inclusion in the SCA. The

new youth/adult policy changes reflected mundane adultist norms, reasonably believing

that youth and children require protection. In response, a number of my interviewees

talked about how youth are marginalized and efforts to protect them might have resulted

in fewer young SCAdians entering or staying in the SCA.

In response to the adult's desire to protect SCAdian youth while also increasing

intergenerativity in the SCA, SCAdian adults developed a proposal, which they presented

to the SCA's board of directors in 2014 to create the Youth and Family Awards (YAFA)

program. The program was soon approved by the board of directors and offers SCAdian

youth and families opportunities to interact and gain recognition for their skills and

talents. For example, youth in the YAFA program work with adult mentors (who are

sometimes the young person's parent or guardian) to learn skills such as embroidery or

rapier fighting. Once the young person has mastered the skills, they receive a token from

their adult mentor showing that they can be included in more advanced and/or adult activities. This office was developed based on the badge system in Boy and Girl Scouts where SCAdian youth can work with adult mentors on various SCAdian arts and sciences (such as fighting, sewing, music, event planning, and cooking) and earn tokens to show their capabilities in these SCAdian activities. The idea behind this office was to increase opportunities for intergenerativity and for young people to gain community skills, knowledge, and membership in a formalized way. The YAFA program enables young people and families throughout the global SCA to obtain awards and recognition for their contributions to the organization, but is dictated by the perceptions and whims of adults. It is intergenerative, but does not include Y-APS. The YAFA office closed in 2021 due to lack of participation from adults and youth, but it is an example of the SCA working to overcome its organizational challenges for a more resilient and socially cohesive SCA community.

Although the YAFA program works to include young people and formalize their skill sets to ensure they are recognized in the community as artists and fighters, young people were not part of developing the program, showing that they did not engage with Y-APS. Instead, adult SCAdians relied on Boys and Girl Scout adult leaders to design the program. Additionally, young SCAdians are not seen as experts in their own experiences, nor is their knowledge valued or centered in the program. Youth engaging in the YAFA program must defer to SCAdian adults for tokens and affirmation of their skills, instead of a collaborative process of defining mastery of a specific SCAdian art or craft.

These programmatic structures suggest that the YAFA program serves to reaffirm adult power and knowledge over youth and though it is intergenerative, is an example of adult domination and not Y-APS. Additionally, the YAFA program has had few adult mentors and youth participants during its existence. For example only one of the youth with whom I spoke participated in the program at all. Moreover, according to the YAFA program officer, the few SCAdian mentors who were in the program, stopped volunteering during the COVID-19 pandemic and no adults sought background checks and training in order to be YAFA mentors. This is further evidence that the legal restrictions in the mundane world have stifled the SCA's ability to engage young people as leaders and community assets. With the current state of the COVID-19 pandemic where quarantine rules have relaxed and vaccines are widely available, no SCAdian adults have sought out mentor positions and the YAFA program officer resigned from her position. As Karen, the 56-year-old YAFA program officer said, "I was pretty much the driving force [behind YAFA]. I Don't think they will continue the program [now that I have left" All of these factors suggest that the YAFA program's dominating process requires young people to prove themselves to adults with little deference to young people's perspectives and knowledge. These factors may contribute to the program's lack of membership.

Youth and Adult Responses to the YAFA Program

The opportunities for SCAdian intergenerativity have changed over time. The SCA started with several opportunities for Y-APS with SCAdian youth Royalty. Over time, the SCA has begun to reflect more mundane adultist belief systems as policies where young people are sequestered in to "kids corners," the Tea House, and the YAFA program with few opportunities to lead in the virtual SCA spaces. These marginalizing processes have increased since 1967 to the point where SCAdian youth and children under the age of 18 must be within 6 feet of their parents or guardians. Moreover, many of the arts and crafts taught and shared in the SCA have become exclusionary of young people with the YAFA program serving as one of the few formalized intergenerative programs within the SCA. Some of these changes are quite recent, with the YAFA program emerging in 2010 and few adults who are willing to mentor young people. The youth I interviewed also noticed these changes between them and their older siblings' experiences in the SCA. Tory, an 18-year-old, lifelong SCAdian expressed frustration due to fewer responsibilities and activities they were allowed to do in the SCA in comparison to their older brother:

> Lily: Did you get to design coats of arms?
>
> Tory: Not me, but my older brother did.
>
> Lily: Oh, so it was before your time, basically?
>
> Tory: Yeah. But he's only five years older than me, so it was fairly recent to be gotten rid of by the time I got around. It's disappointing.

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Tory's disappointment reflects many young SCAdians' perspectives and my young interviewees often recommended solutions to these challenges such as expanding fighting opportunities, more research and Harald opportunities, and event planning. It is unfortunate that that the YAFA program had not employed young people in their program design process considering recommendations such as Tory's and my other youth interviewees.

SCAdian adults also noticed how the formalized mentoring program with YAFA and increased security for youth and children stifled their ability to actually connect with SCAdian youth mentees and reduced the amount of youth in the SCA. As Maria, a 39-year-old SCAdian said:

> Youth have very little authority to organize or supervise so in order to have a youth activity, you need to have two adults at least one of them has to go through the SCA specific background check [to be a YAFA mentor]. So if you have a background check as a teacher or through the government that doesn't count [as a background check to be a mentor] it has to be done through the SCA. So, again [to be a YAFA mentor] you have to have an SCA membership, you have to go through the process of basically being put officially on the books. It's not a laborious process but it's not made easy either you have to actually print out the fucking piece of paper and chase down the kingdom officer usually for a physical signature at an event because when you sent them the electronic version, they just didn't even know what to do with it... [In terms of youth mentees] Who under 18 is going to do that? So there's just so many small inconveniences that don't align with the expectations of that generation [younger generation]. That makes it just create this barrier to entry [for young people as both mentors and mentees].

The strict rules about background checks, parental permissions, parental oversight, and the YAFA program's structures may have contributed many SCAdian youth leaving the organization as evidenced by the SCA's 2020 census showing that only 2% of SCAdians

are aged 25 and under (Watson et al. 2020) and there were only 6.5% SCAdian youth under the age of 25 in 2010 (SCA Inc. 2010). These exceedingly low numbers and the 4% decrease over the course of ten years when the YAFA program existed suggests that the program was not successful in increasing intergenerativity or youth membership in the SCA. Other forms of adultism may also have contributed to this decrease in SCAdian youth, such as abuse and hazing.

Hazing and Adultism in the SCA

In the SCA, young people have to prove themselves as skilled artisans, fighters, and mature members of the SCA to adults outside of the YAFA program, SCAdian youth also experience hazing. Hazing in the SCA is a form of adult domination where adults may physically and/or emotionally harm a young person believing that it is an important part of teaching them. In masculine-dominated spaces such as fraternities and the SCA's hard-suit and rapier fighting groups, hazing is common and is generally defined as:

> Any activity expected of someone joining or maintaining membership in a group that humiliates, degrades, abuses, or endangers, regardless of a person's willingness to participate, hazing can be understood within a spectrum of interpersonal violence. (Véliz-Calderón and Allan 2017)

It is through this process that in the SCA, some masculine-identified SCAdian adults will subject young people to these abusive conditions in order for young people to prove their abilities in a specific skill set. For example, Gabe, a 37 year old man who has been a

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SCAdian since he was 15 said that while training as a squire in hard suit battle (i.e. sword

fighting with rattan weapons while wearing armor) when he was 17, his Knight hit him so

hard that he broke his ribs. Gabe explained that the reason this happened is because he

was being too cocky on the battlefield and needed to learn his lesson. Though Gabe

laughed as he told me this story, hazing has been a barrier to youth and adult inclusion in

the SCA. Some of these hazing processes can continue into adulthood and become

bullying as Wilson, a 36 year-old man who has been in the SCA since he was 17

explained:

> I think some [adult] fighters saw me as fresh meat. I wish I could say that
> jokingly, but unfortunately I have an injury from a fighter that I apparently pissed
> off. So, I don't know cuz when I was younger, there were a lot of groups that, like
> I said, I didn't mind trying to learn more about and be friends with. But the more I
> got to know them, the more I was like, 'yeah, I need to stay away.' So I kind of I
> guess, for lack of a better term, I'm mostly one of the lone wolves in the SCA I'm
> not really a part of the household. Even though I'm a squire. I'm still a squire after
> all these years…So, I mean, when I was younger I had more of that freedom, but I
> also felt like other people sometimes were trying to take advantage of it.

Wilson's experience made him feel alienated and disrespected, which affected his

willingness to engage with the SCA as a regular volunteer both when he was young and

older in the SCA. When I spoke with him, he stated that he does not feel that he will

return to in-person SCA events in part because of the marginal status he maintains in the

community after years of adult bullying that continued into his adulthood. Hazing can be

extremely detrimental to the wellbeing of SCAdian community members of all ages and

is an unfortunate part of SCAdian adultism. Moreover, it normalizes a culture of

violence, especially among masculine gender expressions (Allan and Madden 2012; Finkel 2002; Nuwer 2004, 2017). These serious infractions against young people by SCAdian adults are cause for alarm and must be reduced if the SCA hopes to sustain a youthful organization. Adultism in the SCA can be mitigated, however, for which some young people offered solutions during my interviews.

Youth Recommendations for the SCA

Though the current culture of the SCA mostly maintains an adult domination and child protective model of youth engagement, some SCAdians of all ages have found meaningful opportunities for Y-APS, which could be replicated to increase youth engagement in the SCA. Additionally, some of the youth I spoke with recommended useful ways to augment the current youth SCAdian youth engagement practices. For example, Tory recommended that more youth and children take part in researching heraldic devices (family crests and symbols of SCAdian camping and familial affiliations). Other young people including Annie (age 15) said that they preferred to have more leadership opportunities in archery, sword fighting, and at SCAdian feasts. The lack of these opportunities to contribute to the community has resulted in many SCAdian youth having fewer knowledge and skills to contribute to the SCA community. As Sidney, a lifelong SCAdian (born to SCAdians and raised in the organization) age 18 said on the topic of intergenerativity in the SCA bemoaned:

> So, the basis [in SCAdian youth spaces] is there's no learning opportunities. Once you turn 18 in the SCA, you're expected to know X, Y, Z, and things about your

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persona, things about this, things about that, but no one teaches the young'uns about that. Right now, we're trying to just find a way to integrate activities that are both age-appropriate and make sense to lead youth into an adult life as a SCAdian. Because right now, when you're young and still able to go to the kids' [corner], it's half the time they're all on tablets, or if they're not on tablets, they're just coloring miscellaneous things. You could have them design a coat of arms.

The SCA as an organization can include these recommended activities to ensure that young people in the SCA have more opportunities for learning and leadership. Moreover, these insights about SCAdian youth-adult interactions offer cautionary tales about youth-adult interactions. Oftentimes adult interactions with youth need to be regulated to reduce the potential for adult domination and/or harm to youth. The few SCAdian adults who employ Y-APS are effective at maximizing youth engagement to ensure community longevity through lasting membership, as well as youth-led community innovations such as youth fencing programs and spontaneous, informal, intergenerational learning about topics such as gender diversity.

Conclusion

This chapter details the complex ways in which SCAdians engage with intergenerativity. In the past, the SCA engaged with a wider array of Y-APS with SCAdian youth and children holding leadership positions as Royalty. Over time, the dominant neontocratic legal systems surrounding the SCA subculture drove the SCA to create policies marginalizing SCAdian youth and children under the age of 18 from many leadership roles in an effort to safeguard their wellbeing. Gradually SCAdian youth became more marginalized into youth-specific spaces and activities. Some adults took

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advantage of those remaining intergenerational spaces to gain access to child sexual assault victims. In response, the SCA built intensive policies to protect young people from violent adult domination, but this meant that most of the opportunities for SCAdian youth to lead and contribute to the SCA as a community disappeared.

Today, there are a few virtual and physical spaces where SCAdian intergenerativity occurs with Y-APS such as in the College of St. Felix and when SCAdian youth provide transportation and protection for intoxicated or injured SCAdian adults at events. Moreover, adultist practices within the SCA are not always harmful to youth and can provide positive intergenerative community development such as in the Tea House and among youth archery champions. Despite the reduced intergenerativity in the modern-day SCA, some SCAdians still maintain a culture of Y-APS mixed with adultism. Some of the Y-APS are highly successful and even some of the adultist practices that include young people (such as the Tea House) and young people feel more valued as teachers and community members who contribute to the SCA community wellness. These are important findings given that youth can be important community assets.

Research shows that youth can be important assets for community resilience (Acosta et al. 2015; Anderson 2005; Gibbs et al. 2013; Mitchell et al. 2008; Peek 2008; Ronan and Johnston 2005). Embracing more youth-led activities and spaces such as the recommendations provided in this chapter can ensure the SCA's community's longevity and wellness. Though there is room for improvement in how the SCA employs

intergenerativity, many of their cultural belief systems and interactions can support a more age-inclusive society rather than what we see in the United States' dominant neontocratic, adultist cultural practices. The SCA's efforts to include young people while legally and ethically protecting them from adult violence requires a delicate balance of adult behavioral regulation through Y-APS. Though some SCAdian adults such as Marty and Peggy have worked to be more age-inclusive after the intensive policy changes, few SCAdian adults fully embrace Y-APS as evidenced by the lack of youth-led spaces and programs. The organization's future as an intergenerational organization- or simply the organization's ability to survive may be at stake if more SCAdian adults do not engage with Y-APS. The following chapters will further detail these issues with community resilience in regard to young SCAdians.

4: THE SCA'S SOCIAL CAPITAL

"The SCA is bootcamp for life," Rafael told me as we discussed the experiences

he had in the SCA from the time he was 19 years old. He is 73 this year with two sons

who he raised from birth in the SCA. He continued:

> Take a shy, inept person, I think socially in a lot of ways and force him to do
> things. I mean, all of a sudden, you're a Prince. You're gonna have to be in the
> center of this event. You're gonna have to make decisions and you make some
> really stupid ones because you're young and foolish. You know, a 19-year-old
> should not be in charge of those things. I could do a much better job today. But
> that's common in the SCA. Those guys, 20-years old and you're King. And it's
> not just King like 'you won now here's a trophy. Go home.' It's like for the next
> six months you're the center of the group and people come to you and say, 'How
> are we gonna do this?'...I mean, you deal with the emotions, you figure out what
> it is people really want, what their needs are, why is this person acting this way?
> You find out people have different motivations. I mean, I learned a lot and both of
> us [my wife and I]…and I know many others in the SCA have talked about in our
> business life, career life, it's hard to not point out, 'Oh! This guy, this business
> guy, he's a Laurel [a master of arts in the SCA], basically.' I mean, that's all you
> have to do is say, 'Oh! I understand.'

Holding leadership positions and being active in the SCA can offer significant training

for interpersonal and life skills for many SCAdians of all ages for work and life inside

and outside the SCA. Much of this training can be interpreted as social capital. Social

capital are the social networks people develop that enable group members to learn social

skills, enhance their education and cultural knowledge, and expand their life skill sets that

can translate to paid work and building small businesses (that is, economic capital)

(Dasgupta and Serageldin 1999). For SCAdians, the SCA provides capital in the form of

close-knit social networks. SCAdian social capital can be converted to other types of

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capital, which includes personal skills (human capital) and cultural knowledge (cultural capital) which can then be converted into economic capital (i.e. to obtain jobs and open businesses that provide income) (Thompson et al. 2016). SCAdian social capital is obtained through intergenerativity, volunteering, arts and crafts and hobbies such as brewing beer, mead, and wine, which SCAdians can learn from one another at large educational events called "collegium." SCAdians build their knowledge and skill sets while building strong social ties.

SCAdian social ties were quite apparent when I utilized snowball sampling for this study. I did not have difficulty recruiting the majority of my interviewees. SCAdians have a service mindset that drives many of them to be very helpful whenever a person is seeking assistance. When many of them discovered that I was looking for SCAdian youth and adults who had been raised in the SCA, my email and Facebook messenger inboxes were flooded for three months with people requesting to be interviewed or offering to introduce me to other SCAdians. These social networks are social capital, which is convertible into human, cultural, and economic capital (Bourdieu 1997; Putnam 2000; Thompson et al. 2016). The SCA's cultural values drive this process, considering "service" and "hospitality" as some of the main values they hold in the organizational handbook (SCA Inc., 2021). These subcultural values mixed with comments like Rafael's about the SCA being bootcamp for life suggest that the SCA can offer capital and experiences to SCAdians that the mundane world cannot offer for many SCAdians outside of the SCA.

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Research on subcultures suggests that many subcultural organizations can provide capital that the dominant culture cannot due to the strong social ties and cultural values that some subcultures prioritize over dominant cultural values- i.e. valuing service mindsets over individual needs (Sebald 1975). Based on my research in the SCA, this is true. The SCA provides an extensive social network of people through the world who can become romantic partners, life-long friends, emotional support networks, offer job skill training, increase SCAdian interpersonal skillsets, help SCAdians start and support their businesses, assist with travel and moving accommodations, and create fun and educational hobbies to enrich SCAdian lives both inside and outside the SCA. For example, Maya, a 28-year-old SCAdian with whom I spoke who was raised in the SCA from birth said:

> I was treated as an equal for the most part by a lot of the adults because of the people I chose to associate with and who were helping be my mentors. So if I have anything emotional, anything spiritual ,anything, learning wise, I had a main mentor who was helping me with those things- not always the same person. But there was always someone that I could go to for advice or assistance in something that I didn't understand.

SCAdians like Maya can leverage the connections and resources they gain in the SCA to build successful lives both inside and outside the SCA- this is SCAdian social capital, which I will discuss further below.

However, social networks in the SCA do not always provide positive outcomes and social capital. Oftentimes social networks can produce conflict, negative social relations, fighting, and/or abuse that destroy social connections between people. These

experiences are known as "fragmented ties" and is evidence that not all social networks are positive and provide capital (Bowman 2013).

While much of the research on community and social networks examines the positive impacts thereof, conflict in social relationships can fracture communities and reduce access to resources (Day 2019). Strong emotional connections between individuals in communities such as the SCA can heighten the intensity of conflicts and increase the chances of community disintegration (Bowman 2013). Though SCAdians gain many positive tangible and intangible resources from the SCA, bullying, abuse, cliquishness, and conflicts due to differing viewpoints occur. In this chapter, I argue that the SCA is highly effective at building social capital through its subcultural values and intergenerativity for people of all ages, which leads to SCAdians gaining other forms of capital from its members. However, their social networks are not without problems and can lead to less community resilience due to members leaving and/or feeling ostracized within the organization. I will discuss all of these details further throughout this chapter.

Converting Social Capital to Economic, Human, and Cultural Capital

One of the benefits of maintaining a close-knit social community like the SCA is the exchange of resources. Resources can include physical objects such as a home, clothing, and money while there are other intangible resources such as knowledge, skills, cultural understanding, and interpersonal relationships. Physical resources such as money and a home are also known as economic capital (Desan 2013). Resources related to one's

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cultural expression such as language, clothing and knowledge of the history and customs of the group are cultural capital (Bourdieu 1973). Intangible resources such as education, training, skills, personal qualifications, work experience, and mental capacity are also known as human capital (Schultz 1960). Oftentimes, these resources can be exchanged to obtain other types of resources- i.e. money (economic capital) for clothing, education, etc. and these exchanges occur through relationships, also known as social capital. Social capital consists of strong social bonds and a sense of group identity that enables high levels of communication, understanding, and resource sharing within a group of people (Putnam, 2000).

The theory of social capital states that relationships are important resources for people to build healthy, successful lives by creating access to human, economic, and cultural capital (Dasgupta and Serageldin 1999). For example, knowing an important person at a company (social capital) where one is seeking a job can result in obtaining that job and gaining more economic capital. In essence, social capital can be the catalyst for people to obtain all the other forms of capital as this graph that I created illustrates (Figure 2):
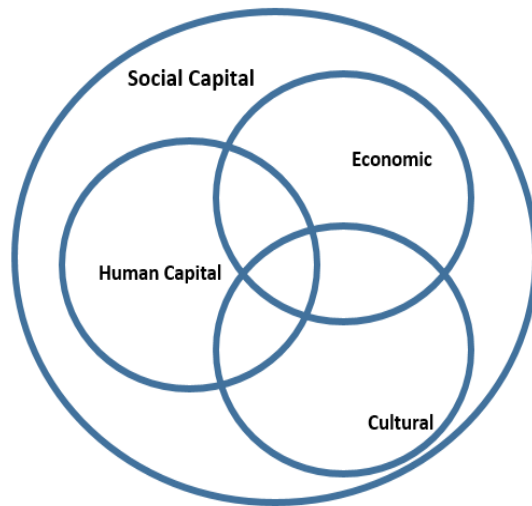
Figure 2 SCAdian Social Capital Model

SCAdians maintain high levels of social capital in order for resource sharing to occur. In the case of the SCA, these resources can include diverse knowledge sets such as cultural capital about the organization and how to effectively navigate the events and human capital such as complex interpersonal communication skills. The SCA's social capital through community connectedness provides cultural capital and human capital that can be converted into economic capital later through income from small businesses and jobs obtained through SCA social networks. SCAdians use these resources to build successful lives both inside and outside the SCA and for many SCAdian youth, intergenerativity as a form of social capital has been an essential part of their ability to acquire the skills and resources to pursue healthy, happy adult lives. Moreover, for some SCAdians, the SCAdian subcultural milieu drives their expectations of social interactions both inside the SCA and in the mundane world.

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Fragmented Ties and the SCA

The SCA provides a variety of positive outcomes for its members through social networks that transfer to different types of capital. However, social networks do not always yield positive outcomes. Some social networks can result in lies, mistrust, social exclusion, exploitation, and betrayal that can cause individuals to become disconnected from social networks (Bruhn 2011; Bowman 2013). The social cost model of social networking examines how close community and interpersonal relationships is a double-edged sword that can both help and harm people based on the quality of the social relationships (Song et al. 2021). For example, strong social connections can increase stress, sometimes leading to depression and cardiovascular disease (Song et al. 2021). Other research on strong social ties also suggests that being "popular" can result in higher rates of viral and bacterial transmission and infection (Hamrick et al. 2002). Moreover, when organization's expand their size and capacity, trust can break down between the organizational members, nonmembers, and the organization overall, leading to less community resilience (Backman and Smith 2003). In the case of the SCA, these negative outcomes occur due to internal organizational conflicts, disagreements, and violent acts by some SCAdians.

As a result, some SCAdians will leave the organization or feel ostracized in the community. These issues can threaten SCAdian community resilience due to lost membership, lost membership fees, and fewer volunteers to assist in running the organization. However, based on my interviews, even the SCAdians who leave the SCA

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maintain a number of strong social ties with other SCAdians outside organizational

gatherings and events. Moreover, some SCAdians adhere to SCAdian subcultural

perspectives, which value service, volunteerism, hospitality, and chivalry, which many

SCAdians hold as their central value systems. As a result, many SCAdians prefer to

spend their social time with other SCAdians who share those subcultural values. The

following is a discussion of both the positive and negative outcomes SCAdians gain from

interacting with the organization and its members.

Positive Social Relationships and Networks as SCAdian Social Capital

SCAdian subcultural values are highly important to many of the organization's

members. Some of the SCAdians with whom I spoke explained that many people outside

of the SCA do not adhere to the SCAdian Chivalric Code (i.e. the SCA's subculture),

which states: courtesy, honor, service to other people and the organization, to uphold the

laws of each SCA Kingdom- including respecting the King and Queen and enriching the

Kingdom through sharing knowledge (SCA Inc., 2021). Many SCAdians staunchly

adhere to these values as a way of life- a need that they explained the SCA can fulfill for

them. However, many non-SCAdian people do not adhere to these values, which can be

challenging for SCAdians, which often drives SCAdians to select social groups and

significant others who are also SCAdians. As Valentina, a 32-year-old, lifelong SCAdian

said:

A cultural aspect outside of the SCA, as in like how I interact with mundane people it, was because of their certain standards that the SCA instills of like how you should act and how you should do, when mundane people don't do it that way. It confuses me and sometimes I find myself almost getting offended, even though it's not their fault. They never grew up with me, so they are not part of the agreement that I have somehow made up in my head and I have to pull back and realize that. But it's really important for me to have my significant other, either in SCA or at least understanding of it and be willing to come experience it a little bit...They have [inaccurate] preconceived notions [about the SCA] and that kind of makes dating in that regards if you're going to date outside of the SCA harder, and then coupling that with the expectations. You expect your partner to act a certain way [by the Chivalric Code], and then you're carrying all your groceries by yourself. And you're like, 'Wait a minute. This isn't how I was raised.'

Valentina was raised with the SCA's subcultural values and she expects her significant others to share the same values. Other SCAdians acknowledged this subcultural perspective. For example, when I asked Kayla, a 28-year-old lifelong SCAdian, what the SCA means to her she said, "It is my culture. It's a culture within a culture. It's how I grew up. I grew up with all the songs. I enjoyed folks over the original works." Several of my other interviewees described the SCA as a "culture within a culture," which can also be understood as a "subculture."

SCAdian subculture aligns well with Sebald's (1975) definition of subculture where the community maintains unique values, social norms, jargon, lingo, esoteric mass communication, unique styles or fads, a sense of solidarity, and social hierarchies, the ability to gratify needs that the dominant culture cannot provide. By adhering to this value system, SCAdians work to be inclusive of diverse people and perspectives. As a result, one of the most significant aspects of SCAdian social capital is the ability to interact with people with different backgrounds and perspectives as evidenced by many

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of my interviewees talking about how they get along with people with different

perspectives such as 19-year-old, white cis gender man, Felix who said:

> It's family…everybody doesn't really know each other, but they certainly care for each other and you know it's friendly. You know, and what I've come to find out also is to realize their [SCAdians'] political beliefs and stuff are different, you know, and yet they're peaceful. They like each other and they hang out with each other.

While Some SCAdians discussed being able to reach across cultural and political divides,

other SCAdians informed me of how the SCA increased their ability to communicate

with people of different generations than they were used to such as Lindsay, a 35-year-

old, white Australian woman who said:

> The ability to talk to people from different age groups was critical. In my mundane life, I grew up in Perth from when I was about three, four years old and all the rest of my family, grandparents, aunts, uncles, were all in Sydney. So we visited Christmas every now and then, but not every year. I didn't see them very often. So I didn't grow up with people from other generations around me, it was just my parents and my little sister and me and like teachers at school and that kind of thing…I didn't really have any older people to talk to and really didn't know how to talk to older people, or even to adults. I went straight from high school to university where I spoke to more people my own age because that's what the courses were full of… But then in the SCA suddenly you have to talk to all these people. If you want to run events and if you want to learn things. I took up weaving in my first year and a peer [a person with an award and an office] in the SCA who'd been around … she actually gave me an ankle loom. Which was so incredibly kind of her and taught me how to use it … but she was probably like the oldest person I've ever had an extended conversation with whom I wasn't related to. And to be honest, I think I probably spoke to her more than my actual grandparents at this point… I learned how to interact with people from a huge range of ages, and that's one of the really nice things about the SCA as people of all ages do play.

Many of my interviewees like Lindsay and Felix cited "communication skills" as

a number one benefit they gained from the SCA. This skillset is useful regardless of who

a person is, but many SCAdians said they did not have this human capital prior to being in the SCA. This shows that SCAdain subculture and social capital can lead to more human capital and influence their work life. For example not only was Lindsay able to interact with people of older generations, but she was able to apply the communication skills she learned in the SCA to her chosen career:

> I went into my master's degree and suddenly I was working with people in aged care to do my practicum [for her degree] and people with traumatic brain injuries and kids as well. I didn't do any babysitting or anything like that. We didn't have younger cousins or anything. And so most of the first kids I spoke to SCA kids as well. Yeah. And so then [I chose] speech pathology is a profession that really does cover the lifespan. So everyone from newborn babies to people in extremely old age palliative care. … I did have to demonstrate competency for my practicum and so I think without the SCA I think I would have been too sheltered. I wouldn't have had the confidence, I wouldn't have known how to do that [communicate with people of different generations].

Other SCAdians explained that these social skills are effective for building relationships both for bridging and bonding. Bridging across social groups and bonding within social groups have been shown to build all forms of capital (Putnam 2000) and even building families as I will discuss below.

Strong Social Ties in the SCA

The SCA's subcultural values have been helpful in building strong social ties among SCAdians. These strong social ties also translate to SCAdians finding significant others, building life-long friendships, and developing "chosen families" (Villa 2018). These strong emotional bonds between SCAdians produce social capital within the

organization and ensure stronger community resilience through social cohesion and knowledge and resource sharing that can later provide SCAdians with human and cultural capital that can subsequently be converted to economic capital.

Emotionally-strong social bonds can translate to marriage and families for many SCAdians. 24 Adults and 5 youth interviewees (out of 67 adult and youth interviewees) found their significant others in the SCA including Robin, a 40-year-old lifelong SCAdian who said: "I'm married, I met my wife in the organization. Probably 18 or 20 years ago and then we dated for a long time, lived together, got married and have two kid.- They are seven and nine." Theresa, a transgender woman aged 48, who was raised from birth in the SCA also said, "I actually got married …. I met my wife in the SCA." While these are just two examples, all of the SCAdians with whom I spoke stated that they had built friendships and found romances in the SCA.

Not only is the SCA an important place where SCAdians find love, but it is also a place where they recover from heartbreak and divorce. Many of my interviewees also discussed how the SCA provided them meaningful social support after undergoing a divorce. For instance, Mary, a 47-year-old SCAdian, spoke of how her mother used the SCA as a social network resource after her divorce:

> I was nine, and my parents were getting divorced and my mom wanted something to do. And she found the SCA in Ventura, where we lived. And we learned about it there. And my mom is an all or nothing person. And she jumped in with both feet. And the next thing I knew that was our life.

The SCA was a community and refuge after undergoing the pain and disruptions of her parents' divorce, which was particularly meaningful for Mary's personal development at the age of 9. The SCA helped both Mary's mother and Mary to adjust after the disruptions of a divorce by creating fun hobbies and strong social networks. For example, Mary continued:

> But then, you know, the next thing I knew was that was just what we did. And two or three weekend nights or weeknights [we were at SCA gatherings and events] and my mom kept going. She stayed in after I left. …And We're in [the SCA] because my dad left. So, yeah. I have a huge SCA family. I got adopted all over the place [by SCAdians]. … It's, it's one of those things you can't really explain to other people, they don't get it. My kids are very fond of telling me you don't have a sister. Yes, I do [I have and SCA sister].

Mary and her mother were able to rely on the SCA for weekly activities and to build their chosen family beyond her father and blood relations. Several other SCAdians with whom I spoke also depended heavily on their social networks in the SCA to overcome the challenges of divorce. Bobby, a 29-year-old man also found solace and comfort in the SCA during and after his divorce:

> My high school girlfriend. We got married, our senior year of college and then like three years after we got married, she had an affair and we got divorced… But a lot of my rough and tumble fighting friends [in the SCA]- those are people that I really leaned on and word vomited my feelings on them, you know? They were there, they were my support system because those were the people I was closest

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to. Then, a little bit after that when I decided to go looking for love again and I met my current wife and she had never heard of the SCA and so I got to reintroduce her to this thing that I had been doing for a while. And, you know, she was very welcomed by that community. She also found a way to express all of the nerdy art stuff that she'd always done on her own. Because she does elementary school. So, you know, elementary school teachers make the cutest stuff all the time. And so she got to take that artistic, niche into the SCA and really blossomed in my opinion and introducing her to the thing that I loved and getting it to see in a new person's eyes again, like, holy cow. There's all these tents Estrella [a large annual gathering in Arizona] is amazing.

Bobby was able to recover from his divorce and positively impact (awkward) his subsequent marriage because of his strong social ties in the SCA. In the SCA, strong emotional ties lead to social capital, which leads to other forms of capital and knowledge such as communication skills. Interpersonal communication as a form of human capital has been an invaluable resource for many of the SCAdians with whom I spoke.

SCAdian Interpersonal Communication Skills

Interpersonal communication skills, or as many people call them "soft skills" are essential to building social capital and building community (Rojas et al. 2011). Through effective communication, people build strong ties and are able to communicate needs and boundaries efficiently to create positive social interactions. These skills are essential for members of the SCA to maintain and build their community. Moreover, these skills are also essential for mundane work and family life (Fuges 2014). Therefore, the ability to build communication skills in the SCA for SCAdians of all ages is a great asset SCAdians gain from the subculture, especially given that many of the SCAdians with

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whom I spoke said their communication skill were lacking prior to their entry into the organization.

Several of the SCAdians with whom I spoke identified themselves as "socially awkward," "introverted," or "autistic." They explained that the SCA provided social capital through interactions that enabled them to come out of their shells and learn effective conversation and communication skills. For example, Thomas said:

> I put a lot of time into it. So yeah, it is kind of how I grew up as an adult, because I started at 18. So it's kind of like it helped define who I am as an adult. Because of all the experiences as an adult- a lot of it has been in the SCA like learning, doing service, running events, being an officer. Those have been things that I've done through the SCA. One of the things that also has helped is get me out of my shell more often. Because a lot of people really don't believe that I'm an introvert and are very extremely shy, especially now, like in Arizona. Since I know the majority of the people here [I am not shy around them]. They don't believe that I am shy. … But one of the things that has gotten … more willing to talk to people, gotten me to control the anxiety or the fear of meeting new people and things like that. It has helped because when you are an autocrat [which means] event coordinating and you have to make an announcement in court in front of 50 plus people. You gotta not only project- which is something I learned in the SCA to project to be louder-but you gotta do it in front of an audience. And so those are some of the things that I've learned, like having more self-confidence.

Thomas' experience was not unique with over 80% of my interviewees mentioning that the SCA helped them to develop their social skills and a broad friend group that they would not otherwise have in the mundane world. For instance, Aaron said:

> I would guess that for people who run into the SCA as an adult who already have their personalities already formed by modern society [mundane world] should be something that they would have to learn is that we're not all there butting heads because of the way we feel about various topics. In the mundane world people are

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> so divided. I guess there's a good reason for people to have different [viewpoints]... be staunch in their viewpoints and stuff, but in the SCA, those things have never really mattered. And like I said, people have tried to make a big deal out of it, but whatever. That's cool, as long as you're not harming other people or forcing your views on people who aren't interested in hearing them. So that's cool, man, do whatever you want. Cool.

According to Aaron, the SCA's subculture created a space where people of diverse political and cultural backgrounds can build friendships and learn to interact respectfully with one another. While the SCA attracts people who are interested in the middle ages and activities related to them, there is no specific type of people who are drawn to the organization. It appears that as SCAdians interact with one another and feel a sense of connection with the organization, they find ways to interact peacefully with one another- or avoid the people with whom they cannot. These differing perspectives allowed other SCAdians to build effective communication and social skills as well.

Therefore, the social capital embodied in strong SCA social ties leads to other forms of human capital such as interpersonal skills development. These social ties have shown to be highly effective in supporting SCAdians transitioning between different life circumstances (such as divorce), but this is also true in the context of movement and migration among members of the SCA. Using SCAdian social networks, SCAdians are able to travel and move across countries and continents.

SCAdian Social Capital, Travel, and Migration

The SCA has 20 different Kingdoms throughout the world with over 60,000 members (SCA Inc. 2020). With so many SCAdians scattered across the globe, many SCAdians rely on these organizational and social ties to emigrate and travel, which are prime examples of SCAdian social capital. For example, many of my interviewees discussed how being in the SCA ensured that they had a community wherever they moved in the world. In short, SCAdian social networks are not just based in the United States but span the global organization and provides resources for migration and travel. Such SCAdian social capital provide a better quality of life for many SCAdians who travel and migrate. This process is also known as chain migration where social networks provide migrant people with resources and accommodations to ease their transition when they move from one place to another (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964). Katrina, a 53-year-old who has been in the SCA since she was 16, was able to rely on her SCA community to gain a visa and letters of immigration support when she migrated from the United States to Australia. The SCA was essential to her migration:

> When I moved to Australia, they asked for people that you're associated with because they want to show that you're not coming to Australia and you only know one person. And if something happens to you, you're [not] going to rot in the desert. They want to know that you have a substantial base and usually they want like 10 names. I didn't realize that, because they're like, 'Tell us, everyone you know.' I was like, 'okay,' and so I wrote to my Australians [SCAdians]. I said, 'Hey, guys. I need this information from you to send to the immigration board.' I had 200 people in Australia. Not anybody from anywhere else, just Australia. 200 Australians on that list! I sent it to the immigration board. In addition, I had at least five people that were parts of Australian government that are in the SCA.

> There was a bunch of them that were looking at my immigration papers, but they are high level Australian government officials who played [are members of] in the SCA. Yeah, so there were folks that could go, 'yeah let me walk you through this.'

The SCA's large social networks and culture of hospitality and service expedited Katrina's immigration process and ensured that she had a community upon arriving in Australia. Moreover, Katrina moved to Australia for her work, so the social capital she gained from the SCA both expedited her emigration process and increased her economic capital through the work she obtained in Australia.

For other SCAdians, the SCA's global social networks have been highly effective for travel. For example, the SCA maintains a Facebook page devoted to SCA couch surfing where SCAdians offer sleeping accommodations (sometimes just a couch, sometimes a room, sometimes an entire apartment or house) to other SCAdians who are traveling. SCAdian social capital has been essential for low-cost travel and to increase attendance at SCA events. For example, over 10,000 people from all over the world attend the annual Pennsic War in Pennsylvania, U.S.A (Ganster 2005). Having these travel networks enables these events to be well-attended and for the organization to collect revenue from the events and paying members to ensure its organizational longevity. For local travel, SCAdian social capital has been highly effective to keep SCAdians safe and well during road trips as well.

Martha, a SCAdian since she was 12, explained that her social networks within the SCA aided by the SCAdian service mindset enabled her to obtain directions and support during a road trip:

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> I've broken down [my car] in weird places and I've been rescued by random SCA people. When I was about 19 or so my best friend and I decided to drive up north from Phoenix. We went up just on a random road trip and we worked off and on. We were gone for a month and a half and we went to SCA events and we did whatever. But we were going to West An Tier War [in Washington State] and we didn't have any maps with us or anything like that. So we knew what town it was in but we didn't know where it was. We pretty much drove around until we found some guys with a shield in the car, rolled down the window and said, 'Hey are you going to the War?' and they're like, 'Yeah.' And we said, 'Can we follow you? We're kind of lost.' So we went and they helped us set up. They bought us dinner. They were really, really nice guys- all Dukes and such. …But that sense of almost like fraternity- like people who are in college or the service they have bond with people.

It was the SCAdian subcultural values for service and the social capital that grew from this interaction that enabled Martha and her friend to safely find their destination while making new friends. Social capital for SCAdians has also saved lives in times of disaster.

SCAdian Social Capital and Disaster Relief

Approximately 25 natural disasters occur in the world annually (Covington 2021). With over 60,000 SCadians throughout the world, the SCA often has to respond to ensure the well-being of its members. Moreover, the service-oriented nature of SCAdian subculture drives SCAdians to help other SCAdians. In order to coordinate donations and resource sharing for SCAdians affected by natural disasters, the organization formed a disaster response office. Through this office and informal social networks/capital, SCAdians obtain money, shelter, and resources to survive a natural disaster. This approach to SCAdian membership maintenance and community mutual aid is another great resource the SCA provides to its members.

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I spoke with one of the disaster relief officers, Brenda, (a 53-year-old SCAdian from the time she was 12) about this experience. According to Brenda, the SCA developed a Disaster Relief Officer position after Hurricane Katrina devastated many SCAdian homes:

> And Katrina hit. And what happened is we had a whole bunch of people who were having problems, remembering what the rules were about donations and other stuff like that or inundating the few people, they could communicate in the local area [to send money and resources to the people affected by the disaster]. So part of it is we were set up as a single point of contact for each kingdom. I was chosen because I had been Kingdom Exchequer [treasurer] and I had also been a Seneschal [lead event coordinator]. So I knew the rules. And so we coordinated. We made sure we helped spearhead fundraisers, making sure funds did not pass through accounts coordinated with what people actually really needed. So that was in 2005. And in 2007 basically all of Southern California wound up on fire. You know, and that was my job. I learned more about fires. Wow, did I learn about fires! I had more than 30 or 40 people evacuated.

The SCA has both formal and informal social capital networks in order to support its members emotionally, in times of crisis. These deeply embedded structures developed to help other SCAdians and have become important parts of organizational resilience. Though many of these resources are intangible (i.e. emotional support), many SCAdians have also used SCAdian social capital to build economic capital through small businesses.

SCAdian Social Capital and Economic Capital

SCAdians have the ability to build their economic capital within the SCA through businesses and access to jobs. At most SCA events, many SCAdians sell the crafts they

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create during weekly fighter practices in the park or at "Merchant's Row" at the SCA Wars. Merchant's Row is located at the center of every SCA War and offers wares ranging from thrifted costumes, hand-sewn SCAdian garb, leather goods, blacksmithed armor and weapons, shoes, food, drinks, massages, table-ware, handmade board games, candles, etc. Some SCAdians use Merchant's Row as an opportunity to start and build their own small businesses. For example, Mark, a 59-year-old life-long SCAdian owns a board game business with his two children. They started the business and built it within the SCA by selling these games at Wars and built up their economic capital (i.e. income) enough to maintain a stall at the Arizona Swap Meet in Downtown Phoenix and an online store.

Interestingly, during 2020, Mark's business was robbed and he posted about it on Facebook along with a GoFundMe to try and reclaim the $3,000 of lost money and merchandise. Within 10 days of his post, enough SCAdians donated to the GoFundMe

that he surpassed his goals. The following (Figure 3) are screenshots from his Facebook

posts:

Figure 3 Screenshot of Mark's GoFundMe campaign

Mark was able to leverage the social capital and subcultural service mindset within the SCA to ensure the success and longevity of his business. It was experiences like these that enabled him to raise his two children in the SCA and ensure that his family is housed, fed, and well. For other SCAdians, however they specifically leveraged the art and crafting skills they learned in the SCA (SCAdian human capital) to benefit their mundane lives by creating small businesses and developing leisure activities.

Other SCAdians have also leveraged their knowledge and skills from the SCA to build a business. For example, Mary, a 47-year-old SCAdian who has been in the SCA since the age of 9 said that she used the historical research skills she developed in the SCA to start a small business:

> When I was in college, I was living off campus and kind of running a household it was an odd situation. I was living with my boyfriend and his parents… I went to the campus library and I found some books on housekeeping and systems and how to run a house and it. I found it fascinating, these, these books and so I built on that… And now I'm bringing it into the modern age [outside of the SCA] and trying to monetize it. And I have this system of motivating homemakers to get the mundane tasks done And out of the way so they can live the rest of their lives and I'm turning that into a business now…

Both Mary and Mark have built and sustained businesses using the skills and social networks they developed in the SCA showing how the SCA's social capital can influence SCAdian lives outside the SCA. While these two individuals have built economic capital using SCAdian social networks and human capital, other SCAdians have further expanded their human capital by jumpstarting careers.

SCAdian Cultural and Human Capital for Economic Capital

In addition to communication skills and resource sharing, SCAdians learn a variety of skills that are often useful in their mundane lives that build SCAdian cultural and human capital. At its core, the SCA is an educational organization to share research and knowledge on the crafts and culture of the Middle Ages (SCA Inc. 2020). SCAdians offer "Collegium" or free or low-cost workshops on the crafts and culture of the Middle Ages. Each Barony and Kingdom also hosts weekly practices for many of the arts and sciences of the Middle Ages while also hosting annual large Collegium events at local community colleges and during SCA Wars. These crafts can include brewing, blacksmithing, leather working, staining glass, sword fighting, archery, axe throwing, needle point, weaving, jewelry making, sewing, cooking, and so much more. These skills become human capital that can transfer to economic capital for SCAdians. For many SCAdians, these hobbies translate to skills they use in their mundane careers, which provide them with income and economic resources.

For example, Felicia explained how the skills she developed in the SCA became an important part of her resume building and professional development:

> I have a friend that mundanely is a recruiter that actually teaches people how to use their achievements or any leadership skills they have attained in the SCA to apply it to resumes, so you can get the interview. My dad learned how to do it. He showed me how to use his lifetime achievement role. On his resume to make it sound good to somebody that understands. Like I have achieved the black belt level martial arts and sword fighting. Everyone knows what a black belt is- not everyone knows what a Master of Defense is. I was the Seneschal at the time. I had to understand the legalities of a nonprofit to be able to keep us a nonprofit. So

I was learning things beyond just the SCA hobby. I was also able to apply it to my interview for a promotion. I was a manager. When I was 20 or 21 at McDonald's. Knowing how to speak articulately because being a war commander, I had to speak loudly. I had to speak clearly and I had to speak precisely. You also have to be confident in what you are doing...It's like you have done 20 years of martial arts, what can you learn from it? And he's like, 'Okay, you sit in a bar. And what are your immediate things when you sit down in a bar as a martial arts? I size up the room. I know immediately where my exits are and usually I tend not to have my back towards an exit- it subconsciously just happens.' And he's like [the resume trainer], 'Okay, now look at this way you're aware of your surroundings. You can read body language better, you can understand the person in front of you to know how you're talking to them. So you've gained interpersonal skills.' So I have leadership skills because now I can know how to read the body. If I can tell if someone's getting uncomfortable. I can tell if someone's leaning away or how their body is sitting ...Well, how do you put that in a resume? 'I have successfully led 20 people to a set a goal that we were told to achieve.'

Felicia was able to translate the knowledge and interpersonal skills she learned in the SCA into job opportunities and a human resources degree program and job promotions. These skills helped her build connections with SCAdians while supporting her financial and professional goals in her mundane life, building her economic and human capital using SCAdian cultural capital.

As Felicia said, SCAdian human and cultural capital provided by SCA social capital can be directly converted to economic capital. As many of my respondents explained, the SCA social networks are effective for building human capital that they convert to finding jobs and jump starting their careers. For example, Aaron, a lifelong SCAdian said:

Actually at one point I did stained glass for real, for a living. I was a designer, and a builder and installer as well on occasion. But more design than anything else. And that was actually with a guy who was in the SCA that I knew from when I was a kid, and he had a stained glass business. One day I went in and kind of did a doodle on the whiteboard there, making like a care package there of him that I

thought it was funny. He was impressed and he said, 'Hey, you want to learn how to do some stained glass stuff?' I said, 'Sure, whatever,' I didn't have a job at the time. So, yeah, I started, designing stained glass and they showed me how to build that stuff. It was all leaded glass. … But yeah, that was actually very helpful that I had some of that artistic ability from dabbling and things in the SCA that got me a job one day. So, I did that for about a year, I would say. It was enjoyable.

Aaron is currently a contractor building houses and it was his early connections with the SCA that enabled him to pursue this career. SCAdian human, cultural, and social capital has been directly convertible to economic capital for SCAdians such as Aaron and Felicia. SCAdian human capital is also beneficial for SCAdians for their emotional well-being.

SCAdian Human Capital for Leisure and Wellbeing

During collegium and weekly craft gatherings, SCAdians teach one another crafts from the Middle Ages. These educational opportunities build up SCAdian human capital to support both the SCA as an organization and in SCAdian mundane lives, which yielded surprising results during the COVID-19 pandemic such as staving off boredom and providing emotional outlets for stress associated with quarantine and the pandemic.

Some of the SCAdians with whom I spoke discussed how their crafting and arts skills from the SCA helped them endure boredom and loneliness during the COVID-19 pandemic. Martha said: "I do art and I sew. I make jewelry and random- whatever I have way too many hobbies. I started doing felting like making felt. That's been my pandemic thing." Martha was able to use the skills she learned in the SCA to stave off boredom

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during quarantine. Other SCAdians also utilized quarantine as a time to do SCAdian Arts and Sciences.

When I signed onto the Zoom meeting to interview Thomas, he was sitting next to his computer, casually doing needlepoint while we chatted:

> You have an opportunity to experiment and pick up things that [you don't normally think to do in the mundane world]. I'm working on embroidery. I never thought I would ever do embroidery until now, and here I am doing embroidery. It is one of the things that I picked up in the SCA and learned totally in the SCA. But yeah, if you asked teenage me- would he ever learn how to do embroidery- he probably would go, 'huh? What's that?' Haha.

SCAdian arts and sciences provided a meaningful escape from the doldrums of quarantine, which built their human capital, but it also built their social capital through online classes and social media groups devoted to their crafts. I personally enjoyed many Zoom meetings with SCAdians working on their art projects while I did calligraphy and shared pottery projects I created while in quarantine. It was the SCAdian craft groups that helped many SCAdians to overcome the daily stresses and monotony of quarantine.

SCAdians leverage their social capital to build strong social ties, fulfilling hobbies, the ability to travel and emigrate, and even expand their economic capital. However, with all strong emotional bonds comes conflict. SCAdian social networks do not always yield social capital or any other type of capital for the organizational members, which can be detrimental to SCAdians' mental health, economic capital, and reputations.

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Fragmented Ties in the SCA: Reduced Capital for SCAdians

Social networks do not always yield positive outcomes. "Familiarity breeds contempt" (Coghill 2003) and many SCAdians with whom I spoke described circumstances where they felt contempt for other SCAdians and/or the organization. This contempt reduced the potential for these affected SCAdians to gain social capital, human, cultural, or economic capital. Some research exists on the impacts of bullying, lies, distrust, and how social capital and resource sharing can degrade over time among immigrant populations who experience these negative interpersonal interactions (Bowman 2013). These conflicts can increase stress and decreased mental and physical health outcomes for the affiliated individuals (Hamrick et al, 2003; Song et al. 2021). Reduced trust and wellbeing among organizational members can result in them leaving the organization and souring their ties with other SCAdians.

In the context of the SCA, SCAdians experience quite a bit of interpersonal conflict within their community, which threatens the community's resilience and its members' wellbeing. Sometimes these conflicts result in lovers breaking up, bullying, cliquishness, or emotional and/or physical violence. Moreover, mundane social and political strife can infiltrate social interactions between SCAdians, resulting in increased conflict. For example, the Trump political era and the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in quite a bit of conflict and negatively impacted quite a few SCAdian social ties. These conflicts often lead to the loss of paying membership the SCA and reduced social interactions among SCAdians, which can be a threat to the SCA's community cohesion.

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Despite the fact that SCAdians find love, recover from divorce, and build strong friendships in the SCA, break-ups also occur. Mary was one of these individuals, who stopped attending SCA events after a significant heartbreak, "I left the SCA When I left high school. Partly because of a boyfriend [her boyfriend cheated on her at an SCA party]." Mary spoke in great detail about how much she loved and still loves this man who broke her heart- even 30 years later. Her deep ties to her ex-boyfriend and the emotional turmoil she experienced every time she entered into SCAdian communities was too difficult for her to face and she stopped attending SCA events.

While Mary stopped attending SCAdian events, she stayed in contact with all her SCAdian friends and follows all of the SCA news on Facebook, which was how I recruited her through one of my posts on SCA Kingdom pages. When I asked Mary what the SCA meant to her, she smiled as she remembered and said, "It was beautiful. Not just in the relationships but beautiful to look at, with all the pageantry and everything. It really was a beautiful childhood." Though the SCA might lose paying members such as Mary, many of them continue to maintain friendships and connections with other SCAdians outside of SCA events. So, the organization may lose members and some SCAdians may lose opportunities to build their capital within the SCA, but SCAdians such as Mary also built and maintained their social capital with the strong connections they built and maintain outside of the SCA. Nonetheless, other SCAdians described the interpersonal challenges they face within the SCA.

One of the most common threats to the SCA's social networks and membership are the "politics." Based on my interviewees' comments, SCAdian politics can include judging other SCAdian's garb and tents, actual mundane political beliefs (i.e. of Democrats, independents, and Republicans), and basic interpersonal disrespect.

Some SCAdians identified a deep commitment to historical accuracy as one type of SCA politics. According to Shannon, a 30-year-old life-long SCAdian said:

> Some of them [SCAdians] are snobby bitches. I'm gonna be real frank, my peer [her mentor in the SCA], the person I admire the most- sometimes people will say, 'I really hate your peer' and I go, 'yeah that's legit I understand she's kind of a bitch.' And it's true! There's a reason that I have so many different people who I look to for inspiration, but like my mentor, the person I go to, I get why people can't stand her. She's kind of short with people. She can be a little insensitive. She's been playing since she was like a very small child. She's a second generation SCAdian. Her best friend is an engineer, and bad at people [impolite]. They're bitches. They're cliquey little bitches and they're kind of judgmental, but they decided they like me and I like them. And so, as long as I'm nice to everybody else, people don't have to like my friends. I really wish that my friends weren't such assholes, though, because I'd like everybody to like each other.

The cost of adhering to historically accurate SCAdian garb, tents, and camping gear can be prohibitively expensive for many SCAdians and the SCAdians who are judgmental and rude to other SCAdian's about their garb and equipment create exclusive cliques that can be extremely off-putting for many people. This is a problem that threatens SCAdian social cohesion and membership because many newcomers may feel that they must have "period accurate" equipment in order to be a member of the SCA, which might deter people from joining or remaining in the organization. However, Shannon was able to overcome her Peer's snobbery and cliquishness and build her own

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social capital, suggesting that even when SCAdian social ties weaken due to interpersonal conflict, SCAdians still benefit from the organization's social capital overall. Similar to Shannon's comments about her Peers being rude and snobby to other SCAdians, poor communication and bullying among other SCAdians also occurs.

Some of the snobbery, poor communication, and cliquishness can translate into gossip, bullying, and interpersonal conflict as part of SCAdian politics. In one extreme example, Mickie, a 50-year-old former SCAdian Queen explained that SCAdians can be exceedingly cruel if they feel another SCAdian has done something harmful to the community:

> There were people who did horrible things to us because of this conflict [she was accused of embezzling money from the SCA]. People let our dogs out of the yard. They had our utilities shut off, stole our mail, slashed our tires. I mean, you name it. People did horrible things to us. And that was all in a period of about nine months. Some of the people in this particular circle made jokes about a bounty on our heads and things like that. They would pay somebody a six pack of beer if they would break our arms or whatever. At Estrella, when we reigned [as king and queen] my ex husband, who was crowned at the time actually had people physically accost him on multiple occasions. It was not funny and it was not a joke and I just can't fathom doing that. The challenge to us living through that, not necessarily retaliating and the way that people might expect.

Conflicts such as Mickie's suggest that the SCA can have negative impacts on SCAdian's mundane lives, some of which requiring legal action. However, though Mickie and her ex-husband endured these attacks on their lives, bodies, and characters, they both continued to attend SCAdian events and maintain friendships with other SCAdians, showing that they still benefit somewhat from this social capital in the SCA despite these interpersonal conflicts.

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Mickie said that the experience soured her perceptions of the SCA as an organization, but she had several strong bonds with other SCAdians that kept her returning to the events. Other SCAdians also experienced bullying and exclusion in the SCA. Randall, a 50-year-old SCAdain who describes himself as autistic experienced quite a bit of bullying due to his social disability where his comments and actions were misunderstood and he was accused of sexually harassing a woman. According to Randall, these accusations were found to be untrue, but his perceptions of the SCAdian community were forever soured. As he said: "If you ostracize your autistics, you're going to lose all these people who can do fantastic things for you, but have given up because you treat them like shit. The rest of the time." Randall's experiences left him feeling like an outsider in the SCA most of the time. In fact, that majority of our two-and-a-half-hour interview consisted of him describing the bullying and emotional abuse he experienced in the SCA. Similar to Mickie, Randall continued to attend SCA events because he managed to maintain strong connections with a core group of friends and enjoyed hard suit fighting in the SCA (an activity only available to him within the SCA). Again, SCAdian social capital can be sustained despite negative social interactions.

Classism, ableism, cliques, and snobbery are ongoing threats to maintaining SCAdian membership and social capital, though some of the victims of these interactions continue to be paying members. Though SCAdians experience fragmented ties due to interpersonal conflict, it appears that many of them maintain strong social ties with other SCAdians, which can build and/or maintain their social capital and any concurrent forms

of capital. However, some conflicts appear to have very negatively impacted SCAdian membership and their perceptions of the organization, which result in reduced social capital and other resources for these SCAdians.

The SCA in the Trump and COVID-19 Era

During the Trump presidency and the COVID-19 pandemic, additional challenges arose with which the organization continues to struggle. For example, SCAdians began fighting on Facebook over differing political perspectives and what should and could be done about the pandemic. These arguments created fissures in the social fabric of the SCA, which many SCAdians feel might result in significant changes to the organization- a topic which I will discuss in greater detail in the fourth chapter. Specifically, three SCAdians with whom I spoke discussed how participating in the SCA during the Trump era had soured their connections with many other SCAdians. Wilson, a SCAdian from the time he was 17, explained his concerns:

> Wilson: Well, I have learned some for my Knight [he is a squire being mentored by a Knight]. We don't really talk or hang out much anymore. Unfortunately.
>
> Lily Villa: Because of COVID?
>
> Wilson: That and politics. It's been challenging. I knew that his political views were different than mine when I first met him. And, you know, like I said, I was independent [not a Democrat or Republican]. I have no problems with that, but it has been very polarized- this past few years, to the point where there are some things I can't side with.
>
> Lily Villa: What are his political leanings?

Wilson: He is conservative. To me, at this point politically, it is not about conservative or liberal, it's about the man in the office and everyone else.

Lily Villa: So basically, what you're saying is, he's a Trump supporter and you're like, 'this isn't something I can tolerate.' Is that what you're telling me?

Wilson: Yes.

Wilson said that he was unlikely to return to the SCA because of his Knight's political leanings. Other SCAdians explained to me that they felt uncomfortable interacting with other SCAdians because they felt mundane politics should not be an issue in the SCA. As Brandon, a 20-year-old SCAdian who joined the SCA when he was 18 said:

> One of the limitations is how political some people are I guess because it's not just the person in question. I have seen people [SCAdians] on Facebook get sort of aggressively liberal in their views. I understand politics is a fact of life, obviously, especially these past four years. It's taken on maybe an outsized role than what it should have. At the same time, there's like a time and a place for it. And personally, I don't feel like Facebook, you know, public group, is really a place for it- ever.

Brandon, however, did not indicate that these negative interactions affected his desire to remain in the SCA. Additionally, although Wilson stated that he is unlikely to return to SCA events, he stated that the majority of his friendships are with members of the SCA and he will continue to be friends with those individuals, suggesting that SCAdian social cohesion can remain strong even in the face of intense interpersonal conflict. Wilson is no longer going to events, so he may have lost more connections to the social capital the SCA provides, but since he remained friends with several SCAdians, he still maintains social connections with SCAdians outside of the organization. He left the organization but not the capital that came with it.

Politically-charged interactions in the SCA online and in person have placed quite a bit of strain on the social networks in the SCA, though many SCAdians continue to recruit new members and volunteer in the organization on a daily basis. These challenges will likely continue to affect how the organization is run. Moreover, these interactions have resulted in bigoted comments that cause some racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual minorities to cut ties with the SCA as an organization. I will discuss this issue further in the following chapter, but for the SCAdians who left the SCA due to the Trump era and COVID-19-related conflicts, their social capital may be significantly reduced due to lost ties within the SCA. Nonetheless, the society's membership continues to grow. I will discuss these challenges and complexities of these issues in greater detail in the fourth chapter using the COVID-19 pandemic as a case study of how the SCA's community resilience has been impacted by mundane politics. (good ending here)

Conclusion

SCAdian social cohesion and subcultural beliefs valuing service and helping one another translate to strong emotional ties to one another. These strong emotional ties become useful social capital that results in extensive resource sharing among SCAdians around the globe. Such resource sharing results in effective interpersonal communication skills, workforce training, opportunities to start and maintain small businesses, and human capital that can be helpful to build SCAdian wellness and other forms of capital-this capital can even become paying careers for SCAdians. However, SCAdian social

capital can also result in fragmented social connections due to negative social interactions both in-person and virtually within SCAdian communities that result in some SCAdians leaving the organization and threatening the resilience of the organization. Nonetheless, all of the SCAdians with whom I spoke said that they still maintain strong ties to individual SCAdians, even if their perceptions of the organization are soured.

Though the SCA can be expensive, interpersonally tumultuous, and time-consuming, the majority of my interviewees said that the people in the SCA brought them back year after year, to SCA events and gatherings. After examining my interviewees' self-reported assessment of their social cohesion based on the amount of SCAdians with whom they interact on a regular basis, the number of people that they considered their family, and the emotional connections they have in the SCA, the organization appears to be highly socially cohesive. Moreover, many of the SCAdians with whom I talked discussed how having a shared hobby and passion enabled them to build their sense of community and willingness to interact with diverse groups of people. As Putnam (2000) asserts, hobbies oftentimes build people's social, human, and economic capital. In the case of the SCA, this assertion is absolutely true.

Moreover, in the context of subcultures being able to satisfy needs that the dominant culture cannot (Sebald, 1975), the SCA is highly effective. It is through enacting the SCA's Chivalric Code that SCAdians often have a reliable social network to

assist them in their emotional, economic, and intellectual needs, which further expands

on my discussion of capital acquisition in the SCA.

5: A MODEL OF SCADIAN COMMUNITY RESILIENCE STRATEGIES

The Known World was in an uproar. It seemed like every SCA Facebook page I visited had something to say about "cancel culture" or white supremacy in the SCA. It was the spring of 2018 and after further investigation, I discovered that the new King and Queen of Caid (Southern California) attended their coronation ceremony wearing swastikas and double-H's (Figure 4). Some SCAdians were appalled and demanded that the King and Queen be banished from the SCA. Other people said that the rainbow swastikas and double-H's woven into the King and Queen's sashes were historically accurate for their 12th century Viking personas and not meant to be symbols of hate. One way or the other, SCAdians continued to pressure the King, Queen, and SCA Inc. to do something about SCAdians wearing symbols of hate to SCA events.

Figure 4 Trimgate 2018

For a few days, the King and Queen resisted and other Royals including the Queen of Atenveldt (Arizona) spoke out against the SCAdian populace, calling the barrage of angry messages "bullying." Less than a week after the social media uproar, the

King and Queen of Caid filmed themselves burning the sashes and resigning from their position as King and Queen. This incident ignited arguments and commentary among SCAdians worldwide, resulting in many sects of the SCA posting formal statements on their webpages and social media pages such as the following from the Shire of Darton (New Zealand), which stated:

> There's been a recent news article about a group who promote European culture (including medieval reenactments) and the possibility that they were promoting white supremacy. Although the group condemned such behavior, it's best to make our position on any similar behavior clear. We don't care what your skin colour is or where you're from, what god(s) you believe in (or don't), what gender you are, or like, or wish to dress as. Our interest is in learning about and having fun with the good bits of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (and the "good bits" definitely do not include the intolerance and bigotry that was all too common through history) (Shire of Darton 2018).

Following sects like the Shire of Dalton, the SCA Inc. made policy changes, formal condemnations of hate symbols, banned all symbols of hate from SCA events, and created an Office of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in 2019. Coupled with these formal actions against any symbols of white supremacy were the ongoing discussions throughout the SCA membership referring to this incident as "Trimgate." Based on the fact that over half of my interviewees cited Trimgate as a significant community disruption and linked it to other systemic problems in the SCA, I started to understand how the SCA maintains community resilience in the face of disruptions and persistent community challenges.

Contemporary research suggests that resilient communities can be aware of, respond to, and adapt quickly to social and environmental disruptions while maintaining social cohesion and community membership (Rodin 2014). In the context of the SCA, I

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define disruptions as acute, rare, and dramatic incidents that require immediate action and community adaptation. Examples include acute interpersonal conflicts (such as Trimgate), inclement weather, natural disasters, and pandemics. However, many of these disruptions are directly linked to persistent challenges in the SCA that can often erupt into prolonged crises that are different to resolve. For example, the acute interpersonal conflicts resulting from ongoing bullying, unequal power dynamics, and bigotry in the organization. The organization is often slow to respond to such persistent challenges and often require an acutely disruptive event for change to occur, such as the policy changes following Trimgate.

When these persistent challenges and disruptions occur, SCAdians might leave the organization and discourage new people from joining the organization. SCAdian events have also been canceled or poorly attended due to or following a disruption. Losing membership and canceling events threatens the SCA community's resilience because without in-person events and paying members in the SCA, the organization simply cannot exist. The SCA relies heavily on income from memberships, events, and the voluntary work of a large SCAdian community. To survive and thrive as a community, SCAdians have thus had to adapt using social cohesion building strategies. These include conflict mediation, implementing policy changes, and offering SCAdian community education. The ways in which the SCA responds to disruptions and challenges are indicators of the organization's overall resilience over time.

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Despite the persistent challenges and disruptions, the SCA appears to be a resilient community, suggesting that these social cohesion building strategies have been effective over time. The SCA has persisted for 56 years through the most difficult challenges and disruptions and since 1992, the organization has grown its membership by about 500 new members a year (Green 2019). According to my interviewees, community resilience largely comes from the desire to maintain relationships with other SCAdians (social cohesion). The combination of a sustained and growing membership, significant policy changes, and a strong sense of social cohesion among SCAdians suggests that this community is resilient and adaptable despite ongoing challenges to social cohesion and acute disruptions.

A Theory of SCAdian Community Resilience

Social cohesion is at the heart of all SCAdian policy and cultural change. As many of my interviewees said in the third capital chapter, "it is the people" that kept them coming back to SCAdian events. Based on the data I collected, Figure 5 is a model of SCAdian community resilience:
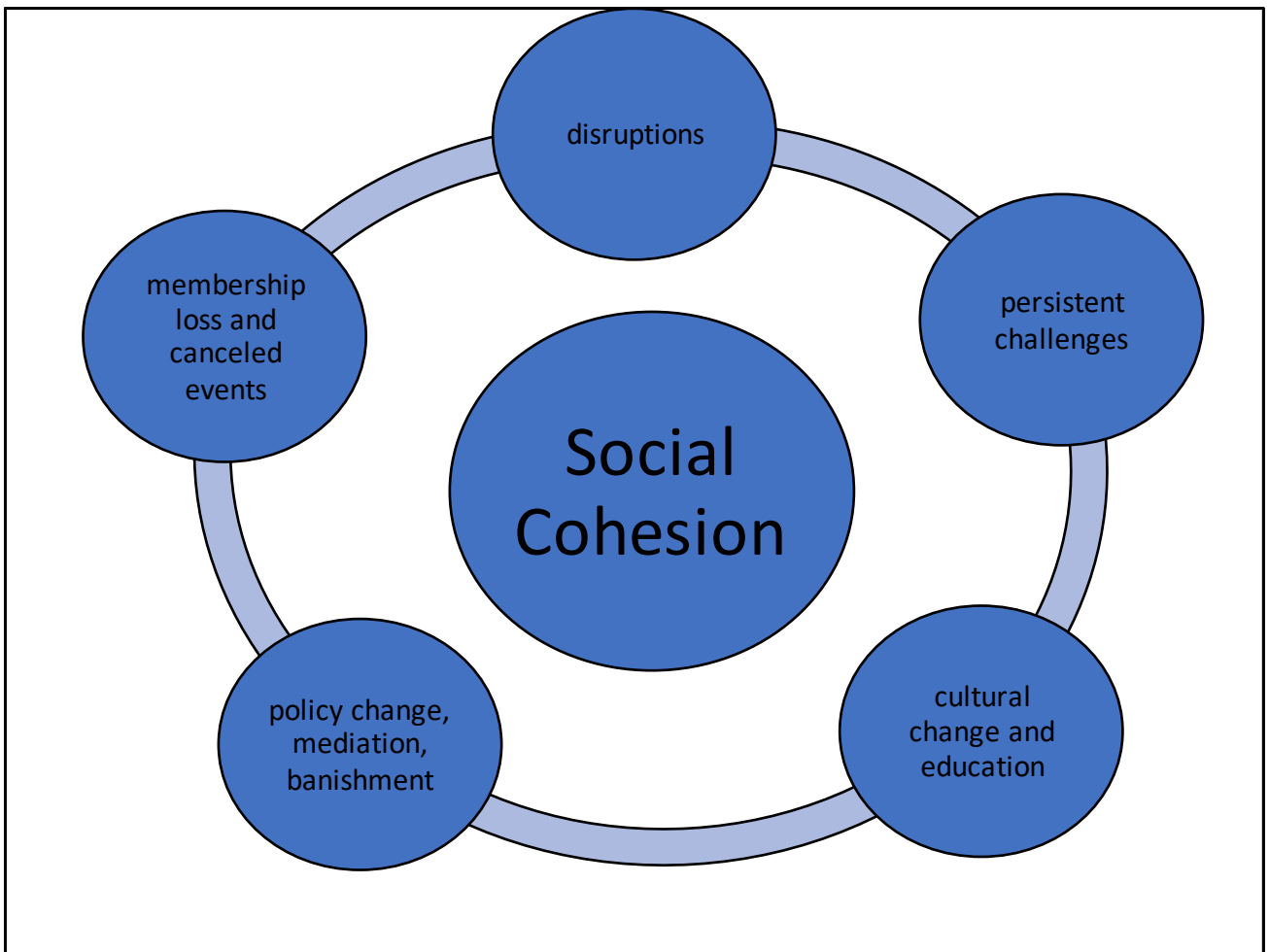
Figure 5 A Model of SCAdian Community Resilience

This model shows that persistent challenges and disruptions are ongoing

processes occurring in the SCA requiring actions such as policy change, banishment of

offending individuals, and community education. Oftentimes, people may leave the

organization, threatening the SCA's community resilience, but many people remain

because of the strong social cohesion in the organization, which I described with my

discussion on bonding social capital in the third chapter. The SCA's community has mostly been reactive, but developing offices such as the Office of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion might be a sign of SCAdian resilience becoming more proactive to persistent challenges such as bigotry in the SCA.

In this chapter, I will examine the SCA's community resilience based on the disruptions and persistent challenges identified by my interviewees and how the organization has adapted to them over the years. Persistent challenges include a lack of SCAdian diversity and inclusion, particularly in terms of race, ethnicity, and age. There are relatively few young people in the SCA, and therefore fewer opportunities for intergenerativity- another component of limited diversity. The lack of youth representation and their social inclusion has resulted in disruptions such as adult violence against young people, including sexual misconduct with minors. Unequal power dynamics and poor communication among the SCAdian hierarchical structures have resulted in bullying and mistrust among SCAdians, which have been linked to both persistent challenges and disruptions that threaten social cohesion and resilience. Other significant disruptions include inclement weather and natural disasters. SCAdian hierarchical structures had to act quickly and create an office for disaster relief to address these and subsequent related issues.

The SCA as an organization has responded to these persistent challenges and disruptions by expanding communications into the virtual SCA community, creating anti-bullying and anonymous reporting policies, and creating a volunteer-led corporate SCA

office of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI), a disaster relief office, as well as the office of Youth and Family Awards (YAFA). According to my interviewees, these responses have helped to increase the SCA's community resilience through community social cohesion building, structural change, and community education and the fact that they are volunteer positions shows how invested SCADians are in creating a more inclusive SCA community. Based on these structural changes mixed with highly cohesive SCAdian social groups and bonding, I argue that the SCA is resilient and according to my interviewees, will likely survive the most recent disruptions, and thrive as a community for years to come.

Community Resilience

Community resilience is the study of how local and environmental contexts positively influence the well-being of community members in response to adversity and external disruptions (Chaskin 2008). Resilient communities respond to disruptions by having the social flexibility, diversity of knowledge, and resources to maintain social cohesion and community membership.

Much of the contemporary literature on community resilience examines how communities can recover and maintain their social and economic systems in the face of disasters (Cutter et al. 2008). Such disasters might include natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina (Burton 2015), colonial genocide in the case of Indigenous communities (Kirmayer et al. 2009), or economic downturns for urban communities

(Pinto et al. 2019). Therefore, community resilience is often seen as a reactionary process to external and internal social and environmental shocks- much like the SCA's social cohesion building strategies. However, Rodin (2014) calls for a more proactive approach to understanding resilient systems while Nemeth and Oliver (2017) suggest that resilience should be seen as a holistic interplay of the many aspects of resilience (such as economic, social, ecological, and individual resilience). This chapter will examine past and present challenges and disruptions to SCA community resilience, how SCAdians have responded, and how they've proactively and holistically worked to prevent similar challenges and disruptions in the future on both an individual and organizational scale. Though the SCA has experienced significant challenges and major disruptions such as Trimgate and natural disasters, the organization has maintained and grown its memberships while sustaining the ways in which the community functions (e.g., hosting large and small community events and providing education on history and the Middle Ages).

Social Cohesion and Community Resilience

Social cohesion is a characteristic of any society with no conflict or crime; it is a desire for people to affiliate with one another with a degree of stability, showing the strength of social connections (Fonseca et al. 2019). When a community is cohesive, conflict is minimal and not exceedingly disruptive to the functioning of the community (Fonseca et al. 2019). In a socially cohesive community, members generally trust one another, and the community members maintain a sense of shared identity- ensuring the

group membership is maintained and positively relating to one another (Fonseca et al. 2019). Social cohesion reinforces exclusive identities and homogeneous groups (Poortinga 2012). Though exclusive identities and homogeneity can reduce diversity in groups, social cohesion can also encourage community resilience by bridging across diverse groups of people, building strong bonds between group members, and inspiring new people to join social groups through social networks (Poortinga 2012). When communities are cohesive, these strong bonds and ability to bridge between groups increases and maintains group membership.

With a stable and/or steadily growing population, communities can increase their human, social, and economic capital (Cheong et al. 2007). With increased capital, communities can expand their capacity to withstand challenges and disruptions without drastically impacting how the community functions or whether or not the community survives after the disruption. In the case of the SCA, social cohesion is built within the organization through in-person and virtual interactions while encouraging new members to join and remain in the organization. Part of building organizational membership in the SCA is the society's ability to use its capital and resources to engage people of all ages, and foster intergenerativity.

Intergenerativity and Community Resilience

Many social scientists have examined how young people can drive community resilience in partnership with adults (Acosta et al. 2015; Anderson 2005; Gibbs et al.

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2013; Mitchell et al. 2008; Peek 2008; Ronan and Johnson 2005). Research on youth-led community resilience has focused on community development (Barnett and Brennan 2006; Brennan et al. 2007; Brennan 2008; Delgado and Lee 2008), violence prevention (Hicks et al. 2010), promoting community health (Delgado and Zhou 2008), fighting for social and environmental justice, and building stronger democracies worldwide (Associated Press 2019; Dahlgren 2007; Enriquez and Saguy 2016; Taft 2011; Terriquez and Kwon 2015; Waldron 2019). However, most scholarship on youth and community resilience predominantly examines community and youth reactions to disaster while disregarding how intergenerational partnerships help build proactive community resilience through promoting social cohesion (Acosta et al. 2015; Anderson 2005; Gibbs 2013; Mitchell et al. 2008; Peek 2008; Ronan and Johnston 2005; Smith et al. 2016). Collaborations between different generations for community resilience is essential to understanding the full potential for a community's strength and resilience. A lack of intergenerativity means a lack of diversity in the organization, which reduces social cohesion, social, economic, and human capital, and ultimately reduces community resilience. I therefore examine the extent of how the SCA seeks to build intergenerativity for community resilience through promoting age diversity, social cohesion across generations, and inclusive membership building in the organization among all ages.

Diversity and Community Resilience

Socioeconomic diversity such as ethnic, racial, economic, educational, age, gender, and sexual orientation diversities are important aspects of community resilience, especially in the face of community stressors and disruptions (Poortinga 2012). Inclusively bringing together different social and ethnic groups of people who might not share identities while also linking people across social power structures increases community health, individual wellbeing, and resilience throughout many communities (Szreter and Woolcock 2004). Though some studies show that community homogeneity can increase community cohesion among some groups that do not value diversity because it increases conflicts, misunderstandings, and discrimination (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000), other research suggests that diversity is an important part of maintaining and building community resilience, regardless of whether a community values diversity. For example, bridging and linking across socioeconomic diversities can increase social cohesion, increase community capital (social, human, and economic), and provide a wider variety of perspectives that enables communities to examine problems and develop a wider array of potential solutions, which less diverse communities might not be able to achieve (Andrews 2011; Cheong et al. 2007; Rodin, 2014). These perspectives are essential to effective decision-making processes among organizational leadership and community members to ensure awareness of community problems, solutions, and needs. It is therefore important to examine how diversity in the context of SCAdian community resilience to include diverse genders, ages, races, ethnicities, and sexual orientations and

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how these individuals can build social cohesion and societal membership- ultimately contributing to SCAdian community resilience. The following analysis will examine how diversity (or a lack thereof) has impacted SCAdian community resilience.

SCAdian Bigotry: A Disruption and Persistent Challenge to Community Resilience

The SCA's community resilience is heavily dependent on the members' and organization's awareness of the organizational assets and limitations. Organizational awareness is defined as the members of the organization having knowledge of its organizational strengths and assets, liabilities and vulnerabilities, and the threats and risks it faces (Rodin 2014). Being aware includes situational awareness- the ability and willingness to constantly assess, take in new information, and adjust understanding in real time (Rodin 2014). By maintaining awareness of these assets and limitations, the organization can address the limitations while building up their assets, thereby promoting greater social cohesion and community resilience. In the SCA, both individual and organizational actions to assess and act on organizational strengths and weaknesses have been essential to the SCA's community resilience by being proactive and reactive to any potential community challenges or disruptions while effectively leveraging community assets to address significant problems.

I asked all my interviewees about the challenges and strengths the SCA has as an organization and what they felt would happen to the SCA community in the coming five

years. Many SCAdians expressed concerns about the organization's ability to recover from several disruptions, including dramatic outbursts of bigotry, the most cited of which being "Trimgate," (which reduce diversity in the organization by signaling that it is an unsafe place for people who have historically been harmed by swastikas- a.k.a. Jewish people, Indigenous and Black People, and LGBTQIA people). As demonstrated in the beginning of this chapter, disruptions such as Trimgate result in and from interpersonal conflicts online and within the organization and are linked to the persistent challenge of a lack of diversity and inclusion in the SCA.

Persistent Challenges with Diversity and SCAdian Community Resilience

According to the SCA's census, the society has some sexual, gender, racial, ethnic, and age diversity. The organization's population is 65% heterosexual, 95% cisgender (people who identify with the gender identity assigned to them at birth), 81% people aged 25 and older, and 84% white (Watson et al. 2021). Of my interviewees, 78% agreed that the SCA is not diverse, which is a significant challenge given that diverse perspectives are essential to driving social cohesion, community innovations in the face of adversity, and community resilience (Poortinga 2012; Rodin 2014). Moreover, a lack of diversity can contribute to bigotry and microaggressions against marginalized groups, due to ignorance and implicit biases that dominant groups may hold about marginalized groups of people (Resnick and Galupo 2019).

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Implicit biases are the result of common stereotypes about marginalized groups pervading cultural belief systems that result in unconscious beliefs and actions made against marginalized groups (Jolls and Sunstein 2006). Many of these actions are called "microaggressions," that is, daily injustices, inconveniences, and disrespect that marginalized groups often experience many times a day because of implicit biases (Wing 2010).

Many of my interviewees linked Trimgate to other instances of ignorance, microaggressions, implicit biases, and bigotry resulting from a lack of diversity in the SCA. Many of my interviewees see these persistent challenges as systematic problems with the organization. For some people, Trimgate impacted their organizational membership, such as Frank, a 40-year-old, Black, heterosexual, cisgender man, said he left the SCA after Trimgate. Frank said he left the organization because, "the SCA both knowingly and unknowingly celebrates white supremacy under the guise of historical accuracy- where convenient." Frank was one example of how the SCA's social cohesion building strategies did not work. However, the SCA is composed of many people who feel deeply connected to the organization and the people within it. As a result, many of my interviewees who experienced bigotry in the SCA did not leave, but decided to stay, and saw this incident as an opportunity to create a more inclusive and resilient SCA. The SCAdian populace includes a 16% ethnic and racial minority population whose members continue to attend events, volunteer, and hold offices.

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One such person is Neysha, an Afro-Latina woman who has been in the SCA since she was 24 and holds several offices. After Trimgate, the SCA created the Office of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) and Neysha currently holds that office. Neysha sees Trimgate and other disruptions related to bigotry as fodder for discussions, trainings, and cultural shifts to make the SCA more inclusive to diverse groups of people. Neysha explained that though she often experiences microaggressions from white SCAdians (for example, people wanting to touch her hair or comment that her North African persona is "exotic") she said that her interpersonal relationships with SCAdians keep her returning year after year and holding offices in the SCA. She said that since she is a minority in the SCA who is still dedicated to the organization, she has received awards and leadership roles:

> A lot of the people who stay and get peerages stay in the face of any discrimination or issues that they're dealing with. So they're dedicated and they're active and they love the SCA enough to make it worth it. Whereas a lot of other people are just like, 'I'm just gonna leave, I'm not going to deal with this [discrimination].' But also if you stay you are much more likely to be recognized because people think you're just more memorable.

The SCA mainly engages in tokenism (i.e. relying on a few members of minority groups to represent all types of diversity). Neysha explained that she is "more memorable" because she is one of the few Black women in the SCA, so she often is the token Black woman in SCAdian spaces. However, Neysha said that she "found her chosen family" in the SCA and the opportunity to do historical reenactment while having

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her close friends and family in the SCA was a significant factor in her desire to stay and make change. Neysha's story is not uncommon according to my other interviewees.

Microaggressions and tokenism were common complaints among the 29 Black, Indigenous, and SCAdians of Color (BISOC), women, and LGBTQIA+ SCAdians with whom I spoke. However, many of these individuals stated that holding offices coupled with the strong social bonds with other SCADains were important parts of their decisions to stay, make change, and support the organization. For example, Lorelei, a nonbinary, transgender, masculine 30-year-old Royal in the SCA described one circumstance in which a man made them uncomfortable at a fighter practice:

> Lily Villa: Have you ever felt unsafe or uncomfortable during an SCA event or gathering?
>
> Lorelei: Oh yeah, absolutely, yes 100% several times… this is the reason I stopped fighting in the West. At a practice in the West, where I was like, 'Hey, can you help me get all my canvas and things?' because it required tying in the back. And so the guy was, you know, tying it on and he goes, 'You like to be tied up, don't you?' and I'm like [face freezes], he put it on me. He walked away. I took it off. Put everything in my car and left and I never went back. [When I told other people about it they were] shocked. Like they didn't know what was happening [it] depends, [some] men [are] shocked… Most women and non-binary people and people of other genders, almost all not shocked. And they're like, 'Oh, yeah, yeah, of course, that happened.' …It should never even get to that fucking point. Like how many times have that guy's buddies let them get away with comments like that? As is proven by us, you know, [as Royalty I had] to banish someone who had done things, years and years ago. Like, it still matters. … we can't just say, ooh we forgive you, like we can't just do that…You're an unsafe person and these people don't trust you anymore. I feel like the sooner that these things can get stopped the better because then they don't spiral. People don't start feeling like these things are okay.

Lorelei discussed how they did not return to fighter practice because they were sexually harassed by a man at fighter practice, and it sent them into a panic attack. However, Lorelei later became the first transgender Queen in the SCA and has worked with Neysha to develop gender-inclusive SCAdian community education. Lorelei said that the people in the SCA and opportunities for other crafts and arts kept them coming back to the SCA, even after that upsetting experience.

Moreover, Lorelei's comments about how issues like sexual harassment should be dealt with have been ongoing educational opportunities through the SCA DEI office including bystander intervention training, which teaches people witnessing microaggressions and harassment how to step in and help. Lorelei and Neysha's approach to a lack of diversity and inclusion and the implicit biases that accompany it in the SCA prompted them to develop proactive social cohesion building strategies in the SCA and to develop policies around it. As Queen, Lorelei [a title Lorelei chose based on their personal preferences] had to deal with a sexual assault and harassment case that resulted in banishment of a member. All of these actions are examples of how the SCA is working to be both reactive to disruptions and proactive in terms of the liabilities and strengths they are aware of with an effort to expand the SCA's community resilience.

Likewise, other SCAdians from marginalized groups with whom I spoke said that they experienced bigotry, but felt those experiences were opportunities to make positive change in the SCAdian community. Thomas, a 40-year-old, white, gay, cisgender man, said that despite experiencing quite a few instances of bigotry as a SCAdian, he remained

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in the SCA because of his desire to change it while also being close to his SCA friends. He described one particularly painful homophobic incident that made him decide to stay in the SCA to make it more inclusive to other queer people:

> Thomas: So I was doing Middle Eastern belly dancing and with everybody else around the fire and stuff like that and being the only guy out there. A guy came up and literally, physically grabbed me and removed me from the dance circle and told me that I was not welcome.
>
> Lily Villa: How did people respond to that?
>
> Thomas: It didn't faze anybody that that happened.
>
> Lily Villa: Wow, okay. How did that make you feel?
> Thomas: It made me feel like I'm the smallest, worthless person that ever was, but at the same time, it made me more determined not to give up. So my quiet stubbornness helped.

This experience was an opportunity for Thomas to make changes in the culture of the SCA. He became a "trailblazer" for other gender and sexual minorities in the SCA who wanted to dance and express themselves in the SCA. He continued to dance, build strong friendships throughout the SCA, teach belly dancing, and after a while, received complements from heterosexual men about his dancing. He said that after 20 years in the SCA, he experiences fewer incidents of microaggressions and harassment when he attends SCA events. Thomas also stated that he feels a strong kinship with the SCA as a community, suggesting that SCAdian social cohesion is always a factor in community resilience. Thomas also approached microaggressions in the SCA as an opportunity for increasing social cohesion and community resilience for a more LGBTQIA+ inclusive community.

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The women with whom I spoke also stated that they experienced

microaggressions and marginalization in the SCA, but it was the people and leadership

opportunities that kept them coming back . As a woman, I have often experienced sexual

harassment, unwanted comments, and unwanted physical contact at SCA events and my

interviewees also shared their experiences. Marsha, a 54-year-old, half Polynesian half

white woman who has been in the SCA for over thirty years explained that though she

did not experience discrimination in the legal sense, she had to prove herself as a leader

in the SCA:

> Marsha: I love being Kingdom Seneschal. It's great! I am all but 5 foot. That was interesting because I am a soft-spoken female, and it was very interesting to watch the Knights' reactions to me but I would not say that I've dealt with any discrimination. I just needed to prove I wasn't gonna freak out or anything like that that I did my job I did it well.
>
> Lily Villa: So, you're saying you had to prove yourself to them, just because you're a small woman?
>
> Marsha: I would say that anybody that takes a position of deputy Seneschal is going to have to prove themselves to the populace [in the SCA]. They want to know that you can do the job and Knights have a vested interest as a peer to make sure that the Kingdom Seneschal can do their job. When you look at us and you get a six foot two, 350-pound man and you've got a five foot tall woman, yes, she's probably gonna have to prove herself a little bit. I would not say that I met with discrimination, I'm an attorney by trade I'm used to have to prove ourselves to a group of men, so I don't have a problem with that.

Though Marsha did not experience direct discrimination, she acknowledged that

many SCAdians, specifically officers such as Knights, are likely to have a bias believing

that larger men are more effective leaders than small women. Perceived inability or

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reduced ability to lead due to gender difference thus resulted in lower social cohesion, which Marsha sought to combat through excelling in her leadership position. She was able to hold her office, and her experiences did not cause her to leave the SCA, but they did color how she was able to hold office in the SCA.

Diversity among gender, sexual, ethnic, and racial minorities in the SCA is a complex factor. Marsha is proud of the work she did in the SCA and when I spoke with her about the persistent challenge of limited diversity, bigotry, and Trimgate, she said that the SCA is working to change these things through officer positions. In her home Kingdom of Gleann Abhann (Mississippi, Louisiana, most of Arkansas, and the far western side of Tennessee), they have a specific DEI officer for their large War. This officer works to educate War attendees on the needs of people in marginalized groups (BISOC, LGBTQIA+, and women) and to offer bystander intervention if microaggressions or bigotry occur. Marsha and the policy actions in her Kingdom are aware of the lack of diversity and bigotry that occurs in the SCA and are working to prevent future incidents of harassment to increase diversity and marginalized group leadership in the SCA for a more resilient community.

The SCA experiences persistent challenges and occasional disruptions due to bigotry, as cited by many of my interviewees. However, all of the SCAdians who remained despite migroaggressions and bigotry did so because they have strong connections to other SCAdians; the SCA provides fun activities related to historical enactment; and many SCAdians feel they can and must positively impact the SCA to

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make it more inclusive (as in the cases of Neysha, Lorelei, Thomas, and Marsha). SCAdians can take part in these activities at in-person events, engaging with the SCA's webpages, joining Facebook groups, joining Discords, and developing strong interpersonal communication through text and email. Bigotry and a lack of diversity extends to age-inclusivity in the SCA as well, which many of my interviewees cited as a significant challenge to the SCAdian community that has contributed to decreased community membership and SCAdian resilience.

Age Diversity: Intergenerativity and SCAdian Community Resilience

As I illustrated in my chapter on intergenerativity, including young people is an important part of the SCA's community resilience. Many of my interviewees said that the SCA's ability to include young people may significantly impact the diversity and size of SCAdian membership in the future, which is a persistent challenge that can lead to disruptions such as adult sexual misconduct with minors (see chapter [1] for further details). One of the persistent challenges to intergenerativity and community resilience that SCAdians are well aware of is the prevalence of adultism in the organization.

Adultism, or the belief that young people are less capable than adults which results in adults marginalizing and disrespecting young people (Bell 1995), is a persistent challenge in the SCA (see Chapter [1]). The SCA's failure to include youth voices and leadership in decision making acts as a form of adultism that decreases SCAdian diversity and inclusion, reduces the SCA's ability to innovate, and harms the SCAdian

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community's ability to recruit more young people and maintain community resilience overall. According to Maria, a nonbinary, bisexual, white adult aged 39, including youth voices in decisions is crucial:

> If I were to come to a group of white scarves [Knights], my peers, and say, 'hey you know I've been working with youth. I've been having these conversations, and these are the things that they're telling me, these are the things that they say that they need, or why they're not interested.' It only really takes one person saying, 'well you know my kid is happy' to neutralize that so there's no weighing new ideas…it's harder to change it with new ideas with younger people with new challenges.

Maria's comments suggest that many of the people in leadership positions in the SCA are unlikely to listen to or make changes in the SCA according to the wants and needs of SCAdian youth, let alone include young people in the conversation. Even adults like Maria have few opportunities to make changes in the SCA as youth advocates, meaning that there are fewer youth and fewer opportunities for innovation. Some of the young SCAdians see this as a significant barrier to SCAdian community resilience. As José, a 24-year-old Mexican American SCAdian who has been in the SCA since he was 17, said:

> I think it would be better for the SCA as a whole if it didn't just center around people in their late 30s, 40s or early 50s. If it would more average out through the entire SCA [more young people and more older people] through the entire age of people, I feel like it would help the SCA, a lot more both to grow … I feel like the younger people help open the eyes of those that are slightly older than them [about diverse people's experiences]. …But there is a lot of people that are set in their ways when they get older [and more young people can help that].

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José's comments suggest that including and recruiting more young people would be beneficial to the SCA because young people can educate older people on inclusivity practices and how to be more inclusive to diverse people (including young people).

Moreover, the SCAdian persistent challenge with limited intergenerativity and high levels of adultism have also been linked to significant community disruptions such as violence enacted on youth. As I discussed in chapter 1, a repeatedly cited disruption was a case where an adult SCAdian youth combat leader was found guilty of sexual misconduct with the youth with whom he worked. Unfortunately, the SCA continues to

have similar disruptions. In February 2022, the SCA Youth Combat group began posting
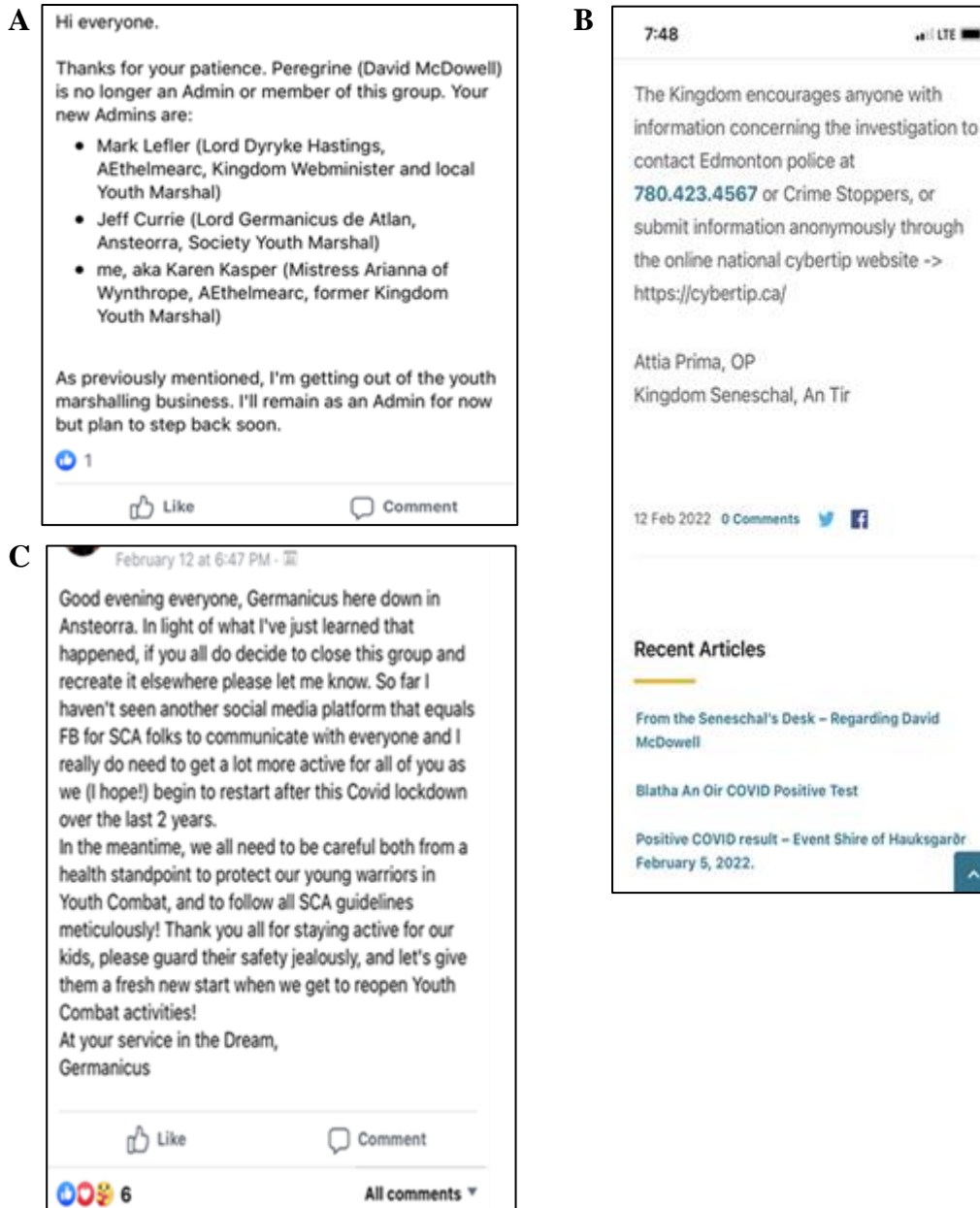
about a recent similar occurrence (Figure 6):

A

Hi everyone.

Thanks for your patience. Peregrine (David McDowell) is no longer an Admin or member of this group. Your new Admins are:

- Mark Lefler (Lord Dyryke Hastings, AEthelmearc, Kingdom Webminister and local Youth Marshal)
- Jeff Currie (Lord Germanicus de Atlan, Ansteorra, Society Youth Marshal)
- me, aka Karen Kasper (Mistress Arianna of Wynthrope, AEthelmearc, former Kingdom Youth Marshal)

As previously mentioned, I'm getting out of the youth marshalling business. I'll remain as an Admin for now but plan to step back soon.

👍 1

Like   Comment

B

7:48   LTE

The Kingdom encourages anyone with information concerning the investigation to contact Edmonton police at 780.423.4567 or Crime Stoppers, or submit information anonymously through the online national cybertip website -> https://cybertip.ca/

Attia Prima, OP
Kingdom Seneschal, An Tir

12 Feb 2022 0 Comments

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Blatha An Oir COVID Positive Test

Positive COVID result – Event Shire of Hauksgarðr February 5, 2022.

C

February 12 at 6:47 PM ·

Good evening everyone, Germanicus here down in Ansteorra. In light of what I've just learned that happened, if you all do decide to close this group and recreate it elsewhere please let me know. So far I haven't seen another social media platform that equals FB for SCA folks to communicate with everyone and I really do need to get a lot more active for all of you as we (I hope!) begin to restart after this Covid lockdown over the last 2 years.
In the meantime, we all need to be careful both from a health standpoint to protect our young warriors in Youth Combat, and to follow all SCA guidelines meticulously! Thank you all for staying active for our kids, please guard their safety jealously, and let's give them a fresh new start when we get to reopen Youth Combat activities!
At your service in the Dream,
Germanicus

Like   Comment

👍❤️😊 6   All comments ▾

Figure 6 SCAdian Announcement of banishing a youth combat administrator

Upon investigation, it appears that a SCAdian youth combat mentor [an adult] was arrested for possession of child pornography (Edmonton CTV News Staff 2022). The SCA's virtual communications appeared to act quickly. The reports of this man were published on February 11, 2022, and the SCA announced that they removed him from office and banned him from the organization the next day. However, it is unclear what harm he has or might have caused in the SCA community and, as illustrated in previous chapters, the SCA has experienced similar community disruptions that continued to echo through the organization for decades to come.

The issue of adult violence against youth in the SCA is a persistent challenge and disruption the SCA continues to acknowledge and work to overcome. Individuals such as Maria and José acknowledge this problem and work to counteract it in their daily work in the SCA through recruitment and mediation with older SCAdians. In the case of the most recent adult sexual misconduct with minors, the SCA reacted quickly to remove the individual from a leadership role, banished him from the organization, and extended communication throughout the SCA on efforts to reduce adult violence against young people. Past efforts to prevent such disruptions have been limited, but are an ongoing effort in the SCA with an attempt to build social cohesion through intergenerativity.

SCA Solutions to Bigotry, Adultism, and the Lack of Diversity and Intergenerativity.

As previously stated, after Trimgate, the SCA Board of Directors acknowledged the organization's failure to recruit and retain diverse SCAdian membership and developed the DEI office in 2019. The DEI Office is dedicated to educating SCAdians worldwide about how to respectfully engage with diverse individuals and how to be effective bystanders if they witness discriminatory behavior in the SCA. Neysha, the SCA's corporate DEI officer, said her position as a leader in the organization was a direct effort of the SCA's Board of Directors to uplift marginalized voices and perspectives in the SCA because she is a Black woman, offering her perspective on DEI in the SCA.

Some of my interviewees see the DEI office and Neysha's work as an important step to the SCA being more diverse and inclusive. For example, Lorelei, the first transgender Queen in the SCA, believes that the DEI office will create more opportunities to recruit and retain more diverse people while calling out and stopping bigoted actions and words by other SCAdians:

> I'm hoping that people are going to come back more accepting and understanding of other people because we will all have missed each other. And I'm hoping that that just continues to help the societal shift within the SCA towards more diversity, more inclusion, you know? Being accepting also, I hope it moves us toward calling people out [when they say offensive things].

Lorelei's comments are hopeful and the SCA has not collected data on whether the DEI office has impacted diverse recruitment. However, with the opportunity for

diverse SCAdians to hold positions of leadership (such as Lorelei and Neysha), their perspectives might be more likely to influence future SCAdian policies and cultural practices to prevent disruptions due to bigotry. Further research on SCAdian demographics is required to understand how effective this response to SCAdian limited diversity and bigotry has been. However, several of my interviewees noticed that the online DEI workshops and discussions that Neysha organized and facilitated brought in several new members who were simply interested in DEI and became more interested in the SCA as an organization after attending the events.

SCA Solutions to Adultism and Low Intergenerativity

In a similar vein as the DEI office, the SCA established the office of Youth and Family Awards (YAFA) in 2010 with the goal of creating more opportunities for young people and families to be seen and valued as members of the SCA, however, the group ended in 2021 due to a lack of participation from both youth and adult mentors.

Though the SCA is not diverse, many of my interviewees said that "it is getting better," which remains to be seen- especially once SCAdian in-person events increase after the first few years of the COVID-19 pandemic (read more on this in the following chapter). Though the YAFA office was unsuccessful because few people of any age participated in the mentoring and token programs, other SCAdians are working to include young people. Examples include Maria and Bobby, a Chatelaine (SCAdian recruiter and

new member greeter, who I will introduce in the next chapter), both of whom have prioritized recruiting and mentoring more SCAdian youth.

Young SCAdians such as José also work to recruit more young people into the SCA with the goal of building community resilience through age diversity. It is the mix of the SCA's offices and efforts from dedicated SCAdian individuals that may make a difference for the SCA. To determine the efficacy of these changes, future research on the topic is needed. However, as Neysha said, she returned to the SCA because of the close friendships and fun activities she has in the SCA, suggesting that the SCA has potential to improve its ability to respectfully include diverse people of all ages without tokenizing them and thereby build social cohesion and community resilience. Having diverse leadership, building new policies and offices, and working toward cultural shifts has increased the SCAdian potential to recruit and maintain more diverse populations, decrease interpersonal conflict due to unequal power dynamics and bigotry, and thus better respond to challenges and disruptions that threaten social cohesion and community resilience. The SCA employs these social cohesion building strategies in an effort to increase community resilience. However, my interviewees cited other persistent challenges that have also erupted into disruption including interpersonal conflict due to unequal power dynamics and bullying.

Unequal Power Dynamics and Bullying

The ability to communicate effectively across power structures within a community ensures the quality of understanding, awareness of, and ability to create solutions for community challenges or disruptions (Rodin 2014). Unequal power dynamics and ineffective communication across hierarchical structures are persistent challenges that can result in interpersonal conflict and community disruptions that reduce community membership, trust, and overall social cohesion, thereby reducing community resilience.

Hierarchy was a significant factor in SCAdian community disruptions that emerged in my interviews; this is perhaps unsurprising, given that the SCA is by design a hierarchical organization. The King and Queen have always been the ultimate decision makers for each Kingdom and most of the members of the Board of Directors tend to defer to Kings and Queens unless it is a mundane legal issue. Barons and Baronesses also have a lot of power to make executive decisions for their Baronies, followed by Seneschals (event planning directors) and other officers in the SCA such as Knights, and finally official or unofficial heads of houses (i.e., camping groups). The general populace of the SCA must often defer to the officers and Royalty to make changes in the larger SCA community, while many households tend to do as they please in their camps at large SCA events. The populace in the SCA often maintains strong interpersonal connections to officers and Royalty, but those connections can cause significant problems, including SCAdian Royalty and officers abusing their power.

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Several of my interviewees said that bullying by those in positions of power in the SCA occurs often enough among officers and Royalty to have been persistent problems in the wider SCA community. These persistent challenges have resulted in SCAdians leaving the organization and/or discouraging new members from joining. Bullying therefore poses a significant threat to SCAdian social cohesion and the SCA's community resilience overall and can erupt into prolonged disruptions.

As Thomas, a 41 year-old gay, cis gender white man, said: "We had some people that were using their positions of authority and stuff like that and power and influence to bully other people." In this circumstance, a Baron and some of his friends bullied the Baron's "rival," another Baron with whom he had an interpersonal conflict, by posting slanderous images and comments about him on the port-o-potties at a large SCA War event. This disruption caused SCAdians to schism and fight and some of the SCAdians with whom I spoke felt this incident caused many members to leave and/or build up contempt towards the SCA as an organization.

To reduce the negative impacts of unequal power dynamics and bullying, the hierarchical power structures in the SCA may or may not intervene (with varying success) to address the underlying issues, resulting in interpersonal conflict and significant community disruptions that may reduce social cohesion, trust, and community membership. As Mickie, a 50-year-old former SCAdian Queen said:

> We have our royalty who could manage people, but ..that's not always going to solve the problem [if there is an interpersonal dispute]. We could go to the board, but if people think that the board is a jury, they're very mistaken. The board is

there to protect the organization. They're more like HR. They're not there to mediate. They're not there to fix stuff… they're going to kick you out or they're going to suspend you [if you do something wrong in the SCA community]... They're not going to fix the problem …punitive action doesn't solve a thing… it might spare you the trouble of having to deal with the person…So I think that's our problem is we're very limited in our ability to solve problems and we're not very creative or consistent.

Mickie's comments about inconsistent actions to address interpersonal conflict within the SCA have been a persistent challenge for the organization and show that power structures in the SCA have not always been able to mitigate the harm of persistent challenges and disruptions. As detailed in the section on diversity, for example, many SCAdians experience conflict due to bigotry and must rely on smaller community networks and/or slow organizational policy change (such as instating the DEI office) to make significant change related to interpersonal conflict. When the conflict stems from SCAdians who hold positions of power, however, the SCAdian populace often has few options to address it except to complain, leave the organization, or rebel against those in power, which results in further social conflicts, schisms, loss of membership, and reduced social cohesion- thereby reducing community resilience.

Slow Change and Burnout as Persistent Challenges

As evidenced by the fragmented ties discussion in chapter two, members of the SCA may encounter difficult interactions such as bullying, interpersonal disputes, and bigotry and discrimination among marginalized populations. However, many SCAdians are resistant to developing new solutions to these recurring problems, a result of what

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several of my interviewees referred to as a "traditionalist culture" in the SCA. This

traditionalist culture is a persistent challenge that makes a lot of SCAdians (but especially

Royals and officers) resistant to change. However, some SCAdians felt that much of this

resistance to change has to do with the fact that decisions are not made unilaterally in the

SCA. As Marsha, a 54-year-old, half Polynesian half white woman said:

> Most people [in the SCA] don't like change. Obviously we are still celebrating the
> 1600's, but when we have so many things [processes and protocols] set up and …
> you come out with a problem and everybody comes in and discusses it and gives
> ideas and suggestions… you have your officer, you have your Royalty, you have
> the BOD, you have so many ways to fix a problem to discuss it. Now, sometimes
> it takes a little while and that's frustrating, but it does get done…if it didn't the
> SCA wouldn't have made it so many years.

As Marsha and several other of my interviewees indicated, change happens

slowly in the SCA. This can be frustrating for many members of the SCAdian populace

and cause some to leave the organization, further threatening organizational resilience.

Change appears to happen slowly in the SCA due to complacency with the status quo and

an inability or unwillingness to recognize innovative ideas that promote social cohesion

through increased diversity. For example, Maria, a 39-year-old nonbinary SCAdian, has

been working to expand youth mentor programs in rapier fighting (SCAdian fencing) and

felt that many of the officers would not listen to them :

> There's no weighing of the new ideas, there's no, 'you know hey this has a
> potential for good let's try this out so part of that is traditionalism part of that is
> what everybody is the same.' It's like, 'well, no we're not [going to do that]
> because …if it's been done that way previously.' It's harder to change it with new
> ideas with younger people with new challenges.

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Unequal power dynamics that result in complacency and resistance to positive change are detrimental to the SCA's ability to grow and maintain its membership. Oftentimes, hierarchically powerful SCAdians do not bully, but may pressure other SCAdians into volunteering more than they are physically or emotionally able to. When SCAdians volunteer too much, it can lead to burn-out, sometimes resulting in some SCAdians leaving the society. Several of my interviewees cited this as an ongoing threat to SCAdian community resilience. Sometimes the unequal power dynamics of the SCA might not result in bullying, burnout, or dismissing recommendations from the populace, but may simply be the result of ineffective communications and/or miscommunications among SCAdians, a factor discussed by many of my interviewees, which is also part of this persistent challenge and has erupted into disruptions.

Unequal Power Dynamics and Ineffective Communication

Communicating effectively across different social and power structures is an important part of maintaining an integrated and resilient community (Rodin 2014). When the various community components communicate effectively, problems can be identified and addressed quickly; the better the ability to communicate, the more effectively the society can weather challenges and disruption, thus increasing community resilience (Rodin 2014). When I asked my interviewees if they felt comfortable talking with SCAdian leaders, they explained that they generally felt empowered to speak up but were uncertain if their perspective would be heard or not. As many of my interviewees said, it

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depends on who they knew in the organization and if they were personally connected with the leadership. When SCAdians are personally connected to Royalty, officers, and the Board of Directors, they often said that they could influence the high-level decision-making process. However, some of my interviewees said that they did not know the Board of Directors and/or Royalty personally and were not sure if their opinions would be heard for that reason. Jordan, a 19 year-old, nonbinary, mixed race Black SCAdian said:

> I know that the BOD [Board of Directors], and the Kings and Queens of all the land, sometimes don't really communicate quite well. Or as well as they should. [The Kings, Queens, and Board of Directors are] mysterious and mighty… as a 19 year old, I don't think I know a single person on the BOD. …Who causes BOD rulings to happen [without explanation]? So it feels like a lot of the time that the BOD is a mysterious force that nobody can understand…

Jordan's comment suggests that the Royals and Board of Directors do not communicate effectively enough to help young people, and potentially the rest of the populace, understand or take part in their decision making. Though Marsha acknowledged that many decisions in the SCA are made collectively, the community's understanding of these processes does not appear to be well-understood. Whether they are the result of exclusive social circles, poor communication, adultism or other forms of bigotry, or some combination thereof, disconnects between high-ranking SCAdians and the general membership pose a challenge to increased social cohesion and community resilience. The SCAdians with whom I spoke, were well-aware of these limitations to build community resilience and social cohesion in the SCA and explained that the issues

are complex. Some information cannot be shared, and some information simply is poorly understood or communicated.

After speaking with two individuals who served on the SCA Board of Directors, it appears that many of their decisions must remain secret because some issues require legal confidentiality. Moreover, much of the communication between the different levels of the SCA is dependent on social networks – that is, who people know directly - which I define as a moderate level of communication. After assessing my interviewee's responses to my questions about how quickly and effectively the social structures in the SCA communicate, most of them (82%) said that it was moderately fast communication hindered by issues such as gossip, lack of transparency, lack of personal connections with other SCAdians, and internet technologies that may affect the quality and speed of communication. These complexities suggest that SCAdian communication is generally only moderate in its efficacy. Though many of my interviewees stated that information travels quickly to leadership and through the community, some of the information may not be correct or reliable (in the case of gossip). Communicating problems to leadership, and leadership communicating to the populace about solutions, is not always effective, though some information can travel quickly through gossip.

With these moderate levels of communication between each societal component, many SCAdians said that communication efficiencies depend on the people and situations. As Mary said:

It really depends on the group of people. Some people are very secretive, and …they don't share more information with people. Some people are really open. I think it just depends on where you're at. Regionally, I mean, not everybody has what Atenveldt has. They don't have fighter practice like at Encanto Park. There were 200 people at fighter practice- easy. The 100 people on the field fighting, people on the sides dancing, selling shit, making crap, having a good time, hanging out, doing community stuff. Being seen, going to the movies in garb, stuff like that. I moved and went to other places that had fighter practice with maybe 10 people if you're lucky and I'd be like, 'where is everybody?' [And they would say], 'oh, this is a great turnout.' I'd be like, 'No, no, this isn't this is horrible."

Mary's comments show that depending on how often and how many people

SCAdians interact with, and whether there are high levels of engagement in a Barony or

Kingdom, influences the organization's communication integration and overall sense of

social cohesion. Some other SCAdians experienced quite a bit of communicative

integration, likely because of the high levels of engagement in their SCAdian localities.

For example, Marsha said:

The gossip chain around here is huge and you really have to be conscious with it because Facebook has been a horrible thing in so many ways, but it is a good tool. If you get out there, and you put out the knowledge firsthand and you go, 'this is what it is.' But you have these people who aren't on Facebook. You hear something different, and then they get all upset. They're like, 'but that's not what I heard.' I can only imagine how hard it must have been for the BOD before Facebook, because you had one person talk to one person who talks to one person- and then it wasn't even close to being accurate. So I think we're in a better position now than we were, but I think the gossip mill is still a strong contender for ruining everything."

Marsha echoed several other SCAdian's comments about the SCAdian gossip

chain, which meant that information was communicated quickly, but was often inaccurate

or misleading. While 18% of my interviewees said that the SCA has high levels of

communication integration, they also reported facing significant challenges to a highly effective communication process, thereby reducing trust between leadership and the populace. The disconnect between SCAdian leadership and the general populace may contribute to increased interpersonal conflict, the subsequent loss of SCAdian membership, and the resulting lack of diversity that threatens the organization's resilience. Moveover, this persistent challenge can erupt into disruptions such as the circumstance where a Baron slandered another Baron's name on the port-o-johns at an event. Nonetheless, most of my interviewees also said that they felt empowered to speak up to their Barons, Baronesses, Heads of Household, and Kings and Queens if they felt changes needed to be made in the organization, in part because of the social cohesion they experience in the organization overall and the strong interpersonal bonds many SCAdian leaders have with other SCAdians. The SCA has created a number of solutions to address challenges with power dynamics, bullying, and integration in the organization.

Building Community Resilience Despite Miscommunication and Bullying Related to Unequal Power Dynamics

The SCA depends heavily on Facebook, emailed newsletters, the SCA website, and meetings among Royals and officers to mitigate the negative effects of ineffective and/or slow communication as well as bullying . When it makes policy changes, the changes are posted on social media, in the online organizational handbook,

and on their website. For instance, the SCA has a written anti-bullying and harassment

policy stating:

> The SCA prohibits bullying and harassment of all individual [sic] and groups.
> Bullying is systematic and unwelcome behavior which involves the use of
> influence, threat, intimidation, or coercion to cause hurt or harm to another person
> or group of people. When the bullying behavior is based on a protected class, that
> behavior is defined as harassment. (race, sex, religion, national origin, gender,
> sexual orientation, age, or disability.) (SCA Inc. 2021)

The SCA additionally created an anonymous reporting email link on their DEI

webpage to address any potential SCAdian leaders who abuse their power, and/or engage

in discrimination, hate speech, or interpersonal disputes among the populace. The process

is as follows:

> If you believe you have been discriminated against, sexually harassed, bullied, or
> subjected to hate speech, there is help and the first step is to tell us about it.
> Contact a seneschal, the President of the SCA, or your Kingdom's Board
> Ombudsman. You may also "cc" equity@sca.org on your correspondence, if you
> like. (SCA Inc. 2022)

The SCA often creates these formalized policies in response to disruptions and

persistent challenges the community faces associated with bullying, miscommunication,

bigotry, and interpersonal conflict. After talking with one SCAdian who has been in the

SCA for 55 years and served on the Board of Directors, she said that she would often

wearily tell members, "Don't make us write another rule," meaning that the SCA writes

rules and policies in response to misconduct. The SCA works to expand its structural

policies and procedures to address past conflicts and prevent future ones (with varying

success) in the hope that addressing community challenges and disruptions will help maintain a healthy, diverse, resilient SCAdian community.

Regardless of the negative impacts of these disruptions and persistent challenges, all the SCAdians with whom I spoke continue to stay in contact with and maintain strong relationships with other SCAdians (even if they left the organization). With attrition and diversity loss notwithstanding, the SCA has not only maintained its membership, but has grown over the years with an average of 500 new paying members each year between 1992 and 2018 (Green 2019). This suggests that despite consistent and persistent challenges and significant disruptions, SCAdians can still recruit and maintain a sustainable, resilient community. They recruit members through word of mouth, at SciFi and fantasy conventions, in online groups, and greeters called Chatelains who meet people and orient them when the SCA has in-person events and passers-by stop by. Improved communications and sustained, proactive commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion in the SCA will likely only help the organization grow and retain membership, increase social cohesion, and build community resilience. Though the DEI office is a new proactive effort to prevent disruptions and change culture around ignorance, bigotry, bullying, and implicit bias, the SCA's social cohesion building strategies have shown to be effective. For example, creating an Office of Disaster Relief and formal policies around helping other SCAdians has been highly effective.

Disaster Relief and SCAdian Community Resilience Strategies

Inclement weather and natural disasters were the final significant disruption that my interviewees cited. The SCA as an organization has both proactively and reactively responded to them throughout the SCA's existence. Given that the SCA is worldwide and has high levels of social cohesion, SCAdians have relied on their SCA social network in times of crisis. The most commonly cited being Hurricane Katriana. Many SCAdians were impacted by this event and the many other SCAdians wanted to aid those in need. In response, the SCA developed a Disaster Relief Officer position. To learn more about this, I spoke with Brenda who had been in the SCA from the time she was 12 and is the Disaster Relief Officer for the Kingdom of Caid (Southern California):

> And Katrina hit. And what happened is we had a whole bunch of people who were having problems, remembering what the rules were about donations and other stuff like that or inundating the few people, they could communicate in the local area. So part of it is we were set up as a single point of contact for each kingdom. I was chosen because I had been Kingdom exchequer [treasurer] And I had also been a Senchal. So I knew the rules. And so we coordinated. We made sure we helped spearhead fundraisers, making sure funds did not pass through accounts coordinated with what people actually really needed. So that was in 2005. And in 2007 basically all of Southern California wound up on fire. You know, and I was still, that was my job and I learned more about fires. Wow, did I learn about fires! I had more than 30 or 40 people evacuated.

Brenda described how effective the position has been over the years with her ability to inform people about upcoming disasters, distribute donated money and resources to SCAdians in need- including evacuating and sheltering SCAdians who lost their homes in other SCAdians' homes.

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The SCA experiences disasters and inclement weather often, which can not only cause events to be canceled, but result in SCAdian lives lost and membership not being paid due to loss of income. Though natural disasters are not necessarily a persistent challenge SCAdians experience, they are highly disruptive and require immediate action and the SCA's efforts to reactively and proactively address these disruptions appear to be effective.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to examine SCAdian community resilience in the context of my interviewees' cited community disruptions and how the organization and its members have worked to overcome them. These community disruptions include Trimgate, other incidents arising from lack of diversity inclusion in terms of sexuality, gender, and ethnicity, insufficient intergenerativity and adult sexual misconduct with minors, as well as bullying by those in power, and natural disasters . However, some of these disruptions have resulted from persistent challenges the SCA faces including bigotry, a lack of diversity, few young SCAdians, and unequal power dynamics that result in bullying and ineffective communication. The SCA has shown that in these circumstances, they have employed their social cohesion building strategies through virtual communication, policy change, office creation, and continually expanding the option for economic, human, and social capital for all SCAdians. Though these strategies have had varying success, the SCA continues to grow, create opportunities for diversity and communication, and

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include young people into their processes suggesting that the SCA has a high potential to remain resilient despite the many disruptions and persistent challenges the organization faces. Amid all of these challenges, SCAdian social cohesion appears to be a driving factor in SCAdian community resilience given that my interviewees repeatedly stated that their connections to other SCAdians caused them to return to events and pay their memberships over the years.

In circumstances such as the YAFA office, where SCAdian policies were not effective in increasing community resilience (in this case by not increasing intergenerativity), the SCA seeks other strategies. For example, SCAdian members focus on recruiting and building social cohesion with young people such as Bobby, Maria, and José. The DEI office has also made attempts to increase diversity and inclusion in the SCA through educational events, which according to Lorelei and Neysha, have recruited more SCAdians and shown SCAdians from marginalized communities that the SCA is working to increase their comfort levels in the organization.

More research is required to better understand the impacts the DEI office and youth recruiting strategies have made for increasing SCAdian diversity for community resilience. If the SCA can employ more effective youth-adult power sharing strategies and increase the diversity in the organization through the DEI office, SCAdian social cohesion and resilience strategies they may be able to overcome a lot of their persistent problems related to diversity, interpersonal conflicts, bullying, unequal power dynamics,

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and bigotry. However, given the efficacy of other SCAdian policy changes in the face of disruptions, the existing SCAdian community resilience strategies seem promising.

This chapter provided a basic framework to understand how SCAdians build and maintain their resilience and how my interviewees perceived them. However, one of the largest challenges the SCA faced was the Trump administration and the COVID-19 pandemic. The next chapter is a case study examining SCAdian social cohesion and resilience in the face of these significant disruptions.

6: THE SCA AND THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC

The July of 2020 was oppressively hot. The typical depressive feelings I have during the scorching Arizona summer were exacerbated by the fact that we had not seen our SCAdian friends for six months during quarantine because of the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. My husband's and my mood were at an all-time low, and even the Zoom meetings and online Jackbox games we played with our SCAdian friends were not enough to stave off our longing for them. One day I realized we could still see our friends in-person while socially distancing by meeting them on their porches. We drove 45 minutes to the west side of Phoenix where most of our friends in our SCA House lived. We stopped at a drive-through taco stand, picked up a six pack of beers at a drive-through liquor store, and arrived soon after on the doorstep of three of our friends.

When we knocked on the door, all three of them answered - they had not had any visitors for a very long time. Their reactions from simply seeing us were unforgettable. One of our friends broke down in tears, while the other two jumped back from the door in surprise when they saw our faces. We could not hug, but we brought camp chairs and sat six feet apart while placing tacos to the middle of our circle and opening beers with the separate bottle openers we brought with us.

We started talking and learned that our friends had also reached an all-time emotional low that day and our arrival was exactly what they needed. We told them we planned to visit each of the 15 members of our SCAdian friend group (a.k.a. my House)

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that day to surprise them. Soon we had a caravan of cars going to each door and surprising each group of friends. All of us had missed each other so much that the tears of joy flowed in abundance. We laughed about past Wars and planned future parties that we would host. Several of our friends had started art projects to decorate our camp where we gather as a House at SCA events when we were finally able to return to War and spend a week together again. We loved and missed them so much. The SCA's Estrella War was the reason we met and, though our friendships are strong outside of the SCA, it is SCA events that always enable us all to be together. They are our family, and the SCA is the conduit for building and maintaining our group's social cohesion. Social cohesion is a characteristic of thriving and resilient communities that have limited internal conflicts and a strong sense of group identity (Dragolov et al. 2016), which is exemplified by our connections with our SCA friends.

As I conducted interviews with SCAdians during January- March of 2020, many of my interviewees talked about how much they missed their SCAdian friends and family and how they planned to hug them when they finally emerged from quarantine. Each one talked about how excited they were for the first War after quarantine restrictions would be lifted after quarantine. They talked about how much it would mean to see their loved ones in person. It is these deep emotional ties that maintain the SCA's membership and the organization's community resilience. Community resilience is a community's ability to adapt and thrive after significant disruptions occur (Norris et al. 2008).

This chapter describes how the COVID-19 pandemic influenced SCAdians and my interviewees' experiences and predictions about how this disruption will affect the wellness and longevity of the SCA. I will additionally describe how the SCA has worked to maintain its membership, social cohesion, and ultimately its community resilience through structural policy changes and virtual interactions in response to the pandemic. Because of persistent challenges stemming from online conflicts, a need for in-person interaction, and mundane political turmoil during the 2020 United States election, co-occurring with the pandemic, some SCAdians fear the organization's ability to survive the pandemic in the next five years. Despite these challenges, the majority of SCAdians I interviewed believe that their interpersonal bonds and love of the organization will enable the organization to persist and grow due to strong social cohesion that can potentially build a healthier SCAdian community. I argue that the SCA employs and will continue to employ effective strategies to maintain community resilience and thrive. I analyze these complex outcomes related to the COVID-19 pandemic in this chapter using a mix of real-time observations, speculations, and virtual participant observations to understand how the COVID-19 pandemic affected the SCA's community resilience and social cohesion.

A Theory of SCAdian Community Resilience and the Virtual SCA

SCAdian community resilience is both a proactive and reactive process to persistent community challenges and intermittent community disruptions. Disruptions are often linked to persistent challenges that go unaddressed by SCAdian leadership until

they erupt into community disruptions (see previous chapter). Disruptions and challenges can lead to lowered community resilience in the form of lost community membership, which can result in fewer volunteers, canceled events, and less cultural, human, and economic capital for the SCA.

As I illustrated in the previous chapter, at the center of these issues is the fact that SCAdians have high levels of social cohesion and a love of the activities they do in the SCA. To maintain community resilience when disruptions occur, SCAdians employ a variety of social strategies to build cohesion and maintain and recruit members while working to create a peaceful and cohesive community. Strategies include policy changes, conflict mediation, banishing harmful SCAdians, and creating community education opportunities for cultural change. This resiliency framework became apparent during the COVID-19 pandemic, the main disruption the SCA experienced while I conducted this research. The SCAdian community depended heavily on its virtual community to maintain social ties and with the hope of sustaining SCAdian community resilience in the face of social distancing.

Moreover, the virtual SCA community had already been an important part of maintaining the SCA since the 1990s through its online newsletters, emails, and usage of social media throughout these time periods. The social distancing necessitated by the 2020 quarantine further augmented the SCA's online presence.

The SCA's virtual community was well-established prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. For example, the Kingdom of Atenveldt alone has 4.3 thousand members. As communication technologies expanded into the digital realm during the 1990s and 2000s, the SCA followed suit, creating websites, virtual newsletters, and social media pages. SCA pages exist on almost all social media platforms, but Facebook is the most popular medium through which SCAdians interact virtually. Before and after the pandemic, SCAdians maintained at least 25 separate groups with between 1 and 11,000 members on Facebook alone- dedicated to specific Kingdoms, Baronies, households (camping groups), arts, crafts, fighting, events, and anything related to SCA life, such as diversity, equity, and inclusion, SCAdian sexual minorities, and so much more. Social media compresses SCAdian life (like it does for many people throughout the world) across time and space (Walker 2009), allowing information to be sent, received, and processed faster than many SCAdians both sponsored by the organization and individual SCAdians and smaller SCAdian groups that others SCAdians can notice and absorb.

Social media enables SCAdians to interact quickly and with many different people at once, reducing the cost of communication and potentially increasing the SCA's ability to recruit and maintain membership. This communication and connection strategy appears to be a sign of SCAdian community resilience to maintain relationships across states, countries, oceans, and continents in the SCAdian Known World. These findings are not surprising considering that the ability to increase communication for community resilience can be observed in other communities, especially in the context of a disaster

(Nicholls 2012). In the case of COVID-19 and social distancing, SCAdians began holding online events and communicating more on social media, expanding the SCAdian virtual community.

Virtual Communities and Social Cohesion

Virtual communities emerge through online platforms when people expand their social circles to share information, build emotional bonds, and a sense of belonging (Ellis et al. 2004). Extant research on virtual communities suggests that social cohesion and community resilience can occur online regardless of whether people meet in person (Memmi 2006). The theory of *social compensation* can explain this phenomenon.

According to this theory, online communities compensate for limited in-person social life (Davis and Kraus 1989; von Ingen et al. 2016). This was particularly significant during the COVID-19 pandemic when in-person social contact between SCAdians was significantly reduced. In response, the SCA compensated by increasing online classes, gatherings, and communications. Some people joined the SCA during quarantine when they attended virtual SCAdian events, so the virtual SCA completely compensated for their lack of in-person SCAdian social interactions due to the required social distancing during that time. Though I did not speak with any of these individuals, my interviewees repeatedly discussed how the classes and virtual gatherings they conducted while social distancing brought in new members- suggesting that the virtual

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SCA can be a useful community resilience strategy with limitations, due to the evidence of lost membership as well.

For established SCAdian members, the online community enhanced their existing in-person relationships, illustrating that virtual communities often work to enhance existing social cohesion (Masullo Chen 2014). The SCA was able to overcome some of the disruptive emotional strain of social distancing during the pandemic by using information sharing and online events, which likely helped to maintain social cohesion, similar to other virtual community outcomes (Visser and Antheunis 2013).

Social cohesion is a characteristic of any society with no conflict or crime, a desire for people to affiliate with one another with a degree of stability showing the strength of connections to one another and the community (Fonseca et al. 2019). In the context of the SCA, social cohesion is a community characteristic that is influenced by individuals and environmental factors, such as natural disasters, and social disruptions including the COVID-19 pandemic.

Research on social cohesion and natural disasters suggests that within the first few months of a natural disaster, communities become more cohesive, but become less cohesive as the effects of the disaster draw out over time (Townshend et al. 2014). Based on my online ethnographic observations, the SCA appeared to initially have more positive interactions online during the pandemic. For example, one of my friends created a "Crafting During Quarantine" Facebook group where many of our SCAdian friends

posted their art projects for praise, community building, and occasionally for purchase. Another SCAdian friend group of ours had regular Zoom "parties" where we would get drinks and food, sign onto Zoom, and chat for hours. Toward the beginning, more people attended these parties and communicated in these groups.

However, by the fall of 2020, few if any people attended online "gatherings." After talking with other SCAdians during the fall of 2020 and spring of 2021, I learned that the SCA's virtual community has been both a blessing and a curse during COVID-19. As the pandemic dragged on, SCAdians began talking with broader online communities, and eventually discussions about mundane politics soured many virtual SCAdian interactions. A topic of particular concern among my interviewees was the Trump administration, which acted as a co-occurring disruption with the pandemic that threatened SCAdian community resilience with a potential loss of members. The effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on SCAdian organizational membership is not fully understood at this time as the organization is still collecting data on it. The effects of the deepened political division in the wake of the Trump administration may never be fully understood, as this is likely too sensitive a subject for the SCA to collect data on using their census or any other surveys or community data collection. However, SCAdian membership has remained fairly stable (increasing by approximately 500 people each year) despite many disruptions over the years.

SCAdian Formal and Informal Membership before and after Quarantine

The SCA maintained a general upward trend in their membership as illustrated by Green's (2019) analysis of the organizational membership by year since 1992 (Figure 7):
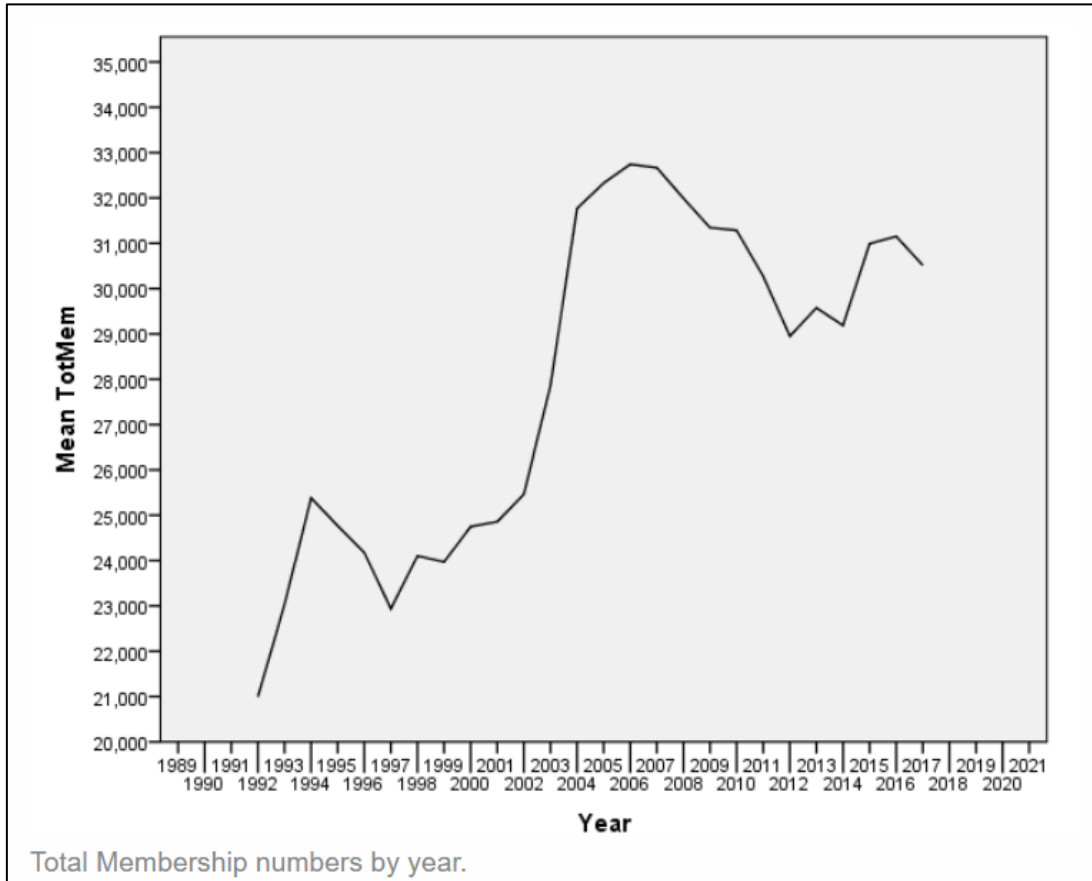

Figure 7 Green's (2019) SCA membership over time

Green's (2019) analysis suggests a general upward trend in SCAdian membership growth. Green (2019) collected this data prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, so any predictions about the SCA's community resilience in the wake of COVID-19 are purely speculation, but likely remained stable during and after the pandemic based on the size of

the online groups and interactions I have viewed therein. Pre-pandemic SCAdian

responses to event cancellations and disruptions have nonetheless illustrated how

SCAdian social cohesion and their love of the hobby overcame the challenges through

online activity in online groups, SCAdian Households, and through the telephone. For

example, Gabe, a 37-year-old SCAdian who has been in the organization since he was

15, described one such instance:

> Some years back [Estrella] War 13 got canceled because of flooding. Almost every member of my household was on staff [for the event]. We had worked very hard and of course [the event] site ended up under eight feet of water so that wasn't going to happen. And it was kind of a huge hit when you've spent six months of the year planning this, writing budgets, going to meetings. …'We're finally going to see the fruits of the labor!' and that [the event is canceled] happens. And so we were miserable. It was depressing… And I don't even know which member of the household it was, but they're all like, 'well, we have all this stuff for camping and we have all the booze. Yeah, we have all the food… Why aren't we camping?' We were like, 'Well, we'll just camp this weekend… We camped for eight days literally just like, 'Oh, we'll go home, shower, grab our stuff and go back [to our campsite] and you know we'll [play] music, we'll do whatever! Eventually even the Forest Service was like, 'Um, you guys aren't like moving out here, are you?' It really helped [us feel better about the War being canceled].

Gabe's household (camping group) illustrated the SCAdian desire to gather

regardless of whether it is at an official SCA event. I know that my SCAdian household

feels the same way. Although Estrella War has been indefinitely canceled, we plan to

schedule our own group camping events instead and attend other SCAdian Wars such as

the Highlands War in Flagstaff, Arizona and the Great Western War in Southern

California. The SCAdian community can potentially sustain itself with a combination of

SCAdian formally hosted events and informal SCAdian friend group gatherings. However, these informal gatherings might not bode well for the SCA organization's membership overall because the organization cannot collect event fees to sustain the organization's financial stability.

SCAdian officers and leaders with whom I spoke have expressed concern about the SCA's ability to recruit and maintain its membership during and after the pandemic, especially among youth. A common theme throughout my interviews is the fact that the majority of SCAdians are 25 and older. Some SCAdian leaders and recruiters like Maria, who recruits and trains teens for SCAdian rapier fighting (fencing), are seeking opportunities to recruit younger SCAdians through colleges, mentoring programs, and age-inclusive decision-making processes. Research on youth-led community development shows that youth are highly effective in expanding social movements, recruiting members, and developing socially transformative responses to disruptions (Braxton 2016), so Maria's efforts can be an important factor in the SCA's community resilience after the COVID-19 disruption.

The Virtual SCA for SCAdian Community Resilience

According to some of my interviewees, the virtual SCAdian community initially yielded a variety of benefits for SCAdians during the COVID-19 pandemic and quarantine. These benefits included the opportunity to rest in general, to share knowledge

(such as Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion classes), the ability to recruit new members, and the ability to build social cohesion with established friends online.

As I illustrated in the introduction, SCAdians missed each other very much during quarantine. Many other SCAdians talked about how difficult it was for them to be separated from their SCA friends and family, but that the distance has inspired even more enthusiasm for the SCA as an organization intends to increase event attendance. As José, a 24-year-old SCAdian who has been a member since he was 18, said:

> I feel like one thing is for sure. The first War that comes after COVID will be highly anticipated and highly attended because even if it's not in your state as a member of the SCA you're itching to come back…you want to go out and see your friends. You want to go and fight on the heart of a rapier field or go out and do archery with your friends again. [You want to do] thrown weapons, [a SCAdian martial art] you want to do your craft or do service… you're dying to be social with your group again.

José's comments reflect the strong social cohesion and love of the SCA that many other SCAdians expressed to me. For established SCAdian members, the online community enhanced their existing in-person relationships, illustrating how virtual communities can often support existing social cohesion (Masullo Chen 2014). The SCA was able to overcome some of the disruptive emotional strain of social distancing during the pandemic by using information sharing and online events, which likely helped to maintain social cohesion similar to other virtual community outcomes (Visser and Antheunis 2013).

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While many SCAdians greatly missed their comrades, some SCAdians appreciated a break from all of the work they did for the SCA. For SCAdians who volunteer and hold leadership positions in the SCA, this was very much the case. Quarantine was a welcome respite from the daily and weekly responsibilities these leaders held within the SCA, providing much-needed chances to rest and avoid burnout. For example, Veronica, a 29-year-old SCAdian Baroness, felt that the SCA will return from the pandemic stronger than ever in part because of this respite:

> We got an unexpected break in the middle of our tenure as B&B [Baron and Baroness], we were feeling overwhelmed [before the pandemic in these roles]. Like, February, March this year we were like, 'Oh my God, there's an event every weekend, like we can't keep up with this.' Where we're getting really bent out [of shape- felt exhausted] and then suddenly it was canceled. So for a little while, that for us, it was actually kind of an unexpected good thing. Which I don't know I'm allowed to say that I meant to be like, 'Oh, no, no. I see. I'm the baroness so sad about this,' but actually we needed a break that we weren't ever going to make ourselves take.

Veronica addressed the issue of burnout in the SCA, which emerged in my discussion in Chapter 4 where SCAdian volunteerism and pressure to volunteer sometimes drove people away from the SCA. According to Veronica, social distancing during the pandemic will help the most active SCAdian volunteers and leaders to rest and recover from their responsibilities to the organization, possibly enabling them to be more effective and engaged with the SCA once in-person events resume.

Financial Insecurity and SCAdian Social Cohesion

An added benefit to the virtual SCA and the pandemic was the ability for

SCAdians to offer financial assistance to one another. For SCAdians who survived the

pandemic, economic insecurity became a significant factor in their ability to engage in

the SCA. To address attrition due to job and/or economic insecurity during the COVID-

19 pandemic, the SCA Inc. created a "membership assistance fund" (SCA Team 2020). I

emailed the SCA Inc. to find more statistics on the organizational membership with no

response. While the information is not currently available to me, the president of the SCA

Inc. applauded the decision, focusing on the social cohesion and generosity SCAdians

exemplified in creating this fund:

> I'm constantly being asked by our members how they can help those who might
> be in less fortunate circumstances. This fund will simplify getting memberships to
> those who might be struggling and makes it easier for others to assist where they
> can. The generosity and care of the SCA community continues to be one of the
> aspects of our Society I am most proud of. (SCA inc. 2022)

As evidenced by Chapters 3 and 4, SCAdians are known to be generous to each

other, reflecting the president's comments. The SCA will monitor its paying membership

and event attendance to determine the effect of these community disruptions. My

interviewees' comments and the membership assistance fund show signs of strong social

cohesion and community resilience in the face of the COVID-19 disruption. However,

my interviewees also discussed significant challenges and co-ocurring disruptions in the SCA as a result of the pandemic and heightened SCAdian virtual presence.

Virtual SCA as a Threat to SCAdian Community Resilience

The main co-occurring disruptions my interviewees discussed included arguments online related to how the SCA approaches issues around diversity, equity, and inclusion, arguments about the Trump administration, and losing SCAdian membership due to these tensions, social distancing policies related to COVID-19 in the SCA, and lost organizational revenue due to losing paying members.

The COVID-19 pandemic coincided with a variety of social disruptions both inside and outside the SCA such as arguments online, forced social distancing, and loss of organizational membership in large part due to social distancing and SCAdians having to reduce their social interactions to online-only activities. Though SCAdians have continued to interact and build community using their virtual community, it has also created internal tensions that reduced social cohesion in the organization. Moreover, if relationships are developed only online and are not supported with in-person contact and communities, individuals are more likely to form weaker bonds and experience increased loneliness, resulting in less social cohesion overall (Visser et al. 2013). As illustrated in previous chapters, SCAdians enjoy very strong social bonds even in the face of community disruptions. However, many SCAdians were forced to rely entirely on virtual

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communications, and many new members have only experienced virtual gatherings and events, which threatens SCAdian community resilience.

Lost Membership

Some of my interviewees believe that the COVID-19 pandemic may result in the SCA losing members and/or revenue for the organization despite SCAdian community resilience. For example, I interviewed Randall, a 50-year-old SCAdian man, in October of 2020 who said:

> Well, we already know for a fact that the SCA memberships dropped by 24% because people just aren't renewing because they don't see a need to. I haven't renewed my membership. If I renew it, it'll be in February, right before I fight Crown [a fighter tournament to determine who will be the Royalty for the following six months]. And you know the SCA has basically put a moratorium on any in-person events until the 31st of January and I applaud that decision 1,000%. People don't have any business congregating right now… If COVID is actually killing 5% of the people that contract it, essentially what you're saying is, 'go to an event and roll a D-20 [20-sided dice]. If it rolls a one put a gun to your mouth and pull the trigger.' You know, [The SCA has] already lost 24% of its membership. Now they want to lose another chunk of it because …the people who are going, 'oh my god, I miss my friends, I miss going to the dance…' And I am thinking, 'I see dead people.'

I asked Randall to offer specific evidence that the SCA has lost paying members and he informed me that he saw an announcement about how membership in the SCA had dropped by 24% on the SCA's general Facebook page. I could not find this post, but Randall's concerns are not unfounded. Randall's concerns about SCAdian membership

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losses due to attrition and COVID-related deaths are significant factors to consider when examining SCAdian community resilience.

Other interviewees were concerned about the loss of organizational revenue in the wake of large events being canceled. The SCA gains most of its income from paying memberships and attendance fees for large SCA events. These fees support administration of the organization overall by subscribing to website platforms, renting event venues and supplies, and Zoom subscriptions. The loss of in-person events and reduced paying membership could be the end of the SCA, or at the very least prove to be a challenge that will require a long time to recover from. As Marissa, a 34-year-old lifelong SCAdian woman said:

> The SCA has large in-person events in various places all the time. …I think that as a hobby, it can be done safely [gathering at in-person SCA events]. I think that recovering from the financial damage that comes with it, you know, a pandemic to a nonprofit. …I think that that's going to take a while to repair. So a lot of people didn't renew their memberships. We're not generating revenue from events and stuff. And I think that it's going to be a struggle to rebuild from that definitely like at least for the next year or two, possibly longer.

Marissa's concerns are not unfounded. As of November 2021, the Estrella War (one of the largest SCAdian events in the world) was canceled indefinitely - due in large part to the loss of the revenue the Kingdom of Atenveldt (Arizona) usually gains from hosting the event each year. Among the people in my SCAdian friend groups, this announcement was sad because we often depend on the Estrella War to gather as a whole

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group. Without the Estrella War, our whole friend group has had to find activities outside of the SCA to sustain our larger friend group to include the friends who do not live in Arizona, which certainly reduces the revenue the SCA can gain from our paying memberships and event fees.

Several of my interviewees discussed how the online SCA community resulted in fewer SCAdian membership renewals and applications. While I do not have specific data to support these claims, some of my interviewees perceived this as an issue including Bobby, a 29-year-old SCAdian who has been a Knight and Chatelaine (SCA recruiter and new member greeter). Bobby said that he is very worried about recruitment due to COVID, especially among potential SCAdian youth recruits:

> I'm really terrified because we already had a big issue with skewing older [among our members]. I don't know what our average is, but I think it is in [the] 40s [for the average SCAdian age]. …And so to solve that we constantly need to be getting new members, you know, early 20s in college people to fix that. And what I'm worried about is that we didn't really get anybody new during lockdown. But all the people that were only a year in and kind of sorta thinking about it. I think we're going to lose them too. The people who are in for two years and we're starting to get excited but now they've had to find something else to do for next year.

As a middle school teacher, Bobby has a passion for working with youth and he repeatedly explained that he is trying to recruit and retain younger SCAdians, which he perceives as essential to SCAdian community resilience. Similar to Maria (mentioned above), Bobby recognizes the importance of young people for SCAdian community resilience. Other SCAdians expressed their fears that the SCA could lose membership

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due to online disinhibition and arguments related to the Trump administration, as well as diversity, equity, and inclusion issues.

Online Disinhibition, Trump, and Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Issues

Online disinhibition occurs when people interact online with strangers and/or they use pseudonyms, both of which drive anonymity (Suler 2004). Increased anonymity means many people are less likely to recognize social contracts to avoid confrontational language and refrain from sharing their opinions in mixed company (Suler 2004). These factors sometimes disinhibit people to write things that they would not otherwise say in a face-to-face interaction (Suler 2004). Consequently, many arguments, bullying, and conflicts can occur, exacerbating existing tensions in the SCA related to bigotry, unequal power dynamics, and interpersonal conflict resulting from limited interpersonal interaction due to the communication taking place online. According to all of my interviewees, online conflicts may reduce social cohesion and SCAdian organizational resilience through loss of membership. These online conflicts were heavily linked to the political climate in 2020.

During 2020, the United States experienced one of its most contentious election years, with many Americans and people around the world feeling anxiety and fear about the election's outcomes (Smith et al. 2023). These anxieties spilled onto social media pages, resulting in arguments about the Trump administration and the other presidential candidates (Smith et al. 2023). In addition, there were online social tensions about

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COVID-19 vaccines and safety measures and the international social justice protests led by Black Lives Matter (Patterson 2020). Many of my interviewees expressed concerns about how social media has disrupted and could potentially destroy the SCA. Robin, a 40-year-old, 2nd generation, lifelong SCAdian, expressed his concerns that the SCA may suffer due to these online disagreements:

> There's also a lot of animosity and strife mundanely that's spilling over into the SCA and it has a chance to really fragment and schism the SCA. We've lost a lot of people on both sides of the social interactions online because we don't have the ability to go face-to-face. And so they're firing away at their keyboards and some people are exposing themselves for who they really are, not who they are in the SCA…there's a conservative aspect of the SCA that's been heavily attacking a liberal aspect of the SCA and the liberal aspect of the SCA it's been attacking conservative aspect of the SCA. … It's very easy to amplify those in social media situations. And so they explode… So we will lose membership over the political divide… But that becomes a challenge when the SCA gets back together.

Robin highlights the complex problems that occur in the SCA due to political strife and online disinhibition. Some Scadians I observed online linked the Trump administration to the types of bigotry that the SCA's DEI office works to counteract in the organization. For example, one SCAdian on the Kingdom of Atenveldt Page said:

Conservative SCAdians, for their part, expressed confusion and felt marginalized because they could not understand why liberal and leftist SCAdians were so angry and argumentative with them online. Brandon, a 20-year-old SCAdian who joined the SCA when he was 18, said:

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I have seen people [SCAdians] on Facebook get sort of aggressively liberal in their views. I understand politics is a fact of life, obviously, especially these past four years. It's taken on maybe an outsized role than what it should have. At the same time, there's like a time and a place for it. And personally, I don't feel like Facebook, you know, public group, is really a place for it- ever.

Brandon felt that arguments about politics were not acceptable in SCAdian spaces and have been disruptive to the SCAdian community. I witnessed a few arguments online related to these issues and especially in the context of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion. For example, the SCA announced DEI classes on the Atenveldt (Arizona) Facebook page in the following post:

Join us this week for an exploration of what the Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Office does (and doesn't do!) as we speak to several past and present officers for DEI from around the Known World. You'll learn about the original vision for the office, what DEI looks like in different kingdoms (as well as different levels) and how recent events and the pandemic reshaped plans and framed the current landscape. Questions are welcome through the Facebook Live!

From left to right:
Maestra Giada Alberti
THL Sabine Crespelle
Baroness Zahra Tesfaye
Duchess Sha'ya Kjartanskona
THL Aenor de Pessac
Mewadi Margavati Bai, OL

SCA Office of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion
Wednesday, 10/14, 5pm PDT/6pm MDT/7pm CDT/ 8pm EDT/12am (Th 10/15) GMT

equity@sca.org

This panel will be streamed through Facebook Live to the SCA Diversity Equity and Inclusion page. A link will be provided in this event on the day of, as well. The streamed version will remain accessible on this page for future viewing.

Figure 8 Screenshot of DEI announcement

This panel will be streamed through Facebook Live to the SCA Diversity Equity and Inclusion page. A link will be provided in this event on the day of, as well. The streamed version will remain accessible on this page for future viewing.

Panel/interview disclaimer: The views and opinions expressed by panel/interview participants are their current opinions and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of SCA Inc.

Zoom participant disclaimer: Please note that, by participating, you are agreeing to be recorded and granting permission to have the video posted to SCA Social Media Channels.

#MySCA #InclusiveExcellence

WED, OCT 14, 2020
This Week in DEI: What is the DEI Office?   ☆ Interested
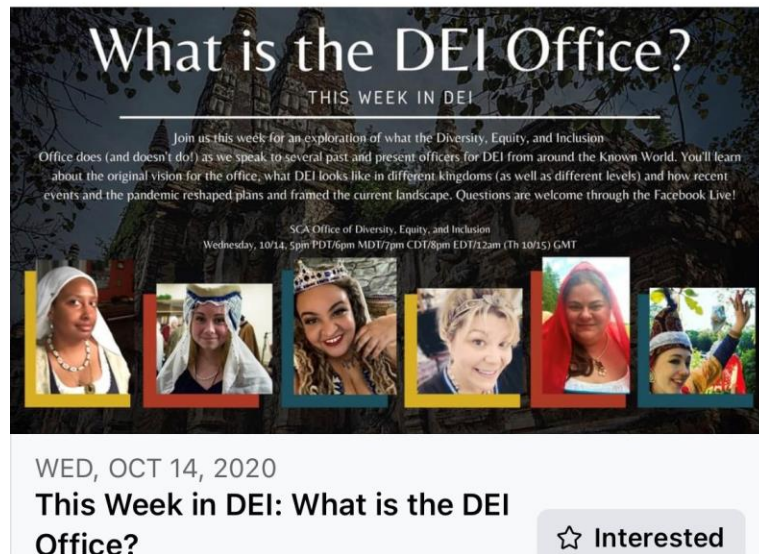
In response, there were 34 separate comments on the post expressing a range of responses for and against the classes. One person stated, "It has come to this? Where has my SCA gone?" Another person said: "I want the SCA to stand up against the racist, misogynist, white supremacist, neo-Nazi, rapist trash and their supports[sic]/defenders who are

seemingly taking over the organization." In response to this comment, another person said:

> And what makes someone a racist? Misogynist? White supremacist? Neo-Nazi? Rapist? I've been accused of all these things simply because I didn't support a certain political candidate. I haven't seen any indication of any of those groups taking over the SCA, although I have seen, in the past, certain people get away with sexual assault because they held rank in the SCA.

Given these disagreements and accusations of bigotry and assault, some of the online arguments became vicious and resulted in people ending friendships and harboring contempt for the SCA as an organization (for example, Wilson, from chapter 2 who left the SCA because he discovered his Knight voted for Trump). Online disinhibition was likely a factor in most of these online arguments.

While political debates and arguments have been significant factors in reduced social cohesion, loss of membership, and reduced community resilience in the SCA, many SCAdians felt that simply being able to talk face-to-face could have alleviated these issues. As Marissa said, social media drives people to interact with one another in ways that they would never do in face-to-face situations:

> There would not have been as much interpersonal conflict if we've been seeing each other face to face. I think it's just the nature of the internet. You're safe behind your screen, people say things online, they would never say in person. I think that has been like here in Perth [Australia], where we're feeling safe from COVID at the moment. I think the online stuff has been the biggest challenge.

Marissa discussed the online disinhibition effect and alluded to the fact that this persistent tension may improve once more in-person SCAdian events starts-up. In the case of the SCA, many of the conflicts my interviewees described likely are the result of online disinhibition, but as Robin said, online disinhibition might be one of the biggest barriers to SCAdian community resilience and wellness.

These disruptions and persistent challenges in the SCA show the complexities of sustaining SCAdian community resilience in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, relying heavily on the virtual SCA community for community interactions, and shifting political and cultural perspectives about politics, diversity, equity, and inclusion. These threats to the SCA's community resilience are important factors to consider in the context of SCAdian community resilience overall. However, several of my interviewees have optimistic outlooks for the future of the SCA.

Optimistic Outlooks for the SCA's Community Resilience

I spoke with my interviewees about what they think will happen in the SCA in the coming five years, and especially after the pandemic. Some of my interviewees had optimistic speculations in the context of the virtual SCA, the pandemic, and the mundane and SCAdian social changes that occurred during the Trump administration. Some SCAdians feel that though some members may leave due to the disruptions associated with COVID-19, the Trump administration, and the problems in the SCAdian virtual community, the SCA will remain a resilient and thriving community. Anthony, a 19-year-

old lifelong SCAdian, simply said: "I do think that maybe in five years, we will be able to bounce back [and function as normal with in-person events]."

Anthony's prediction was common among one third (22 of 67) of my interviewees, who agreed that they felt like the SCA would either be stronger as an organization or remain the same as it was prior to the pandemic. These SCAdians cited other reasons the SCA can remain resilient. According to Casey, 54-year-old founding member of the SCA, the virtual SCA is more inclusive of people with lower incomes who have less time to commit to the SCA, and people with chronic health conditions:

> I think that it may be kind of a hybrid afterwards. There'll be a lot of people who are just very enthused to come back and can do real stuff, you know, [in-person] interactive stuff. But I think they'll probably still also continue to be virtual events. I think that maybe, for instance, Baronial Council meetings [the populace meets with the Baron and Baroness] will just keep being online. So everyone doesn't have to drive to a freakin library somewhere to sit in a room and do what we can obviously do this way… You know that big camping events like Pennsic and Great Western [Wars] and there's always a shitload of people who get sick afterwards, just from camping and you know being around so many people. And, you know, weakening our immune systems are spending time collecting trash and things like that and there's gonna be a certain number of people who just don't want to take that risk.

Casey draws attention to several important issues that many of my other interviewees described. For example, the virtual SCA creates more inclusive opportunities for people with health challenges and/or physical disabilities. As Bethany, a white, Australian cis gender woman aged 56 said, the online Zoom meetings have enabled she and other active SCAdians to meet safely despite their physical limitations:

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> I'm on a disability pension for chronic fatigue, fibromyalgia, depression, anxiety, arthritis, and congenital spinal problems…I've got a reduced immune system.. So, at the moment, all the committee meetings are being held in person that half of us are signing in through zoom or following it on a chat feed rather than being there [in the meeting] in person. And some of the most active members have ongoing health issues, which often means that they can't do what they needed to or other people have to go by and swing it up from there, pick it up from their house and take it somewhere and things like that so …it's simply not safe for them to come out at this stage [of the COVID pandemic].

Bethany and other SCAdians with disabilities have been able to volunteer and contribute to the SCA through online options in the SCA, which shows how this technological advancement can increase inclusivity for SCAdians with disabilities. Moreover, using Zoom video conferencing as a meeting platform reduced the SCA's costs for scheduling meeting spaces and the cost and time to travel to these meetings. Such benefits suggest that Casey's prediction might be a sign of a resilient future SCA community.

The new virtual diversity, equity, and inclusion classes that were started during the pandemic may also be a positive result of the virtual SCA and a factor in future SCAdian community resilience. Engaging diverse peoples and perspectives has been shown to be highly effective for increasing community resilience (Poortinga 2012; Rodin 2014). As several of my interviewees stated, the SCA's diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) office may be the catalyst to recruit and retain more diverse SCAdian membership, however, the positive impacts thereof remain to be seen.

I spoke with the SCA's corporate DEI officer, who plans to travel to each SCAdian Kingdom to train and implement DEI processes and education with the hope

that the SCA can be more diverse and inclusive. These changes, combined with the organization's strong social cohesion and responses to past disruptions might help the SCA survive and thrive despite all challenges and disruptions.

Lorelei also felt that the virtual DEI classes discussing racial equity and raising awareness about the challenges and needs of LGBTQIA+ SCAdians that were offered during the pandemic recruited people and may result in greater SCAdian community resilience:

> I also have seen a lot of people discover the society during this time and be really excited about it and be more excited about it. People are like, 'Oh, like you all are accepting of gay people. Cool.' Some of these debates have helped also get us some of like these future members hoping and so I can see who is attending events changing.

Whether or not Lorelei's prediction will come to fruition remains to be seen. However, Lorelei offers an optimistic outlook on the issue of the virtual SCA and interpersonal conflict. Not all conflict is harmful, and some of the SCA's problems with diversity, equity, and inclusion could be addressed by expanding the virtual SCA. Some of their social cohesion building strategies like the DEI office might make a positive difference in how many members the SCA can retain and increase a sense of inclusion and overall social cohesion for all SCAdians. For example, all of the SCAdians I interviewed plan to remain in their friend groups and Houses regardless of the negative responses to diverse needs and the DEI office.

Some of my interviewees added that the SCA will likely change socially and structurally due to COVID-19. For example, many of my interviewees believe that in-person SCAdian events will include increased safety precautions such as fewer attendees at events, increased physical distance between campsites and/or physical distancing while engaging with other people (six-foot distances, e.g.), more SCAdians wearing masks (which might include plague doctor masks and costumes), no food buffets, more hand sanitizer stations, and quarantining after travel to and from SCAdian events. Now that social distancing and quarantine have ended, SCAdians for the most part do not wear masks or social distance when gathering together but offer masks and hand sanitizer as an option.

Other SCAdian communities appeared to be more resilient than others. For example, the Estrella War was canceled in Arizona, while the Great Western War in Southern California increased its attendee numbers in 2021. Much of this surge in attendance came from Arizonans attending that event in lieu of the canceled Estrella War. Moreover, some new SCAdians attended the Great Western War as their first ever SCA event after learning about the SCA and the War online during the pandemic. In fact, I saw two of my non-SCAdian friends post on Facebook that they attended the 2021 Great Western War as their first SCA event, which they tagged the event page in their posts. Similarly, smaller Arizona events like Highlands War and Too Hot in Flagstaff, Arizona experienced larger-than-normal turnouts following the cancellation of Estrella. These responses to the pandemic suggest that while some communities in the SCA may suffer

and experience reduced resilience, other communities (and the SCA as a whole) may thrive and grow.

Moving toward a more virtual SCA community during the pandemic has not been without its complexities. Online disinhibition during the pandemic and tensions related to the Trump administration were persistent challenges that exacerbated these disruptions and drove two thirds (45 of 67) of my interviewees to question SCA's community resilience. Many of those interviewees also expressed optimism about the SCA's ability to recover and thrive after the pandemic and these co-occurring challenges. As of today, the SCA appears to be functioning similarly to the way it did prior to 2020 and in September 2022, the Kingdom of Atenveldt announced a new War to be held in Western Phoenix called, the War of the Phoenix "Resurrection" to replace the Estrella War. The event was planned and developed by volunteers in collaboration with the King and Queen of Atenvelt. Events such as these suggest that the SCA will continue to adapt and sustain its membership and group activities in the coming years despite severe disruptions.

Conclusion

Based on my interviewees' comments, analysis of past membership trends, and the power of SCAdian social cohesion, which I discussed in chapter 5, I argue that the SCA is resilient and able to recover from and adapt to these challenges and disruptions. It may need to change from a paying membership organization to smaller, unpaid events and gatherings among households, or it simply may shift to more online activity and

fewer but larger Wars (such as when the Great Western War grew in attendance partly due to the cancelation of the Estrella War). Moreover, new Wars are planned and being implemented to replace the Estrella War such as the War of the Phoenix. We have seen through the challenges and benefits of the virtual SCA that new SCAdians have joined the SCA during the COVID-19 pandemic (though I am unsure of all of these individuals' SCA membership statuses at this current time, and the SCA has initiated a variety of policies and offices to address significant challenges and disruptions associated with the pandemic, the Trump administration, and the COVID-19 pandemic such as the virtual SCA and DEI classes.

By focusing on the positive outcomes of virtual learning from the Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion offices as well as members such as Bobby who is a Chatelaine working to recruit more young people for the SCA, the SCA's community likely can shift to a more age, ethnic, and racially inclusive, younger, and more resilient population. By addressing persistent challenges such as financial insecurity, chronic illnesses, and time constraints many SCAdians face regarding in-person gatherings, the virtual SCA could be a highly effective way to sustain and build community resilience. Casey talked about the organization hybridizing and this prediction has already come to fruition with some in-person events and a continued active online community presence, which members of SCAdian Facebook pages can currently observe happening in SCAdian Facebook Live trainings and virtual Court as well as large, in-person events such as Wars. Moreover,

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based on the simple fact that SCAdians love to dress up, camp, and be together, SCAdian

community resilience will likely prevail in one form or another.

7: CONCLUSION

This dissertation utilized ethnographic interviewing and netnographic methods to understand how the SCA maintains community resilience in the context of intergenerativity, how it has changed and might be threatened, in part by significant community disruptions such as the COVID-19 pandemic. I additionally discussed how the SCA serves as a source of various types of capital for its members. My research showed that the SCA has experienced a variety of disruptions and persistent challenges over its 55 years of existence, but with the incorporation of intergenerativity, effective social capital, social cohesion, and community adaptability, the organization has withstood some of the most disruptive events and circumstances stemming from both inside and outside the SCA. The organization has both sustained and grown its membership and even SCAdians who no longer attend SCA events or pay membership for the organization, sustain strong social ties with active members of the SCA. By studying organizations such as the SCA, we can understand how to expand community resilience in the face of significant disruptions and how a multi-generational approach to social change and adaptation can result in positive social and emotional outcomes for all people involved. This research can augment existing research on community development, community resilience, and intergenerational community development by offering a practical case study and opportunities to learn from the mistakes and successes the SCA has faced while employing community resilience and development strategies.

SCAdians engaged with intergenerativity during the founding of the SCA as an organization and, to a lesser extent, into the present-day third generation of SCA members. When the SCA began, young people held important leadership positions, including a 9-year-old Princess in the Kingdom of Caid (Southern California) in 1971 who was widely acknowledged as an important decision-maker and symbol of SCAdian values. As the SCA aged and its membership expanded, dominant neontocratic systems that marginalized young people from economic and decision-making processes (due to legal age restrictions restricting alcohol use and consent forms for people under the age of 18) influenced how the SCA interacted with SCAdians under the age of 21. As a result, the SCA instituted policies that marginalized SCAdian youth and children from many leadership roles.

As SCAdians under the age of 21 were excluded from adult spaces such as parties where people are drinking alcohol and adult fighter practice, some adults became less willing to share power with young people. Instead, young people were segregated in youth-specific spaces such as youth combat programs and "kid's corners." Moreover, some adults engaged in sexual violence and domination over young people while presiding over these segregated youth spaces. Other adults instated hazing processes that at times were violent (as in some adult combat training) and other times infantilizing and paternalistic, such as the Youth and Family Awards (YAFA) program. To counteract any abuses against young people, the SCA developed intensive policies to protect young

people from violence and adult domination, but this meant that most of the opportunities for SCAdian youth to lead and contribute to the SCA as a community diminished. These policies were in response to lawsuits and the SCA's need to protect young people. Moreover, the violent perpetrators were arrested and banished from the SCA.

Though SCAdian intergenerativity has changed and lessened over time, some of the present day SCA intergenerational practices can offer positive intergenerational interactions in the SCA, such as the Tea House at the Estrella War (which now exists at the War of the Phoenix), the College of St. Felix, and opportunities for youth leadership in archery and combat. Moreover, my SCAdian interviewees of all ages stated that the SCA is still an organization where young people feel more valued and respected than they do in the mundane world. Considering SCAdians' past abilities to support Y-APS and the positive comments about the SCA from the young people with whom I spoke, there is an opportunity to create a more intergenerative SCA, which I describe below.

In addition to the SCA's intergenerativity, continued SCAdian social cohesion shows how their subcultural Chivalric Code that values service and volunteerism contributes to the organization's community resilience. These values and social connections can translate to strong emotional ties and social capital for organizational members. SCAdian social capital can additionally result in extensive resource sharing among organizational members around the globe. My interviewees have leveraged these resources to build effective interpersonal communication skills, workforce training opportunities, opportunities to start and maintain small businesses, and human capital.

Some skills and connections SCAdians obtain within the organization have also resulted in occupational careers for these individuals. At the same time, SCAdian social capital can become fragmented by negative social interactions, both in-person and in the SCA virtual community. When SCAdian social ties fragment, some individuals will leave the organization, not pay memberships, and refuse to volunteer. All of these outcomes threaten the SCA's community resilience. Despite some of the negative interpersonal interactions SCAdians have, however, all of the my interviewees said that they still maintain strong ties to individual SCAdians, even if they no longer consider themselves members, attend SCA events, or pay membership fees. For example, Frank in chapter 4 who experienced enough microaggressions as a Black man in the SCA that he left or Wilson who left the SCA because his knight voted for Donald Trump.

Given these findings, the SCA as an organization appears to be quite socially cohesive with the potential to continually benefit its members and former members inside and out of the organization through social capital. These findings confirm past research on subcultures showing that hobbies and subcultural practices can fulfill needs that dominant social systems cannot (Putnam 2001; Sebald, 1975). The manner in which SCAdians enact the SCA's Chivalric Code creates a reliable social network to assist SCAdians in their emotional, economic, and intellectual needs, both inside and outside SCA contexts.

Using information about the SCA's intergenerativity, social capital, and community resilience strategies, I offered a framework for how the SCA develops and maintains its community resilience in the face of persistent challenges in the community as well as external disruptions, which I call the SCA's theory of community resilience. My findings indicate that the SCA has a high potential to remain resilient despite the many disruptions and persistent challenges the organization faces. A recurring theme throughout my research findings is that the most significant factor in SCAdian community resilience is their social cohesion. All of my interviewees repeatedly stated that their connections to other SCAdians inspired them to return to events and pay their membership fees over the years. For the people who did not continue to pay memberships or attend events, they still maintained ties with active SCAdians.

However, the SCA experiences a number of internal disruptions and challenges that threaten the organization's community resilience. The internal community disruptions my interviewees most often cited were Trimgate, adult sexual misconduct with minors, and bullying by those in power. Some of the internal disruptions resulted from persistent challenges the SCA faces, including bigotry expressed by some members of the SCA, a lack of age, ethnic, and racial diversity, relatively few young SCAdian members and leaders, and unequal power dynamics that result in bullying and ineffective communication. To counteract the negative impacts of these internal persistent challenges and disruptions, the SCA employs a variety of strategies including enhancing virtual communication, making policy changes, office creation such as the corporate SCA

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office's Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) office, and continually expanding options for economic, human, and social capital for all people connected to the SCA. Such opportunities include the ability for SCAdians to donate the cost of a membership to other members with lower income.

When past SCAdian community resilience strategies have not been effective to address internal disruptions and challenges, the SCA's members seek other strategies such as expanding their youth combat mentoring programs and offering individual youth recruitment strategies at schools and local parks by members. To address the internal challenge of SCAdians expressing bigotry, some of my interviewees l feel that the DEI office can increase ethnic, racial, and age diversity and inclusion in the SCA through educational events and knowledge sharing, which has been shown to be effective in other organizations (see for example Foy 2021). These efforts are more recent and require more time and data collection to understand their impacts on the SCA community, but this is of particular importance for the SCA, given that they need to expand their youth membership and diversity the organization to build a more resilient community.

Among the external disruptions my interviewees cited were natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina, fires in California and Australia, and the COVID-19 pandemic. I was able to examine an external disruption in real-time for how the SCA responded and actively adapted to the COVID-19 pandemic. The social distancing during the pandemic shut down most SCA events and gatherings. As a result, SCAdians struggled with isolation from their social networks and SCAdian events were canceled, resulting in less

revenue for the SCA. This social distance strained my interviewees' connections to other members of the SCA, which was further exacerbated by online disinhibition in the virtual SCA community.

Online disinhibition occurs when people interact online. The combination of anonymity and reduced in-person accountability results in people expressing themselves in ways they would not normally do during in-person interactions (Suler 2004). As more SCAdians interacted online, online disinhibition increased where SCAdians who I observed were more likely to argue and insult one another due to increased anonymity and fewer opportunities for face-to-face discussions. SCAdians argued about vaccinations and whether social distancing was required during the pandemic. Some of the most destructive online arguing ensued when supporters of the Trump administration found themselves in conflict with supporters of the Biden election campaign in 2020. These conflicts occurred among my interviewees in both the United States and Australia (and likely throughout the world considering that 2020 yielded worldwide riots and protests among people supporting or apposing the Black Lives Matter movement and the 2020 United States electoral candidates (Press and Carothers 2020), which significantly disrupted social cohesion and membership in the SCA throughout the United States and Australia among the SCAdians I observed and interviewed. These arguments drove schisms between friends and families in the SCA, causing some people to leave the organization.

Nonetheless, increased virtual activity in the SCAdian community during the pandemic had some positive impacts as well. The SCA was able to rely on its already strong virtual community to create virtual events, community trainings, virtual gatherings, and resource sharing among SCAdians who were financially impacted by the pandemic with the SCA's membership assistance fund and disaster relief efforts. In response to the SCAdians who left the organization due to online arguments about the 2020 election, racism, and issues of social justice, the SCA expanded the offerings of the Diversity and Inclusion Office to talk about issues related to race, gender, and sexual orientation and how to positively interact with diverse SCAdians. Moreover, while some SCAdians left the organization and did not return, the virtual events enabled SCAdians to recruit some new members through their online trainings and new events that arose after quarantine.

In the aftermath of the pandemic, large events such as the Estrella War were officially and indefinitely canceled, but the SCA responded by creating a new event on the West side of the Phoenix Valley called "The War of the Phoenix " to replace it. Other large events like the Great Western War grew in terms of attendance partly due to the Estrella War's cancellation. For SCAdians unable to afford travel and/or otherwise unable to attend in-person events, the SCA increased opportunities for virtual gatherings, which have been especially beneficial to SCAdians with chronic allergies, illnesses, disabilities, and low income. Moreover, the SCA created a membership scholarship fund for SCAdians whose livelihoods have been impacted by the pandemic and any other

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SCAdians with financial barriers to membership or have trouble paying event attendance fees.

This means that the SCA could potentially increase or maintain its membership despite the many SCAdians who cannot afford the costs associated with their membership. Though I was unable to obtain data on current SCA membership from 2020 until now, I have noticed after the 2020 and 2021 quarantines, SCAdians online continue to interact with one another and there appears to be less arguing and negativity overall. Though the pandemic and the 2020 election resulted in many arguments and lost SCA members, it appears that the organization overall has weathered this disruption reasonably well. In-person SCA events have continued, SCAdians continue to volunteer with the organization, and it appears the SCA has recouped some revenue because canceled events such as the Estrella War have been replaced with a new War called "The War of the Phoenix." Despite the pandemic and the 2020 election, it appears that the SCA is generally a resilient organization and can adapt and recover from both internal and external disruptions.

Above all else, however, the driving factor that my interviewees repeatedly cited for their belief that the SCA can and will remain resilient despite the internal and external disruptions is SCAdian social cohesion such as 15-year-old white Australian, Annie who said when I asked her what she thought would happen in the SCA in the next five years:

> I think there will be some changes but I didn't think it is really going to be that many. We're in Perth, so we don't actually have any COVID at the moment. I mean, the rest of Australia does, but we're good we chill. So obviously, when we

did have it [COVID], we were closed down and we couldn't do anything but then we quickly got to open back up.

While Annie felt that COVID did not impact her SCA community, other SCAdians also feel that regardless of COVID or other disruptions, SCAdians will gather together and play such as Martha, a white, 54-year-old American SCAdian who has been in the organization since she was 9 said:

> [The SCA is] just going to bounce right back where it was because I think people want to play. And even if the structure, even if the infrastructure wasn't there. I think people would have events, people would have households, people would come together, people would. If the corporate structure went away tomorrow. There are a whole lot of people in touch with each other in these groups that would just say, 'Okay, well, we're getting together at x place on such and such date be there or be square,' and people are going to go and they're going to play in the SCA that they've known all along… But I think people are going to still want to go to events and dress up in funny clothes and dance around campfires and brew their own beer and I just don't think that the people who want to do that are not going to do that.

Annie and Martha offer insight into the other SCAdians with whom I spoke who said it is the people and valuable relationships they have with one another, coupled with their love of the activities available to them in the organization, that kept them coming back. The SCA has a useful model for community resilience, and they have proven this over 55 years despite lawsuits, violence, policy changes, and the largest global pandemic in 100 years.

Recommendations for Future Research on the SCA, Community Resilience, and Intergenerativity

The theoretical contributions of this study offer a practical framework for how intergenerativity, social capital, and social cohesion impact community resilience. Considering how life has changed after quarantine and the advent of a COVID-19 vaccine, more research is required to understand how the SCA and other communities are responding to the aftermath of this disruption. I recommend that both the SCA as an organization and external researchers examine the ongoing impacts and SCAdian responses to the SCA's community. The SCA as an organization collects survey data every ten years for its organizational census. All of this data collection and analysis is conducted by trained statisticians and researchers who are members of and volunteer in the SCA. Additionally, the SCA as an organization has a highly educated population and has enough resources to develop mixed methodological research approaches to understanding how to maintain their community resilience. For example, one of my interviewees has a Ph.D. in neuroscience and they conducted a study of the SCA's rapier (fencing) program to understand how feminine and gender nonbinary individuals experience rapier combat and interaction with other rapier fighters. As a member of the organization, I plan to share my findings with SCA leadership in presentations and printed copies of this dissertation to suggest possible solutions to the challenges detailed in this study. Such efforts might impact the future of the SCA and its members. Given

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these factors, I foresee a variety of community studies being released by the organization and its individual members to understand the impacts of COVID on the community.

For researchers outside of the SCA, this study offers a starting point to understand how community resilience can be built and maintained in a global virtual and in-person community. Researchers who are not members of the SCA can benefit from understanding SCAdian community resilience. For example, researchers at universities, local schools, nonprofit organizations, for profit organizations, governments, and community organizations have increasingly developed DEI policies, but not enough is known about their efficacy for building community resilience and wellness (Elvira and Gatteau 2021; Mondisa et al. 2021). The SCA can offer insights for how a DEI office functions within a white-dominated organization like the SCA. Other organizations can compare insights from this study to the work they are doing to develop effective strategies to build diversity, equity, and inclusion and reduce interpersonal conflict while maintaining social cohesion for community resilience among white dominated organizations like the SCA.

My theory of SCAdian community resilience could potentially assist in describing and understanding other organizations' community resilience. We know that young people are highly effective at developing resilient and adaptive communities and problem solving strategies in the face of complex problems (Acosta et al. 2015; Anderson 2005; Gibbs et al. 2013; Mitchell et al. 2008; Peek 2008; Ronan and Johnston 2005). This study adds to this literature and calls for greater intergenerative processes. Governmental

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organizations, nonprofits, for profits, neighborhood associations, schools, and any community-serving organizations should consider incorporating intergenerativity into their practices to increase community resilience.

For researchers studying youth leadership and civic engagement, this study shows that when a community invests in young people's leadership and skill development, the community grows and strengthens over time regardless of the disruptions that may occur. However, the SCA additionally offers insight into what can decrease age-inclusivity among youth. Based on these research findings, researchers and youth-engagement specialists should consider expanding their understanding of Y-APS and intergenerativity overall both inside and outside the SCA to increase community resilience in an increasingly complex world. Additionally, further research is needed on how intergenerativity impacts community resilience and diversity, equity, and inclusion in larger and more complex communities than the SCA. A comparative study examining intergenerativity in larger and smaller communities would additionally be helpful to understand how applicable the SCAdian model for community resilience is.

In addition, my hope is that this study can offer insights for people working in youth leadership organizations (as I once did) so they can expand their intergenerative and Y-APS potential. The world we live in is increasingly impacted by "wicked problems" that require multi-pronged perspectives and approaches to solve such as economic downturns, societal unrest, and social inequity (Frey-Heger et al. 2022; Pederneiras et al. 2022; Salas et al. 2022). These problems require a multigenerational approach for solutions and

resilience and my research could potentially inform this approach (Whitehouse et al.
2021). With studies like these, we can potentially increase overall societal age inclusivity
and community wellness in the mundane world.

The SCA has also shown to have highly effective strategies and community
resilience models in the context of social capital. Given how effective the SCA as an
organization as well as individual members and households have been in supporting so
many of its members' economic, intellectual, and emotional needs, local and national
governments should consider developing legislation to effectively support hobby-based
and subcultural organizations similar to the SCA. For example, event venues and local
parks should offer low-cost options for organizational usage. Governments can
additionally offer more grant funding and organizational sponsorship for hobby-based
organizations. While the government offers tax exempt status to many organizations
seeking 501(c)(3) status, governments can also offer subsidies and funding for hobby-
based orgs that do not want to incorporate as 501(c)(3)'s. Moreover, hobby-based
organizations like the SCA can be contracted with governments to offer high quality
hobbies and vocational skill development for the broader community. By supporting
hobby organizations like the SCA, we can potentially build greater social, human, and
economic capital in our dominant societies and communities (Morris et al. 2015; Putnam
2000).

Study Limitations

My study is limited in a variety of ways. For example, this study only focuses on 67 members of a 60,000 member organization. Given that this study was an ethnography, it offers in-depth knowledge of these 67 SCAdian's perspectives. This study could be expanded to an organization-wide survey to address these limitations by including all of the SCA Kingdoms, Shires, and chapters throughout the world and include people who span all ages including young children.

This study was mostly place-based: the majority of my interviewees are in the Kingdom of Atenveldt (Arizona), and each SCAdian Kingdom, Barony, Shire, etc. has its own unique dynamics of policy and practice, including those to maintain its community resilience. For example, one of my informants from the Kingdom of Glean Abhan (Louisiana) informed me that they have event-specific DEI officers to support LGBTQIA people, while Atenveldt as a Kingdom does not have a DEI officer, let alone an event-specific DEI officer. SCAdian Kingdoms can learn from one another, but each context is different and applicability of practices between Kingdoms can be limited.

In addition to the fact that this study was conducted online and during the COVID-19 pandemic and the 2020 United States election, many SCAdian perspectives might be skewed based on the most salient issues that arose due to these circumstances. In large part, this means that my study is focused on how the SCA deals with these specific disruptions and challenges. A study of the SCA in 2025-2026 to understand how the organization has responded and/or recovered from these disruptions and challenges

would expand the potential impact of this study on the SCA community and in the mundane world.

Finally, my positionality may have impacted the data findings and analysis. As a member of the SCA, I certainly have insider understanding and a commitment to the organization. A non-member of the SCA and/or SCAdians with different racial, gender, and sexual identities should examine these findings and offer their insights into how to differently interpret and approach the themes that arose in my research.

My Recommendations for the Future of SCA

I have seen some changes in the SCA since I first collected data for this study, so some of my speculations for the future of the SCA are substantiated by current data. This study offered a multi-generational perspective on SCAdian intergenerativity, community resilience, and social capital. Each decade that the SCA has been in existence has yielded new opportunities for growth and new challenges. The SCA has responded to these issues in various ways (e.g., policy changes, loss of membership, introducing new training and participatory options, etc.). The COVID-19 pandemic was a significant disruption to the community and yielded significant changes such as the expansion of the DEI office's virtual trainings. Some SCAdian events have been canceled indefinitely while new ones have been created. The first War of the Phoenix occurred in February of 2023 and I saw many joyful posts by my SCA friends after the event applauding the fun and camaraderie

they experienced at the event. Based on this observation (among others) I expect the SCA will continue to be a thriving community.

Though the SCA has shown remarkable resilience and social cohesion throughout the years, organizations that are resistant to change are less likely to maintain community resilience (Rodin 2014). My concerns are focused on issues related to the SCA's ability to recruit and maintain youth under the age of 21. While the SCA's efforts to engage youth has increasingly lessened over time and with the YAFA office being unsuccessful, my hope is that new programs can arise. I suggest that the SCA develops a Y-APS approach to all future youth engagement efforts. The idea is to let young people determine how they want to include other young people in the organization. For example, the SCA should consider developing youth leadership roles for managing social media accounts and Facebook groups. The SCA can also include young people in skill sharing and development such as offering opportunities for young people to teach classes at Collegium, and offering young people research and creative roles in the SCA's heraldic work. It is my belief that asking young people to lead and teach in the SCA will build the SCA's knowledge and volunteer capacity while expanding these young people's human and social capital. For young people who want to monetize their skill sets, the SCA could also offer a "young entrepreneur" program where they can develop products to be sold at SCA events and on the SCA website and social media. My hope is that through continued research and intergenerative collaboration inside the SCA, SCAdians can revive some of

their effective youth-leadership opportunities while protecting young people from adult violence and domination.

Regarding expanding SCAdian membership, the SCA should additionally create youth recruiters (Chatelaines). These young people could be ambassadors for the SCA in their schools and they could potentially develop SCA clubs in elementary and high schools to bring the SCA to young people. Young SCAdians could be the leaders of the clubs to ensure the clubs are effectively tailored to the needs and perspectives of young people. This youth leadership model already exists at the College of St. Felix at the University of Arizona, however, younger people could also assume these roles. It is my belief that if the SCA can grow and build on its already strong culture of intergenerativity to increase the SCA's community resilience, human and social capital, and age diversity.

Regardless of how the SCA adapts and changes in the coming years, I foresee it growing and guided by the desires and volunteerism of its members. I personally know I will keep going back and volunteering because the SCA offers a unique space to express oneself and build strong interpersonal relationships. It is for these reasons that I have high hopes for the future of the SCA.

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APPENDIX

ISSUE REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL OF HUMAN RESEARCH SUBJECTS

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APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

Takeyuki Tsuda
CLAS-SS: Human Evolution and Social Change, School of (SHESC)
480/965-7887

Takeyuki.Gaku.Tsuda@asu.edu

Dear Takeyuki Tsuda:

On 9/25/2020 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Intergenerativity and Community in the Society for Creative Anachronism
Investigator:	Takeyuki Tsuda
IRB ID:	STUDY00012508
Category of review:	
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None

Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Adult Short Consent Form.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Child Assent Form Ages 14-17.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Intergenerativity and Community in the Society for Creative Anachronism Recruitment Script.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Interview Protocol SCA Dissertation Research Lily Villa.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • IRB Social Behavioral Lily Villa Dissertation Research IRB Protocol.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Parental-Permission Intergenerativity and Community in the SCA.pdf, Category: Consent Form;

The IRB approved the protocol from 9/25/2020 to 9/24/2021 inclusive. Three weeks before 9/24/2021 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 9/24/2021 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the

INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Lily Villa

            Lily Villa

            Takeyuki Tsuda